

## THE STONE ANCESTORS: IDIOMS OF IMPERIAL ATTIRE AND RANK AMONG HUARI FIGURINES

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*Two caches were recovered at Pikillacta, the largest Huari state installation (A.D. 550–1000) in the southern Andean highlands; each contained 40 richly garbed votive turquoise figurines. The figurines are analyzed in terms of their production, use, and deposition as well as their overall morphology. To the extent possible, the rank associated with the costumes worn by each figure is also considered. Reference is made to Inca apparel and its potential for interpreting Huari official garments. Because the number 40 also held special importance in Inca state organization as an administrative unit or division, the Inca example provides concepts of administration vital to the interpretation of the figurines. A more unusual source—origin myths associated with the Chimor Kingdom—supports the relation between turquoise figurines and ancestor worship. I argue that the stone figurines embody qualities and convey concepts that are central to Andean political administration, and that they are intimately tied into the web of ancestral cults through which kinship, hierarchy, and inheritance were determined.*

*Pikillacta es la más grande instalación estatal huari (A.D. 550–1000) ubicada en la sierra sur peruana. En este sitio se encontraron dos depósitos de ofrenda, cada uno conteniendo 40 figurillas humanas talladas en turquesa, con prendas de vestir grabadas. El análisis de estas ofrendas se hace en términos de los contextos de producción, uso y deposición de las figurillas, de su morfología, y hasta donde es posible, del rango asociado con las prendas representadas en cada figurina. No obstante que se mencione las prendas incas y que estas tienen buenas posibilidades para la interpretación de las prendas oficiales huari; el número 40 también habría tenido una importancia especial en la organización estatal inca como una unidad de división administrativa. El ejemplo inca provee conceptos de administración críticos para la interpretación de las figurillas; mientras que un recurso poco común—mitos de origen del estado chimor—apoya la relación entre figurillas de turquesa y los cultos ancestrales. Aquí se argumenta que éstas figurillas contienen cualidades y proyectan conceptos centrales sobre la administración andina, y serían estas figurillas las que están íntimamente ligadas al complejo sistema de cultos ancestrales, mediante los cuales se sustentaron las relaciones de parentesco, diferenciación social y la herencia.*

In this paper I address the relations between political office, ritual legitimation, and aspects of specialized production in an early state that lacked any known form of writing. The site of Huari (Figure 1), an urban center whose architectural core alone is estimated to have covered 1000–1500 ha (Isbell 1984, 1986) of agglutinated architecture is the center of one of the first known expansionist states in the central Andes (Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Lumbreras 1960, 1980; Menzel 1964, 1969; Rowe et al. 1950). The form of administration is not clearly understood, but a bureaucratic state model has been employed to explain Huari organization in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. (Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Schreiber 1992). Explosive spatial expansion into areas beyond the Ayacucho Valley followed upon the urban growth of Huari which, as many have argued, probably involved militaristic invasions. These forceful incursions into foreign territory were accompanied by the spread of an organized form of state religion (Isbell and Cook 1987; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Lumbreras 1960, 1974; Menzel 1964, 1969).

At present, Huari provincial administration has been demonstrated most successfully in consistent and repeated architectural forms (Isbell and McEwan 1991), in settlement-pattern changes (Cook 1989, 1990; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; McEwan 1984; Schreiber 1992), and in shifts in local economies (Browman 1981) that have been found in areas that came under Huari control. Pottery exhibiting a consistent repertoire of designs is commonly associated with Huari sites in the Ayacucho Basin and has served as a principal indicator of Huari presence or foreign imposition at these

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Figure 1. Map of Peru showing locations of sites discussed in the text.

locations. Somewhat surprisingly, ceramics and architecture remain the principal archaeological identifiers of the Huari polity, despite an abundance of other rich sources of material culture.

In the Andean region, where no form of writing was used in the precolonial period, it is widely accepted that mnemonics played an essential role in the conservation and distribution of information during episodes of state and empire administration. Visual images assumed greater importance under these conditions, constituting and reconstituting essential multivalent symbols that served multiple purposes in early state formation. I explore these issues and situate them within the specifics of Andean culture by focusing on two votive offerings of turquoise<sup>1</sup> figurines recovered in 1927 at Pikillacta, near Cuzco, the largest Huari provincial center in the southern highlands (Figure 1).

Three-dimensional stone figurines in human form have been found on the surface of Huari sites, buried in caches, and in gravelots (Cuesta Domingo 1985:165–169; Engel 1976:169; International Congress of Americanists 1935; Jones 1964:Figures 27–30; Larco Hoyle 1966:Figure 123; Menzel 1964:61–62, 1969:51–52; Ramos and Blasco 1977; Ravines 1970:502; Valcárcel 1933). Buried offerings at ceremonial centers or within ritual spaces characterize both Inca and Huari relations with the spiritual world (Anders 1990a; Cook 1983, 1987; Isbell and Cook 1987; Menzel 1964, 1969; Ravines 1969, 1977). The only provenienced caches of human stone figurines (Figure 2) that date to the Middle Horizon are those found at the site of Pikillacta (Cook 1985a, 1986).

During the Middle Horizon vessels in numerous ceramic offerings depict a series of staffed frontal

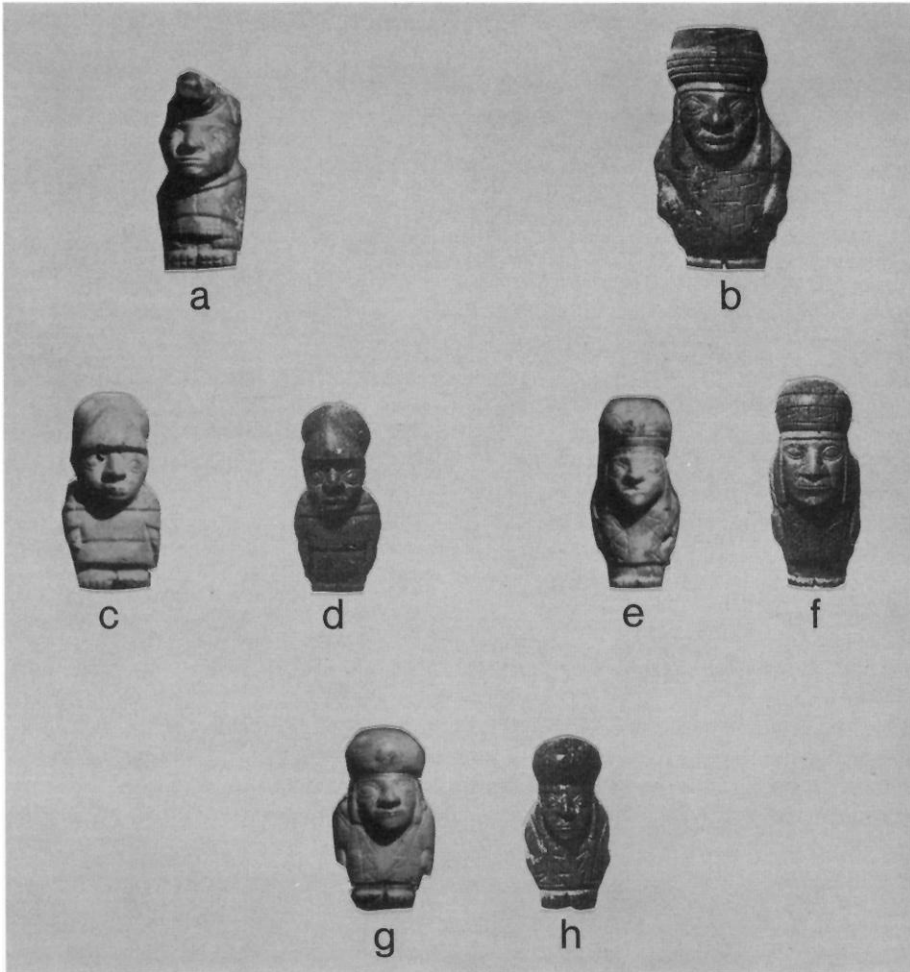


Figure 2. Examples of the Pikillacta figurines from the Madrid and Cuzco collections: (a) Cuzco Collection (43 mm); (b) Madrid Collection (52 mm); (c) Cuzco Collection (43 mm); (d) Madrid Collection (42 mm); (e) Cuzco Collection (41 mm); (f) Madrid Collection (47 mm); (g) Cuzco Collection (40 mm); (h) Madrid Collection (38 mm). Three pairs are illustrated: *c* and *d*, *e* and *f*, and *g* and *h*.

or profile anthropomorphic figures in relatively standardized poses. Parallels are drawn frequently between the representational art on Bolivian Tiwanaku stone sculpture and the Huari figures depicted on pottery. In Huari ceramic offerings, sacred beings on votive pottery (see Cook 1985b:Figures 2 and 3, 1987:27, 30–32; Isbell and Cook 1987:21–24, 32; Menzel 1977:Figures 62, 66, and 67) are visibly associated with human elite captives (Cook 1985b:Figure 2, 1987:Figure 32; Isbell and Cook 1987:30; Menzel 1977:Figures 62, 66, and 67) wearing ear spools, elaborate collars, hats, and plumage, with arms bound with rope behind their backs. These human captives are appended to the base of staffs held by larger frontal and profile figures. In this context, staffed figures are represented with miniature humans that constitute one of the earliest examples of this association during the Middle Horizon. These caches of offering vessels can be dated by stylistic seriation to Middle Horizon 1 (or roughly A.D. 550–700) and offer a temporal framework for the first appearance of humans on Middle Horizon objects.<sup>2</sup>

I argue that the Pikillacta figurines are garbed in robes that express their rank and convey concepts that are central to early Andean political administration. As explained below, a strong relation exists

among the image, the material, and the archaeological context of these figurines that bears upon Huari mortuary practices and the existence of ancestral cults during the Middle Horizon (ca. A.D. 550–1000). There is continuity of such practices in royal Inca ancestor cults, and their survival into colonial times is evident from mythic associations between *los gentiles* (the ancestors) and the sacred stones into which they were reputedly transformed, which have been worshipped over the centuries.

In this analysis, the contexts of figurine production, use, and deposition, in addition to attributes of attire, provide insights into the role played by the figurines within the Huari state. To achieve an understanding of the political import of these figurines, I first present a description and comparison of the figurines, followed by a quantitative analysis of figurine size to assess whether rank is expressed in figurine height differences. The final section presents the analysis of rank and status as perceived through attire or individual costume, based on information derived from ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources, and an interpretation concerning the motives for figurine production.

### THE PIKILLACTA FIGURINES

A total of 80 turquoise-colored stone figurines dressed in distinctive hats and tunics, and ranging in size from 18 to 52 mm, was recovered in 2 caches within the same room (Figure 3) at the site of Pikillacta, located 27 km south of Cuzco in the Lucre Basin. The site is a planned architectural facility (Figure 3), similar to others built and controlled by Huari officials during the early period of imperial expansion. Pikillacta is located near the southern frontier of the Huari empire in the highlands; smaller Huari sites are situated farther south within this frontier region, but none rival the size and architectural complexity of Pikillacta.

Pikillacta is the largest rural Huari state compound and has the most complex arrangements of architectural forms. It is characterized by a series of different rectangular enclosures that usually contain a central plaza bordered by one or more peripheral galleries or small longitudinal rooms. The figurines were found in a gallery room within a rectangular enclosure situated near the center of the site and within the most complete and architecturally complex sector. One large (90 x 95 m) and one slightly smaller plaza (65 x 65 m), dominate Pikillacta within this zone. McEwan inferred from excavations and architectural analysis that the smaller plaza was the main ceremonial focus of the complex (McEwan 1984:161). The room that is reported to have contained the figurines (44 x 50 m) abuts the southwest corner of this smaller plaza. Investigations have not focused on the room of the figurines itself, but of the 119 structures of this type, three have been excavated at the site (McEwan 1984:94). The overall plan of this sector of Pikillacta reveals the presence of these two large plazas for gatherings, and two avenues that connect this area to the main entrance. Numerous checkpoints to the heart of the city indicate that there was tight control over access to this area. For these reasons, this sector of Pikillacta is interpreted by McEwan (1984:161) as the residences of the highest-ranking political and religious officers and the center of administration.

The two figurine collections were found within one of the heavily plastered interior gallery rooms of Pikillacta next to a doorway (Figure 3). One set of these figurines, currently in the Museo de la Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cuzco, is referred to as the Cuzco Collection. The figurines were found in a layer of sand 1 m below a stone slab that interrupted the floor, and were associated with a thick, pointed "bronze" bar, *Spondylus princeps*, and a marine snail (*Strombus*) shell (used during Prehispanic times as a trumpet) (Valcárcel 1933:3). The figurines were not found in an upright position, but rather were lying down on the sand.<sup>3</sup> The figurines of the second or Madrid Collection, housed at the Museo de América, were situated 5 m below ground surface and arranged in a circle around a vertically positioned, crudely made, thick "bronze" bar with a curved tip (Trimborn and Vega 1935:36–89). The cache was found 2 m below a stone slab that covered a floor 3 m below the surface (Trimborn and Vega 1935:89). There originally were 40 figurines. One piece was missing upon arrival in Spain and was lost in Peru shortly after the cache was discovered. Associated with the figurines were 2 marine-snail shells,<sup>4</sup> and *Spondylus* (2 whole valves, 8 worked pieces [some with intentional perforations], and 5 worked rectangular fragments). The figurines were manufactured of turquoise (see Ramos and Blasco 1977; Ruppert 1982:69–124; Valcárcel 1933:7–9), a raw material that became increasingly popular during Huari times.

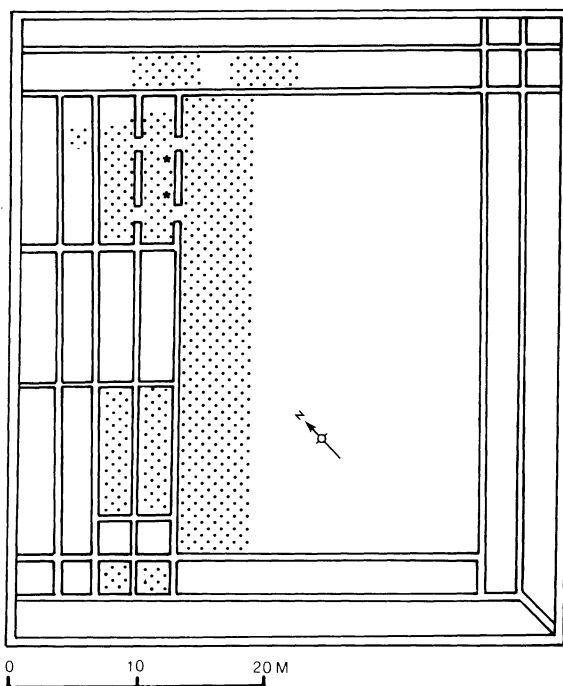


Figure 3. Plan of Structure 34-2B at Pikillacta, where the two turquoise caches reportedly were found. The asterisks indicate the location of each cache. Shaded areas indicate looted areas (after McEwan 1984:Figure 3-3).

An essential aspect of these objects, which became apparent during the course of the analysis reported here, is that 20 figurines within the Cuzco Collection are exactly the same as 20 figurines in the Madrid Collection (Figure 4): they share identical attire, headdresses, and facial features, and differ only slightly from one another in size. Other less-frequent examples of identical figurines within the Cuzco or Madrid collections occur as twin (Figure 2), triplet, and quadruplet sets of identical figurines. The two caches of figurines are therefore closely related. The dual partitioning of each group of 40 into 2 sets of 20 is determined on the basis of comparisons between the two

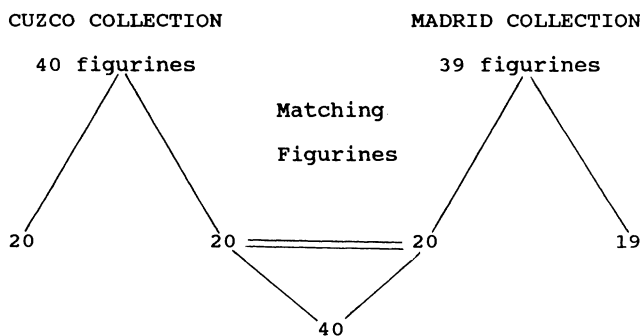


Figure 4. Unity and duality within and between the figurine collections.

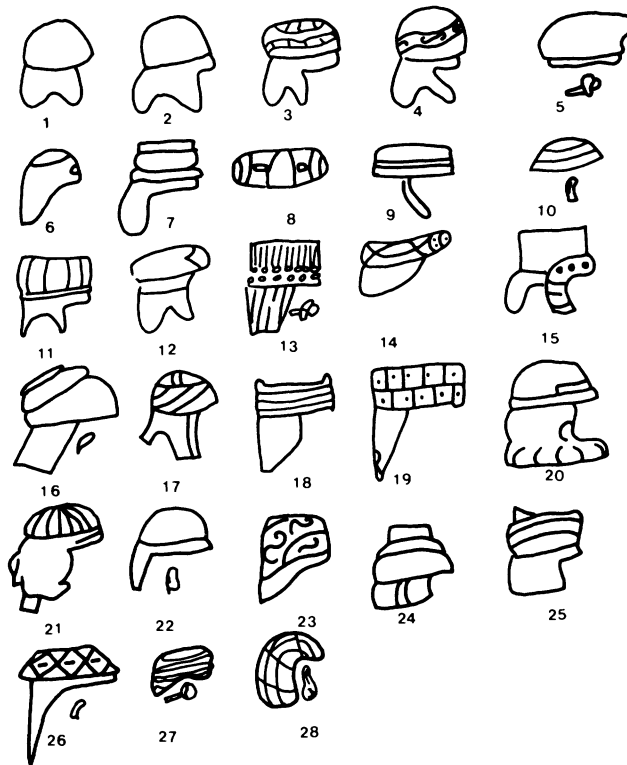


Figure 5. Pikillacta figurine hats from the Cuzco Collection: 1 occurs eight times, 2 occurs three times, 3 occurs twice, and 18 occurs twice.

collections. This is further supported by the spatial proximity of these offerings to one another within the same room at Pikillacta.

Duality is a common cultural concept in the Andes. It is expressed in territorial moiety divisions, in the presence of dual lordships in political hierarchies and in gender differences. Specific aspects of attire that have gender significance are addressed here and although they are difficult to discern, the results suggest further avenues of study.

In the analysis that follows, four variables are used in the description and analysis of presumed social rank of the figurines. These are: (1) facial features, (2) bodily ornamentation, (3) tunic and headdress variations (see Figures 5–8), (4) figurine height,<sup>5</sup> and (5) the relation between figurine stature and attire.

#### *Facial Features*

The Pikillacta figurines each have distinctly different and disproportionately large facial features. This attribute is shared by large stone sculptures at Huari (Lumbreras 1974:Figure 177) and in the southern Andean altiplano. This enlargement allows the producer to convey details of expression that would otherwise be impossible on such small figurines. The facial variations suggest that the producers were not merely copying a single model, but were interested in differentiating facial features and expressions.

The eyes lack irises and are the only physical trait that is standardized. The meticulous care given to the details of attire stands in stark contrast to the expressionless eyes. In this instance, the Huari figurines seem to embody the concept of life crystallized in stone, or as Inca lore suggests, the transformation of the ancestors or deceased rulers into venerated stones.



Figure 6. Pikillacta figurine tunics from the Cuzco Collection: 1 occurs twice, 8 occurs twice, 19 occurs twice, and 22 occurs twice.

### *Bodily Ornamentation*

All but one of the figurines (which appears as a kneeling nude captive with arms bound behind its back [Figure 7:18 and Figure 8:17]) wear fine layered garments and headgear. In addition, several figurines display bodily ornaments, such as ear spools, nose plugs, and necklaces. These three aspects of attire convey rank on the basis of analogy with non-Huari elite burials<sup>6</sup> and contemporary traditional customs of dress.

Ear spools and nose plugs are known from elite coastal Moche burials that immediately predate and overlap with the initial period of the Huari empire (Alva 1988; Donnan 1988). Ear spools were important indicators of elite rank among the Inca aristocracy, while nose plugs have been found frequently in burial contexts and as ornaments on mummy bundles in areas ranging from the Paracas occupation of the south coast to the Moche on the north coast. Ear spools are found on five figurines in the Cuzco Collection and three in the Madrid Collection; the latter are identical to three of the five in the Cuzco Collection.

Like ear spools, the use of nose plugs was common during precolonial times, and ethnographic examples are numerous in the tropical lowlands. Two figurines with nose plugs are in the Cuzco Collection, and one is identical to a figurine in the Madrid Collection. They share identical dress

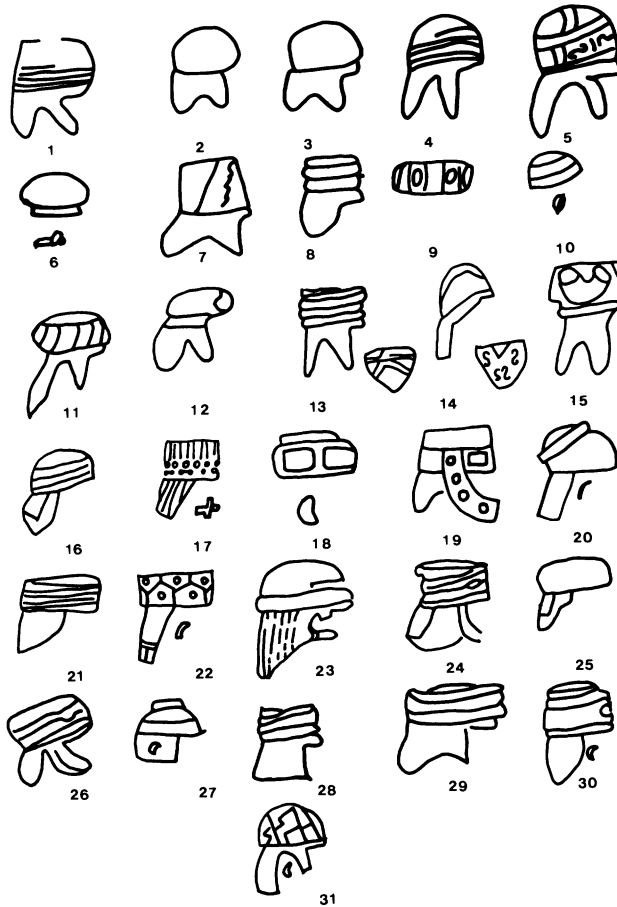


Figure 7. Pikillacta figurine hats from the Madrid Collection: 2 occurs six times, 3 occurs twice, and 25 occurs 3 times.

and headgear that are strongly reminiscent of early colonial descriptions of lowland tropical forest groups.

Collars appear on three figurines. Such ornamentation is also frequently depicted in painted form or on effigy vessels assigned to the late Nazca and Moche phases that immediately precede and overlap with the beginning of the Middle Horizon (ca. A.D. 500–600). Jewelry consisting of collars or necklaces with multiple strands of beads was associated with the warrior-priest burials of Sipán (Alva 1988; Donnan 1988). Zuidema has also emphasized the importance of collars in Huari art by drawing the following analogy to Inca examples: “In Central Peru, in the XVIth century, a similar collar was called *tamta* or *huaca* and represented the peoples subject to the chief. The Inca king also had such a collar of feathers as part of his royal dress” (de Avila 1991:Chapter 5; Zuidema 1972:41). This strongly suggests that collars can be considered insignia of high rank, although they can also occur on the Staffed Front-Facing and Profile figures in offering contexts (e.g., Menzel 1977: Figures 62 and 67). Among the Pikillacta figurines, eight wear ear spools, three wear nose plugs, and three wear necklaces. Two observations are noteworthy. First, none of the three types of bodily ornament are particularly common in the assemblage, occurring as they do on only 14 of the 79 figurines. This observation lends additional support to their interpretation as insignia of rank. Bodily ornamentation assumes greater significance when it is recognized that 10 of the 14 figurines presented





Figure 8. Pikillakta figurine tunics from the Madrid Collection: 4 occurs twice, 12 occurs three times, 18 occurs four times, 19 occurs twice, 23 occurs twice, and 29 occurs twice.

with insignia of rank, particularly those wearing ear spoons, occur as matched sets in the Cuzco and Madrid collections.

#### *Tunic and Headdress Variation*

The figurines are remarkably diverse: only four hats and tunics occurred more than once in the Cuzco material, while only three hats and five tunics occurred more than once in the Madrid Collection (Figures 5–8). The numbers in Table 1 reveal that there is a greater variety of hats in the Madrid Collection, while tunics occur in more variations in the Cuzco Collection. To assess the possible significance of this diversity, the internal variability and patterned associations between tunic and headdress variations are briefly presented.

#### *Figurine Tunics*

Huari tunic designs known from woven textiles are repetitive and can be divided into specific design scheme classes. However, Huari weavers manipulated color in such a way as to enhance specific design layouts. This makes it possible to subdivide design schemes on the basis of color patterns. A series of themes and subthemes results from which rank differences may be discernible

Table 1. Comparison of Garment Types in the Cuzco and Madrid Collections.

	<i>Unkus</i>	Layered Attire	Other	Total
Cuzco	29 (15)	11 (5)	0	40
Madrid	26 (15)	12 (5)	1 <sup>a</sup>	39
Total	55	23	1	79

*Note:* Parentheses indicate the number of figurines with matches in the other collection (e.g., 15 of the 29 Cuzco figurines wear *unkus* and are replicated in the Madrid Collection).

<sup>a</sup> A kneeling figurine with hands bound behind its back with the same rope wrapped around its neck and waist.

by analogy to later Inca examples (Zuidema 1992). Huari tapestry tunics display vertical panels of design within which design themes are displayed. The figurine tunics do not exhibit this consistency; instead, lacking color, they convey a remarkable number of vertical and horizontal patterns that are rarely repeated, unless they occur in the context of paired figurines.

There are two evident forms of attire in the combined figurine collections. The first includes simple short-sleeved tunics or *unkus* of various lengths; the second consists of layered garments, a tunic covered by a shoulder mantle that terminates at the waist, and infrequently additional layers of textiles are evident. These shoulder coverings may have been puma hides or other animal furs that are illustrated more clearly in painted ceramic forms (Ravines 1977:lámينا XXVI, 32). Layered garments are found on about one quarter of the figurines in each collection (Table 1). As Table 1 reveals, 70 percent (55) of the figurines wear simple tunics. The remaining figurines (24) wear more complex layered garments. The depiction of simple vs. complex figurine attire is a distinction based on both morphological and quantitative observations. In the final section of this paper, I illustrate that this distinction is also expressed in the cultural values associated with simple and complex forms of attire worn on specific occasions in contemporary ethnographic contexts, and described in ethnohistoric accounts.

In summary, combining both collections, there is a strong tendency for figurines to be portrayed wearing a simple tunic with or without decoration, while more than one-quarter of the figurines wear composite garments. The same pattern exists among the paired figurines.

### *Figurine Headgear*

Valcárcel (1933) illustrates anthropomorphic effigy vessels from numerous Precolumbian cultures as potential sources for the identification of hats on figurines. The comparisons are overgeneralized, yet there is little doubt that turbaned hats with a sling are typical of south-coast late Paracas and Nazca society, and turbaned hats or rectangular ridged hats with chin straps are often depicted on north-coast Moche effigy figures (see also Valcárcel 1933:10–14, láminas VI–IX). During the Middle Horizon a four-cornered hat often embellished with tassels is known in the central Andean region (Frame 1990). There are arguably three figurines in the combined collections that wear four-cornered caps that lack tassels (Figure 5:26, Figure 7:22, 31; for detailed costume descriptions see Valcárcel [1933]; and Ramos and Blasco [1977]).

Figurine headgear defies easy classification into types. Valcárcel (1933:11) suggested 16 different forms that might easily be further subdivided. In the classification that I established for this study, 33 types were isolated (23 composite types, 2 round turban types, square turbans, round hats, feather, checkerboard, and 4 different cap types).

In general, headgear consists of turbans with or without decoration and frequently placed over a

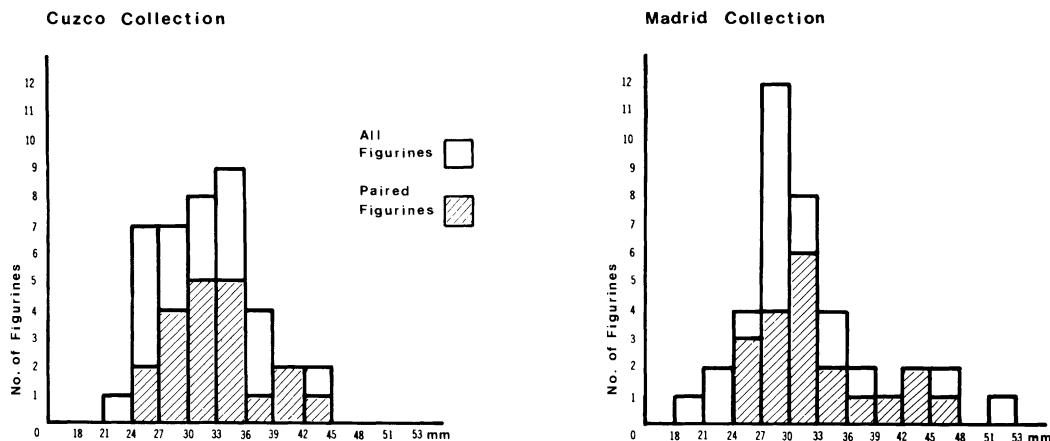


Figure 9. Figurine size frequency histograms.

head cloth that covers the neck and shoulders. Long hair is evident in three instances (Figure 5:13 and Figure 7:17, 23). Beyond general hat form, each hat contains unique features that recur only in the context of repeated figurines within each collection, or as paired figurines across collections.

Earlier it was mentioned that a comparison of the Madrid and Cuzco collections revealed that 20 figurines in the Madrid Collection found their twin in the Cuzco Collection (Figure 4). Five twin pairs of figurines wear hemispherical hats (two of these pairs wear identical headgear and garments; Figure 2g–h; for the Cuzco Collection see Figure 5:1 and Figure 6:19; for the Madrid Collection see Figure 7:2 and Figure 8:19). One pair of matching figurines wear a hemispherical cap, but unlike those just described they lack a headcloth and boast prominent ear spools (Cuzco Collection: Figure 5:5 and Figure 6:36; Madrid Collection: Figure 7:6 and Figure 8:30). Although speculative, this last pair with ear spools arguably could represent the highest-ranking individuals within the group wearing hemispherical hats. Four pairs of figurines wear turbans of various kinds. The remaining 10 pairs wear individual hat types. This divides the 20 pairs into two sets of 10 pairs, which includes 10 individually garbed figurines and 10 in the pattern outlined above. Sets of 10 were organizationally important under Inca rule, an observation to which I return below.

### Figurine Height Comparisons

Size frequency histograms were assembled to examine the assumption that if size suggests an internal hierarchy then frequency distributions should be skewed toward the largest figurine sizes or to the right, with increasingly fewer figurines occupying the highest positions.

A size frequency histogram of each collection of figurines (Figure 9) reveals that two figurines in the Cuzco Collection fall into the two largest size categories. This can be compared to the hatched area that represents only the size distribution of the 20 figurines that find their match in the Madrid Collection. In this instance, the pattern is repeated, with only one figurine in the highest position. The histogram of the Cuzco figurines suggests that size may be a function of rank, most clearly expressed in the distribution of the 20 matched figurines.

In the Madrid Collection, size distributions reveal a single cluster, with one figurine, the largest, separated in size from the rest of the figurines. The range of measurements display a distribution skewed to the right with the largest figurine separated from the main cluster. In this case, size may be expressive of rank differences to be determined below in comparisons of the actual figurines and their respective garb. The hatched area representing the 20 matching figurines parallels the size distribution found among the 20 matching figurines in the Cuzco Collection.

### *Figurine Stature and Attire*

Figurine attire within each size class was examined in an effort to determine whether indicators of rank are associated with the largest figurines within each collection or with particular groups.

Among the figurines in the Cuzco Collection, the size clusters suggest some insights concerning rank relations in terms of attire. First there are some anomalies with respect to size alone. The presence of pairs within the Cuzco Collection has been noted. If, however, rank is conveyed by figurine size we would expect identical figures to have similar dimensions. But this does not always hold true: for example, two pairs of figures within the Cuzco Collection are notably different in size. Although I have no clear explanation to account for this, the stature asymmetry is not foreign to Andean concepts of duality that embody complementary opposition. If, for instance, there is a hierarchical relationship between two people then asymmetric forms of reciprocal obligations are more characteristic (*mink'a*) than balanced exchanges (*ayni*). Gender cannot be ignored, and may also account for the differences in stature. Additionally, the smallest figurine stands apart from the rest; it has one of the most detailed designs, featuring a long headdress and extended pierced earlobes, from which it can be inferred that the individual had worn ear spools, features indicative of elite status (Figure 5:28 and Figure 6:34).

Although size and costume do not initially appear to be closely related in the Cuzco Collection, closer inspection of the figurines within each size class reveals that each of these clusters includes figurines that convey high status. Most of the individuals with layered clothing and jewelry are also the largest members of their size group. Among the Cuzco figurines, each size grouping then contains higher-ranked and lower-ranked individuals.

The Madrid figurines are slightly more regular, with the smallest figurines wearing simple tunics but boasting variations in headdresses. The larger figurines have both complex tunics and hats. In the middle range all possible combinations occur in no visible pattern, with the exception of one triplet, two of which have not only identical attire but also identical stature. Additionally, there are two identically paired figurines within the Madrid Collection which, as in the case of the Cuzco paired figurines, are carved in different sizes.

### *Paired Figurines*

Parallel trends are noticeable in both collections, such as the presence of pairs within each collection, repetition in hemispherical hats, and increasing stature with associated elite insignia within each cluster. Overall the gradual increments in the sizes of the figurines are so negligible that major differences and patterns are best observed by comparing the 20 paired figurines shared by both the Cuzco and Madrid collections.

Size frequency distributions of the 20 matched figurines (Figure 9) reveal strong similarities between the two collections. The four largest figurines in both collections were compared and two found their match in the other collection. This suggests that greater similarity in size may exist between identical paired figurines. To examine the association between the sizes of paired figurines, Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient (Doran and Hodson 1975:143–145) was calculated using all paired figurines from both collections. First the size rank of all 79 figurines was established, and the ranks for the paired specimens were then used to calculate the correlation coefficient ( $r_s = .75$ ; values for  $r$  lie between  $-1$  and  $+1$  and are positive when values for both variables increase together). The result is a clear positive estimate of association in size between the ranked matched figurines. The size relation between the two collections of matching figurines is therefore not random. Size is significant for the paired figurines.

A final comparison concerns costumes worn by the matching figurines. The average height was calculated for each pair of figurines, which were then ranked by size to evaluate whether layered attire was associated with the largest paired figurines. Figurines of smaller size would likewise be expected to reveal simpler headdresses and *unkus*. The comparisons confirm that figures wearing layered garments were among the largest figurines. Four figures that rank second, fourth, fifth, and sixth in height also exhibit collars which, in de Avila's descriptions of the Inca, identified elite status. The similarities are more than coincidental.

### ROBES OF ROYALTY: ETHNOHISTORY, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

There is little question that Andean precolonial attire was a semantically rich form of expressing social, political, and economic information. In the following passage, some of the first impressions felt by the Inca upon viewing the Spaniards are clearly conveyed.

*Y que todos eran amortajados, toda la cara cubierta de lana, y que se le parecía sólo los ojos. Y en la cauesa trayya unas ollitas colorado, ari manco [olla sin estrenar], y suri uayta [adorno de pluma de avestruz]. Y que trayyan las pixas colgadas atrás larguicimos, decían de las espadas, y que estauan bestidos todo de plata fina. Y que no tenía señor mayor, que todos parecían ermanos en el traje y hablar y conuersar, comer y vestir. Y una cara sólo le pareció que tenía [Guamán Poma de Ayala 1980 (ca. 1615):383; emphasis added].*

*And that they were all shrouded like corpses, their entire faces covered with wool, and that only their eyes could be seen. And on their heads they wore colored pots and ornaments of ostrich plumes. And that they carried their penises, very long, hanging behind; this they said of the swords. And that they were dressed completely in fine silver. And that they did not have a greater lord, that all seemed to be brothers in their dress, in speaking and conversing, eating and dressing. And it seemed that they had one single face [Adorno 1986: 148; emphasis added].*

The initial interest in this study was motivated by the distinctive costumes worn by the Pikillacta figurines: each headdress and tunic detail was delicately carved so as to display both the layers of textile clothing and their designs. I reviewed the literature on traditional Andean costume in an effort to decipher elements of continuity in dress, the specific meanings of which may have been recorded in recent times, but which might shed light on the different types of apparel worn by the figurines.

Depictions of attire in ethnohistoric sources and ethnographic studies on costume and the culture of fabrics made it possible to address three specific questions. These concerned whether contemporary traditional dress preserves precolonial components indicative of (a) ethnicity, (b) rank, and (c) gender. Although direct analogy is not always applicable in archaeology, inferences concerning the relation between ethnicity and attire seem plausible in the Andean region because, on the level of the individual, weaving styles and motifs mark ethnic affiliations and define a person's place of origin (Harris 1980; Medlin 1987). For instance, hats continue to identify individuals from specific areas.

Economically, we know that textiles served the Inca state as culturally valued commodities. Within communities, textiles were associated with legitimation and political control, and served as signifiers of rank and political office (Murra 1962).

Most of our initial impressions concerning Andean peoples and their value system are derived from the early colonial sources. There are few early images of Inca attire that can be used, but at least one source warrants closer attention.

A colonial-period letter to King Felipe II of Spain, written and illustrated by Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980 [ca. 1615]), offers invaluable images of the Inca during the immediate Postconquest period. Although it is premature to suggest correlations between Inca class markers and those at Huari, it is interesting to note that hemispherical hats in the Inca empire were worn by high-ranking Inca nobility, warrior captains, and soldiers, each with its appropriate status marker. In contrast, among the Pikillacta figurines only plain hemispherical hats are repeated in sufficient numbers (24 in the combined collections) to warrant comparison with later examples; the remaining figurines convey greater overall variability than those depicted in Guamán Poma de Ayala's illustrations.

Although it is difficult to determine the degree of precision Guamán Poma de Ayala intended in these drawings, they leave little doubt that rank differences are symbolized by increasing the decorative complexity of helmets. The number and form of Pikillacta hats, and their range from simple to complex parallel the depiction of Inca rank shown in his drawings. Like their ethnographic counterparts, described below, these rank differences are symbolized by increasing the embellishments of Inca attire and are therefore useful for the interpretation of the Pikillacta figurines.

Some unexplored assumptions circulate among those scholars interested in Andean costume as markers of ethnic identity and rank. The degree of specificity varies from area to area but generally hats are broadly understood to be community- or region-specific identifiers (i.e., Wobst 1977); and

tunics, depending upon the occasion and the design structure, can symbolize one's place of origin or one's rank in community life. Yet there are very few studies that explore these specific questions. To disclose the veracity of these assumed relations I reviewed the literature and questioned colleagues who work with weavers and the social contexts in which textiles play an essential role.

Fieldwork on weaving and traditional attire in the northern Potosí area of Bolivia reveals continuity in the use of cloth and hats as indicators of cultural identity. Abercrombie (1986:202) notes that a *punchu* (poncho) and *awayu* (shawl) are the outermost items of men's and women's clothing. In Bertonio's description of the *sucullu* rite in which children were first clothed, the orientation of stripes on clothing is described as an indicator of gender. Abercrombie also noted this in southern Potosí, where men's ponchos are worn over the head with stripes running vertically, while women's *awayus* are worn over the shoulders with colored design bands running horizontally (Abercrombie 1986:202). Among the figurines there are some with only vertical bands and others with exclusively horizontal stripes, suggesting gender categories.

Other research (Zorn, personal communication 1990) indicates that hats serve as regional markers. For example, white bell-shaped hats are found throughout the region, however ethnic and community identity is marked in brim-size variations. It should be noted that brim-size differences may vary as little as 3.8–5.1 cm. The differences in brim size indicate a person's ethnicity. Within the market place these subtle differences are widely recognized.

Hats alone do not indicate rank or notions of community authority, however they assume importance in association with particular types of attire worn exclusively by authority figures on ceremonial occasions. Leadership and the symbols of authority are prominently displayed by the individual sponsor of community or multicomunity festivities and are expressed in ponchos and mantles (tunics are still worn by some Lake Titicaca groups).

The possibility of identifying an individual's rank from his/her attire seems to depend upon a combination of factors. In the few descriptions available, male authority figures are identified by the manner in which certain textiles are folded and positioned on the body, and these forms of attire are always worn for certain ceremonies in conjunction with specific objects as symbols of authority (Zorn 1987:67).

Abercrombie (1986) also observed the presence of female festival sponsors (e.g., on the occasion of the Day of the Dead and Carnival) in southern Potosí. When a female sponsors a festival she is *cargada* (burdened or loaded) with multiple textiles strung to her *llijlla*. These consist of a large number of individual shoulder mantles that express her wealth and authority. She is literally laden down by textiles, and the same is true of male *jilakatas* (community leaders) in this region. In this context, we find a contemporary example of the values embodied in textiles that Murra (1962) emphasizes for the earlier colonial period.

It is considerably more difficult to discuss differences in attire that are gender specific and that date to the precolonial era. In fact, there has been an alarming disregard for the identification of gender archaeologically (Gero and Conkey 1991) in the Andes, despite the excellent preservation that typifies coastal archaeology. The Andean region certainly does not stand alone in this regard, although a few studies reveal a growing concern with the topic (Hocquenghem and Lyon 1980; Lyon 1979; Silverblatt 1987). The archaeological studies concern the identification of female supernaturals in Moche and Huari depictions.

Menzel (1964:26, see also 1977:Figures 122 and 123) first noted Huari gender distinctions for *supernaturals* on the basis of costume and plant depictions in the two Frontal Staffed figures that are painted on an oversized offering vessel from the south-coastal site of Pacheco. Other studies (Lyon 1979; Rowe 1979) address the identification of gender differences in Huari art. All sources agree that there are few examples of gender differentiation in Huari material culture. Those discussed pertain to the association between particular attributes of costume that include depictions of maize, a predominantly highland crop. What has been given less attention is the fact that all of these examples are from the coast, where cultivation largely depended upon the availability of water, which was associated with the highlands and mountain deities. On the coast, issues concerning fertility and cultivation may have set the stage for more explicit references to female representations

as seen in the offering vessels with female figures as tripod bases from Maymi in the Pisco Valley (Anders 1990b) and Nazca cloth figurines (Rowe 1991).

Costume and cultural concepts of attire should make gender more accessible, although the specifics of this subject are beyond the scope of the present discussion. It should be evident from the above that specific forms of attire characterize both high-ranking males and females in the ethnographic record and that these have clear historical antecedents (e.g., see also Isbell 1978:93–94, 107–108, 111–112; Silverblatt 1987). The underlying principles governing elite dress are repeated in the attire of the Pikillacta figurines.

In summary, ethnographic and ethnohistoric examples illustrate how cloth serves as a symbol of community authority. Greater amounts of textiles express greater degrees of prestige. I suggest that the greater the authority vested in a local leader the greater the textile wealth possessed and worn on ceremonial occasions. These notions are still visually marked in modern-day ceremonies by the presence of overtly overdressed individuals with multiple layers of cloth, in some instances literally carrying their wealth in textiles. Given this continuity, it seems plausible to draw an analogy between the general use and symbolism of contemporary traditional garments and archaeological contexts that share similar configurations. By analogy, Pikillacta figurines that wear multiple layers of garments, in association with elaborate headgear and symbols of prestige such as ear spools, nose plugs, and collars, should be indicators that help differentiate individuals of higher rank from those of lesser rank, both within and between the two collections.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study suggest that if the analogy to contemporary dress is valid then hats indicate ethnicity and community identity. About 75 percent of the hats within each collection are different while the remaining 25 percent do recur more than once. Within each collection of figurines ethnicity or community identity is marked and expressed in variations of headdress form and design.

Tunics with specific designs have been shown, in contemporary and ethnohistoric contexts, to reveal rank and intracommunity authority. A comparison of the two collections reveals that rank insignia are more visibly displayed among the Cuzco figurines than those of the Madrid Collection. To assess the significance of this observation an independent evaluation of figurine height was presented, in order to determine whether hat and tunic variability corresponds to particular clusters of figurines.

For both the Madrid and Cuzco collections, each size mode includes figurines that are believed to represent higher- and lower-status individuals. The high-status insignia are primarily associated with figurines comprising the largest members of each mode. Additionally, the results confirm that size was intentionally controlled to indicate status and to help differentiate individual figures. This distinction is even more pronounced when the 20 figurines in the Cuzco Collection identical to 20 figurines in the Madrid Collection are viewed as a separate group. In this instance, 15 figurine pairs wear *unkus*, while only five paired figurines evidence layered garments. In fact, one of the five paired figurines with layered garments also wears ear spools (Cuzco Collection: Figure 5:5 and Figure 6:36; Madrid Collection: Figure 7:6 and Figure 8:30).

To date, we have little additional evidence of bluish-green stone sources within areas that came under Huari control. The quantity of unworked and worked greenstone fragments found within certain sectors of Huari indicate that large quantities of this semiprecious material was brought to the site. In contrast, there is little evidence that turquoise, as a raw material, was cached or kept in large quantities at Pikillacta (McEwan, personal communication 1989) because figurines are the only form in which turquoise objects have been found at this site. The conclusions reached in Ruppert's (1982) source analysis of Andean turquoise invites closer inspection of sites in the vicinity of Pikillacta as potential turquoise-processing locations or workshops.

Stone carving was and remains part of the ritual sphere in the Andes (Ramiro Matos, personal communication 1991), and as such it might better be conceived as a form of specialized production removed from the generic class of craft specialization. One probable locus for these "specialized"

workshops is Huari in the Ayacucho Valley, the only site where remains of the different stages of production (Brewster-Wray 1990:114–116) have been found: the raw material, worked but unfinished pieces of greenstone, and complete figurines. Pikillacta may have served as a nodal point in a long-distance exchange network of raw lapidary materials destined for the capital of Huari, where the materials were worked and then redistributed.

It is unlikely that adequate answers can be found to questions concerning the identification of who these specific figures were intended to represent. The figurines have only been found in two caches of 40 objects within the confines of the site of Pikillacta. This suggests that individuals represented in stone held special significance for the occupants of Pikillacta. The recognition that other figurines have been found at Huari and coastal sites greatly expands the areal distribution to include major areas that came under Huari control during the first century of its existence.

Pikillacta was an early Huari state installation. It is conceivable that the inhabitants of the site were involved not only in the business of administration and boundary maintenance, but in establishing this regional center as a local Huari oracle (e.g., Shea 1969). The purpose of manufacturing the figurines was to depict individuals with positions of rank that were known to the makers with marks of regional origin. The figurines are ideally suited to the commemoration of local Huari lords as representatives of royal lineages and their specific founding ancestors. Several lines of evidence support this interpretation.

First, the color turquoise and various related shades of green may have held symbolic importance during Huari hegemony because its use is restricted to high-quality textiles and lapidary items. In textiles, the color turquoise is mostly used to interrupt otherwise systematic patterns on finely woven tunics and larger pieces, while lapidary objects of varying dimensions and forms are carved with stones of greenish-blue color. The color turquoise is unknown as a pigment on ceramics.

A second line of evidence involves ethnographic and ethno-archaeological observations that bear upon the associations between stones, the color green, and the ancestors. A few examples suffice. In Sonqo, near Cuzco, where Catherine Allen conducted fieldwork, All Souls Day, November 1, is called *Kawsasqanchis*, when the dead visit their relatives. The word means “Our Living” (“the word groups the dead with the living through the suffix -nchis [Allen 1988:164]”). On this occasion, Allen (1988:164) recorded how “Rufina described to Felicha how ‘pretty and green’ the souls were as they hovered around the rafters.”

In the village of Chuschi, during *Yarqa Aspiy*, the ritual associated with the cleaning of the irrigation canals, the villagers gather in their best attire with their hats covered with *angoripa*, an upper *sallqa* (puna region at 3300–4000 m asl) plant used to symbolize the ancestors (Isbell 1978:144). The branches of this plant are called *malki*, a general term with bipolar meaning, on the one hand it refers to a (green) sapling or young tree ready for transplanting, on the other it refers to the ancestor(s). Consequently, *malki* simultaneously signifies renewal and continuation through the generations (Isbell 1978:147).

When Allen (1988) observed that occasionally families in Sonqo kept the bones of their dead in a wall niche of their storehouse, it was said that the bones care for or protect (*khuyay*) the stored goods. In like manner, the small stone heirloom power objects called *enqas* or *illas* are described as caring protectors and as *kawsaqkina* or *living ones* (Allen 1988:59). On another occasion Allen visited the Cuzco archaeological museum (where the Cuzco figurine collection is housed) with some friends from Sonqo. These Sonqueños were both impressed and disturbed at the sight of so many *kawsaqkuna* enclosed in case after case on public display. In this instance, the Cuzco Collection figurines were identified as “the living ones” (Allen 1988:59, personal communication 1991).

From an Andean perspective, the compact hardness of stones, bones, and statues implies not a lack of animation, but a different state of animation—life crystallized, as it were. Hard, unusual stones (such as *illas*) and bare bones (like the skull kept for *khuyay*) are felt to be the most potent sources of energy. They are intimately connected with lightning and sunlight, whose power they absorb and condense [Allen 1988:63].

The landscape itself is inhabited by the living and the “animated” dead. This relationship between the living, the deceased, and the land also existed in the countryside on the level of everyday life. In the village of Ocos, Hernández Príncipe (1923 [1622]:50–64; Zuidema 1977–1978) reports



genealogical data and the story of an individual who was elevated to the rank of *curaca* over neighboring villages following the construction of an irrigation canal that he had organized. The *curaca* sacrificed his daughter by burying her alive in a shaft tomb on top of a mountain where the storehouses were located to house the crops of the newly irrigated fields. The *curaca* was also presumably buried in another shaft tomb. Zuidema has given historical value to this event by locating the actual shaft tombs in Ocros. The fields and mountain tops were the sites of lineage burials the extent of which was only made evident in seventeenth-century ecclesiastical inquiries (MacCormack 1991:132–133).

The association between political rank and the degree of ritual elaboration expressed in past and present practices for disposal of the dead has received considerable attention. These practices vary considerably across the Andes, while conversely “it seems clear that they (the dead) were worshipped in a material form, and that the images and relics of the dead lords enshrined memory, wisdom, power and fertility” (Harris 1982:46).

As I suggest here, the ancestor cults described in contemporary ethnographies and for the early colonial era (to which I return below) had a long history, most probably predating the Middle Horizon.

A third line of evidence consists of archaeological data that offer glimpses of cults of the dead. For Huari and other Andean cultures, these relationships are difficult to confirm due to the lack of prehistoric written accounts. Ancestral cults, however, were practiced with great popularity even by the Early Horizon (900–200 B.C.). Such cults are known to have existed in various Andean culture areas and time periods. One strategy of Huari conquest that may have helped consolidate support on the local level and which would have facilitated the establishment of legitimate supremacy in new areas is the institution of ancient ancestral cults which were tied to power and land rights (Duviols 1986; MacCormack 1991:131).

There is evidence that ancestor cults described during the sixteenth century were of much greater antiquity, as exemplified in the customs associated with mummy-bundle construction and complexity in Early and Middle Horizon coastal cultures. Huari power was intimately tied to control over land, and colonization or penetration into coastal valleys may have been more effectively legitimized by the adoption or continuation of more ancient coastal ancestral cults and the burial of their “living” dead in their newly acquired lands. Middle Horizon coastal mummy bundles were treated in accordance with the rank of the deceased, as in the presence of finely woven outer tunics, jewelry, and gold face masks, in contrast to those lacking these symbols of wealth and prestige.

Vreeland’s (1980) analysis of Middle Horizon mummy bundles and the nature of tombs in which they were found revealed that the better-preserved coastal examples consist of tightly flexed burials, which have antecedents in earlier south-coastal cultures.

In a recent survey (Cook 1989, 1990) of the lower Ica Valley,<sup>7</sup> Huari mummy bundle remains were found on the surface of Middle Horizon sites, disinterred and ravaged by looters. While these mummy bundles are found with greater frequency at elite residential Huari sites, they are also known from cemetery locations (see also Rowe 1984). The deceased is usually seated on one or more coils of worked cloth stuffed with raw cotton, wrapped in a bale or bundle, and topped with a false head and face mask. These bundles were often dressed with a finely woven tunic that had been worn during the life of the individual. This complex of traits reveals an emphasis on the individual persona and his or her status in society. In the highlands, where preservation is poor, several examples illustrate that flexed burials were common at Huari sites, including Jargampata (Isbell 1977:20, 22–23, 28–29) and Huari proper (Lumbreras 1974:160, 177).

Another important feature shared by both highland and coastal Huari contexts is the construction of mausoleums for elite single or multiple burials that provide access for reentry. At Willkawain near Huaráz in the Callejon de Huaylas (Figure 1), subterranean burial houses were recorded. Those that were investigated consisted of galleries with capped accesses (Bennett 1939; Lumbreras 1974: 118). At Jargampata, at least one flexed burial still contained a capping stone that sealed the tomb (Isbell 1977:29). At Huari, in the Cheqo Wasi sector, elaborate dressed-stone structures are found. These are now empty (Lumbreras 1974:Figure 174), having been looted in prehistoric times, but there is speculation that these multistoried stone-slab structures may have been burial chambers,

on the basis of comparison with a similar structure at the site of Wari Willka near Huancayo. These structures are covered by huge capping stones with holes through which libations could be poured. A similar example comes from Huari in the Moraduchayoq sector, where several adjacent rooms contained subfloor cists sealed with large circular capping stones with one or more small holes. The cists had been looted prehistorically but they still contained offerings of various kinds, mostly pottery and some human bone fragments (Cook 1985b). In summary, the evidence that ancestor worship was a focus of Huari ritual activity can be seen in the personification of Middle Horizon Huari mummy bundles, the evidence for libations and associated offerings, as well as the possibility of burial chamber reentry.

An additional relation can be inferred from the archaeological context of the Pikillacta figurine offerings. The "bronze" bar situated in the midst of both figurine caches is a metonym for authority. In Huari votive-offering art, the Frontal Staffed Figure is associated with a spear or staff. The bars situated among the figurines vividly recall versions of the Inca origin myth, in which a "golden staff" was thrown to test for fertile soils for the founding of the city of Cuzco.

Juan Larrea has persuasively argued by analogy to Inca sources that the Pikillacta metal objects are not only made of copper (rather than "bronze," as they were initially reported), but that they represent the pre-Incaic royal scepter or *yauri*. *Yauri* means copper in Aymara, while the word is used in Quechua to refer to the Inca royal staff (Larrea 1960:59–94). Larrea's study is extensive and grounded in ethnohistory. He reveals that the *yauri* was an insignia of high Inca nobility, appropriate to and held exclusively by the emperor and the royal *ayllus*. The staff was normally made of copper or silver. The Inca himself held a gold staff called a *tupayauri*. Although this insignia of royalty is not held by any of the individual Pikillacta figurines, it is found instead in their midst—a collective symbol that possibly foreshadows their royal status.

A final line of evidence supporting the interpretation of the Pikillacta figurines derives from ethnohistoric materials. Extrapolating further from our knowledge of Inca religious practices (for a detailed discussion see Brundage [1967:34–35]; Conrad and Demarest [1984:96–105]; Rowe [1946:252–297]; and Zuidema [1973]), ancestor worship played a central role in Inca kinship, hierarchy, and ultimately leadership inheritance. The mummies of deceased Inca rulers were housed in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco and were venerated by Inca nobles and their own lineages. Several studies directly address the pre-Incaic origins of these practices (Conrad 1981; Conrad and Demarest 1984).

The Pikillacta figurines arguably represent the legendary 40 founding ancestors of the Huari polity. The number 40 has special importance because it conveyed an administrative unit of division under Inca rule. The city of Cuzco was organized on the basis of a system of imaginary lines or *ceques*, that emanated out of the Koricancha or Temple of the Sun (Zuidema 1964). These were grouped into four *suyus* or quarters. The Cuzco Valley was divided into these four parts, each of which was organized and spatially subdivided using territorial and water access divisions based on a decimal system. Two of the *suyus*, Cuntisuyu and Collasuyu, comprised the southern moiety or lower Cuzco (Hurincuzco); Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu made up the northern or upper moiety (Hanancuzco). This quadripartite and dual system was extended spatially beyond the Valley of Cuzco as the empire grew. Outside of Cuzco, each of the *huamani* or provinces was governed by a Capac Apu or "great lord" who was charged with 40,000 families.

One anonymous source (cited in Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1970:162–173) referring to the Valley of Cuzco mentions how the king and queen would initiate the agricultural year by ritually plowing a field. They were followed in turn by the lords and first wives of the four *suyus* of the empire, ranked as units of 100,000 families, and followed by those second in rank, the 40 lords and their wives of units of 10,000 families (see also Zuidema 1990:68–69). Below this rank, but not mentioned with reference to this ritual, were the 40 lords that were Incas by privilege, each charged with 1,000 families (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1980 [ca. 1615]). Although a distinction exists between the ranked units of administration in the Valley of Cuzco and those of the provinces, there is no doubt that at the Inca capital of Cuzco, the second and third highest-ranked governors were organized in groups of 40. Given the presence of 40 figurines in each of the Pikillacta collections I suggest

that the origins of the Inca subdivision into 40 lords, at the highest levels of administration, has great antiquity and is conveyed as well in Huari political organization (see also Anders 1986, 1990a).

In Cuzco there were 10 territorial social units or *ayllus* called *panacas* and 10 nonroyal *ayllus*, for a total of 20 *ayllus* (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1942 [1572]:49–59). Urton (1990) has convincingly argued that the hierarchical relationship between the *ayllus* seems to derive from the ranking of the four sisters and brothers who emerged from a cave in Pacariqtambo. This Inca origin myth is described in detail by Sarmiento de Gamboa, and Urton (1990:20) notes:

Sarmiento next gives the names of eight ancestral siblings. It is important in naming the ancestors to retain the order in which Sarmiento enumerates them, because he lists the two groups—first, that of the four brothers and then that of the four sisters—in parallel hierarchical rankings. The brothers, Sarmiento says, were ranked by authority, the sisters by age [Sarmiento de Gamboa 1942 (1572):49].

When the two Pikillacta collections are compared there are 20 matching figurines, which suggests that these may represent Huari *ayllus* or the mythical ancestors of the 20 highest-ranked descent groups. The Inca myth cited above emphasizes parallel hierarchical rankings for both men and women. This could have some bearing on future gender distinctions among the Pikillacta figurines.

The above analogy offers further support for the interpretation that the figurines may represent an analogous group of highly ranked members of Huari society. While it is possible to segregate the administrative organization of the Valley of Cuzco from that of its provinces, the same has not been possible for Huari, whose administrative structure must be derived from archaeological remains and therefore provides a simpler and more centralized picture.

The two sets of figurines may have been buried together intentionally, because their relation to one another is more than superficial (Figure 4). A new set of 40 figurines is created when the 20 figurines from the Cuzco Collection are paired with their 20 twin figurines in the Madrid Collection. These observations lend support to the interpretation that the figurines offer a glimpse of Huari political organization and rank differences that are expressed later in Inca administrative hierarchy and linked to the internal ranking of the founding ancestors (for a detailed discussion see Urton [1990:18–49]).

Two final accounts extend the spatial and temporal significance of turquoise figurines. Valcárcel (1933) cites a passage from the *Relación del Licenciado Felipe de Medina* recorded on March 23, 1650, which concerns a visit to Huacho, just north of Chancay. In the account, an offering was recovered that included many brightly colored red shells (probably *Spondylus*) and two bivalves each fastened shut. When they were opened a small greenstone idol was found, which the local inhabitants described as their ancestor, and three small stones, said to be the first lima bean, wheat, and chili pepper (Valcárcel 1933:5; translation by the author).

Additional legends lend further credibility to Felipe de Medina's description. These concern accounts related to the founding of the north-coast Lambayeque kingdom. In 1586 Miguel Cabello de Balboa recounted a legend associated with an early dynasty of the Lambayeque Valley that ruled before the emergence of the Chimor kingdom. A translation Cabello de Balboa's story is provided in abbreviated form by Donnan (1978:100, 1990:243–245). An excerpt reveals the importance of the passage:

The people of Lambayeque say that in times so very ancient that they do not know how to express them, a man of much valor and quality came to that valley (from a place far to the south) on a fleet of balsa rafts. His name was Naymlap. With him he brought many concubines, and a chief wife named Ceterni. He also brought many people who followed him as their captain and leader. Among these people were *forty officials including Pita Zofi, Blower of the Shell Trumpet; Ninacola, Master of the Litter and Throne; Ninagintue, Royal Cellarer (he was in charge of the drink of that lord); Fonga Sigde, Preparer of the Way (he scattered seashell dust where his lord was about to walk); Ochocalo, Royal Cook; Yam Muchec, Steward of the Face Paint; Ollopcopoc, Master of the Bath; and Llapchillulli, Purveyor of Feathercloth Garments. . . . Naymlap also brought with him a green stone idol named Yampallec. This idol represented him, was named for him and gave its name to the valley of Lambayeque* [Donnan 1990:243–244; emphasis added].

There is disagreement concerning the chronological placement of these events (Bennett 1939:120; Donnan 1978:101; Means 1931:54–56; Rowe 1948:36). Some favor interpreting the accounts as

origin myths with legendary figures that have little historical value (Rowe 1948), while others prefer to place the events during late Moche V, which is also the period of Huari influence on the north coast. The issue is reexamined by several authors in a recent volume that concerns the northern dynasties (Moseley and Cordy-Collins 1990). Although there is no clear consensus, many of the contributions point to the strong possibility that Naymlap was an historical figure (Donnan 1990).<sup>8</sup> The question of who Naymlap may have been seems less relevant than the association between 40 official specialists and the ancestral greenstone idol with whom Naymlap was identified. The details are strikingly similar to Felipe de Medina's account and to the offering context of the Pikillacta figurines and their potential significance as Huari royal lineage or *ayllu* ancestors.

What is certain is that these figurines convey in a single medium the two oldest Andean technologies, stoneworking and the fiber arts, on which so much of Andean culture is constructed. In essence, identifiable headgear and costumes form part of the visual and portable mnemonic system that may have also precluded the necessity for writing.

Early Huari images that combine both humans and sacred figures can be assigned to the early years of the Huari empire, when legitimation practices would be expected to be most pronounced. Once Huari had achieved military success and commenced the annexation of new territories, more standardized and specific signatures of the state might be expected. The legitimation process was continued but under the guise of an established regime with practices that would ensure Huari social reproduction and supreme rule. The Huari site of Pikillacta exemplifies these rituals of legitimation in the provinces following annexation. The rituals superficially served as signatures of the state but they embody information concerning Huari regal practices, the elevation of humans to sacred status, and a unifying political cosmology of venerated ancestors. It is in this capacity that I suggest that ancestor worship could be appropriated by the state to ensure rights of inheritance, domination, and sacred legitimacy and in this sense serve administrative ends.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The term “turquoise” is generally used in two distinct ways: “[T]he narrower definition, which is a chemical one, and a broader designation, a cultural term embracing a whole range of blue and blue-green stones” (Weigand et al. 1977:16).

<sup>2</sup> Ceramic figurines are not included in this discussion but they constitute an important body of information that warrants further study.

<sup>3</sup> A layer of fine sand sealed one of two offerings excavated at the site of Conchopata in 1977 (Cook 1985b, 1986, 1987; Isbell and Cook 1987). This feature adds evidence that the figurine deposits were treated at burial in a similar manner as offerings within the Huari heartland.

<sup>4</sup> Both Valcárcel (1933) and Trimbom and Vega (1935) note the presence of marine-snail shell. The drawing in Valcárcel (1933:Figure 2) corresponds to a *Strombus* shell, referred to in Quechua as a *pututu*, and which is still used today as a musical instrument in rituals.

<sup>5</sup> The data are based on individual figurine descriptions and height measurements provided by Valcárcel (1933) for the Cuzco Collection and by Ramos and Blasco (1977) for the Madrid Collection. Weight could not be used as a variable because it has not been reported for all of the figurines.

<sup>6</sup> At present there are no published Huari elite burials that have been systematically excavated so that comparisons must be made with rank indicators that are known from similar time periods or have documented continuity.

<sup>7</sup> From 1988 to 1990 I directed the Lower Ica Valley Survey (Cook 1989, 1990). The research was made possible with an American Republics Fulbright Research Grant, two summer grants from the Catholic University Research Fund, and most recently by the H. John Heinz III Charitable Trust. The final report is in preparation as are several articles on the findings.

<sup>8</sup> It is instructive to recognize that greenstone human figurines have not been found in association with Moche material culture (with the exception of the greenstone human figure with a feline described by Benson [1974]). Evidence recently reported from the site of Cunturwasi in Cajamarca revealed greenstone idols from an Early Horizon Chavin-related context (Onuki, personal communication 1991) but these remain the only pre-Middle Horizon examples I have encountered.

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