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Creative Reinvention:

Forging a Visual Identity for the Wari Empire (600-1000 CE)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

Louise Constance Isabelle Deglin

2022

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2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Creative Reinvention:

Forging a Visual Identity for the Wari Empire (600-1000 CE)

by

Louise Constance Isabelle Deglin

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Stella Elise Nair, Chair

This dissertation research addresses issues of authorship and agency in the art of Wari, the first Andean empire (600-1000 C.E., present-day Peru). Wari art, too often reduced in scholarship to an anonymous and state-serving craft, encompasses a wide range of representational strategies, techniques, and design elements which attests to the creativity of its diverse artists. In this dissertation, I analyze Wari objects in multiple media, such as ceramic, textile, and wood, to gain insights into the processes of artists and their relationship to the state. As such, my research challenges the longstanding framework which privileges the idea of a systematic and centralized Wari state, and questions the emphasis put on the collective in Indigenous artistic production. Through an in-depth examination of two collections of decorated ceramics from two major Wari settlements, Conchopata and Cerro Baúl, as well as cross-media investigations, this research

intends to raise questions and reassess preconceived ideas about imperial art and Indigenous production while beginning to uncover Wari visual language. This analysis will thus be vastly non-exhaustive and intends to keep expanding in the future, hopefully collaboratively. While benefitting from the tremendous research conducted in the social sciences by previous scholars, I embrace here methodological principles that draw from art history as well as Indigenous studies to demonstrate that it is possible to gain a more refined and nuanced understanding of the Wari Empire through the creative process of its artists, beyond narratives of domination, violence, and repetition.

RESUMEN

Esta tesis doctoral aborda cuestiones de autoría y agencia en el arte de Wari, el primer imperio andino (600-1000 E.C., actual Perú). El arte Wari, a menudo reducido en los estudios a una artesanía anónima y al servicio del Estado, abarca una amplia gama de estrategias de representación, técnicas y motivos que atestiguan la creatividad de sus artistas. En mi tesis, analizo objetos Wari en múltiples materiales, como la cerámica, el textil y la madera, para obtener información sobre los procesos de los artistas y su relación con el Estado. Como tal, mi investigación desafía el marco que privilegia la idea del estado Wari como sistemático y centralizado, y cuestiona el énfasis puesto en lo colectivo en la producción artística indígena. A través de un examen profundo de colecciones de cerámica decorada procedentes de dos importantes asentamientos Wari, Conchopata y Cerro Baúl, así como de investigaciones multimedia, esta tesis pretende plantear preguntas y reevaluar ideas preconcebidas sobre el arte imperial y la producción indígena, al tiempo que empieza a descubrir las especificidades culturales Wari. Este análisis, por tanto, no será exhaustivo y pretende seguir ampliándose en el futuro, ojalá en colaboración. A la vez que me beneficio de la enorme investigación realizada en las ciencias sociales por estudiosos anteriores, aquí adopto principios metodológicos que se basan en la historia del arte, así como en los estudios indígenas, para demostrar que es posible obtener una comprensión más refinada y matizada del Imperio Wari a través del proceso creativo de sus artistas, más allá de las narrativas de dominación, violencia y repetición.

The dissertation of Louise Constance Isabelle Deglin is approved.

Lothar von Falkenhausen

Donna J. Nash

Charles S. Stanish

Bronwen Wilson

Stella Elise Nair, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

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VITA

EDUCATION

- 2016 M.A., Art History, Ecole du Louvre, Paris (high honors)
2016 Exchange semester, Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University
2014 B.A., Art History and Archaeology, Ecole du Louvre, Paris (high honors)

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Deglin, Louise, Donna J. Nash, and Patrick Ryan Williams. 2022. "Wari Imperial Motives: The Variety of Decorated Ceramics at Cerro Baúl." *Ñawpa Pacha* 42 (2): 1–26.

Deglin, Louise. 2019. "Could the Mexica Toztli Have Been a Sun Parakeet? Connecting Mexica Featherwork to South America." *Journal de La Société Des Américanistes* 105 (2).
<https://journals.openedition.org/jsa/17282>

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS

- 2021-22 Sylvan C. Coleman and Pam Coleman Memorial Fund Fellowship, Department of Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, Metropolitan Museum of Art
2021 Short-term fellowship, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University (declined)
2021 Rita Claire Rothman Graduate Research Endowment Fund, UCLA
2020 Summer Research Grant, Latin American Institute, UCLA
2020 Edilia and François-Auguste de Montêquin Junior Scholar Fellowship, Society of Architectural Historians
2019 Collection Study Grant, American Museum of Natural History
2019 Sarah Gilfillan Award, Fowler Museum, UCLA
2019 Graduate Research Fund, Friends of Art History, UCLA
2018 Graduate Summer Mentorship Award, UCLA
2018-19 Friends of Archaeology Research Travel Fund, UCLA
2018 Mellon Summer Stipend, Art History, UCLA
2017-2021 Edward A. Dickson History of Art Fellowship, Art History, UCLA

CONFERENCE ACTIVITY/PARTICIPATION

Papers Presented

- 2021 "Imperial Production at the Border: A Study of Wari Decorated Ceramics at Cerro Baúl," co-authored with Donna Nash, Institute of Andean Studies Annual Meeting, January 7-10.

- 2020 “From Clay to Skin: Ceramics in the Wari Empire,” board presentation, Fowler Museum, Los Angeles, April 22.
- 2020 “Beyond the Surface: A Vessel for Wari Art,” 2nd Getty Graduate Symposium, Getty Museum, Los Angeles, February 1.
- 2019 “Speaking with Ancestors: Death as a Liminal Space for the Wari,” 35th Annual Boston University Graduate Symposium, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, March 2.
- 2018 “Those Allowed to Speak: Senses Among the Wari,” 4th Rocky Mountain Pre-Columbian Association Research Colloquium, Museum of Nature and Science, Denver, October 13.

Co-Organized Conference

- 2018 “Alterations,” 53rd UCLA Art History Graduate Symposium, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles, October 18-9.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Section Leader, Department of Art History, University of California, Los Angeles

Medieval Art, Professor Cohen (Spring 2019)

Modern Art, Professor Baker (Winter 2019)

Art of the Ancient Americas, Professor Nair (Fall 2018)

Reader, Department of Art History, University of California, Los Angeles

The Mediterranean(s), Professor Balafrej (Fall 2020)

Art and Technology in Medieval Islam, Professor Balafrej (Spring 2020)

Workshop Speaker, Latin American Institute, University of California, Los Angeles

“Ancient American Cities: Linearity, Sobriety, and Monumentality,” K-12 workshop (June 2018)

Introduction

In the Wari Empire (c. 600-1000 CE), artists collaborated to weave colorful tapestries with unforeseen abstracted designs, to shape sleek sculptural ceramic vessels, to carve monumental anthropomorphic sculptures in dark volcanic stone, and a lot more. People evolved amidst this vivid multisensorial artistic display, as they wore, handled, shared, exhibited, navigated, deposited, and scattered these works. As we will come to see throughout this dissertation, this performative dimension is inherent to Wari art.

Artists in the Wari Empire left us evidence of their rich traditions, yet their work remained virtually unknown to the scientific community until the 1940s. The lack of written records in relation to the Wari, the few archaeological, art historical, and architectural investigations in the Andean highlands until the mid-20th century, the lack of engagement and collaboration with Indigenous knowledge keepers, and the use of Inca history as a national symbol for Peru altogether contributed to a delay in Wari studies. Since then, archaeologists have conducted research at former Wari settlements throughout Peru, but few art historians have studied Wari artistic production. This dissertation contributes to show the importance of Wari art to the history of the Andes and that of art at large.

These obstacles to Wari art history have pushed me to combine methods from art history and Indigenous studies as well as macro and micro analysis of Wari material culture to create a new context of meaning for Wari art. The Wari Empire being so far removed from our contemporary society, I tried to embrace my contemporary prejudices to then, little by little, gain a better understanding of the way people in the Wari Empire may have been thinking, making, and breaking worlds through their art. By going back and forth through my engagements with

different art forms, I began to uncover a Wari visual and material language. Here, I describe artistic practices and conventions in a way that should allow us, today, to begin to wrestle with Wari ontologies from our distant vantage point. This process has, no doubt, affected my own perception of Wari art as a result.

This dissertation is divided in five chapters. Chapter One will show how Wari art and heritage sites remained completely overlooked for centuries by non-Indigenous writers and researchers, while locals continued to engage with Wari architecture and objects. First identified as a regional Tiwanaku phenomenon in the early 20th century, the Wari state eventually came to be seen as an all-powerful militaristic empire by the 1980s, established in opposition to the more peaceful and cerebral Tiwanaku state. This change in scholarship led to an overemphasis of repetitiveness and violence in Wari political, religious, and artistic practices. In this context, little room was left for artists to escape the grid made so emblematic of Wari.

Chapter Two will then highlight how sinuous and divergent studies of Wari art have been. Even before being identified as such, certain types of objects belonging to the Wari culture clearly fascinated non-Indigenous collectors and institutions. This generated a divide between unprovenanced works curated for and by a non-Andean taste, and others excavated by archaeologists with a different approach and intent. Since then, little has changed: Wari art still suffers from being divided between academic fields and institutions, namely archaeologists studying ceramic and art historians focusing on textile, while other media are often overlooked. If materials and technologies are critical to understand Wari artworks at the individual level, it is also essential to approach them more broadly, which is how they were meant to be experienced in Wari times.

Chapter Three will comprise an up-close examination of 256 fragments of decorated ceramic from the heartland Wari settlement of Conchopata. Despite being considered a “community of potters,” Conchopata was a city of crossroads, that included intensive ceramic production and ritual activities, narrow spaces and large patios and plazas, members of the elite and more mundane people—each of these categories not being clearly bound and often overlapping. This diversity is reflected in the decorated ceramic recovered from the site, which challenges the idea that Conchopata potters were simply state servants.

Chapter Four will serve as a counterpoint to Conchopata, by focusing on the decorated ceramics from the central sectors of Cerro Baúl, one of the southernmost Wari outposts. Few decorated vessels and figurines were excavated there, but they had been made with great care locally. Being both restricted and heterogenous, the Cerro Baúl assemblage stems from a different context than that of Conchopata, yet it visually and materially resembles it.

Finally, Chapter Five will move beyond pottery to explore Wari art across media and identify some of the key components of Wari visual and material language, as well as question our assumptions of Wari art. By examining closely wooden containers and cast metal figures, this chapter will show the importance of approaching Wari artistic practices at large, beyond medium-specificity and what is traditionally considered within the sphere of art.

Terms and definitions

Middle Horizon

The chronology of the Wari Empire is still unclear to us, but evidence shows that most Wari-affiliated settlements were occupied between 600 and 1000 CE. In his foundational periodization of the Andes, archaeologist John H. Rowe divided the Andean past into three periods of relative

cultural homogeneity (horizons) and two periods of political and cultural fragmentation (intermediate periods).¹ The Middle Horizon (600-1000 CE) corresponds mainly to the time when two major states, Wari and Tiwanaku, dominated the Andes. If this chronological sequence is reductive and, in some respects, inaccurate, it does provide a helpful timeline that is shared across Andean studies.

Wari

The term “Wari” is nebulous with regards to its origin and its use. First, the term was introduced in the 19th century and was certainly not the one used by people in the Wari Empire to denominate themselves. Second, it was initially used as a toponym to refer to a settlement previously called Viñaque, which we now know was the Wari capital. According to César García Rosell, historian Luiz Carranza renamed Viñaque as Wari in 1888.² Third, the meaning of “wari” in Quechua has been interpreted differently. Carranza suggested that it could refer to a stone or something that is wild.³ In his *Extirpación de la Idolatría en el Pirú* (1621), the missionary Pablo José de Arriaga instead referred to “huari” as the first settlers of a people, their ancestors.⁴ For ethnographer Juan Ansión, “wari” is the name of a disease in popular thinking around Ayacucho,

¹ John H. Rowe, “Stages and Periods in Archaeological Interpretation,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 18, no. 1 (1962): 40–54.

² Gordon F. McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 214; César García Rosell, *Los monumentos arqueológicos del Perú*, (Lima: Imprenta “La Cotera,” 1942), 91.

³ “*Huari*, a kind of *trachyte*, reolite, [types of stone] according to Dr. Barranca - According to Dr. Villar from *Quechua, huari*, wild (...)” (translation is mine). Luis Carranza, *Colección de artículos publicados* (Lima, Peru: Imprenta del “Comercio,” 1887), XX. See also Denise Pozzi-Escot, “Arqueología Regional de Ayacucho: Balance y Bibliografía Básica: Balance y Bibliografía Básica,” *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* VI, no. 21 (1992), 174. See Chapter 6 for a more in-depth discussion of the use of the term *wari* in recent times.

⁴ Pablo José de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, trans. L. Clark Keating (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 116; Pierre Duviols, “Huari y Llacuaz: Agricultores y Pastores : Un Dualismo Prehispánico de Oposición y Complementaridad,” *Revista Del Museo Nacional* 39 (1973): 153–91.

the former Wari heartland, when someone is exposed to old bones.⁵ Fourth, Wari is generally conceived as a political entity as well as a cultural one, but their nature and overlap is unclear. Was there a Wari culture before there was a Wari Empire? Could someone belong to Wari culture but not to the Wari Empire? It does not seem that people in the Wari Empire formed a biological entity, which is why I refrain from using the phrase “Wari people.”⁶ And fifth, scholars have used two different spellings for generations: “huari” and “wari.” I personally chose to keep “Wari” to refer to both the settlement and the culture, following the spelling used by Julio C. Tello, father of Peruvian archaeology.⁷

Corpus

I use the term “corpus” to refer to a group of works that forms the base of my studies. A collection implies an ensemble of objects that is actively curated, often by a person or an institution. Considering that the groups of objects that I examine were not always selected according to my criteria, or for the same reasons, I prefer to refer to them as “corpus.”

Assemblage

I employ the term “assemblage” following the way it is used in the field in archaeology, meaning a group of artifacts that were recovered in relation to one another. For that reason, I refer to assemblages specifically in my two case studies, the ceramics of Conchopata and Cerro Baúl, as

⁵ Ansión, *Desde el rincón de los muertos*, 93.

⁶ Guido Valverde et al., “Ancient DNA Analysis Suggests Negligible Impact of the Wari Empire Expansion in Peru’s Central Coast during the Middle Horizon,” *PLoS ONE* 11, no. 6 (2016): e0155508.

⁷ Wendell C. Bennett, *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953), 16.

these were objects found as part of a coherent spatial and temporal ensemble (an archaeological site).

Indigenous/indigenous

I choose to capitalize the term « Indigenous » when it refers to autochthonous groups from the Americas and their traditions specifically.

Chapter 1. Dependent No More: A Historiography of the Wari Empire

Wari art history cannot be separated from archaeological research, which provides an essential base for our understanding of Wari art. Peruvian and foreign archaeologists have conducted research at Wari settlements for over a century, and the history of their studies is essential to understand the current state, goals, and methods of Wari scholarship. Wari research consist mainly of large-scale studies of architecture and ceramics, through which archaeologists categorize and examine material culture to provide an overview of the political and economic organization of the Wari Empire.¹ These aspects are critical to our understanding of the socio-political climate of the Andean Middle Horizon and have shaped the way we approach Wari art today.

Wari studies began much later than those of many other Andean traditions, and it is only through these better-known Andean cultures, such as the Inca and Tiwanaku ones, that scholars became interested in Wari in the early 20th century. Archaeologists and historians long focused their attention on the site of Tiwanaku (c. 500-1000 CE), located on Lake Titicaca in present-day Bolivia, which led to the first Wari objects being identified as “Coast Tiahuanaco” rather than Wari. For decades, archaeologists automatically attributed any site or object remotely resembling that of Tiwanaku to that culture. The site of Tiwanaku was scientifically studied before that of Wari, and as such the primacy of Tiwanaku research in modern times seemed to justify the prevalence of Tiwanaku in ancient times. It was not until the 1930s that Wari came to be considered as a phenomenon independent from Tiwanaku, thanks to explorations by Julio C.

¹ William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan, eds., *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991).

Tello, eminent Peruvian archaeologist and founder of the National Museum of Anthropology, Archaeology, and History of Peru (MNAAHP).

Archaeologists carrying out research in the second half of the 20th century in the Wari heartland marked the beginning of Wari studies as a discipline, bringing about a better understanding of general sequencing of Wari ceramics across space and time, as well as more defined dates of occupation and cultural contact between Wari and Tiwanaku. Two eminent figures of this generation were U.S. archaeologist Dorothy Menzel, who excavated and classified ceramic assemblages from Wari contexts, and Peruvian archaeologist Luis Lumbreras, who studied multiple sites in the Wari heartland. Both Menzel and Lumbreras revealed the existence of a Wari Empire: for the former, the Wari Empire developed with conquest and the diffusion of a religious cult from Tiwanaku, while for the latter, it did mainly through military achievements. Lumbreras' view has become one of the most popular in Wari studies: that of a militaristic entity in opposition to Tiwanaku, a state anchored in religion rather than violence. This model, albeit nuanced, still stands today in Wari studies and shapes our perspective of the two Middle Horizon states.²

The idea of a Wari empire was taken further in the 1980s by U.S. scholars like William Isbell, Anita Cook, Gordon McEwan, and Katharina Schreiber. These archaeologists endeavored to define the extent and nature of the Wari Empire using architecture, urban form, and ceramics as a main line of evidence. Their concern for social complexity was not simply an intellectual exercise and was also tied to a value that assumes, according to archaeologist Severin M. Fowles,

² Not all scholars agree with Lumbreras' model however. For example, Mary Glowacki and Michael Malpass wrote: "Research has depicted Wari "as militaristic aggressor, and as a conquest state (...), though evidence for specific acts of militarism have yet to be documented". Mary Glowacki and Michael Malpass, "Water, Huacas, and Ancestor Worship: Traces of a Sacred Wari Landscape," *Latin American Antiquity* 14, no. 4 (2003): 432.

a “natural drive for ever-larger and more centralized polities.”³ That is, the more complex a state was, the more prestigious it was to study. This emphasis on social complexity has long been embedded in the study of the Andean past within colonial frameworks.⁴ Bestowing the quality of empire to the Wari state thus heightened its status, to bring it to the same level as the Incas, the Aztec-Mexica, or even the Romans.

Scholars today must confront a general lack of understanding of what makes up the cultural identity of the people of the Wari Empire, and what was their lived experience. Wari scholars have long been focused on aspects of Wari life and material culture found elsewhere in the Andes, such as its imagery of the reputed “staff god” that appears on Tiwanaku art and architecture, as well as on cultures as far back in time and space as Chavín de Huántar (1200-400 BCE, northern highlands). The lack of written records, early studies, and good preservation of material remains in the highlands often force researchers to rely on retrospective or comparative approaches. Archaeologists have thus resorted to develop a model for the Wari Empire in analogy to the historically attested Inca Empire and continue to use Inca concepts to interpret the Wari past, when it becomes increasingly clear that Wari material culture and practices do not always fit Inca models.⁵ This dissertation will contribute to begin uncovering Wari specificities through the making and experiencing of Wari artworks.

³ Severin M. Fowles, “The Evolution of Simple Society,” *Asian Archaeology* 2 (2018): 19–32. See also David Graeber and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021).

⁴ David Kojan and Dante Angelo, “Dominant Narratives, Social Violence and the Practice of Bolivian Archaeology,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5, no. 3 (2005): 383–408.

⁵ E.g., Terence N. D’Altroy and Timothy K. Earle, “Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy,” *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (1985), 203; Amy Groleau and William H. Isbell, “Wari Brewer Woman: Feasting, Gender, Offerings, and Memory,” in *Inside Ancient Kitchens: New Perspectives in the Study of Daily Meals and Feasts*, ed. Elizabeth Klarich (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 191–219; Anita G. Cook and Mary Glowacki, “Pots, Politics, and Power,” in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, ed. T. L. Bray (Boston: Springer, 2003), 173–202; Anita Cook, “The

In this chapter, I provide a short summary of the history of Wari archaeological research following a chronological order, starting from the colonial period onto recent development in Wari scholarship. At the end, I will discuss the key characteristics of Wari architecture that scholars have identified over the last century. This overview of the Wari built environment will serve as an important foundation for the chapters to come, in terms of spatializing the making, use, reuse, and breaking of Wari art.

1. From “Coast Tiahuanaco” to Wari

a. Early mentions of Wari

Following the European invasion of Peru in the 16th century, non-Indigenous peoples and the scientific community completely overlooked the evidence of a former Wari state. One notable and early exception is Spanish chronicler Pedro Cieza de León. A former soldier who reached the Andes in the 1540s, he travelled extensively throughout present-day Peru and Bolivia.⁶ Cieza de León documented historical sites and interviewed local populations on their culture and history during his expeditions. When in the city of Guamanga, today Ayacucho, Cieza de León’s curiosity was piqued by mentions of a nearby ancient site called Viñaque. When visiting the site, the Spanish chronicler noticed a difference between the structures he saw at Viñaque (now Wari) and those at Inca sites.⁷ Based on that formal difference, he assumed that Viñaque had been built before Inca settlements. This mention remains the only one related to Wari architecture and history written during the colonial period. Later, Cieza de León visited the site of Tiahuanaco

Emperor’s New Clothes: Symbols of Royalty, Hierarchy and Identity,” *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 24, no. 1–2 (1996): 85–120.

⁶ Franklin Pease, “Cieza de León, Pedro de (ca. 1518-1554),” in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 143–51.

⁷ “For their buildings were square, and those of the [I]ncas are long and narrow.” Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica Del Perú: El Señorío de Los Incas* (Ayacucho, Peru: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), 231.

(Tiwanaku) on Lake Titicaca (500-1000 CE)⁸, which locals claimed was built before the time of the Incas. For Cieza de León, both Tiwanaku and Viñaque (Wari) were designs of the same white and bearded group—i.e., Europeanized people—which he hypothesized, based on hearsay, was of a different origin than the populations he met in Peru, and who had quickly died off.⁹

Such dismissive consideration of contemporary populations, their heritage, and their ability to create monumental architecture is part of a much larger colonial practice of appropriation and denigration of Indigenous culture in the Americas. For example, 19th-century U.S. explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark noticed the clear rupture that separated the Indigenous groups they encountered and the grandeur of Mississippian-period sites (c. 900-1500 CE) they surveyed in the Southeastern United States. Lewis and Clark chose to believe that another race, the Moundbuilders, was responsible for the abandoned monumental centers. In order “to ascertain their intellectual capacity,” in the words of amateur historian George Gale, antiquarians and phrenologists analyzed the skulls of the individuals buried in the ancient earthen structures.¹⁰ Physician Samuel George Morton determined that the Moundbuilders had a larger cranial capacity than contemporary Native Americans, concluding that the two groups were

⁸ Alexei Vranich, “Visions of Tiwanaku,” in *Visions of Tiwanaku*, ed. Charles Stanish and Alexei Vranich (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2013), 2.

⁹ Cieza de León writes: “Preguntando a los indios comarcanos quién hizo aquella antigualla, responden que otras gentes barbadas y blancas como nosotros, los cuales muchos tiempos antes que los Ingas reinasen, dicen que vinieron a estas partes e hicieron allí su morada.”; and “Por esto, y por lo que también dicen haber visto en la isla de Titicaca hombres barbados y haber hecho el edificio de Vinaque semejante gente, digo que por ventura pudo ser que antes que los Ingas mandasen, debió de haber alguna gente de entendimiento en estos reinos, venida por alguna parte que no se sabe, los cuales harían estas cosas, y siendo pocos y los naturales tantos, serían muertos en las guerras.” Ibid, 231; 265.

¹⁰ George Gale, *Upper Mississippi, or, Historical Sketches of the Mound-Builders, the Indian Tribes, and the Progress of Civilization in the North-West: From A.D. 1600 to the Present Time* (Chicago and New York: Clarke & Co and Oakley and Mason, 1867), 13.

unrelated.¹¹ In doing so, non-Indigenous explorers like Lewis, Clark, and Cieza de León took away from contemporary Indigenous people their legacy, thus justifying the colonization of a land which Indigenous peoples themselves had—supposedly—taken from another race.¹²

Cieza de León’s dismissal of Indigenous peoples in Ayacucho might be explained—just like the situation in North America—by the many waves of forced migrations in the region, epidemics, and invasion which facilitated European colonial projects. Four centuries after the collapse of the Wari Empire, the Incas had taken over the Ayacucho region and resettled there an especially high number of migrant communities of laborers (*mitmaquna*).¹³ The famous 16th-century Indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala was himself the descendant of a *mitma* displaced to the area.¹⁴ The Incas tried to sever the cultural and ethnic ties of the people of Ayacucho, perhaps rooted in the fear of an uprising of the Chanca Confederation that is said to have succeeded to the Wari.¹⁵ Such an attempt to eradicate the cultural lineage of the Ayacucho region was never complete, as Chanca communities still lived in the area when the Spaniards

¹¹ Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America* (Philadelphia, PA and London: J. Dobson and Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1839); Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America’s Unburied Dead* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹² A similar dynamic was at play when forensic anthropologist James Chatters identified the remains of the Kennewick Man as “Caucasoid,” that is of said Euro-Asian descent, rather than Native American, therefore discrediting the status of Native Americans as indigenous to the land. Michael D. Lemonick, “Bones of Contention: Scientists and Native Americans Clash over a 9,300-Year-Old Man with Caucasoid Features,” *Time*, October 14, 1996, <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,985306,00.html>.

¹³ Juan Ansión, *Desde El Rincón de Los Muertos. El Pensamiento Mítico En Ayacucho* (Lima, Peru: Gredes, 1987), 63 ; Jaime Urrutia, *Aquí Nada Ha Pasado: Huamanga Siglos XVI-XX*, Número 64 de La Serie Estudios Históricos Del IEP (Lima: COMISEDH, IFEA, IEP, 2014), 25.

¹⁴ Rolena Adorno, *Guamán Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, second edition (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), xxvii.

¹⁵ The nature of the Chanca Confederation and its relationship to the Wari Empire is still very much unclear. Frank M. Meddens and Cirilo Vivanco Pomacanchari, “The Chanca Confederation: Political Myth and Archaeological Reality,” *Xama: Publicacion de La Unidad de Antropologia* 15–18 (2005): 73–99.

arrived.¹⁶ The shifts in the population of the Ayacucho region nevertheless led to a partial rupture with previous cultural and ethnic groups and a reorganization at the regional level.¹⁷ Inca conquerors may have created a purposeful separation in the Ayacucho region with anything anterior to their arrival, but this does not mean that the memory of the Wari—or whichever name they used to call themselves—was lost.

No explorer, antiquarian, or scientist found interest in Viñaque (Wari), although the site was never forgotten by local populations.¹⁸ Farmers exploited most of the site of Wari as an agricultural field until the second half of the 20th century. The farming process occasionally caused some Wari objects to rise to the surface, which finders kept in their own *hacienda*: between the 1890s and the 1930s, eight monolithic statues were randomly unearthed at or around the site of Wari.¹⁹ Hence, local populations in Ayacucho were very much aware of it and its archaeological remains despite the lack of scientific interest for the site of Wari.

The development of the modern nations of Peru and Bolivia in the 19th century sparked a renewed interest in Andean Indigenous sites. After winning its independence in 1821, Peru had to build its national identity and decided to make the Inca Empire “the ancient Peruvian

¹⁶ Freddy Ferrúa Carrasco, “Los Anqaras y Los Kiwares de Cara Espiritu,” in *Ayacucho a 500 Años de La Conquista de América*, ed. Ranulfo Cavero Carrasco (Ayacucho, Peru: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1992), 67–88.

¹⁷ Robbie Franklyn Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

¹⁸ John H. Rowe, Donald Collier, and Gordon R. Willey, “Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari, near Ayacucho, Peru,” *American Antiquity* 16, no. 2 (1950), 121; Ochatoma Paravicino, Mancilla Rojas, and Cabrera Romero, *El Área Sagrada de Wari*, 15.

¹⁹ Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), 159. For a full catalog of the sculptures reportedly found at Wari, see Richard P. Schaedel, “Monolithic Sculpture of the Southern Andes,” *Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (1948): 66–73.

Nation.”²⁰ The ancient city of Tiwanaku was critical to this narrative and, although located today in Bolivia, it was perceived to belong to Peruvian history.²¹ Peruvian scientist Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz and Swiss naturalist Johann Jakob von Tschudi were some of the first scholars to trace the connection between the Inca Empire and Tiwanaku. The frontispiece of their 1851 publication was none other than a reinterpretation of the Tiwanaku “Gateway of the Sun with its jambs now carved with the portraits of fourteen Inca rulers.”²² Through this illustration and its accompanying text, the authors co-opted the Tiwanaku monument as part of the Inca, and national Peruvian, history.²³

It is thanks to that interest in Tiwanaku history that scholars began to learn about Wari after centuries of academic silence. German archaeologist Max Uhle, after investigating the site of Tiwanaku in 1892, returned to South America in 1896 to study Pachacamac, an Andean pilgrimage site with a deep history. There, he excavated thousands of artworks, from textiles to ceramics, and noticed on some the presence of a religious imagery reminiscent of Tiwanaku.²⁴ In Uhle’s evolutionary perspective, the Pachacamac production was a derivative, if not

²⁰ Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz and Johann Jakob von Tschudi, *Antigüedades Peruanas* (Vienna: Imprenta Imperial de la Corte del Estado, 1851), 1.

²¹ Bolivia was known until its independence as “Upper Peru.” Harry S. Toppin, “The Diplomatic History of the Peru-Bolivia Boundary,” *The Geographical Journal* 47, no. 2 (1916): 81–95. As we will come to see later in this chapter, Tiwanaku is now a national symbol for Bolivia, and not Peru. Ephraim G. Squier, *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Explorations in the Land of the Incas* (New York, NY: Harper & Bros., 1877); Alphons Stübel and Max Uhle, *Die Ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco Im Hochlande Des Alten Peru: Eine Kulturegeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig, Germany: Hiersemann, 1892).

²² John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest,” in *Handbook of South American Indian*, ed. Julian Haynes Steward, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 295, note 30; Terence N. D’Altroy, *The Incas* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 254.

²³ Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostolaza, “Antonio Raimondi, Archaeology, and National Discourse: Representations and Meanings of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Peru,” in *Past Presented*, 176–177.

²⁴ Max Uhle, *Pachacamac. Report of The William Pepper, M.D., LL.D. Peruvian Expedition of 1896*. (Philadelphia, PA: Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, 1903).

degenerative, version of Tiwanaku art.²⁵ All of Tiwanaku-influenced art found on the Peruvian coast was later encompassed in a broader category stemming from Uhle's categorization, the Coast Tiahuanaco style.²⁶ Today, most Coast Tiahuanaco artworks have been reassigned as Wari.

b. Tello's explorations

A few decades after the exploration of Pachacamac by Uhle, Julio C. Tello, "father of Peruvian archaeology," gave great impetus to Wari studies by tracing connections between ceramics from the Coast to the Highlands. In 1927, he excavated more than three tons of intentionally smashed ceramics at a *hacienda* in Pacheco (Nazca Valley), located in a region previously occupied by the Nasca, a civilization which developed on the south coast of Peru during the Early Intermediate Period (200 BCE-600 CE). Despite Pacheco's location in the Nasca heartland, the imagery on the ceramics recovered at this site did not appear to be Nasca, but rather closer to Tiwanaku. Tello noticed the high quality of the ceramics; they impressed him so much that he considered that "by their technique, form, and ornamentation [they] constitute the highest exponent of the art of pottery in Peru."²⁷ In 1944, archaeologist Alfred Kroeber even qualified these Pacheco ceramics as "ultra-Tiahuanaco."²⁸

²⁵ Gordon F. McEwan and William H. Isbell, "A History of Huari Studies and Introduction to Current Interpretations," in *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, ed. Gordon F. McEwan and William H. Isbell (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991), 3.

²⁶ Coast Tiahuanaco is defined as "Coast pieces in more or less "pure" Highland Tiahuanaco style." Wendell C. Bennett, "Archaeology of Central Andes," in *Handbook of South American Indians: The Andean Civilizations*, ed. Julian H. Steward, vol. 2, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 77.

²⁷ Julio C. Tello, "The Ruins of Wari," in *The Life and Writings of Julio C. Tello: America's First Indigenous Archaeologist* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2009), 276.

²⁸ Kroeber, Alfred L., *Peruvian Archeology in 1942* (New York, NY: Viking Fund, 1944), 28-29.

After excavating Pacheco, Tello endeavored to explore the Peruvian highlands, which he believed were the origin of the Coast Tiahuanaco phenomenon. Tello was convinced that more archaeological research was needed in the Peruvian highlands, despite the poorer preservation conditions in the Sierra, as the excessive focus of archaeologists on the Andean coast was leading to a “coast-centric” conception of the Andean past.²⁹ In 1929, an article in the newspaper caught Tello’s eye: it featured the drawings of four monolithic statues found around the site of Wari, in the Peruvian highlands.³⁰ Two years later, Tello went to visit Wari in person with Peruvian archaeologist Manuel Toribio Mejía Xesspe, and U.S. anthropologist Lila O’Neale.³¹ While nothing more than a short newspaper article was published on this expedition, this informal survey of 1931 constitutes the first scientific exploration of Wari.

In 1942, Tello returned to Ayacucho to excavate another former Wari settlement that will be a focus of this dissertation: Conchopata, also known by locals as Chakipampa.³² There, Tello made a discovery very similar to that of Pacheco: high quality, oversized ceramics which had been intentionally smashed. The imagery painted on the ceramics excavated at Conchopata was

²⁹ Tello, “Ruins of Wari,” 275.

³⁰ Luis A. Gamio, Unnamed Article, *El Tiempo*, October 2, 1929. Cited in Rowe, Collier, and Willey, “Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari,” 121.

³¹ Dorothy Menzel, “Style and Time in the Middle Horizon,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 2 (1964), 86, note 196. The ceramics and semi-precious stone beads recovered by Tello from the surface at the site of Wari were eventually transferred to the University of San Marcos, to the exception of a few ceramic sherds brought back by O’Neale to the Hearst Museum at U.C. Berkeley, unfortunately left without any accompanying note. Rowe, Collier, and Willey, “Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari,” 121. The sherds collected by Lila O’Neale were later published by Alfred Kroeber in 1944. Kroeber, *Peruvian Archeology in 1942*, 30, 99.

³² *Ccunchu*, “cloudy” or “muddy” and *Pata*, “bank” or “step.” *Chaqui pampa* (or *çaruna o ttanta*), “the sole of the foot.” Note that *pampa* is a term that originally refers to the landscape (a plain or vast open space) that is here used to name a body part. González Holguín, *Vocabulario de La Lengva General de Todo El Perv Llamada Lengua Qquichua, o del Inca*, 88, 357.

directly related to that of Tiwanaku, thus reinforcing the clear connection between the Ayacucho region (Wari), the Bolivian altiplano (Tiwanaku), and the Nazca Valley (Pacheco).³³

Most archaeologists at the time of Tello still believed that Wari was merely a Tiwanaku outpost. For example, archaeologist Richard P. Schaedel published in 1948 pictures of subterranean stone slab galleries and monolithic statues from the site of Wari alongside stone sculpture and architecture found at the site of Tiwanaku.³⁴ Schaedel's approach reflects a larger trend in Wari studies during those decades: focusing on the aspects of Wari architecture and artistic production that resemble those of Tiwanaku, while ignoring others which reflect Wari-specific values, practices, and designs. In the 1940s however, Kroeber cautioned against the over-emphasis put on Tiwanaku in Andean studies: "The reason we tend to see [...] other elements as Tiahuanacoid is that Tiahuanaco is well defined and well known, whereas the less focused and less specialized other highland elements are as yet very little known."³⁵ He thus foresaw that scholars attributed so much importance to Tiwanaku because they were more familiar with Tiwanaku than other Middle Horizon cultures, such as Wari.

The general scholarly disinterest for Wari in favor of Tiwanaku in the first half of the 20th century did not deter the people of Ayacucho to explore nearby architectural and material remains at long abandoned Indigenous sites. In the 1940s, several amateur antiquarians in Ayacucho published their finds from the site of Wari in local newspapers, without having

³³ Rowe, Collier, and Willey, "Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari, near Ayacucho, Peru," 12. The exact location of the findings remains unclear to this day, but according to one of Tello's team members, Julio Espejo Nuñez, the ceramics came from five small subterranean rooms, in the southern portion of the site. Menzel, "Style and Time in the Middle Horizon," 6. Tello's excavations were conducted in Sector A, Zone B according to Pozzi-Escot. Denise Pozzi-Escot, "Conchopata: A Community of Potters," in *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, ed. William Harris Isbell and Gordon Francis McEwan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991), 81.

³⁴ Schaedel, "Monolithic Sculpture of the Southern Andes."

³⁵ Kroeber, *Peruvian Archeology in 1942*, 106.

conducted any professional excavation.³⁶ For many scholars, Tiwanaku overshadowed Wari, but to ceramic enthusiast Rafael Larco Hoyle, Wari was an expansive state that reached the north coast of Peru, and whose center was located in Ayacucho.³⁷ That claim, while mostly unsubstantiated at the time, later proved to be bolstered by new evidence and became generally accepted by the scientific community.

c. First survey and excavations at Wari

It was not until the mid-20th century that Wari was recognized by scholars as a culture independent from Tiwanaku, anchored in the Ayacucho basin, and which had spread up to the Peruvian coast to sites such as Pachacamac. U.S. archaeologists were then key in shaping Wari studies, and most of Peruvian archaeology in general.³⁸ In 1950, John Rowe, Donald Collier, and Gordon Willey published the first scientific article on the site of Wari, based on their survey of the area.³⁹ Their article defined the first typology of Wari architecture and ceramic and laid the foundations for subsequent excavations of the site. Soon after this short survey, archaeologist Wendell Bennett led the first large-scale excavations of the Wari capital later that year.⁴⁰ Based on his findings, Bennett divided the occupation of the site of Wari into three periods: the Wari or early period; the Ayacucho polychrome or intermediate period; and the Huarpa or late period.

³⁶ Lumbreras, *Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, 151.

³⁷ Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Cronología arqueológica del norte del Perú* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Sociedad Geografica Americana, 1948).

³⁸ According to Richard Burger, even eminent Peruvian figures of Wari archaeology such as Luis Guillermo Lumbreras and Duccio Bonavia were strongly influenced by U.S. scholarship and paradigms. Richard L. Burger, "An Overview of Peruvian Archaeology (1976-1986)," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989), 38.

³⁹ Rowe, Collier, and Willey, "Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari."

⁴⁰ At Wari, his method consisted of digging in trash pits in order to get a sense of stratigraphy, and of non-systematically recording architecture. Bennett, *Excavations at Wari*, 18; It is now clear that Bennett excavated disturbed pits and one with reversal of order. John H. Rowe, "Stratigraphy and Seriation," *American Antiquity* 26, no. 3 (1961), 325.

This chronology was never used in Wari studies as it was based on disturbed stratigraphy; while Bennett mentioned that Huarpa ceramics were found closer to the surface, Huarpa is now considered to have been instead a type of ceramics that preceded Wari.⁴¹

Very few academic scholars paid attention to Wari art and architecture until the 20th century, but local populations retained knowledge of the former empire, cohabiting with its material remains daily. Tello would never have learnt about the sites of Wari or Conchopata without the help of local informants and historians. Through his work and knowledge of ceramic, Tello convincingly demonstrated the link between the Ayacucho region and the “Coast Tiahuanaco phenomenon,” while noticing how Ayacucho pottery was related to both Nasca and Tiwanaku ceramics.

2. The first Andean empire

a. Early evidence for an expansive state

In the 1960s, Peruvian archaeologist Luis Guillermo Lumbreras and U.S. archaeologist Dorothy Menzel conducted extensive research that help differentiate further Wari from Tiwanaku. Menzel elaborated the first typology of Wari ceramics, which yielded the first, and one of the only, chronologies of the Wari Empire. Her work had major ramifications in the understanding of the nature and expansion of Wari: her assumption was that stylistic changes in Wari ceramics reflected cultural changes, and thus that the evolution of the Wari state could be understood through its pottery.⁴² Menzel divided the Wari horizon into four periods, from Epoch 1 to 4, and subdivided the first two in phases A and B, following her own take on Wari ceramic decorations

⁴¹ Bennett, *Excavations at Wari*, 37 ; Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, “Esquema arqueológico de la Sierra Central del Perú”, *Revista del Museo Nacional* XXVIII (1959): 64–117.

⁴² Dorothy Menzel, *Pottery Style and Society in Ancient Peru: Art as a Mirror of History in the Ica Valley, 1350-1570* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 7.

and stratigraphy.⁴³ Her chronology was based on relative dates (periods organized in relation to one another) rather than according to calendrical dates.

Based on the assumption that certain ceramic vessels had a religious function and imagery, Menzel divided Wari ceramic wares into two types, secular and ceremonial. Several scholars have since demonstrated that the distinction between ceremonial and secular Wari styles is simplistic, and anthropologists and art historians at large now recognize such a separation as problematic.⁴⁴ Despite being flawed, Menzel's ceramic typology was the first model of Wari expansion, and a foundational publication for Wari studies.

On the other hand, Lumbreras identified the Wari state as an empire based on his own excavations in the Wari heartland. He relied on multiple lines of evidence to support his claim, from agricultural practices to infrastructures.⁴⁵ Lumbreras considered that violence and military

⁴³ Menzel's chronology is based Kroeber's work in the Nasca Valley and Bennett's ceramic sequence at Wari. Menzel, "Style and Time in the Middle Horizon."

⁴⁴ Glowacki, Mary. "Pottery From Pikillacta." In *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*, edited by Gordon Francis McEwan. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2005, 103; Donna J. Nash, "Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes," in *Images in Action: The Southern Andean Iconographic Series*, ed. William H. Isbell et al. (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2018), 390.

⁴⁵ First, Lumbreras considered that the Huarpa people, during the Early Intermediate Period, initiated the irrigation and terracing of the Ayacucho region. This would have allowed the Wari to develop an economy based on agriculture, as well as hunting and livestock farming. Second, he noticed that the Wari had built multiple roads: two around their apparent capital, and others leading to other Wari settlements, such as Viracochapampa. The construction of roads was, and still is, essential for the development of trade in the ancient Andes, as evidenced by the massive highway system (*Qhapaq Ñan* or "royal road") designed by the Incas and which reuses many Wari roads. Third, during his excavations at Conchopata, Lumbreras discovered the presence of Wari ceramic workshops, which proved to him the existence of craft specialists and social stratification in this town. Finally, Lumbreras credited the expansion of the Wari Empire to the dispersion of the Quechua language, based on the work of linguist Alfredo Torero. Lumbreras, *Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, 135, 163. Alfredo Torero, *Lingüística e historia de la sociedad andina* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Agraria, 1970). For more recent studies on the matter, see William H. Isbell, "La arqueología wari y la dispersión del quechua", *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 14 (2010): 199–220; Krzysztof Makowski, "Horizontes y cambios lingüísticos en la prehistoria de los Andes centrales", *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 14 (2010): 95–122. Regarding Wari roads, see Katharina J. Schreiber, "Prehistoric Roads in the Carahuarazo Valley, Peru," in *Current Archaeological Research Projects in the Central Andes: Some Approaches and Results*, ed. Ann Kendall (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1984), 75–94; Katharina J. Schreiber, "The Association between Roads and Polities: Evidence for a Wari Road System in Peru," in *Ancient Road Networks and Settlement Hierarchies in the New World*, ed. Charles Trombold (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 243–52.

conquest were at the core of Wari power and believed that was what primarily set apart Wari from Tiwanaku. Tiwanaku would have been a theocratic state, while Wari a militaristic empire—the muscles, when Tiwanaku was the brain.⁴⁶ Lumbreras wrote that the Wari “despotic regime” spread through the Andes, “destroying any way of life different from theirs.”⁴⁷ To the opposite, he believed that Tiwanaku was an elevated, peaceful, and religious civilization.⁴⁸ Lumbreras’ antagonistic view of Wari and Tiwanaku was likely shaped by his knowledge of early states and empires in Europe and the Middle East. Archaeologist Henry Tantaleán explains that foreign models are influential in Andean studies, and in particular in Lumbreras’ scholarship:

“Despite the time elapsed since his initial approach and its more sophisticated versions, still, Lumbreras’ idea of Wari has not been modified in essence and this would be because he saw a Wari state where the military was an important means of expansion of its territory and control of political resources, an explanation that is identified with other empires, mainly from the Old World (...), the main source of most of our models and analogies that we apply to our archaeological materials in the Andes.”⁴⁹

It is still not clear to this day how Tiwanaku and Wari differed on the political, military, and religious levels, especially as very few scholars have conducted studies that compare the two states.⁵⁰ Lumbreras’ vision opposing Wari to Tiwanaku, whether valid or not, has shaped our

⁴⁶ Lumbreras’ model is reminiscent of how, in Greek scholarship, Athens is set apart from Sparta. Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, *Las fundaciones de Huamanga. Hacia una prehistoria de Ayacucho* (Lima: Editorial Nueva Educación, 1974).

⁴⁷ Lumbreras, *Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, 165.

⁴⁸ The conception of Tiwanaku as a theocratic and peaceful society is reminiscent of the way anthropologists viewed the Classical Maya until the 1940s. As David Webster explains, scholars at the time thought that the “Classic” Maya people, who lived in Mesoamerica between 250 and 900 CE, “had achieved the singular reputation of being the only nonindustrial civilization not plagued by war and conflict, despite the fact that warriors, weapons, and captives or sacrificial victims were prominently displayed in their art.” David Webster, “The Not So Peaceful Civilization: A Review of Maya War,” *Journal of World Prehistory* 14, no. 1 (2000), 68; Philip A. Means, “The Philosophic Interrelationship between Middle American and Andean Religions,” in *The Maya and Their Neighbors*, ed. Clarence L. Hay et al. (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1977), 430–40.

⁴⁹ Henry Tantaleán, “Un estado militarista Andino llamado Wari: Hacia una definición arqueológica”, *Revista de Investigación* 21 (2013), 327. Translation is mine.

⁵⁰ Cross-cultural comparisons between Wari and Tiwanaku often seem to be informed, often unconsciously, by the idea that the Wari Empire was a militaristic state and Tiwanaku a theocratic one. For example, for Arkush and Tung,

perspective on the Wari Empire as a militaristic entity and narrowed our interpretations of their material culture and practices.

b. U.S. Archaeologists and Wari State Formation

Not all archaeologists agreed on the existence of a Wari Empire as argued by Lumbreras and Menzel, depending on their own school of thought, fieldwork location, and nationality.⁵¹ For some, identifying Wari as an empire heightened the prestige of their sub-field, while for others it decreased it. Debates on the nature of Wari were deeply embedded in academic trends but also in nationalistic pride, especially as the site of Tiwanaku became a symbol for Bolivia in the 20th century, reclaiming ownership of the “Gateway of the Sun.”⁵² It is telling that, in 2006, the inauguration of the first Indigenous president of Bolivia was celebrated at the site of Tiwanaku.⁵³ This explains, at least partially, why some Bolivian scholars minimized the role played by Wari during the Middle Horizon. For example, Bolivian historian Carlos Ponce Sanginés wrote in his

Wari trophy-heads are “evidence for war raid” (despite the fact that at least some were found in ritual structures) while dismembered Tiwanaku bodies “violent spectacle formed part of state ceremony.” Meanwhile, Lessa and de Souza noted an increase in cranial trauma and death at a young adult age in populations of the Atacama Desert under Tiwanaku influence. Andrea Lessa and Sheila Mendonça de Souza, “Violence in the Atacama Desert during the Tiwanaku Period: Social Tension?,” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 14, no. 5 (2004): 374–88. Elizabeth Arkush and Tiffany A. Tung, “Patterns of War in the Andes from the Archaic to the Late Horizon: Insights from Settlement Patterns and Cranial Trauma,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 21, no. 4 (2013): 333, 334; Isbell et al., *Images in Action*.

⁵¹ McEwan and Isbell, “History of Huari Studies and Introduction to Current Interpretations,” 5.

⁵² William H. Isbell, “Reconstructing Huari: A Cultural Chronology from the Capital City,” in *Emergence and Change in Early Urban Societies*, ed. Linda Manzanilla (New York, NY and London: Plenum Press, 1997), 183. For arguments in favor of the Wari, see McEwan. *The Incas*, 42. For more information on Bolivia’s nationalist claims about Tiwanaku, see Janusek, John W. “Tiwanaku and Its Precursors: Recent Research and Emerging Perspectives.” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 12, no. 2 (2004): 121–83; Seemin Qayum, “Indian Ruins, National Origins: Tiwanaku and Indigenismo in La Paz, 1897-1933,” in *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Laura Gotkowitz (London: Duke University Press, 2011), 159–78.

⁵³ Sarah Bush, “Ceremony Precedes Bolivian President’s Inauguration,” *NPR*, January 22, 2006, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5167202>.

1981 publication that Tiwanaku was an empire that dominated not only Bolivia and Chile, but Argentina and Peru as well.⁵⁴

The Wari Empire was not the focus of much pride from Peruvians in comparison to Tiwanaku for Bolivians since the Peruvian national identity was already anchored in the Inca culture. As the Gateway of the Sun was now considered Bolivian, Peruvians turned to an Inca site, Machu Picchu, for its new national symbol. According to historian Mark Rice, this was an intentional and thoughtful process in Peru that consisted of “pragmatic decisions to build political consensus, construct infrastructure, and create a cultural meaning attractive to travelers” around the site.⁵⁵ It is thus not surprising that, in 2001, Peruvian president Alejandro Toledo performed a ceremonial protocol at Machu Picchu “in front of the Inca gods” to mark his election.⁵⁶ In the context of a nationalistic Inca past, Wari was left out of such ambitious projects.

The lack of interest and resources invested in the Wari past in Peru led to U.S. archaeologists increasingly dominating Wari studies, sometimes with little consideration for their Peruvian counterparts.⁵⁷ A new generation of U.S. scholars that includes William H. Isbell, Anita G. Cook, and Patricia J. Knobloch put forth the idea of a Wari empire and began investigating in

⁵⁴ Carlos Ponce Sanginés, *Tiwanaku: espacio, tiempo, cultura* (La Paz, Bolivia: Los Amigos del Libros, 1981), 84-85.

⁵⁵ Mark Rice, *Making Machu Picchu: The Politics of Tourism in Twentieth-Century Peru* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 1. This phenomenon can be compared to that of the nation of Mexico, which chose the Aztec-Mexica as a national symbol and in turn degraded other indigenous groups. Lynn Meskell, “The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002): 279–301; Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 181.

⁵⁶ Mariano Obarrio, “Toledo juró ante los dioses Incas,” *La Nación*, July 30, 2001.

⁵⁷ U.S. scholars have access to more funds as well as a wider readership in English, which has led to a certain animosity between scholars from both countries.

more details its political structure and religion.⁵⁸ Their methods were for the most part processual—that is, a supposedly scientific, objective, large-scale approach to human societies—looking for commonalities and major traits of the Wari Empire. Their core concern was, first and foremost, state formation and organization.

These scholars found that the similarity between Wari and Tiwanaku is due to their common ancestor, the Pucara culture which thrived in southern Peru and on the Bolivian altiplano (200 BCE-400 CE).⁵⁹ Many Pucara textiles and ceramics bear religious motifs akin to those found in Wari and Tiwanaku art.⁶⁰ This reasoning showed that the people of Tiwanaku likely did not invent a new ideology or iconography which was then copied by Wari, but that both Wari and Tiwanaku belonged to a long-standing Andean visual and religious tradition. As such, people of the Wari Empire were not necessarily inspired by Tiwanaku, simply their religious beliefs and iconographic repertoire partially overlapped with those of Tiwanaku people.⁶¹

c. Pikillacta and the identification of Wari provincial sites

⁵⁸ William H. Isbell and Katharina J. Schreiber, “Was Huari a State?,” *American Antiquity* 43, no. 3 (1978): 372–89; William H. Isbell and Anita G. Cook, “Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State,” *Archaeology* 40, no. 4 (1987): 27–33; Anita G. Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 22, no. 1 (1984): 49–90; Patricia J. Knobloch, “A Study of the Andean Huari Ceramics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon Epoch I” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Binghamton, NY, State University of New York, 1983).

⁵⁹ William H. Isbell and Anita G. Cook, “Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State,” *Archaeology* 40, no. 4 (1987): 27–33.

⁶⁰ William J. Conklin, “Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 21 (1983): 1–44.

⁶¹ This iconographic repertoire has later been named “Southern Andean Iconographic Series” by Isbell. See William H. Isbell, “Wari and Tiwanaku: International Identities in the Central Andean Middle Horizon,” in *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, ed. Helaine Silverman and William Isbell (New York, NY: Springer Science & Business Media, 2008), 732 and William H. Isbell et al., eds., *Images in Action: The Southern Andean Iconographic Series*, Cotsen Advanced Seminars 6 (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2018).

Starting in the mid-1980s, the extremist group *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) took over the Ayacucho region. Local populations, many if not most of whom were Indigenous peoples, faced both terrorist acts from the Senderistas and violent counterattacks from the Peruvian military. This upheaval lasted almost two decades, resulted in the death of thousands of people, and scarred multiple generations of Ayacuchanos. This situation prevented most Wari specialists from conducting research in the region. Many of these scholars, and in particular those from abroad, began to conduct fieldwork outside of the Wari heartland. This sparked new research in Wari provincial sites, as well as well as spurred a burst of investigations in Bolivia, at Tiwanaku and its related sites.

Using the architectural features of OCAH, scholars were able to identify Wari sites outside of the Ayacucho region in the 1980s and 1990.⁶² The number and spread of those sites seemed to confirm the existence of an expansive Wari empire with a clear architectural imprint. Some of the largest Wari outposts ever excavated similar in their architecture but scattered in the Andean landscape: Pikillacta in the Lucre Basin around Cusco and Viracochapampa in Huamachuco, in the northern highlands.

Wari architectural rigidity can however be nuanced for Pikillacta, as for the Wari heartland. For example, McEwan and Glowacki have shown that the Wari did not simply build Pikillacta in the Cusco region, as they also occupied intensely the nearby Huaro Valley.⁶³ It is even possible that the Wari first settled in the Huaro Valley before building Pikillacta, but this

⁶² Justin Jennings, "Understanding Middle Horizon Peru: Hermeneutic Spirals, Interpretive Traditions, and Wari Administrative Centers," *Latin American Antiquity* 17, no. 3 (2006), 267.

⁶³ Mary Glowacki and Gordon McEwan, "Pikillacta, Huaro y La Gran Región Del Cuzco: Nuevas Interpretaciones de La Ocupación Wari de La Sierra Sur," *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5 (2001), 33.

assumption is based on the problematic use of ceramic styles.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Wari sites in the Huaro Valley reference architecture from the imperial heartland but do not follow a planned layout. Then, can it really be argued that Pikillacta was created out of the blue, following a well-established Wari model?⁶⁵

Many Wari settlements grew organically and lack an orthogonal layout. Few Wari provincial sites compare to the level of rigidity found at Pikillacta. According to Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, that is the case of Viracochapampa, Jincamocco and Azangaro.⁶⁶ Pikillacta, which is said by archaeologists to be so typically Wari, also lacked D-shaped structures, which are believed to be the most emblematic Wari architectural form. Then, is Pikillacta a case representative of Wari imperial practices at large, or is it rather an exception?

In addition to Pikillacta and Viracochapampa, several other sites with clear Wari affiliation were excavated during the 1980s and 1990s.⁶⁷ Connection with Wari was found both in the architecture and the ceramics at those settlements. At many of those Wari outposts, the shapes and context of finding of ceramic vessels reflect the practice of drinking rituals in the Wari Empire. At Jincamocco, Schreiber found evidence of food and fermented drink preparation as well as dedicated consumption spaces; the same goes for Glowacki at Pikillacta.⁶⁸ Even in the

⁶⁴ The authors themselves address the lack of correlation between radiocarbon dates and ceramic stylistic dates at Huaro and Pikillacta. Glowacki and McEwan, "Pikillacta, Huaro, and the Wari Presence in Cuzco," 13.

⁶⁵ McEwan and Glowacki argue that Wari administrators developed orthogonal architecture in the provinces after migrating to the Huaro Valley. *Ibid*, 38.

⁶⁶ Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, "Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon," 299-300.

⁶⁷ E.g., Azángaro by Martha Anders (1978-1980), the Huaro Valley by Julinho Zapata and Mary Glowacki (1996-1997), or Cerro Baúl by Robert Feldman and later Ryan Williams (1989-today). Martha Biggar Anders, "Dual Organization and Calendars Inferred from the Planned Site of Azángaro-Wari Administrative Strategies" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University, 1987); Glowacki and McEwan, "Pikillacta, Huaro y La Gran Región Del Cuzco."

Wari heartland, at the site Jargapampa, more than 50% of the ceramics consisted of jars and bowls, that is serving vessels.⁶⁹

For many scholars at the time, the evidence for feasting at Wari sites was a direct parallel to Inca state-sponsored feasting and its related economical model of *mita*. It is believed that Inca political economy relied on staple finance, in which work force was given as tribute to the state, and in turn surplus of production was redistributed to workers during large feasts.⁷⁰ The model of tax labor and state-sponsored feasting developed in scholarship for the Inca Empire has long been applied, if not forced onto the Wari state. Based on that system, Wari “[f]easts were often conceived as large events held by the state to reciprocate for labor rendered to the state.”⁷¹ This conflation between Wari and Inca practices reflects a larger trend in Wari studies—and Andean research at large—which consists of looking at Inca models to gain insights on earlier cultures. Referring to Inca practices can be helpful. However, if done uncritically, this methodology can result in pan-Andean flattening of spatial-temporal changes through a direct historical approach.

In summary, the 1980s and 1990s marked the advent of Wari studies as a more extensive field for archaeologists, a burst of new scholarship and an expansion from the Wari heartland out into the provinces. Archaeological studies helped define two major practices in the Wari Empire, the reliance on a generally coherent architectural program, discussed in more details at the end of

⁶⁸ Schreiber, *Wari Imperialism in the Middle Horizon Peru*; Mary Glowacki, “The Huaru Archaeological Site Complex: Rethinking the Huaru Occupation of Cuzco,” in *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (Boston, MA: Springer US, 2002), 279.

⁶⁹ William H. Isbell, “City and State in Middle Horizon Wari,” in *Peruvian Prehistory*, ed. Richard Keatinge (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 184.

⁷⁰ D’Altroy and Earle, “Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy”; Justin Jennings and Timothy K. Earle, “Remodeling the Wari Political Economy,” *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, 2012, 213.

⁷¹ Jennings, “Understanding Middle Horizon Peru,” 268.

this chapter, and the widespread custom of organizing drinking ceremonies—even though we have seen that there is a lot more variability in the material record than initially thought.

3. New directions in Wari studies

The advent of the 21st century and new technologies has opened new avenues for Wari studies. Booming subdisciplines of archaeology, such as bioarcheology, geochemistry, or paleoethnobotany, as well as more refined approaches to site excavations and material analysis have helped to shed light on multiple aspects of the life of the people in the Wari Empire. The excavation of new Wari sites, but also the identification of past diets, geographical origins, pathologies, and even biological sex on Wari individuals are now giving more depth to our understanding of the Wari Empire and its art. Whether the notion of a “Wari Empire” is compatible with common definitions of empires in the Social Sciences remains a puzzling question; while that is not the subject of the present dissertation, my study may help lay the ground for such an evaluation to be undertaken in the future.

a. Uncovering Wari settlements

Surveys in the Central Andes as well as ongoing looting events never cease to bring to light Indigenous heritage sites unknown thus far to the scientific community. Scholars find settlements with evidence of Wari affiliation quite regularly, and their study allows for a better, and ever-growing, understanding of the degree and nature of Wari presence throughout the Andes. Artworks from these recent excavations prove especially valuable for us, as they provide information surrounding their contexts of use and finding.

In 1931, Tello invited scholars to investigate the lush eastern Andean lowlands, a region greatly ignored by researchers but where he expected to find many archaeological remains.⁷² From the earliest of times, Andean people had access to resources from the eastern slopes of the Andes and sometimes even out into the Amazon basin, as evidenced by their extensive use of tropical bird and coca leaves.⁷³ But because of its difficulty of access, this area remained untouched by Wari specialists until 2010. That year, a team from the Ministry of Culture led by archaeologist Javier Fonseca began to excavate Wari remains at Espiritu Pampa, in the lowlands of a site already well-known in Inca history as Vilcabamba.⁷⁴

Espiritu Pampa was a site of clear ceremonial importance, where at least one individual of high status was buried. A cist tomb left untouched by looters contained two gilded wooden scepters, a silver pectoral, a silver mask with traces of red pigment, almost 700 beads of semi-precious stone, gold bracelets, metallic feathers, and 230 small silver plates that used to be sown on a garment. In addition to this exceptionally rich burial, Espiritu Pampa also contained three large and a small D-shaped structures.⁷⁵ Therefore, Espiritu Pampa was most likely a Wari site with great prestige and ritual activity in addition to having been a gateway to the Amazon and its tropical resources.

⁷² Tello, "Ruins of Wari," 276.

⁷³ Macaw feathers are found on numerous Wari artworks, such as the famous panels of Corral Redondo. Entire bodies of macaws were also discovered at Middle Horizon sites on the south coast, such as Huaca del Loro and Beringa. William D. Strong, "Paracas, Nazca, and Tiahuanacoid Cultural Relationships in South Coastal Peru," *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 13 (1957), 36–39; Randi R. Gladwell, "Animals among the Dead: The Ritual Use of Animals at Beringa" (Undegraduate honor thesis, Albuquerque, NM, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, 2001).

⁷⁴ Lidio Valdez, "Wari e Inca: el significado de Vilcabamba," *Arqueologia Iberoamericana* 10 (2011), 3.

⁷⁵ Each of these large structures was radiocarbon dated between 649 and 965, coterminous with the Middle Horizon. Sample AA 100018 from Building 4 provided an AMS calibrated date of A.D. 649-773 (95.4% confidence level); sample AA 100019 from Building 2, a date of A.D. 690-941 (95.4% confidence level); sample AA100020 from Building 1, a calibrated date of A.D. 670-965 (95.4% confidence level). *Ibid*, 114.

That same year of 2010, a site with clear Wari affiliation was excavated by archaeologists in an entirely different setting: Castillo de Huarmey, in the Ancash region in Northern Peru. Like many other Wari sites, Castillo de Huarmey was never a sprawling urban center, but instead a ritual center with restricted access, with a palace and some elite burials. Archaeologists found there, inside an elaborate mausoleum, the unlooted tomb of dozens of Wari elite women. The “Red Mausoleum,” named after the original color of its walls, was a multi-storied structure with a space for visiting the dead and depositing offerings. The main burial chamber contained a total of 64 individuals, 55 of them being females or possibly so, most of them young adults.⁷⁶

Espíritu Pampa and Castillo de Huarmey are two among many Wari sites to have been investigated over the past decade. Nevertheless, these two settlements demonstrate that new evidence for a Wari empire is constantly growing, and that major Wari sites that continue to change our perspective of the Empire are still likely to be found. Scholars are now even discovering evidence of Wari occupation at well-known Inca sites, as in the case of Raqchi. Also known as Cacha, Raqchi is noted for its impressive large Inca buildings as well as densely packed small circular structures, long interpreted as Inca storage spaces. But in the early 2000s, two carbonized samples recovered from those said storage spaces by Bill Sillar and colleagues yielded dates falling during the Middle Horizon (600-1000 CE).⁷⁷ Rather than Inca, those conjoined buildings were likely Wari. Their design and layout resemble structures found at other

⁷⁶ At least 7 individuals were found in other parts of the complex or chamber. In the overall mausoleum, 2 individuals identified as males. Wiesław Więckowski, *Wari Women from Huarmey: Bioarchaeological Interpretation of Human Remains from the Wari Elite Mausoleum at Castillo de Huarmey, Peru* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019), 26, 65.

⁷⁷ Sample OxA-12147 gave a calibrated AMS date of 775-936 CE; sample OxA-13926 yielded a calibrated date of 694-889 CE. Bill Sillar, Emily Dean, and Amelia Pérez Trujillo, “My State or Yours? Wari ‘Labor Camps’ and the Inka Cult of Viracocha at Raqchi, Cuzco, Peru,” *Latin American Antiquity* 24, no. 1 (2013), 34.

Wari sites, such as Pikillacta, Azángaro, and Cerro Amaru.⁷⁸ As such, a site like Raqchi traces a clear filiation between the Wari and Inca Empire.

b. Bioarchaeology

Wari human remains have long been removed from the narrative of Wari studies, as its focus was first and foremost on the question of the empire—in relation to, or against, Tiwanaku. Scholars focused on material culture, including grave goods, rather than on the bodies that accompanied them. In a sense, the Wari imperial narrative was written without any people in it.

Thanks to bioarchaeologists, Wari studies are now shedding light on a variety of topics based on the study of human remains, such as gender, pathologies, diet, physical trauma, cranial modification, and surgical practices. In order to test out the hypothesis that the Wari state was a militaristic empire, bioarchaeologists have focused on specific osteological and genetic markers that might indicate migration or population resettlement, increased violence, and changes in diet concurrent with the advent of the Wari Empire. Tung has conducted extensive research that supports the idea of a Wari empire where it was common to resort to violence. She analyzed multiple trophy heads, defined as such by scholars due to their carrying rope, and cut extremities discovered in two D-shaped structures at Conchopata in the late 1990s. She found that the Wari forcibly took civilians captive throughout the Andes to bring them back to Conchopata. Trophy heads found in the D-shaped structures were made with the crania of both children and adults, males and females, and 14 of the 18 human heads belonged to non-local people.⁷⁹ In contrast, the majority of the excavated individual bodies that had been buried at Conchopata were locals,

⁷⁸ McEwan, “The Function of Nighed Halls in Wari Architecture,” 36-37.

⁷⁹ Tiffany A. Tung and Kelly J. Knudson, “Identifying Locals, Migrants, and Captives in the Wari Heartland: A Bioarchaeological and Biogeochemical Study of Human Remains from Conchopata, Peru,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 30 (2011): 247–261.

meaning that migrants were not buried at the site, and possibly did not live there. It appears that people from outside the Ayacucho region were only brought in to symbolically serve the people at the Wari site as part of sacrifices, offerings, or victory trophies and did not take part in the daily life of the city.⁸⁰

DNA studies have been rare on Wari human remains, mainly due to preservation conditions and issue of genetic continuity.⁸¹ A few scholars have conducted DNA studies at the site of Huaca Pucllana on the Central Coast to determine whether the genetic composition of the local population changed with Wari imperialism. The results showed an overall genetic continuity of the population before, during, and after the Middle Horizon, which would indicate that people affiliated with the Wari Empire did not settle there. DNA analysis on human remains from Castillo de Huarmey showed genetic affinity with Middle Horizon populations from Huaca Pucllana on the Central Coast, rather than the Wari highlands.⁸² It is thus somehow surprising that people culturally affiliated with Wari at Castillo de Huarmey may be genetically related to people from Huaca Pucllana, where Wari is said to have had a “negligible” impact, at least on the genetic level.⁸³ A more recent large-scale study of Andean DNA showed that the genomic group of Andean highlanders has remained almost unchanged over thousands of years, including during the time of the Inca Empire with its forced migrations—when it would be difficult to argue that Tawantinsuyu had a “negligible” impact on the Andean region. These findings show

⁸⁰ Tiffany A. Tung, *Violence, Ritual, and the Wari Empire: A Social Bioarchaeology of Imperialism in the Ancient Andes* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2012), 84.

⁸¹ Brian M. Kemp, Tiffany A. Tung, and Marshall L. Summar, “Genetic Continuity after the Collapse of the Wari Empire: Mitochondrial DNA Profiles from Wari and Post-Wari Populations in the Ancient Andes,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 140, no. 1 (2009): 80–91.

⁸² Więckowski, *Wari Women from Huarmey*, 102.

⁸³ Guido Valverde et al., “Ancient DNA Analysis Suggests Negligible Impact of the Wari Empire Expansion in Peru’s Central Coast during the Middle Horizon,” *PLoS ONE* 11, no. 6 (2016).

how complex genetic studies can be, and how they need to be coupled with other forms of evidence to make assumptions about socio-political change as well as descendant communities.

c. Paleoethnobotany and Zooarchaeology

Paleoethnobotany, a subfield of archaeology which consists of studying plant remains in archaeological context, only became prominent in Wari studies in the 21st century, but its application has since improved our understanding of Wari agriculture, foodways, consumption of mind-altering substances, and even gender roles.

More importantly for this dissertation, paleoethnobotanical studies shed light on what was once consumed through Wari objects like ceramic vessels and wooden containers, what plant species are represented on them, and what was the neurological state of the people that used them. Brian Finucane has demonstrated that the Wari had a maize-based diet, which they likely ingested in the form of corn beer.⁸⁴

Molle (pink peppercorn) was the plant that was the most present in certain Wari sites, before corn.⁸⁵ The term molle comes from the Quechua *mulli*, which refers to both the fruit and the tree itself.⁸⁶ Molle was omnipresent at Cerro Baúl, where it was used to make a fermented beverage.⁸⁷ That beer, called *chicha de molle* today in Peru, seems to have been greatly favored

⁸⁴ Brian Finucane, Patricia Maita Agurto, and William H. Isbell, “Human and Animal Diet at Conchopata, Peru: Stable Isotope Evidence for Maize Agriculture and Animal Management Practices during the Middle Horizon,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006), 1771; Brian Finucane, “Maize and Sociopolitical Complexity in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru,” *Current Anthropology* 50 (2009): 535–45.

⁸⁵ Matthew E. Biver et al., “Comida y Contacto Cultural: Resultados Preliminares Del Proyecto de Investigación Paleobotánica Wari En Moquegua,” in *Actas CNA: IV Congreso Nacional de Arqueología*, vol. II (Lima, Peru: Ministerio de Cultura, Peru, 2019), 77–88.

⁸⁶ Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la Lengva General de todo el Perv llamada Lengua Qquichua, o del Inca*. (Digitalizado por Runasimipi Qespisqa Software, 2007), 245.

⁸⁷ Matthew P. Sayre et al., “A Marked Preference: Chicha de Molle and Huari State Consumption Practices,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 32 (2012), 234.

by the Wari. For example, at Cerro Baúl, the Wari must have intentionally brought the plant to their settlement.⁸⁸ The importance of molle to the Wari can be explained in part by its phytochemicals, which make *chicha de molle* a much stronger beverage than average corn beer. At Conchopata, both molle and maize were found in ritual context. The analysis of plant remains collected at Wari settlements has strengthened the conception that the Wari relied heavily on drinking rituals. It appears that for them, as for many other societies, drinking patterns were “practices through which personal and group identity are actively constructed, embodied, performed, and transformed,” especially in exclusive contexts.⁸⁹

The identification and study of faunal remains has also greatly contributed to the reconstitution of Wari foodways and ritual practices over the last decades. As Susan deFrance noted, human use of animals is not limited to nutrition, but also contributes greatly to express social status, in particular through the display and sacrifice of non-food animals.⁹⁰ Large animals and exotic birds, like mountain lions, condors, or macaws, have been excavated at several Wari sites, among which Cerro Baúl and Castillo de Huarney.⁹¹ Animals secreting psychotropic substances, such as *bufo* toads, could also be included.⁹² In Chapter Three, I will show how this toad, together with birds, were important motifs used on large ceramic vessels at Conchopata. Both food and non-food animals recovered at Wari sites were depicted on Wari art, but with a

⁸⁸ Biwer et al., “Comida y Contacto Cultural,” 85.

⁸⁹ Michael Dietler, “Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35, no. 1 (2006), 235.

⁹⁰ Susan D. deFrance, “The Luxury of Variety: Animals and Social Distinction at the Wari Site of Cerro Baúl, Southern Peru,” in *Animals and Inequality in the Ancient World*, ed. Benjamin S. Arbuckle and Sue Ann McCarty (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 63.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 75; Giersz, “Hallazgo Del Mausoleo Imperial,” 94.

⁹² See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the *bufo* toad. deFrance, “Luxury of Variety,” 76; Donna J. Nash and deFrance, Susan D., “Plotting Abandonment: Excavating a Ritual Deposit at the Wari Site of Cerro Baúl,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 43 (2019), 119.

strikingly varying degree of naturalism and presence. Studying animal representations in Wari art, an endeavor that I undertake in Chapter Five, could thus provide us with a much better understanding of the nature of the relationship between the Wari and their fauna, as well as other-than-humans at large.

4. Towering buildings and colorful walls: a discussion of Wari architecture

Rowe, Collier, and Willey focused on architecture during their subsequent exploration of the Wari capital and began uncovering Wari specificities in the built environment. They explained that Wari buildings differ strikingly from those of Tiwanaku, the masters of precisely cut and fitted stone.⁹³ They found that the towering walls of the Wari capital simply consisted of coarse stones held together with a mud cement and filled with rubble, in double-faced masonry and built with a batter, allowing them to be sturdier.⁹⁴ To make them, the Wari used stone from nearby quarries, privileging local materials.⁹⁵ Masons worked in sections, as evidenced by the construction seams visible on Wari walls, which could be horizontal and/or vertical.⁹⁶ During their visit, Rowe and colleagues also noticed the absence of openings in Wari buildings, made mostly of blind walls.⁹⁷ The architectural features at the site of Wari reminded the authors of two

⁹³ See Nair, Stella, and Jean-Pierre Protzen. *The Stones of Tiahuanaco: A Study of Architecture and Construction*. Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2013.

⁹⁴ At Wari, some walls are 2.5 meter-thick at their base, for only 1 meter thickness at the top. Rowe, Collier, and Willey, "Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari, near Ayacucho, Peru," 125; Wendell C. Bennett, *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 24.

⁹⁵ Rowe, Collier, and Willey, "Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari," 122; Gordon F. McEwan, "Pikillacta Architecture and Construction Requirements," in *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*, ed. Gordon F. McEwan (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 69; Katharina Schreiber, *Wari Imperialism in the Middle Horizon Peru* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1992), 78.

⁹⁶ Rowe, Collier, and Willey, "Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari," 125.

other settlements, now known to have been built by people affiliated to the Wari Empire: Pikillacta and Viracochapampa. As such, the study conducted by Rowe, Collier, and Willey was essential in developing an understanding of Wari architectural—namely building forms and construction methods.

Building on their scholarship as well as Rowe, Collier, and Willey's fieldnotes from Wari, U.S. scholars began to investigate Wari architecture in more details. In May 1985, Isbell and McEwan organized a roundtable bringing together scholars conducting research at Wari sites.⁹⁸ During this gathering, archaeologists addressed similarities in Wari architecture which led to the definition of the Wari "Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon" (hereby OCAH). OCAH, as its name indicates, puts emphasis on rigidity, repetition, and order in Wari architecture. By using the term "horizon," scholars suggested a certain homogeneity throughout the Wari Empire. OCAH is characterized by formal elements such as use of high enclosing walls and niches, specific spatial patterns and layouts, and buildings such as patio groups. Structures belonging to OCAH have been radiocarbon dated to around 550-900 CE—that is, most of the duration of the Wari Empire.⁹⁹

The most common plan, or spatial pattern, in OCAH is what Isbell calls the "patio group." McEwan and Couture define them as "[r]ectangular compounds with long, narrow chambers surrounding an open court."¹⁰⁰ This general pattern can be found throughout the Wari

⁹⁷ During his excavations of Wari soon after the survey, Bennett noticed the sheer size and lack of openings in Wari walls, which led him to interpret those features as defense features. Wendell C. Bennett, *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953), 23.

⁹⁸ McEwan and Isbell, "History of Huari Studies and Introduction to Current Interpretations," 10.

⁹⁹ Isbell, "Reconstructing Huari," 211.

¹⁰⁰ Gordon F. McEwan and Nicole C. Couture, "Pikillacta and Its Architectural Typology," in *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*, ed. Gordon Francis McEwan (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 25.

Empire with great variability in its size, layout, and number of rooms.¹⁰¹ Patio groups could serve a number of different functions: they could be both residential and administrative, and used for intimate ceremonies.¹⁰² Most of them were built in the Wari capital during a period of reconstruction of the site, thus indicating that patio groups may have been intentionally designed to service emerging needs of what we think was a powerful central state.¹⁰³

Another important architectural form of OCAH is the “D-shaped structure,” which has come to be seen as an emblematic feature of Wari architecture. As the name indicates, those buildings are shaped like a D, with an opening located on their flat side. They are found both in the Wari capital and in the provinces. They were most often of small dimensions, about 10 meter in diameter, and their interior walls had niches and could be plastered and painted with bright colors, for example with white, red, and gray.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, the number of niches seemed to always add up to sixteen.¹⁰⁵ It is still debated whether the people located inside a D-shaped structure could be seen from the plaza. For Cook, D-shaped structures had low walls and no

¹⁰¹ Gordon F. McEwan, “The Function of Nighed Halls in Wari Architecture,” *Latin American Antiquity* 9, no. 1 (1998), 72.

¹⁰² Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon,” 1991.

¹⁰³ William H. Isbell, Christina C. Brewster-Wray, and Lynda E. Spickard, “Architectural and Spatial Organization at Huari,” in *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, ed. William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1991), 51.

¹⁰⁴ Donna J. Nash, “Wari Political Organization,” in *Andean Civilization*, ed. Joyce Marcus and Patrick Ryan Williams, Monograph 63 (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2016), 261; Patrick Ryan Williams, “The Role of Disaster in the Development of Agriculture and the Evolution of Social Complexity in the South-Central Andes” (Ph.D. dissertation, Gainesville, FL, University of Florida, 1997); Anita G. Cook, “Huari D-Shape Structures, Sacrificial Offerings and Divine Kingship,” in *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, ed. B. Benson and Anita Cook (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), 152.

¹⁰⁵ Enrique Bragayrac’s research in the Vegachayoq Moqo sector at Wari, which contains two of such buildings, has greatly helped to define the characteristics of D-shaped structures. Enrique Bragayrac D., “Archaeological Excavations in the Vegachayoq Moqo Sector of Huari,” in *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, ed. William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1991), 71–80; Williams and McEwan, “Wari Built Environment,” 74.

roofs, but other scholars disagree.¹⁰⁶ D-shaped structures are often called D-shaped temples, as their ritual function in conjunction leaves little room for doubt. The ritual use of D-shaped structures was first hypothesized by Cook, based on ceramic iconography from Conchopata, but the discovery of smashed urns and trophy heads in the D-shaped structures at Conchopata in the late 1990s confirmed Cook's earlier proposition.¹⁰⁷ These ritual spaces were almost always paired with a plaza, located in front of their entrance.¹⁰⁸

Niches were another essential feature of OCAH, present in D-shaped structures, mausolea, halls, and even patios.¹⁰⁹ Andean people have a long history of using niches in architecture, which were used from the pre-Ceramic period (3000-1800 BCE), like Kotosh, up into the Inca Empire. Not only did niches give rhythm to Wari walls, but they also served as receptacles for movable objects, and maybe even bodies. Some niches were found by archaeologists filled with domestic objects and elements of refuse, while others contained decorated serving ware.¹¹⁰ Sometimes, offerings were deposited in niches which were then sealed.

¹⁰⁶ In contrast, the walls of the D-shaped buildings at Cerro Baúl are thought to have been quite high, with niches placed at about 1.5 meter above the ground. Cook, "Huari D-Shape Structures"; Anita G. Cook, "The Shape of Things to Come: The Genesis of Wari Wak'as," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2015), 309.

¹⁰⁷ This evidence has led Cook and bioarchaeologist Tiffany Tung to consider the associated practice of smashing oversized urns and trophy heads as a Wari tradition instituted at the beginning of the Middle Horizon, occurring specifically in D-shaped and circular structures. Tiffany A. Tung and Anita G. Cook, "Intermediate-Elite Agency in the Wari Empire," in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 85-6.

¹⁰⁸ Such plazas were often the focus of much care, pointing to them having great significance. Hence, at Conchopata, a "White Court," covered with plaster, and a "Pink Court," covered with pink sand, were built in association with D-shaped structures.

¹⁰⁹ Wari niches, although unfortunately rarely entirely preserved, tend to have a trapezoidal footprint, meaning that their width is larger at the back than at the front. McEwan, "Function of Niched Halls in Wari Architecture," 74.

¹¹⁰ Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, "Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon," 296; Matthew J. Edwards, "Ritual Practice at the End of Empire: Evidence of an Abandonment Ceremony from Pataraya, a Wari Outpost on the South Coast of Peru," in *Rituals of the Past: Prehispanic and Colonial Case Studies*

Roofs are seldom discussed in Wari architecture by archaeologists. One reason is that there is a lack of remaining architecture evidence; another is that the Wari rarely depicted architecture on other media that preserved better, like ceramic. That is to the exception of the depiction of buildings with dome-shaped roofs on an urn from the Pacheco find.¹¹¹ Yet the shape, size, and nature of Wari roofs are still very much uncertain and may have varied from site to site, for example due to varying climatic conditions.¹¹² Depending on their shape, they could have been a way to facilitate access to Wari sites and structures, or instead, they could have reinforced the feeling of confinement and domination of Wari architecture over occupants and visitors.

Architects in the Wari Empire took specific care in designing floors which were integral to the sensory experience of visitors. Floors could be made of earth, clay, sand, gypsum plaster, or stone pavement.¹¹³ They were periodically redone, just like walls, most often to change their color—whether that of the natural material (sand, clay, etc.) or added pigment.¹¹⁴ This finding

in Andean Archaeology, ed. Silvana A. Rosenfeld and Stefanie L. Bautista (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2017), 159.

¹¹¹ William H. Isbell, “The Rural Foundation for Urbanism: A Study of Economic and Stylistic Interaction Between a Rural and Urban Community in Eighth-Century Peru.” (Ph.D., Urbana, IL, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977).

¹¹² Because roofs would have shaped the interior and exterior space of a building and the movement around it, this feature is still addressed by Isbell. Wari roofs could have been flat, a suggestion quite popular among scholars. For Williams Sanders, Wari flat roofs would have been made using wooden beams covered with plaster and layers of earth and gravel. The advantage of this solution is that it provides an explanation for the unusual absence of openings in Wari buildings, as walkways on flat roofs or even climbing would have been possible between structures. However, as McEwan has rightly commented, flat roofs are usually not compatible with high rainfall environments. All in all, Wari roofs were not a mere covering to Wari buildings. Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon,” 298; William T. Sanders, “The Significance of Pikillacta in Andean Culture History,” *Occasional Papers in Anthropology* 8 (1973), 389-390; McEwan, “Pikillacta Architecture and Construction Requirements,” 70.

¹¹³ Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon,” 297; Donna J. Nash and Patrick Ryan Williams, “Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier,” *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 14, no. 1 (2004), 160.

has received little attention from scholars, but it may actually give us a precious insight into the lives of Wari buildings regarding the investment of material and resources put in them, but also the sensory experience they provided, such as stability and warmth. Floors function on many levels, from engineering to identity and even comfort. The rhythm, possibly cyclical, of redoing floors in Wari open and closed space was likely connected to the life of Wari society, in one way or another, whether it was rhythmized by calendrical event (solstice, eclipse, etc.), ritual or political celebrations (religious ceremony, birth or death of a ruler, etc.), or a social event. Such change was physically marked on walls and floors, sometimes only visible to people who penetrated these structures, but sometimes also visible from afar.

The definition OCAH has yielded critical insights into our understanding of Wari buildings, but at the same time it has flattened—or erased by omission—the variations that are integral to Wari architecture. It uses categories based on specific building forms as the main factor in Wari architecture, which may not have been the way people in the Wari Empire understood, gave value, and thus categorized their built environment. Indeed, each of the scholarly categories based on form comprises structures of wide-ranging size, layouts, and function.¹¹⁵ It also dismisses variations and change. For example, Isbell argues that “Orthogonal cellular architecture makes little accommodation to site location, topography, or the natural environment.” Yet this view overemphasizes standardization in the Wari Empire to fit the idea of

¹¹⁴ This aspect gives us an insight into the life of the Wari buildings and shows the importance that wall and floor finish must have had for the Wari. We can only hypothesize that this periodic renewal acted as a temporal marker for a new episode in the life of the structure, site, or group. Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon,” 297; Bragayrac, “Archaeological Excavations in the Vegachayoq Moqo Sector of Huari,” 79.

¹¹⁵ For an in-depth study of Inca categorization of architecture, see Stella Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015).

a militaristic empire in which the population had little to no agency.¹¹⁶ Certain elements of Wari architecture, such as the D-shaped structures, were indeed widespread and uniform, but even this model changed throughout the empire, across space and time. For example, fully circular structures at Conchopata and Wari are considered to have been variations of D-shaped structures, while a recently excavated D-shaped structure influenced by Wari at Huaca Santa Rosa de Pucalá, on the North Coast, was built using adobe bricks rather than stone.¹¹⁷ It is possible that other adobe D-shaped structure may have been lost due to the poor preservation of this building material, or what architectural variations and values we are missing due to our emphasis on form at the defining category.

Scholars in the 1980s defined a list of key characteristics of Wari architecture, which greatly helped to identify Wari settlements based on their built environment. However, the definition of strict characteristics for Wari architecture, such as those of OCAH, have erased the variability of Wari architecture by over-emphasizing its rigidity. At the time, the insistence on a homogenous, repetitive, and austere architecture went hand-in-hand with the image of a military-driven empire.¹¹⁸

As mentioned previously, Rowe, Willey, and Collier had already compared the architecture of the Wari capital to that of Pikillacta and Viracochapampa in the 1950s. But in 1983, Michael Moseley pushed the parallel between the two sites further: “Both are regimented,

¹¹⁶ Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon,” 298.

¹¹⁷ José Ochatoma Paravicino, Carlos Mancilla Rojas, y Martha Cabrera Romero, *El área sagrada de Wari: investigaciones arqueológicas en Vegachayuq Moqo* (Ayacucho: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga; Vicerectorado de Investigación, 2015); Tung and Cook, “Intermediate-Elite Agency in the Wari Empire,” 74; Edgar Bracamonte Lévano, “Wari, Un Recinto En Forma de ‘D’ y La Integración Religiosa En Santa Rosa de Pucalá, Valle de Lambayeque”, en *Actas Del VI Congreso Nacional de Arqueología*, vol. I and II (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, Peru, 2021), 15–32.

¹¹⁸ See Fowles, “The Evolution of Simple Society.”

rectangular, architectural complexes laid out according to a preconceived plan,” thus “state-built administrative centers.”¹¹⁹ The evidence for urban planning outside of Ayacucho became of great interest to scholars at the time.¹²⁰ At Pikillacta, the rectangular grid ground plan was laid out so carefully that it is absolutely striking when viewed from the sky.¹²¹ Similarly, Viracochapampa was planned as a square with a central plaza dividing the site in two different sectors, built in one construction sequence.¹²²

The rigid layout of these Wari sites most often contrasts with the actual topography of the landscape: at Pikillacta, there is up to a 90-meter elevation difference between two sectors of the site. This disconnect was taken by scholars as the confirmation that the Wari had a set plan in mind for their settlements, independently from their specific location, following the definition. Pikillacta has thus been used to argue in favor of a Wari regimented system, not only concerning its architectural program, but also its political structure. That is, the geometric grid of the site has been taken as evidence for a Wari Empire that would mindlessly impose its models onto others—not unlike Lumbreras’ vision of the Wari “destroying any way of life different from theirs.”

Wari intrusive presence in certain Andean regions, its imperial nature, and that the grid layout of Pikillacta are obviously noteworthy. But I believe that the attention that scholars have given to a pre-established Wari architectural program is disproportionate. Wari settlements were

¹¹⁹ Michael E. Moseley, “Central Andean Civilization,” in *Ancient South Americans* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1983), 224.

¹²⁰ The earliest Wari settlements identified by archaeologists follow this pattern, but more recently excavated Wari sites do not.

¹²¹ McEwan and Couture, “Pikillacta and Its Architectural Typology,” 17.

¹²² Fernando Belaunde Terry, “Huamachuco: doble mensaje de pasada grandeza,” *El Arquitecto Peruano* 282–284 (1961): 30–39.

laid out in accordance with the surrounding landscape, as in the case of Cerro Baúl (see Chapter Four) and the size, materials, and shapes of buildings could be adapted locally. Even at Pikillacta, architects did not entirely erase natural elements from the Wari compound: a small, niched hall (Unit 30, Sector 4) was built around a rock outcrop, as if framing it.¹²³ The practice of incorporating rock outcrop within architecture is well known in the Inca Empire, but it seems to have already been ongoing in Wari times. According to art historian Carolyn Dean, “At the Wari site of Chokipukio, for example, a large stone located in the center of a courtyard near water canals suggests that the Wari, like the later Inka, also identified natural stone within the built environment as symbolically important.”¹²⁴ These examples indicate that Wari architecture was far more complex than OCAH or a grid system imposed over nature.¹²⁵ Instead, the dichotomy opposing nature and culture is simply not applicable to the Andean context.¹²⁶

One of the very few Wari architectural models, recovered from a disturbed context at Conchopata (fig. 1), can help better understand Wari architecture. It cannot be used to make generalizations about Wari architecture given that there is almost no comparison to this example, but it does show the limits of OCAH and the assumptions made by archaeologists about the Wari built environment. First, its hipped roof, topping a towering multi-level structure, could not have been used to navigate in between buildings as in the case of the flat roofs. The massive structure

¹²³ McEwan, “The Function of Niched Halls in Wari Architecture,” 77.

¹²⁴ Dean, “The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place,” *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 3 (2007), note 28.

¹²⁵ Katie Elizabeth Ligmond, “The Connection Between Wari Mortuary Complexes and Inka Textiles,” *Sequitur* 7, no. 1 (2021), <https://www.bu.edu/sequitur/2021/01/14/boxed-in-the-connection-between-wari-mortuary-complexes-and-inka-textiles/>.

¹²⁶ E.g., Carolyn J. Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2010); Maria Rostworowski Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry Iceland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Craig Morris and Adriana Von Hagen, *The Inca Empire and Its Andean Origins* (New York, NY: Abbeville Press, 1993).

may have been inviting to visitors rather than intimidating, with its brightly painted façade, multiple colorful designs, and surface animated with a cornice and a row of rectangular openings. This model does have orthogonal features, with small square rooms organized on a grid behind the tower. But rather than austere, this structure seems made to be visible from afar and appeal to visitors.

While it has been heavily restored (fig. 2), preventing us from relying on certain details, the model's overall layout reveals a well-designed spatial hierarchy: first, visitors would penetrate the high perimeter wall of a large enclosure, without much constraint (fig. 3). Then, they would have to go through a single small door at the center of the tower, so readily visible to anyone present. Finally, they would have exited the tower to access the smaller square rooms, using a single central alley. It is also possible that the openings on the upper level of the tower allowed to observe anyone that would be within the court or the square rooms—granted that these were not roofed. It is as if their movement was increasingly monitored and scripted as they penetrated deeper into the structure. As such, the ceramic model from Conchopata shows that Wari architecture was likely highly decorated, but also playing with public and private spaces and exclusivity.¹²⁷

Conclusions

Despite its fairly short history, the field of Wari studies has greatly evolved over the last fifty to sixty years. Wari went from being considered a mere “Coast Tiahuanaco” development to an expansive empire, forerunner of the Incas. In both cases however, the Wari are put in relation

¹²⁷ Nash and Williams, “Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier.” For an in-depth analysis of scripted movement and public versus private spaces in Andean architecture, see Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca*.

with other, more researched cultures. As a field that has come to be dominated by U.S. archaeologists and North American paradigms, Wari studies have long focused on grand narratives on state formation, administration, and religion—discourses that are built on 19th-century evolutionary thinking.¹²⁸ More recently, many more archaeologists have started to focus on the Wari Empire in Peru, in particular students of José Ochatoma Paravicino in Ayacucho. Even though there is a strong, renewed local interest in Wari scholarship, most locals do not claim to be members of a Wari descendent community, and instead approaching it from an external perspective.

The idea of a militaristic empire lingers, a perspective that may lead to oversights, especially in studies of Wari art. The obsession with depicting the Wari as a violent power has led to erasing its variability, and thus the agency and creativity of people in the Wari Empire. As archaeologist Mary Weismantel reminds us, “static anthropological models that downplay human agency also have implications for the role we play as researchers in the societies where we live and work.”¹²⁹ Through art historical research, I endeavor to challenge, or at least complicate, our understanding of a Wari militaristic society.

Over the course of the 20th century, scholars have documented Wari presence far beyond the Wari heartland. Sites have been found from northern to southern Peru, not far from the Chilean border. Architecture has continued to play an essential role in the identification of Wari settlements throughout the Central Andes, with their rectangular enclosures, towering walls, and

¹²⁸ It is especially marking to read that there is a similar trend of over-generalizing cultural traits and emphasizing state complexity in Tiwanaku studies. Fifteen years ago, Kojan and Angelo noted that “Despite much recent discussion of multiculturalism and diversity in relation to the development of Tiwanaku, most of these interpretive models revolve around an explicitly cultural evolutionary reading of history that prioritizes state development.” Kojan and Angelo, “Dominant Narratives, Social Violence and the Practice of Bolivian Archaeology,” 388; Fowles, “The Evolution of Simple Society.”

¹²⁹ Mary Weismantel, “Seeing like an Archaeologist: Viveiros de Castro at Chavín de Huantar,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15, no. 2 (2015): 153.

characteristic D-shaped structures. Yet, scholarly definitions of Wari structures are problematic, narrow, and thus eliding much of the rich diversity that defines most Wari sites and buildings. For example, the criteria used for OCAH prove to be too narrow, and not adapted to the variability of Wari architecture and urban forms. I consider that Wari architecture was not the repetitive, dull, anonymizing structures described in OCAH. Wari urbanistic projects followed certain standards in their features, construction techniques, and materials, but they were also place-specific and vibrant environments. Phenomenological studies taking into considerations the fully decorated aspects of Wari structures, their viewing points, changes in scales, openings, colors, sounds, and smells would be extremely beneficial to our understanding of Wari architecture. My study, albeit not focusing on the Wari built environment, hopes to bring some light on other ways of understanding Wari spaces—from its interaction with the surrounding landscape to the addition of movable and immovable artworks in and around buildings.

Like architecture, feasting was considered to have been critical to the implementation of a Wari empire, although performed in restricted settings. Maize or molle beer was consumed in ceramic vessels, which could then be intentionally smashed and deposited. Such ceramic deposits have been found throughout the Wari territory, and sometimes together with acts of militarism like the decapitation of foreigners, whether children or adults. This association seems to indicate that, in the Wari Empire, feasting, violence, and religion were intimately linked. Scholarship on Wari drinking ceremonies is nevertheless filtered through the well-documented practice of feasting in the Inca Empire and later Andean ethnography.¹³⁰ In the end, the scope

¹³⁰ E.g. D’Altroy and Earle, “Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy”; Tamara L Bray, “Inka Pottery as Culinary Equipment: Food, Feasting, and Gender in Imperial State Design,” *Latin American Antiquity* 14, no. 1 (2003): 3–28; Justin Jennings and Brenda J. Bowser, eds., *Drink, Power, and Society in the Andes* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2009); Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

and aim of Wari feasts is not well understood, as it now seems that the Wari did not always use feasting as a mode of economical redistribution like the Incas.

Considering the multivocal nature of empires, the Wari Empire—if indeed an empire—may have resorted to different political and economic strategies to expand its influence, leaving room for autonomy and variability at the local level—an aspect that I explore specifically on the artistic level. More recent developments in Wari studies, such as the advent of bioarcheology and paleoethnobotany research and the identification of new Wari settlements, seem to support that conclusion. On the one hand, they have confirmed that the Wari Empire was powerful, establishing colonies from the coast up to the Andean jungle and bringing non-locals into their heartland to be sacrificed. On the other hand, they have shown that Wari presence was solely limited to certain geographical nodes, and that any centralized power was likely mitigated by local elites—not unlike the Inca Empire.

Cultural contacts, external influence, and violence were important dynamics that shaped life and art in the Wari Empire. These aspects may however have been overemphasized in scholarship. In my research, I hope to nuance these by showing how Wari artists developed their own visual and material identity, independently from previous and contemporary cultural groups, while allowing for variation. I believe that there is an urgent need to re-analyze Wari material remains. While I do not believe that artists and architects of the Wari Empire were simply copying and pasting its architectural forms, ceramics, textiles, etc. throughout its empire, there is an undeniable structure behind it. The tension between these two poles can give us insights into the relationship between Wari artists and administrators—if these two roles were even that of different individuals—but also into Wari beliefs, practices, and worldviews, and overall bring

out a new way to approach authorship in art history. There is room to diversify our views, interpretations, and methodologies without negating the existence of a Wari Empire.

Chapter 2. The Great Divide: Studies of “Wari Art”

This chapter delves into Wari artistic practices, from their production process to their study by non-Andean people. Social scientist questions and methodologies have come to define how we see and understand the Wari past, as archaeology has grown with more Wari specialists. In contrast, few art historians have been working with Wari art, and humanistic approaches to the study of the people and art of the Wari Empire are still rare.¹

Before unpacking the rich artistic traditions found in the Wari Empire, we must first reflect on the name and meaning behind “Wari art.” The term “Wari art” is one of recent use, long avoided but now becoming increasingly accepted in Wari scholarship.² The late categorization of Wari material culture as “art” is part of a much longer and deeply fraught history that reflects disciplinary divides and biases, the legacy of European colonialism and racism, and how present-day academic fields are structured so that Indigenous artistic practices, peoples, and perspectives continue to be elided and ignored. In this chapter, I consider this complex and politically charged historiography to showcase the long journey necessary to understanding and bringing recognition to Wari art. In turn, I will show the complex and varied ways in which the Wari conceived, constructed, and practiced value in their artistic worlds.

¹ Two recently completed PhD dissertations in art history did focus on Wari (or Wari-related) ceramics: Deborah Elaine Spivak, “Local Identity in the Face of Empire: Loro Ceramics of the Middle Horizon Peruvian South Coast” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Santa Barbara, CA, University of California Santa Barbara, 2015); Andrea Vazquez de Arthur, “Clay Bodies, Powerful Pots: On the Imagery and Ontology of Wari Faceneck Vessels” (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York, NY, Columbia University, 2020).

² The term is for example used repeatedly in a recently edited volume on the SAIS, written and edited in vast majority by archaeologists. Isbell et al., *Images in Action*. It is also worth noting that Anita Cook has long been using the terms “art” and “artists” in relation to Wari material culture, albeit interchangeably with other names. E.g., Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata”; Anita G. Cook, “Wari Art and Society,” in *Andean Archaeology*, ed. Helaine Silverman (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 146–66.

Both art historians and archaeologists have in common the underlying aim of refining our understanding of the past through the analysis of material evidence, but they differ in their methodology. The former relies primarily on classification following material categories, while the latter focuses on the search for visual conventions or ways of representation. Archaeologists' positivist and pragmatic approach to material culture, while inclusive, is greatly hampered by the field's methodology and kind of materials studied. First, the ideal of universality and neutrality of archaeology is now accepted as fraught, making it necessary to rethink the guiding research questions and methodologies of the field. Recent changes, such as the rise of Indigenous archaeology and the ontological turn of the discipline challenge the supposed objectivity of archaeologists in contrast to presumed bias and lack of historical consciousness of Indigenous peoples.³

Second, the overreliance of archaeologists on iconography as a methodology to analyze material culture can be very limiting, especially as imagery is often taken at face-value.⁴ Art historian Lisa Trever has cautioned against this tendency in the study of Moche portrait vessels by archaeologists: “these approaches to ancient images close the door to explorations of plastic imagination, sculptural creativity, and visual rhetoric, which might or might not have been based

³ Ivana Carina Jofré Luna, Indigenous archaeologist from Argentina, considers that modern science has had a monopoly on the universal distinction between truth and falsehood. Ivana Carina Jofré Luna, “The Mark of the Indian Still Inhabits Our Body: On Ethics and Disciplining in South American Archaeology,” in *After Ethics: Ancestral Voices and Post-Disciplinary Worlds in Archaeology*, ed. Alejandro Haber and Nick Shepherd (New York, NY: Springer, 2015): 55-78. See also Rachel Crellin et al., *Archaeological Theory in Dialogue: Situating Relationality, Ontology, Posthumanism, and Indigenous Paradigms* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 6; Peter M. Whiteley, “Archaeology and Oral Tradition: The Scientific Importance of Dialogue,” *American Antiquity* 67 (2002): 405–15.

⁴ Archaeologist Rosemary Joyce summarizes the methodological limitations of the social sciences in terms of research question and methodologies by avoiding the term and concept of art: “By ruling them out along with the word “art,” my discipline impeded my attention to them, until the adoption of concepts of “communities of practice” and “technological style” gave me an alternative vocabulary. Yet it did not admit what I would assert: these things were art.” Zainab Bahrani et al., “Questions on ‘World Art History’,” 188.

in observation (...).”⁵ That is, purely scientific perspectives on material culture prove reductive, as they build on literal readings of objects and structures without taking into consideration the intellectual, emotional, and creative factors that come into play in their making.

Third, archaeologists generally focus only on materials that have survived in context, meaning that they tend to marginally use museum collections and ignore practices which only survive through representations, like clothing or body modifications. Such is the case in Wari studies, where ceramics have, and still are, used by archaeologists as iconographic evidence to support imperial narratives, while other types of Wari objects, such as wood sculptures and face paint have received much less attention.⁶

There are many exciting developments that begin to address the aforementioned issues in Andean archaeology. Yet, much remains to be done in Andean art history. The rise of archaeology in the 20th century as a standalone discipline largely contributed to the disregard of art historians for the material culture of the Americas: as archaeologists became the scholars in charge of the textless societies, art historians gained custody of so-called historical societies.⁷ In consequence, art historians neglected, if not completely overlooked Andean artistic traditions until the last few decades of the 20th century, and many continue to do so today. This reflects not only the complex history of colonialism in which the field of art history is rooted, but also a

⁵ Lisa Trever, “A Moche Riddle in Clay: Object Knowledge and Art Work in Ancient Peru,” *The Art Bulletin* 101, no. 4 (2019), 24.

⁶ E.g. Cook, “The Emperor’s New Clothes”; Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata”; William H. Isbell, “Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon: Wari, Tiwanaku, and the Late SAIS Era,” in *Images in Action: The Southern Andean Iconographic Series*, 427–78; Patricia J. Knobloch, “Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata: An Interpretation of Anadenanthera Colubrina Iconography,” *Latin American Antiquity* 11, no. 4 (2000): 387–402.

⁷ Joanne Pillsbury, “Aztecs in the Empire City: ‘The People without History’ in The Met,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 56 (2021), 22.

much larger issue about what the concept of “art” entails. Simply put, what is not deemed art is not studied by many art historians.

The art world has long been gatekeeping certain traditions from the sphere of art history, only granting access to those fitting its scale of value—namely that of an elite, drawing largely from Western Europe and their diasporic communities including in South America, whose viewpoints are rooted in textual sources, Judeo-Christian beliefs, and Greco-Roman artistic ideals. In a society where art is considered the work of the “civilized,” and thus a significant upgrade from the practice of crafts, Andean material culture did not stand a chance.⁸ Andean arts were seen for most of the 19th and 20th century as too far remote from the traditional media and aesthetic sensibilities of European-derived art history given the common use of abstraction, geometric forms, and repetitive designs on Andean pottery, rock outcrops, and textile. Indigenous Andean works were not easily accessible to outsiders, nor their value recognizable. Hence, they were dismissed, misread, or considered too rough and stylized to deserve visual analysis.⁹

It is only by following the already existing codes of the discipline, namely through elite collecting, that some objects and artists not traditionally represented in the art historical canon got attention from certain publics and later scholars.¹⁰ This correlation between upper-income Eurocentric collecting practices and the recognition of some non-European traditions as “art” is well illustrated by the case of Andean textiles, which have been treated as artworks and studied

⁸ Sally J. Markowitz, “The Distinction between Art and Craft,” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 28, no. 1 (1994): 55–70.

⁹ Esther Pasztory, “Andean Aesthetics,” in *Thinking with Things: Toward a New Vision of Art* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), 197–207; Carolyn J. Dean, “The Trouble with (the Term) Art,” *Art Journal* 65, no. 2 (2006): 24–32.

¹⁰ Shelly Errington, “What Became Authentic Primitive Art,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 2 (1994), 204.

by art historians for much longer than objects in other media from the same region.¹¹ For example, in 1914, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York transferred most of its collections from the Indigenous Americas to the American Museum of Natural History, to the exception of Andean textiles. As we will come to see in this chapter, Andean textiles have long been acquired by both institutions and private collectors in Europe and the United States, which is likely due to the pictorial nature of Andean woven works, as well as the fact that they were used as a source of inspiration for modern industrial designers.¹² To this day, only four professional art historians—Ann P. Rowe, Rebecca Stone-Miller, Susan Bergh, and Mary Frame—have specialized on Wari art, and all have focused on textile studies.¹³

Then, what is “Wari art”? In the second half of the 20th century, art historians and newly independent countries witnessed and sometimes questioned the rise of art history as a global discipline.¹⁴ As art historian Zainab Bahrani writes, few are the scholars who have considered “world art as an epistemologically different enterprise than simply adding a few other cultures at the side of the standard Eurocentric narrative.”¹⁵ Hence, if art is culturally, temporally, and spatially located, the field of art history still struggles to reflect diversity beyond formalism. In

¹¹ E.g. Rebecca Stone-Miller, “Color Patterning and the Huari Artist: The ‘Lima Tapestry’ Revisited,” in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles, April 7th and 8th, 1984*, ed. Ann P. Rowe (Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles, Washington, D.C: Textile Museum, 1986), 137–50; Susan E. Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics” (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York, NY, Columbia University, 1999); Susan A. Niles, “Artist and Empire in Inca and Colonial Textiles,” in *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*, ed. Rebecca Stone-Miller (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 51–65.

¹² Pillsbury, “Aztecs in the Empire City,” 23. For the role of textiles and Andean designs in the first half of 20th century, see also Natalia Majluf and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Elena Izcue: El Arte Precolombino En La Vida Moderna* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima : Fundación Telefónica, 1999).

¹³ See section 2 on textiles

¹⁴ Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991); James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?*, Art Seminar 3 (New York, NY and London: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁵ Zainab Bahrani et al., “Questions on ‘World Art History,’” *Perspective. Actualité en histoire de l’art*, no. 2 (2014), 184.

this context, art historians need to address the ways in which groups have placed value on their material culture over time, and scholars of the Andes have an important role to play to that end.

Art historian Carolyn Dean has argued that simply using the word “art” to refer to a material culture produced outside the realm of elite Eurocentric cultures is not only fraught and inaccurate, but also blatantly insensitive and deeply embedded in European imperialism.¹⁶ And by using this term, we flatten, if not eliminate the richness of meaning and value in distinct practices. Following Dean, I believe that it is essential for us art historians to acknowledge our biases and attempt to grasp how the peoples who produced the works we are studying understood themselves. There is little doubt that the Wari had a different perception and categorization of their works than we do of their “art” today, although the temporal distance and the uncertainty of which language they spoke make it difficult to understand their artistic practices. In my research, I refer to Indigenous terms and concepts in Quechua (*runasimi*) and Aymara whenever possible and seek to use Indigenous categories. While Quechua and Aymara taxonomies may not directly map onto that of the Wari, it is much closer than contemporary practices, ontologies, and categories inherited from Europe.

I deliberately employ the term “art” when discussing Wari material and visual culture as I consider it a very useful tool for my art historical perspective. I use the term “art” to signal its value and thus rightful place in the disciplines of art history. Art historians bring different methodologies and research questions to the study of objects, architectures, and intangible practices than archaeologists, and as such complement their work. For example, if the conditions of production and use of Indigenous objects (art by appropriation, according to cultural anthropologist Shelly Errington) may have differed from those of modern European artworks (art

¹⁶ Dean, “The Trouble with (the Term) Art,” 27.

by intention) both share an interest for visual qualities, formal strategies, material associations, technical mastery, and the development, following, and breaking of conventions.¹⁷ Including Wari objects and practices into the art world allows us to shed light on those aspects of Wari material and intangible culture which are often overlooked when discussed within the scope of craft production and social complexity. Art historians thus have a lot to contribute by bridging their unique approach to material and visual culture with that of archaeologists. To that end, I wish to push to the fore Wari visual and material strategies beyond narratives of collective guidelines that erase artistic agency and creative processes, while incorporating archaeological context and background to my research.

I believe that accepting that the concept of art is fraught and biased, but also necessary to use given the disciplinary realities of scholarship and museums today. Using this term for Wari material culture and intangible practices, like body painting, will allow us to participate in larger conversations about artistic practices across disciplines and cultures.¹⁸ Not only can fields traditionally excluded from the artistic canon benefit from art historical research, but the discipline of art history has also a lot to gain from studying artistic practices outside those of mainstream European diasporic traditions. That is especially true of the Americas before their transatlantic colonization, considering that local Indigenous artistic traditions developed completely outside of the realm of European influence, therefore decentering values and narratives from the so-called Old World.¹⁹ Studying them can challenge, if not revolutionize how we understand the history of artistic practice and thus of “art.” As we will come to see in this

¹⁷ Errington, “What Became Authentic Primitive Art,” 202.

¹⁸ For a similar approach, see Marit K. Munson, *The Archaeology of Art in the American Southwest*, Issues in Southwest Archaeology (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Bahrani et al., “Questions on ‘World Art History’,” 183.

dissertation, Wari art encourages us to rethink major art historical concepts like that of authorship, as one that can be both singular and collaborative.

Categorizing Wari art: history and challenges

Throughout this chapter, I will detail the history of the study of Wari art to shed light on the current state of the field and provide information on the technologies used to make Wari art. Understanding ways of making is critical to unraveling the connections and effects that an object might have had on both humans and non-humans, which are essential to study and acknowledge as part of Indigenous studies.²⁰ In the Ayacucho region today (the former Wari heartland), people believe that knowledge is found in the hands, and that technical skills are critical to one's identity as Andean.²¹ Wari technologies laid out in this chapter can differ greatly in their tools, limits, processes, and meaning from technologies more often studied in canonical art history. For that reason, I provide here a short, but necessary, overview of these different modes of making.

Over the past century, research on Wari art has focused almost exclusively on two materials: ceramics and textile. Each has been studied by a distinct academic discipline: ceramics by archaeologists, mainly using material recovered from excavations, and textiles by art historians, relying mostly on museum collections.²² There are two main reasons behind the divide in scholarship of Wari ceramics and textile. First, explorers and looters have long taken

²⁰ Jerry Lee Rosiek, Jimmy Snyder, and Scott L. Pratt, "The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency: Making the Case for Respectful Anti-Colonial Engagement," *Qualitative Inquiry* 26, no. 3–4 (2019): 331–46.

²¹ Carlos Flores Lizana, "Hacia una formación de una antropología de la persona en la cultura andina quechua peruana", en *Ayacucho a 500 años de la conquista de América*, ed. Ranulfo Caverro Carrasco (Ayacucho, Peru: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1992), 38. See Cook, "Wari Art and Society," 150.

²² There are exceptions in the case of iconographical studies conducted by archaeologists; however, these remain superficial and focus only on the imagery of an object, rather than their making, use, reuse, and discard. E.g. Knobloch, "Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata."

Wari weavings from Peru to sell them on the art market, most often without any accompanying information on their provenance, to answer the interest of museums and private collectors for Andean textiles. Alan Sawyer, director of the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. and himself collector of Andean textiles, lamented in the 1960s that “[o]f the several hundred Tiahuanaco [Wari] tapestry shirts in public and private collections, the number which has been scientifically excavated or which come to us with reliable provenience and associated data is pitifully small.”²³ Thirty years later, Susan Bergh calculated that only 10% of the tunics she examined had a geographical provenance, and of these, less than half had a documented context of finding.²⁴ In consequence, the conditions of finding and preservation of Wari objects differ greatly for ceramics and textiles.

The second reason behind the “great divide” of studies of Wari art is the gendered associations of archaeology versus that of art history. On the one hand, pottery lies at the core of archaeological studies, a male dominated field in the 20th century. On the other hand, textile has long been perceived as a low-level female craft, made by women and studied by women.²⁵ This has been the case although weaving was not simply a domestic art in the Andes, but a currency

²³ Alan R. Sawyer, “Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design,” *Textile Museum Journal* 1, no. 2 (1963): 27; Jennifer Vanderfluit, *Alan R. Sawyer Fonds*, University of British Columbia Archives (University of British Columbia, 2015).

²⁴ Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics,” 15. Of the few Wari tunics with a detailed provenance, the majority were recovered in burials, as exterior coverings of funerary bundles. Wilhelm Reiss and Alphons Stübel, *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru: A Contribution to Our Knowledge of the Empire of the Incas* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1887), plates 14-6; Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics,” 16.

²⁵ As textile writer Brenda Lin simply puts, “The idea of textiles as an art medium and art form didn’t take hold until recently because of its gendered assignment and for the fact that weaving, knitting, and sewing were largely dismissed as “women’s work.” Brenda Lin, “Textiles: The Art of Women’s Work,” Sothebys.com, March 7, 2020, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/textiles-the-art-of-womens-work>. See also Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women’s Work: The First 20,000 Years* (New York, NY: Norton, 1994); Brenda D. Phillips, “Women’s Studies in the Core Curriculum: Using Women’s Textile Work to Teach Women’s Studies and Feminist Theory,” *Feminist Teacher* 9, no. 2 (1995): 89–92.

valued and controlled, for example in the Inca Empire.²⁶ To the exception of Alan R. Sawyer and a few others, scholars of Wari textiles have been women.²⁷ Although it might appear at first anecdotal, the entrenched divide between male archaeologists and female art historians in is the structure of many universities has greatly contributed to the dichotomy in studies of Wari ceramics and textiles as often two gendered, mutually exclusive domains (often viewed hierarchically in favor of men). These three factors explain the division of Wari artistic studies by media and discipline but are far from justifying it. If anything, they should push scholars to bridge that gap and shed light of the artificial nature of this separation brought by academia and the history of collecting.

We have still little understanding of the categories used by Wari artists—what they saw as distinct in their own worldview but also in their own practice. For example, it is entirely possible that the individual in charge of shaping clay was different from the one painting the ceramic; that same person may have painted other types of surfaces, such as plastered walls, or even skin for body paint. We can thus question whether media should be used as the main divisions in Wari art, rather than modes of making like modeling, painting, or sculpting? Medium-based categories are the now standard way to approach Wari art, but it is critical to at least acknowledge that this classification is anchored in Euro-American disciplinary divides and

²⁶ John V. Murra, “Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State,” *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962): 710–28. Based on Andean ethnographical research, it is also possible that men may have participated in the spinning or weaving process. Grace Goodell, “A Study of Andean Spinning in the Cuzco Region,” *Textile Museum Journal* 2, no. 4 (1968): 2–8.

²⁷ Textile amateurs William J. Conklin and Joerg Haeberli did publish their studies. More recently, anthropologist Jeffrey Splitstoser has been studying Wari textile and khipu structures. Conklin, “Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition;” Haeberli, “Front-Face Deity Motifs and Themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series;” Laszczka, Splitstoser, and Giersz, “Pre-Columbian Textile Structures at Castillo de Huarmey, Peru.”

circumstances of discovery rather than in Andean thinking, and thus that this division can hinder our understanding of Wari artistic processes at large.

It is assumed that Wari objects were intended for specific activities, to be worn, held, and/or used to contain food, drinks, and other materials or substances, no matter their material, although this statement might be nuanced. Wari ceramic depictions of fully clad human beings attest to the fact that Wari art was meant to be a bridge between media to produce an almost synesthetic experience, combining multiple textures, sounds, smells, and colors on and around the body. In some instances, bodies are shown concealed under a profusion of motifs and colors from their garments, accessories, and face paint (fig. 4). Ceramic, textile, wood, metal, shell, and stone objects also shared a repertoire of motifs, from geometric patterns to supernatural creatures, which seems to indicate that they were not necessarily perceived as distinct but rather may have been understood as interrelated (see Chapter Five).

I strive to approach the study of Wari artworks across materials and question the categories used to examine Wari art, although this will be a long, difficult, and likely imperfect process. In the upcoming chapters, I will attempt to challenge artificial disciplinary categories and show how overlaps can improve our knowledge of Wari artistic practices and values. Nevertheless, this historiographic chapter will follow a medium-based division to highlight how Wari studies came to be and their basis in our technological knowledge of Wari ceramic and textile production.

1. Ceramic Studies

Ceramics are by far the most studied type of Wari artworks for several reasons. First, it preserves very well given its inorganic nature. Second, pottery has long been an essential object of study in archaeology, as ceramics take part in a wide array of tasks and are ubiquitous around the globe

and can thus inform our understanding of past activities. Third, the classification of ceramic forms and/or decorations has long been used to determine cultural affiliation and dating of a site or structure—albeit not always accurately.²⁸

Ceramic classifications are far from neutral and rely on three major assumptions: that form reflects function, that there is a correlation between stylistic changes in pottery and large-scale events, and that style equals ethnicity or group identity. While the former might often be true, the latter two have long proven to be flawed.²⁹ Another issue with ceramic typologies is that they result in an oversimplification of the archaeological record by assigning ceramics to clearly defined boxes. Despite those shortcomings, ceramic typologies have helped scholars to connect ancient pots to their past use, significance, and context.

Andean peoples have been specifically prolific in the art of ceramics. Archaeologist Bill Sillar describes ceramic as “one area of material practice that contributes to the construction and reproduction of Andean ideologies and social relations.”³⁰ Not only were Andean pots used for cooking, serving, carrying, storing, feasting, and making offerings; they were also vessels, quite literally, for the values and beliefs of Andean peoples.³¹ Hence, it comes as no surprise that

²⁸ Prudence M. Rice, *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

²⁹ See William Adams, “On the Argument from Ceramics to History: A Challenge Based on Evidence from Medieval Nubia”, *Current Anthropology* 20 (1979): 727–44.

³⁰ Bill Sillar, *Shaping Culture: Making Pots and Constructing Households: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Pottery Production, Trade and Use in the Andes* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series, 2002); Denise Pozzi-Escot, Marleni M. Alarcón, and Cirilo Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology: The View from Ayacucho,” *MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology* 15, no. Supplement (1998), 253–281.

³¹ Cathy L. Costin, “Crafting Identities Deep and Broad: Hybrid Ceramics on the North Coast of Peru,” in *Making Value, Making Meaning: Techné in the Pre-Columbian World*, ed. Cathy L. Costin, Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Symposia and Colloquia (Pre-Columbian Studies Symposium “Making Value, Making Meaning : Techné in the Pre-Columbian World,” Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), 319–59; Denise Y. Arnold, “The Andean Material World,” in *The Andean World*, ed. Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare (London: Routledge, 2018), 143–57; Sillar, “The Dead and the Drying: Techniques for Transforming People and Things in the Andes”; Sillar, *Shaping Culture*.

archaeologists collected and studied Wari ceramics as soon as they became interested in the Wari Empire. As archaeologist Denise Pozzi-Escot writes, “so much of our current understanding and discussion of the Wari culture is based on its ceramics.”³² However, our understanding of the production and use of Wari ceramics still needs refinement.

a. Historiography of study

From the early age of Wari studies, Wari pottery has been defined in relation to other ceramic traditions: local (Huarpa), anterior (Nasca), and contemporary ones (Tiwanaku). Far from the Inca assemblage, which is often mistakenly considered unique and homogeneous in time and space, Wari pottery is viewed as permeated by external influences. This paradigm shaped the way Wari ceramics are perceived in Andean studies today. Hence, the first typology of the ceramic of Wari established in 1946 by Rowe, Collier, and Willey singled out Wari ceramics resembling Nasca and Tiwanaku pottery.³³

Early categorizations of Wari pottery, partial and limited to specific sites, were soon left aside in favor of the first extensive Wari ceramic typology elaborated in 1964 by Dorothy Menzel, based on ceramic decoration.³⁴ Using a method called “similarity seriation,” she began with sorting groups of ceramics found in close contexts, such as burials or pits, according to their similarity

³² Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 255.

³³ In addition to their own surface collection of 252 sherds, the authors used the ceramic sherds collected by Lila O’Neale in 1931 when visiting the site with Tello. Rowe, Collier, and Willey, “Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari,” 128-129.

³⁴ Plainware, which constitutes an important part of Wari pots, is thus not included in the typology. However, while plain cooking, serving, or storage vessels held an important role in the daily and even ceremonial life of the Wari empire, they are beyond the scope of my research. See Gabriel Ramón and Martha Bell, “Re-Placing Plainware: Production and Distribution of Domestic Pottery, and the Narration of the Pre-Colonial Past in the Peruvian Andes,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 32, no. 4 (2013): 595–613; DLouise Deglin, Donna J. Nash, and Patrick Ryan Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives: The Variety of Decorated Ceramics at Cerro Baúl,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 42, no. 2 (2022): 1–26.

with known earlier and later productions, such as Nasca and Tiwanaku. She then defined styles according to similar features such as themes (religious or secular according to her) and design elements. In total, she defined eleven styles of Wari ceramics, which she assigned to specific periods and regions. Menzel determined that Wari pottery was originally influenced by that of Nasca, but that during the Middle Horizon Epoch 1A, a new religious cult was introduced to the Wari heartland from Tiwanaku and spread through ceramic.³⁵

Certain ceramic styles defined by Menzel were used to explain Wari imperial expansion, as they originated in the Wari heartland but were found much further afield. For example, Chakipampa and Okros vessels were collected as far south as Cerro Baúl in the Moquegua Valley, on the Peruvian border with Chile, and north as Castillo de Huarney.³⁶ Overall, Menzel's intention was to use ceramic styles as a tool to determine the chronology of a site or structure, the spread of the Wari Empire, and its interaction with Tiwanaku and Nasca. In consequence, the ceramic typology that she elaborated shaped the value that many scholars attributed to Wari pottery and especially the role of Tiwanaku imagery, often over-emphasizing the role of the so-called ceremonial wares.

Wari archaeologists starting in the 1980s chose to focus on Menzel's ceremonial styles, supposedly the ones that would give the key to Wari political organization and religious ideology. They began investigating monumental, intentionally broken ceramics, most of them

³⁵ Menzel, "Style and Time in the Middle Horizon," 66.

³⁶ While it is true that Chakipampa vessels first emerged in the Wari heartland, it was discovered later that the Chakipampa and Robles Moqo vessels found at Cerro Baúl had been made locally. Patrick Ryan Williams et al., "Wari Ceramic Production in the Heartland and Provinces," in *Ceramics of the Indigenous Cultures of South America: Studies of Production and Exchange through Compositional Analysis*, ed. Kevin J. Vaughn, Hector Neff, and Michael D. Glascock (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), 125–33; Milosz Giersz, *Castillo de Huarney: Un Centro del Imperio Wari en la Costa Norte del Peru* (Lima: Ediciones del Hipocampo, 2017), 202.

decorated with a Tiwanaku-related imagery.³⁷ Isbell thus suggested that large offerings of Wari pottery were a recurring event performed at regular intervals, every 11 to 18 years, possibly to celebrate the beginning or end of a reign.³⁸ More recently however, Isbell started to doubt the identification of certain deposits of intentionally broken ceramic, now considering some as disturbed contexts.³⁹ Surprisingly, little effort has been made to summarize the defining qualities of each style laid out by Menzel in her 100-page article, making those categories even more difficult to grasp for the neophytes. The lack of illustrated examples and her vague descriptions have led to localized interpretations that are not consistent between regions or researchers.

Few scholars have attempted to impose their own taxonomy despite the clear need for a heavily revised, or even entirely new, typology for Wari ceramics. Christine Brewster-Wray created for her dissertation a typology of Wari vessel shapes based on the assemblage from the Moraduchayoq sector at Wari, which brings another dimension to Menzel's classification of Wari ceramics by style.⁴⁰ Brewster-Wray's typology has a limited application even though it is enlightening for the intended function of Wari ceramic vessels, in that it obscures the possible multiple uses and stages of the life of a single pot.⁴¹

Menzel's ceramic typology of 1964 is still in use, despite being heavily criticized.⁴² The eleven styles that she defined and the quadripartite division of the Middle Horizon that she established

³⁷ E.g., Cook, "Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata;" Isbell and Cook, "Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State;" Cook, "Huari D-Shape Structures, Sacrificial Offerings and Divine Kingship;" William H. Isbell, "Repensando el Horizonte Medio," *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4 (2000): 9–68.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

³⁹ Isbell, "Community of Potters, or Multicrafting Wives of Polygynous Lords?."

⁴⁰ Brewster-Wray, "Moraduchayuq."

⁴¹ Edward P. Zegarra, "Ceramic Vessel Use and Its Role in Archaeological Interpretation: An Analysis of Consumption Patterns from the Middle Horizon Site of Conchopata, Peru" (M.A. Thesis, Binghamton, NY, Binghamton University, 2013), 13; Cook and Glowacki, "Pots, Politics, and Power," 180.

are taken for granted and widely used today, but their absolute dates and geographical associations are still debated.⁴³ Menzel tried to organize Wari ceramics into discrete spatiotemporal boxes, yet this blunt separation does not fit the archaeological records. As Nash rightly pointed out, “archaeologists may need to examine how style was used as a tool by those controlling production.”⁴⁴ Hence, if the Wari developed distinct ceramic styles, those cannot always be attributed to a specific place, time, workshop, or ethnic group. Ceramics are not merely a passive and collective product, and their use as geographic, temporal, or ethnic markers overlooks the variability and individuality that is inherent to any artistic process.

b. Shaping clay: the making of Wari ceramic

Matter and making processes may have been holders of meaning in Wari art, considering the longstanding and widespread importance of materials and *techne* in Andean traditions. Technologies are developed, spread, and maintained as part of larger cultural choices. In the Andes, ceramic-making is embedded with symbolism, echoing many stages of the agricultural cycle, gender divisions, and larger societal beliefs, values, and practices.⁴⁵ For those reasons, understanding how ceramics were made in the Wari Empire is critical to unraveling the meaning

⁴² The use of typologies in archaeology, whilst a useful tool, has also been criticized. For Oliver J.T. Harris, one is “forced to place things into singular boxes.” Crellin et al., *Archaeological Theory in Dialogue*, 36.

⁴³ E.g. Hideyuki Nishizawa, “Shifting Power and Prestige in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru’s South Central Highlands: Materiality of Huarpa and Wari Ceramics” (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington, D.C., American University, 2011); Andrea Vazquez de Arthur, “Semiotic Portraits: Expressions of Communal Identity in Wari Faceneck Vessels,” in *Social Skins of the Head: Body Beliefs and Ritual in Ancient Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Vera Tiesler and María Cecilia Lozada (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2018), 253–68; Williams et al., “Wari Ceramic Production in the Heartland and Provinces.”

⁴⁴ Nash, “Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes,” 484.

⁴⁵ Sillar for example details how the steps necessary to pottery production, such as grinding, kneading, and drying evoke food preparation. Sillar, “The Dead and the Drying.” See also Heather Lechtman, “Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy,” *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 1 (1984): 1–36; Arnold, *Ecology and Ceramic Production in an Andean Community*.

embedded in their creation process, and how the steps involved in their making might relate to other aspects of Wari life.

Detailing the process of making Wari ceramics is far from simple, as few ceramic workshops have been recovered at Wari settlements. We do have a general understanding of how Wari ceramics were made thanks to evidence such as potters' tools, and ethnographical research conducted in the former Wari heartland, where ceramic production is still active today.⁴⁶ But the details of who were Wari potters and patrons, how many ceramicists were involved in the production of a single vessel, what was the rate of production, etc. are still uncertain.

Modes of ceramic production seem to have differed from place to place in the Wari Empire, making it difficult to understand how, and where, Wari ceramics were made.⁴⁷ We know that ceramic production was often scattered in space according to specific tasks: clay storage, clay preparation, shaping, drying, and storage, a division which archaeologist Martha B. Anders defined as a "segmented production process."⁴⁸ Sometimes, the rooms in which certain steps were conducted were spaces also used for other activities, such as food preparation.⁴⁹ Others, as in the case of the workshop at Maymi (a Wari-affiliated settlement in Southern Peru), were dedicated to pottery-making and even accompanied by offerings of fine ceramics and figurines.⁵⁰ In general,

⁴⁶ Sillar, *Shaping Culture*; Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, "Wari Ceramics and Production Technology."

⁴⁷ Nash, "Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire," 332.

⁴⁸ Martha B. Anders et al., "Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi, Pisco Valley, Peru," in *Andean Ceramics. Technology, Organization, and Approaches*, ed. Izumi Shimada (Philadelphia, PA: Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998), 236; Nash, "Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire," 340; José Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari: vida cotidiana y áreas de actividad en Conchopata* (Perú: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, 2007). 157.

⁴⁹ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros Del Imperio Huari*.

⁵⁰ Martha B. Anders, "Maymi: un sitio del Horizonte Medio en El Valle de Pisco," *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 6, no. 17 (1990): 27–39; Anders et al., "Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi," 238.

more than one workshop or family was in charge of producing Wari ceramics at a given location: at Castillo de Huarmey, ceramics were made by different communities around the site, producing a variety of vessels using similar techniques.⁵¹ Similarly, at Conchopata, more than half a dozen workshops produced ceramics.⁵² However, that was not always the case, as the production of fine ceramic was centralized at Cerro Baúl.⁵³ For that reason, we must study Wari ceramic production at the local level, which I will quickly address for the cases of Conchopata and Cerro Baúl in the following chapters.

Ceramic-making starts with two basic components: clay and temper.⁵⁴ There is much commonality in the sourcing of these two materials in the Wari Empire. Studies have shown that ceramicists in the Wari Empire chose to work with local clays, just as masons in the Wari Empire used local stones in architecture—a practice not restricted to Wari.⁵⁵ The temper used in Wari ceramics was often a volcanic stone (*pozzolana*) which could be imported, whether in the heartland or the provinces.⁵⁶ Potters used farming implements to extract those resources, and grinding stones

⁵¹ Isabelle Druc et al., “Offerings for Wari Ancestors: Strategies of Ceramic Production and Distribution at Castillo de Huarmey, Peru,” *Journal of Archaeological Science Reports* 30 (2020).

⁵² Anita G. Cook y Nancy Benco, “Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama: producción artesanal en un centro urbano Huari”, ed. Peter Kaulicke y William Harris Isbell, *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, 2000, 489–504; Barbara Lee Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige: Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon Ceramic Production at Conchopata, Ayacucho, Peru (A.D. 400-1000)” (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America, 2012).

⁵³ Nash, “Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes”; Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire.”

⁵⁴ Temper is defined as “a substance in clay that modifies its properties when wet or dry as well as during and after firing” Rice, *Pottery Analysis*, 407.

⁵⁵ Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 236; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 171; Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 260; Druc et al., “Offerings for Wari Ancestors,” 4.

⁵⁶ At Conchopata, the *pozzolana* was likely imported from around present-day Quinua, 35km away. Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 143; José Ochatoma Paravicino y Martha Cabrera Romero, “Arquitectura y áreas de actividad en Conchopata”, ed. Peter Kaulicke y William H. Isbell, *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias, 4 (2000): 449–88; Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige;” Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire,” 343.

to process them.⁵⁷ They filtered impurities in the clay and mixed it with water and eventually with temper in order to create a malleable paste.

Andean pottery, although diverse and technically elaborate, was produced without the potter's wheel. The principal technique of pottery shaping in the Wari Empire was coiling, which consists of stacking rings of fresh clay together and smoothing them using fingers or a scraper, usually a piece of wood, bone, gourd, or ceramic.⁵⁸ Potters often relied on a "false wheel" or *tilla*, a deep plate functioning as a manual turntable when forming the vessel to rotate it, and thus facilitate the elaboration process.⁵⁹ Scrapers and potter's plates could be sherds or molded clay.⁶⁰ For large vessels, ceramicists could use paddles and plaques with a handle (anvil) to press against the walls of the vessels to build them and make them more resistant.⁶¹ Curved or straight tools made of wood, fired clay, but also cotton cloth and corn cobs were used as scrapers to press, shape, or smooth the surface of the pots.

Another fabrication technique common in the Wari Empire was that of molding, both in positive and negative—that is, the result may be the copy or the exact opposite of the mold.⁶² Molds could be made with one or two pieces, with fired clay.⁶³ In the Wari Empire, the majority

⁵⁷ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 171-6.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 178; Anders et al., "Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi," 241-244; Cook and Benco, "Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama."

⁵⁹ Julio C. Tello, "Tecnología y morfología alfarera y la cerámica Mochica," in *Tecnología Andinas*, ed. Roggers Ravines (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos; Instituto de Investigación Tecnológica Industrial y de Normas Técnicas, 1978), 415-32; Pozzi-Escot, "Conchopata," 87.

⁶⁰ Anders et al., "Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi," 243; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 184.

⁶¹ Pozzi-Escot, "Conchopata: A Community of Potters," 87; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 182.

⁶² Denise Pozzi-Escot and Elsa Cordova, "Los moldes de cerámica de Qonchopata," *Revista Del Instituto de Investigaciones, Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga* 1 (1983): 9-17.

⁶³ Anders et al., "Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi;" Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 192

of molds were used to create individual vessel parts or small figurines, not whole pots (with a few rare exceptions).⁶⁴ To do so, it appears that a piece of fresh clay was pressed against a mold previously dampened and covered in a thin layer of powdered clay.⁶⁵ The molded clay was left to dry in the mold, thus shrinking and detaching from it easily. In the case of two-piece molds, the two sections could be joined together after drying using a coil of clay. Molded decorative elements, such as human faces on face-neck jars, were applied to the surface of vessels using a ceramic slurry, a liquid composed of water and thin clay. Because Wari pottery production process privileged hand-shaped ceramics, it is not the result of mass production.⁶⁶

Once a ceramic was formed, whether through coiling or molding, it was left to harden until bone dry. The pots could then be slipped, using pigment and clay diluted in water, a treatment which renders the clay surface smoother, shinier, and waterproof. Then, ceramic vessels and figurines could be painted, again using a mix of pigments, clay, and water, and brushes made with human hair or cane fibers.⁶⁷ Small clay plaques served as palettes for the painter.⁶⁸ Potters used pigments that were in majority local; red, white, brown, and black were the most common colors

⁶⁴ At Maymi, a feline-shaped vessel was made using five individually molded parts. Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 247. Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 265-6. At Conchopata, Ochatoma recovered a bivalve mold used to create a whole vessel. Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 200.

⁶⁵ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 192-3; Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 243.

⁶⁶ Dorothy Menzel, *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle* (Berkeley, CA: R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1977), 54.

⁶⁷ Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 241; Patrick H. Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context,” in *Andean Ceramics. Technology, Organization, and Approaches*, ed. Izumi Shimada (Philadelphia, PA: Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998), 217.

⁶⁸ Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 260; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 192.

used, although people in the Wari Empire also scarcely applied light blue to some of their pots.⁶⁹ As the Nasca before them, ceramicists first painted the fill of their figures, before delineating them in black using thin straight canes (fig. 5).⁷⁰ In the most elaborate of cases, the potters would burnish the dried painted pots before firing using small, poreless pebbles, often made of basalt.⁷¹

The firing of Wari ceramics was mainly done in an open fire, such as in a bonfire, but it could also take place in a pit kiln.⁷² In the case of an open fire, the ceramics are placed on top and below fuel, which was lit on fire and covered with a layer of sherds.⁷³ This technique does not reach temperatures as high as with closed-firing methods, which include circular pit or built kilns made of rock covered in plaster.⁷⁴ The firing of Wari ceramics could be done in oxidized environment, in which oxygen circulates and the resulting ceramics have bright colors, or in reduction, which yields blackware pottery, which is less common.

Wari ceramic production was highly flexible and allowed for many artistic choices on the part of the makers by being modular, segmented, and localized. Ceramicists would rely heavily on locally sourced materials, use versatile tools, and combine hand-shaped forms to molded decorative elements across the empire. Nevertheless, certain guidelines existed in terms of the

⁶⁹ It seems that potters could use a mix of local and imported pigments. At Maymi, red and yellow pigments (hematite and limonite) were available near the site, while white and black (manganese and kaolin) had to be brought from further away. Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 237; Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 259.

⁷⁰ Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 246.

⁷¹ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 191-2; Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 268; Pozzi-Escot, “Conchopata: A Community of Potters,” 87; Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige,” 192-3.

⁷² Cook and Benco, “Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama,” 494; Ochatoma 205-209; Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige,” 195-205; Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 246.

⁷³ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 205.

⁷⁴ Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi,” 246; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 208-9.

technology and materials used, such as *pozzolana* temper. As such, the process of making Wari ceramics was deeply individualized and should be apprehended as such. There is a need to examine the variability of Wari artworks and traditions and the role that artists played in developing a Wari visual and material language.

c. An imperial assemblage? Wari vessel forms and motifs

The characteristics of Wari ceramics are difficult to summarize because of their variability in technique, shape, color, and decoration. So far, scholars have studied Wari ceramics following Menzel's typology, focusing on the different styles and sub-styles she had defined in the 1960s. As I will demonstrate, there are other ways to look at Wari ceramics which might prove more fruitful or closer to Indigenous conceptions of pottery, such as form, size, mode of making, and relationship to place.

Several scholars have compiled the shapes of Wari ceramics by focusing on a site-specific assemblage rather than a general Wari typology of forms.⁷⁵ I choose here José Ochatoma's detailed classification based on pottery from Conchopata, as my research is also partially based at that site. The advantage of Ochatoma's classification is that it completely disregards decoration, whether painted, modeled, molded, and thus shows how fraught the secular/ceremonial divide established by Menzel is.

Ochatoma lists 13 different Wari vessel forms, most of which were used to consume food and liquids:⁷⁶

1. large cooking pots, with a flat, rounded, or conical base
2. tripod jars

⁷⁵ Bennett, *Excavations at Wari*, 55-7, Brewster-Wray, "Moraduchayuq;"

⁷⁶ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*.

3. pots with a spout, which can sometimes be an anthropomorphic figure with a large open mouth
4. spoons
5. bowls, often decorated around the rim
6. deep plates, which can have a human or feline head on their external rim and painted decoration inside and out
7. bottles, including face-neck jars
8. cups, with curved or straight walls
9. open bowls with straight walls
10. jugs for transportation, often with a molded or painted human face on the neck (*cantaro cara gollete*) and sometimes with two handles used to pass a rope
11. jugs for storage, often with a shorter neck and a molded head and painted arms on the body of the vessel
12. whistles or *ocariñas*
13. figurine

Ochatoma's formal typology shows that the shapes used in Wari pottery are limited, with about as many different shapes as the Inca ceramic assemblage.⁷⁷ It is thus its decoration that gives it its breadth and variability.

A characteristic of Wari ceramic that has been greatly ignored thus far is the gradation of vessel sizes, a variation which often goes unaddressed in Inca scholarship.⁷⁸ The so-called Inca *aribalo* illustrates well this assertion. In 1915, Hiram Bingham coined this term by explaining that: "I have felt justified in borrowing and adapting a number of terms from classical archaeology." This semantic tradition, more than a verbal convenience, reflects the tendency of archaeology to use Classical Greece and Rome as reference, a trope from which Andean studies still suffer.⁷⁹ *Urpu*, the Quechua name to designate this vessel, was instead defined by González Holguín as a "*cántaro muy grande mayor que t'iqu*," "a large jar, bigger than a *t'iqu*" and by

⁷⁷ Meyers, Albert. "Algunos problemas en la clasificación del estilo incaico." *Pumapunku* 8 (1975): 7–25.

⁷⁸ One scholarly publication is dedicated to a specific offering of Wari miniatures: Enrique Gonzalez Carré and Jorge Soto Maguino, *Una ofrenda Wari*, Cuaderno de Investigacion (Lima: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Peru, 2004); another to spoons and their different sizes: Anita G. Cook, "Visllani Visllacuni: Patrones de Consumo a Comienzos Del Horizonte Medio," *Revista de Antropología* 20 (2009), 205-226.

⁷⁹ Hiram Bingham, "Types of Machu Picchu Pottery," *American Anthropologist* 17 (1915): 257–72.

Santo Tomás also as a “*cántaro grande*.” Hence, the category *urpu* referred more to the size of a jar than its form in itself. The exogenous term *aribalo*, which references the shape rather than size of the vessel, is thus unsuitable to Inca ceramics.⁸⁰

Similarly to later Inca vessels, Wari pots exist in a number of different sizes, ranging from miniature to monumental.⁸¹ At Conchopata alone, archaeologists excavated small-sized ceramic urns, face-neck jars, and a drum under 10 cm, as well as gigantic urns measuring up to 140 cm tall.⁸² The meaning of this variability in size, outside of purely functional reasons, is unknown in the case of the Wari Empire, and even to a certain extent in the Inca Empire.⁸³ There are however indications that ceramic miniatures held a symbolic role, as most are found in ritual deposits and funerary offerings; in 2002, a massive offering of ceramic miniatures, including tripod cooking pots, spoons, face-neck jars, and many other forms, as well as metallic *tupu* pins, was excavated in the Wari capital.⁸⁴ This deposit could be part of a larger practice of depositing groups of reduced-size ceramic vessels in funerary contexts, possibly shared by both the Wari and the Moche.⁸⁵ Cook noted that, while medium-sized and large Wari ceramic spoons are found in domestic spaces and particularly kitchens, the smaller ones were found intentionally buried.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Georgi Kyorlenski, “Thinking Outside the Aribalo—Linguistic and Ethnohistoric Insights into Inca Ontology” (Presentation, Institute of Andean Studies 59th Annual Meeting, Berkeley, CA, January 5, 2019). González Holguín, *Vocabulario de La Lengua General de Todo El Peru Llamada Lengua Qquichua, o Del Inca*, 359; Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Lexicon, o Vocabulario de La Lengua General Del Peru* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua, 1560), 26v

⁸¹ E.g., Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar, eds., *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 130;145.

⁸² Groleau and Isbell, “Wari Brewer Woman,” 203; Isbell, “Mortuary Preferences;” Tung and Cook, “Intermediate-Elite Agency in the Wari Empire,” 79; Cook, “Visllani Visllacuni,” 219.

⁸³ Andrew James Hamilton, *Scale & the Incas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

⁸⁴ McEwan, “Function of Niched Halls in Wari Architecture,” 77; Gonzalez Carré and Soto Maguino, *Una ofrenda Wari*.

⁸⁵ Jeffrey Quilter, “Nuevas perspectivas sobre los Moche y el imperio Wari” (II Ciclo Virtual de Charlas Arqueológicas PUCP, Online, October 29, 2021).

⁸⁶ Cook, “Visllani Visllacuni,” 220-222.

Scale and size relations seem to have been especially meaningful in Andean art and architecture. The Wari ceramic assemblage was composed of a few forms, some of which might seem trivial such as cooking pots and spoons, but changes in decoration and size were used to transform ordinary objects into extraordinary ones. If small Wari spoons could be used as offerings and large spoons as cooking implements, then form was not the factor that determined the value or function of a Wari ceramic. There is no such thing as ceremonial styles or shapes in Wari pottery, but rather modular ceramic objects combining multiple factors, such as form, size, design elements and modes of representation. Even then, the contexts of use and deposition of ceramics could vary throughout their life; for example, a fine painted bowl could serve as an elite drinking vessel but once broken, become a scraper.

A Wari pot did not simply gain value when it became a vector for decoration; its production process and materials had intrinsic value and took part within a larger system of relations with the outside world. The spaces and equipment necessary to ceramic production were the focus of specific attention in the Wari Empire: people made offerings in ceramic-making spaces, deposited miniature representations of functional forms, such as undecorated spoons and cooking pots, as part of major events, and interred ceramic molds together with semi-precious stones and camelid bones. The spaces, movements, and materials involved in ceramic-making were likely not perceived as separate from their end-product. As archaeologist Amy Groleau argued, in Wari offerings, “mundane” artifacts are routinely transformed through associations with restricted objects and their incorporation in ritual practices.⁸⁷ For that reason, it is essential to expand our object of study to include the breadth of Wari art, and to better

⁸⁷ Amy B. Groleau, “Special Finds: Locating Animism in the Archaeological Record,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009), 399.

understand Wari processes of production. The focus of this dissertation remains on decorated objects for a question of limitations, but hopefully future enquiries will continue to expand the scope of Wari art historical studies.

2. Textile studies

Textiles are critical to Wari art, especially considering that the Andes are known as a textile-based region in which garments are highly valued, and weaving symbolism and metaphors are embedded in all aspects of life.⁸⁸ As Heather Lechtman wrote, weaving techniques were intricately linked to larger socio-cultural trends and values in the Andes, given the weaver's interest in creating designs embedded in textile, rather than added onto an already woven cloth.⁸⁹ Technological variations between and within Andean societies were also significant, as garments were integral to the display of one's social identity and different cultures wove with different techniques.⁹⁰

a. Early studies

The study of Wari textiles was, in its early days, intertwined with that of ceramic. 19th and early 20th-century excavations in mortuary contexts on the coast of Peru brought to light textiles

⁸⁸ E.g. Denise Arnold and Penny Dransart, eds., *Textiles, Technical Practice and Power in the Andes* (London: Archetype Press, 2014); Anna H. Gayton, "The Cultural Significance of Peruvian Textiles: Production, Functions, Aesthetics," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 25 (1961): 111–28; Edward Franquemont and Chris Franquemont, "Learning To Weave In Chinchero," *The Textile Museum Journal* 26 (1987): 55–79; Elena Phipps, *The Peruvian Four-Selvaged Cloth: Ancient Threads, New Directions* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013).

⁸⁹ Lechtman, "Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy," 31.

⁹⁰ Amy Oakland, "Textiles and Ethnicity"; Arnold and Dransart, eds., *Textiles, Technical Practice and Power in the Andes*.

together with pottery.⁹¹ At the time, scholars considered both types of objects to originate from Tiwanaku.⁹² Despite this joint origin in scholarship, studies of Wari textile grew entirely separate from that of other artistic media and larger archaeological conversations in the mid-20th century. Research on Wari textiles became isolated from larger archaeological discussions as they poorly preserved in the Highlands or were looted on the Coast.

Museum professionals and art historians began to study them in depth when archaeologists increasingly disregarded Wari textiles in the midcentury. The specific interest of art historians lay in the making, iconography, and layout of these weavings. One of the first scholars to ever focus on the visual qualities of Wari and Tiwanaku textiles was art historian Alan R. Sawyer, who published in 1963 a groundbreaking study of the design of Middle Horizon tunics—Wari and Tiwanaku production being still confounded at the time.⁹³ In his foundational article, Sawyer explained that the images on these tapestry garments were purposefully distorted horizontally, an artistic convention unprecedented in Andean textile production. Noticing how tunic decorations could range from easily identifiable to extremely geometricized, he suggested that Middle Horizon tunics first started as straightforward figurative works, which weavers increasingly abstracted over time. He tried to provide dating of the textiles based on their degree of their distortion following an evolutionary perspective, a claim that remains unsubstantiated by radiocarbon dating or contextual information to this day.⁹⁴ William Conklin then used this idea

⁹¹ E.g. Reiss and Stübel, *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru*; Max Uhle, “Zur chronologie der alten culturen von Ica,” *Journal de la société des américanistes* 10, no. 2 (1913): 341–67.

⁹² E.g. Sawyer, “Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design;” Conklin, “Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry”; Conklin, “Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry.”

⁹³ Sawyer, “Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design.”

⁹⁴ Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics,” 17.

of progression to look at the change of Tiwanaku art over time.⁹⁵ His suggestion that weavers distorted designs on Wari tunics to turn their imagery into esoteric content is however widely accepted.⁹⁶

A decade after this foundational work, art conservator Milica Skinner and archaeologist Junius Bird conducted what was the first in-depth technical analysis of a Wari textile.⁹⁷ The characteristics of the Wari tapestry tunic defined in this article, such as the two different types of edges on these textiles (selvedges), are still used today to study Wari tapestries.⁹⁸ In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars had a specific interest for Middle Horizon tapestry tunics, which had already been purchased by private collectors and museums for decades.⁹⁹ Given their status as fine art textiles as well as their intricate designs, masterful technology, and bright colors, they were considered artworks in their own rights. These decades marked the beginning of Wari textile studies as a subdiscipline of Wari scholarship, stemming from the sphere of museums rather than field research. Even though early publications lacked refinement, they were essential to generate interest among art historians for this Wari art form.

b. The 1980s and 1990s: the heyday of research on Wari textiles

⁹⁵ Conklin, “Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition.”

⁹⁶ Sawyer, “Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design;” Stone-Miller, “Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics,” 146-147.

⁹⁷ Junius Bird and Milica Dimitrijevic Skinner, “The Technical Features of a Middle Horizon Tapestry Shirt from Peru,” *Textile Museum Journal* 4, no. 1 (1974): 5–13.

⁹⁸ A selvedge (or selvage) refers to the finished edge of a textile. In the Central Andes, textiles are four-selvedges, meaning that they are woven to size rather than cut from a larger piece of fabric. Phipps, *Peruvian Four-Selvedged Cloth*.

⁹⁹ For example, tunic fragments (30.16.5 and 33.149.53) were gifted by George D. Pratt to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) in the 1930s, while at least three whole tunics (1979.206.461, 1979.206.393, and 1979.206.394) were purchased by Nelson A. Rockefeller in the 1950s for the Museum of Primitive Art (New York), now housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Sawyer, Skinner, and Bird's initial efforts to study Middle Horizon tapestry tunics led to the rise of an entire generation of Wari textile specialists in the 1980s and 1990s. Most were women trained in art history, working with textiles kept in museums. Two eminent figures of this generation were art historians Stone-Miller and Bergh, who wrote their PhD dissertations on in-depth studies of Wari tapestry tunics.¹⁰⁰ Their analyses addressed the making of Wari tunics as well as their conventions of representation and artistic strategies. In doing so, Stone-Miller and Bergh were able to define the main visual and technical characteristics of Wari tunics.

Far from being tailor-made, Wari tunics barely vary in their dimensions and decoration from garment to garment. They are knee-length, most often sleeveless rectangular garments composed of two panels of about 200 x 50 cm, woven independently then stitched together.¹⁰¹ The standardization of their form and size, as well as their design layout and motif repertoire, likely reflect the close control of tapestry tunic production in the Wari Empire which in turn may have inspired the Inca Empire.¹⁰² It is assumed that weavers produced tapestry tunics within state-sponsored workshops, or at least following a specific set of guidelines. The making of tapestry tunics was extremely time- and resource-consuming, requiring eleven to thirty-two kilometers of camelid wool and/or cotton yarn were necessary to weave a single of these garments.¹⁰³ Each fiber had to be collected, cleaned, spun, and dyed before being woven.

¹⁰⁰ Rebecca Stone-Miller, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artist, A.d. 500-800" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New Haven, CT, Yale University, 1987); Bergh, "Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics."

¹⁰¹ Oakland and Fernández, "Tejidos Huari y Tiwanaku," 121.

¹⁰² John H. Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," in *The Junius Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, ed. Ann P. Rowe and Anne Shaffer (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), 239–64; Susan E. Bergh, "The Bird and the Camelid (or Deer): A Ranked Pair of Wari Tapestry Tunics," in *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, ed. Young-Sánchez (Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 228; Susan E. Bergh, "Tapestry-Woven Tunics," in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, 160.

¹⁰³ Ibid; Robin C. Coleman Goldstein, "Negotiating Power in the Wari Empire: A Comparative Study of Local-Imperial Interactions in the Moquegua and Majes Regions during the Middle Horizon (550-1050 CE)" (Ph.D.

To create the patterns on tapestries, weavers would use colored threads as wefts which were densely packed. Thanks to this process, weavers had a lot of freedom with the shapes they could create and with their color palette, as they could change weft color at will (fig. 6): Stone-Miller calculated that, on a single Wari tapestry tunic, weavers would switch their weft color between 600,000 and 1,600,000 times.¹⁰⁴ Colors generally alternate on the textile following an apparent order, thus forming a pattern made up of colors (usually diagonals running through the tunics) which was visually superposed to the actual woven motifs.¹⁰⁵ Bergh argued that color formed an integral part of the design of tapestry tunics, both complementing and competing with its imagery. In doing so, artists scattered the point of focus of the composition and blurred its orientation, rendering it difficult to comprehend. This manipulation of images and colors by weavers in the Wari Empire resulted in a flat and deconstructed visual, asking for the beholder to mentally identify each of its individual components and shift them into a coherent and readable ensemble.

Stone Miller demonstrated that weavers were able to introduce anomalies in the expected order of the designs and colors repeated across the surface of tapestry tunics. For example, cold-toned colors like blue and green were often added as “wild cards” in unpredictable ways.¹⁰⁶ Weavers were able to control other aspects of the tapestries’ decoration, such as the progressive narrowing of the patterned bands on the side of the tunics, a technique which Bergh believes was meant to break the monotony of regularly spaced pattern bands.¹⁰⁷

Dissertation, Evanston, IL, Northwestern University, 2010), 230; Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics,” 35.

¹⁰⁴ Stone-Miller, “Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics,” 76-77.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 187; Bergh, “Tapestry-Woven Tunics,” 185.

¹⁰⁶ Stone-Miller, “Color Patterning and the Huari Artist,” 141.

¹⁰⁷ Bergh, “Tapestry-Woven Tunics,” 49.

The close-up examination of Wari tapestry tunics by art historians like Stone-Miller and Bergh revealed how, despite the apparent standardization of these garments, weavers still had leeway to experiment with the degree of abstraction of certain motifs, their level of compression and distortion, and the making and breaking of color patterns. The gridded design of Wari tunics was sometimes interpreted as a “militaristic, state-mandated aesthetic” as Cook explains.¹⁰⁸ Yet, art historians have provided a more nuanced views of these garments, their collaborative making, and aesthetic feats.

Yet, the emphasis placed on Wari tapestry tunics in scholarship has occulted the much broader range of Wari textiles in terms of shapes, techniques, materials, and decorations. That is especially evident when examining textiles which have been excavated at Wari settlements rather than intentionally collected and curated. In the Wari capital in 1997, archaeologists uncovered almost 100 textile and rope fragments made with cotton, wool, reed, *pita* cord and *ichu* grass in a wall burial next to the largest D-shaped structure at the site.¹⁰⁹ There was no indication of tapestry tunics in this corpus. Archaeologists Jeffrey Splitstoser and Aleksandra Laszczka also conducted analysis on over 700 textile fragments excavated at Castillo de Huarmey on the North Coast and that included tapestry tunics but also braided elements, basketry, feather mosaic on fabric, gauze, double cloth, and cross-knit looping figurines.¹¹⁰ This range of Wari textiles remains unaddressed in art historical research.

As of today, certain aspects of Wari textiles are well documented thanks to the work done by art historians, such as the technical characteristics of Wari tapestry and the design of its

¹⁰⁸ Cook, “The Emperor’s New Clothes,” 92.

¹⁰⁹ Ismael Pérez y Alexander Gallardo Pinco, “Estudio del material textil procedente de una tumba disturbada en Wari, Ayacucho”, *Investigaciones Histórico Sociales* 28 (2012): 155–66.

¹¹⁰ Laszczka, Splitstoser, and Giersz, “Pre-Columbian Textile Structures at Castillo de Huarmey, Peru.”

tunics. This scholarship proved how valuable visual analysis can be to understand Wari material culture and the dynamics between artistic innovation and state guidelines. Tapestry tunics are however far from representative of the entire range of Wari textile and basketry production, and further research needs to be conducted on other types of weavings to improve our understanding of Wari textiles. Also, because Wari textiles generally lack contextual information, their spatial and temporal evolution is even less understood than that of Wari ceramic. Collaborations between art historians and archaeologists is necessary to give a more complete perspective on Wari textile production, use, and design characteristics.

3. Beyond ceramic and textile: metal, wood, and stone

Wari art is often reduced in scholarship to ceramic and textile, the two media that have been studied and preserved the most in the Andes. Yet, the few Wari objects made in of metal, wood, gourd, or stone that survived remind us that our picture of Wari art is very much incomplete if we fail to include artworks made in other materials. Just like tapestry tunics and decorated ceramic vessels, they were an integral part of the display of Wari artistic expression and identity, made through meaningful practices and materials.

a. Metal

It is no secret that Spanish invaders were obsessed, if not consumed by their desire to accumulate precious metals in the Americas. The value placed by Andean people and Europeans in metal differed strikingly: Andeans sought the sensorial and technical properties of metal, while

Europeans mainly craved its monetary worth.¹¹¹ This greed led to the melting of most objects made of gold and silver from the Andes, which is why little is left of Wari metalworks.¹¹²

Since the Wari Empire and its heritage sites were almost entirely unknown to chroniclers, antiquarians, and explorers until the 20th century, it is impossible to assert how many, where, and when Wari metal objects were unearthed and destroyed. Max Uhle, who was the first to identify Wari artworks (albeit as part of a said “Coastal Tiahuanaco” tradition) paid attention to precious metals throughout his Andean excavations, but not in relation to Wari objects.¹¹³ Subsequent excavations of Wari centers and burials yielded little metalworks, and notably even less gold or silver. That is likely due to looters picking precious metalworks and locals collecting them; this process went evidently unrecorded but is attested by the presence of unprovenanced gold and silver Wari objects in early private collections. For example, during his excavations of the Wari capital in 1950, Bennett only gathered a few pieces of heavily corroded copper pins when, as he writes, “Both gold and silver objects are reported to be found at Wari. One local collection contained two cast silver figures representing an anthropomorphized warrior, with spear and shield, standing on a flattened subject.”¹¹⁴ Just like Wari tunics, Wari metalworks began to be acquired in the first half of the 20th century by museums and private collectors, before Wari was even recognized as its own cultural and political entity. The value of these objects—likely both

¹¹¹ For example, Spaniards reached the Island of the Sun on Lake Titicaca, where both Tiwanaku and Inca people had settled, in search of gold and silver. Adolph Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati* (New York, NY: The American Hispanic Society, 1910), 62.

¹¹² E.g., Lechtman, “Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy”; Blanca E. Maldonado, “For gods and rulers: metalworking in the ancient Americas,” in *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, Timothy F. Potts, and Kim N. Richter (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum; Metropolitan Museum, 2017), 15–24.

¹¹³ Uhle for instance named burials containing precious metal the tombs of the “gold nobles” (tomb Td-8). Menzel, *Pottery Style and Society in Ancient Peru*, 10.

¹¹⁴ Bennett, *Excavations at Huari*, 70.

artistic and monetary—was so apparent that it did not have to be tied to a specific Andean culture.

Recent excavations brought to light a few Wari gold and silver objects which have allowed to gain a better understanding of their forms, context, and use. At the site of Espiritu Pampa, archaeologist Javier Fonseca Santa Cruz opened an unlooted tomb which contained two gilded wooden scepters, gold cuffs, hundreds of silver sequins, a silver pectoral, and a silver mask with designs reminiscent of Wari ceramic and textile imagery.¹¹⁵ Given the exceptional nature of this finding, Fonseca deemed that the burial must have belonged to someone of exceptional status, the “Lord of Vilcambamba.” In reality, it is difficult to determine if this tomb was disproportionately richer than many others at Wari sites, because looting and poor preservation have destroyed many of the Indigenous burial sites. Gold and silver objects may have been more widespread than previously thought in Wari art.

Most Wari metalworks that remain to be found are made of copper alloys, which people in the Wari Empire may have been the first to exploit at a large scale.¹¹⁶ For example, archaeologists unearthed 50 items made of different kinds of copper alloys during the 1989 excavations season of Pikillacta.¹¹⁷ These metals were used to produce spoons, knives, needles, and pins that served tangible purposes, but also cast into less functional objects like figurines.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Fonseca Santa Cruz, “Rostro Oculito de Espiritu Pampa,” 6; A similar pectoral is located in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, see Bergh, “Inlaid and Metal Ornaments,” 227.

¹¹⁶ Copper mines in the Cotahuasi Valley were first used during the Middle Horizon. Heather Lechtman, “The Central Andes: Metallurgy without Iron,” in *The Coming of the Age of Iron*, ed. Theodore A. Wertime and James D. Muhly (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 307; Heather Lechtman, “Arsenic Bronze at Pikillacta,” 132; Javier Fonseca Santa Cruz and Brian S. Bauer, *The Wari Enclave of Espiritu Pampa*, Monumenta Archaeologica 44 (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2020).

¹¹⁷ Heather Lechtman, “Arsenic Bronze at Pikillacta,” in *Pikillacta: The Wari Empire in Cuzco*, 131-146.

¹¹⁸ Carlos A. Arriola Tuni and Louis D. Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 31, no. 1 (2011): 1-44.

I distinguish here between precious metals like gold and silver and more mundane ones like copper alloys, but this division likely does not match the way metals were categorized in the Wari Empire. There is evidence that, in life as in death, metal studded the human body and was critical to the synesthetic performance of Wari art, in addition to serving tangible functions. One can only imagine the added dimension of shining earspools framing a face painted with motifs in red, white, or black, and the kinetic effect of silver sequins moving on a Wari tunic.

b. Wood

Wooden objects were long disregarded by non-Indigenous scholars and collectors, to the opposite of gold and silver works which were highly sought after by Europeans in the Americas. Although Andean societies are seldom praised for their wood carving, woodworking was once an important aspect of Wari artistic production. Artists sculpted wood to produce a wide array of Wari objects, from earspools and small-size containers to monumental poles. Most of these works did not survive the rain and humidity of the Andean highlands, but some were preserved in the dry sand of the Pacific Coast. Such was the fate of a very large, and to date unique, Wari wooden sculpture from the structure today called the “Painted Temple” at the pilgrimage site of Pachacamac. It consists of a two-meter-high pole depicting two anthropomorphic figures back-to-back as well as plants and animal motifs. It used to be painted with yellow, red, and white.¹¹⁹

At the time of the Spanish invasion, this sculpture was simply known as the “Pachacamac Idol,” a loaded term used in early Spanish texts. According to chronicler Miguel de Estete, in the center of the Painted Temple, there was “a piece of timber, driven into the ground, with its head carved into a man's face, poorly carved and malformed (...). Seeing the filth and ridicule of the

¹¹⁹ The sculpture yielded a calibrated date of 760–876 CE. Sepúlveda et al., “Unraveling the Polychromy and Antiquity of the Pachacamac Idol,” 11.

idol, we left wondering why they were making a big deal of such a dirty and clumsy thing.”¹²⁰ A couple of years later, conquistador de Xerez wrote that “The idol was in a nice well painted house, in a very dark, dark and very closed room; they have an idol made of a very dirty stick, and they say that it is their god.”¹²¹ In both instances, the chroniclers emphasized the choice of the wood as a material from which to carve a valuable image, which contributed to the colonizers’ negative perception of the sculpture. Not only was the “idol” denigrated by being a non-Christian, i.e. “pagan” symbol, but it was carved in wood—an organic medium perceived as sully and occult by the Spaniards. Being so poorly perceived, Wari wooden objects were not likely to be collected, or received very little attention. Archaeologists would record them mainly when they formed part of a larger corpus, for example objects found on a mummy bundle. That is the case of false heads collected in 1905 by Max Uhle in San Nicolas, in the region of Lima, which used to give an anthropomorphic aspect to the bundle containing the deceased.¹²²

The most common type of Wari wooden objects known to this day consists of small sculptural containers (fig. 7), which became popular on the U.S. and European art market in the 1960s and 1970s. Their original use and context of finding remains for the most part unknown, as they were purchased by private collectors and institutions without detailed documentation of their provenance, to the exception of a group of six containers brought to light in the main

¹²⁰ "y en medio de ella estaba un madero, hincado en la tierra, con una figura de hombre hecha en la cabeza de él, mal tallada y mal formada, y al pie y a la redonda de él muchas cosillas de oro y de plata, ofrendadas de muchos tiempos, y soterradas por aquella tierra. Visto la suciedad y burlería del ídolo nos salimos afuera, a preguntar que por qué hacían caso de una cosa tan sucia y torpe como allí estaba." Miguel de Estete, “Noticia Del Perú,” in *Crónicas Tempranas Del Siglo XVI*, ed. Carlos Velaohaga Dam, Alejandro Herrera Villagra, and Rafael Warthon Calero, vol. 1 (Cusco: Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cusco, 2017), 262.

¹²¹ "El ídolo estaba en una buena casa bien pintada, en una sala muy oscura, hidionda y muy cerrada; tienen un ídolo hecho de palo muy sucio, y aquel dicen que es su dios." Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú y provincia del Cuzco*, ed. Concepción Bravo (Madrid: Historia 16, 1985), 131.

¹²² It is now preserved at the Hearst Museum in Berkeley (4-7412).

mausoleum at Castillo de Huarmey.¹²³ Interestingly, these small containers bear traces of pigments, often red, white, or blue, and sometimes inlays of stone or shell. Wari wooden carvings, whether of large or reduced scale, likely all used to be painted.

c. Stone

Wari stone carvings, although known to scholars in the early days of Wari studies, have been the focus of very little research. The first Wari stone carvings to be recorded were the monolithic statues unearthed by local farmers on the site of the former imperial capital, which Tello illustrated in *Antiguo Peru* (fig. 8).¹²⁴ The sculptures were later photographed and compiled by Schaedel in a paper in the 1940s but have since remained largely unstudied, even after they were transferred to Ayacucho's regional museum (fig. 9a-b).¹²⁵ This gap in scholarship is especially puzzling as this group of carvings is formally homogeneous, indicating that it was likely produced by a single hand or workshop.¹²⁶ Their original function, surface finish, and location remain to be determined.

Artists in the Wari Empire did not only carve large monolithic sculptures in volcanic stone, but they also fashioned figurines of semi-precious stone (fig. 10). In 1927, Justo Roman Aparicio and other looters encountered two groups of 40 miniature figurines made of blue and green stones (possibly chrysocolla) when digging at Pikillacta. Ranging from 1.8 to 5.2 centimeters, the two groups were excavated in caches, each accompanied by a metallic bar.¹²⁷

¹²³ Roberto Pimentel, "Contenedores de madera," in *Castillo de Huarmey: El Mausoleo Imperial Wari*, 180–85.

¹²⁴ Julio C. Tello, *Antiguo Peru: primera epoca* (Lima: La Comisión Organizadora del Segundo Congreso Sudamericano de Turismo, 1929), plate II; fig. 115.

¹²⁵ Schaedel, "Monolithic Sculpture of the Southern Andes."

¹²⁶ Bennett, *Excavations at Wari, Ayacucho, Peru*, 26.

Then in 2004, archaeologists Carlos Arriola Tuni and Louis Tesar excavated an offering pit at the Eastern entrance gate of Pikillacta which contained similar semi-precious stone miniature figurines and metallic bars, as well as spondylus shell and metal figurines and copper-alloy cast effigies. This finding allowed to better reconstitute the original context of the 1927 groups, but also showed that semi-precious stones could be one material used among many to carve, cast, or hammer devotional figurines.

Much effort was put in the production of Wari stone objects, whether in volcanic or semi-precious stone, in miniature or monumental format. Their use and significance are still unknown, but the investment in time and resources necessary to their making clearly shows their worth in Wari times. Monolithic sculptures have received significantly little attention from scholars despite having been recorded scientifically earlier than other forms of Wari art—an oversight which may be due to the prevalence of Tiwanaku and Inca stone carving in academic research.

Conclusions

The study of Wari art has been split between the disciplines of archaeology and art history, and more largely between the scholarly divisions of the social sciences and the humanities.

Archaeology, with its more open and diverse objects of study, has long included the material cultures of Indigenous groups located outside of Europe (albeit rooted in deeply troubling colonial paradigms). This has been driven by an interest in answering larger questions about the social, economic, and political developments of societies, hence archaeologists have paid little attention to the agency, experience, and creativity of individuals, or the particularities of historical circumstance. Art history, by contrast, has until very recently been profoundly limited

¹²⁷ Anita G. Cook, “The Stone Ancestors: Idioms of Imperial Attire and Rank among Huari Figurines,” *Latin American Antiquity* 3, no. 4 (1992), 344; Luis E. Valcárcel, “Esculturas de Pikillacta,” *Revista Del Museo Nacional* 2 (1933): 19–48.

in the objects and creators it studied, due to its close ties to European elites—hence the exclusion of Indigenous peoples of the Americas and their diverse artistic production. However, art historians have developed important methods of close visual and material analysis, as well as theories of artistic practices that have shed critical light on artistic innovation and its historical context.¹²⁸

Archaeologists have analyzed Wari ceramics with a specific interest in their shape and iconography, using these features as evidence to discuss larger issues regarding Wari religion and the political and cultural relationships between Wari and other Andean groups. The ceramic typology established in 1964 by Menzel, in which she identifies styles and types of ceramics, still dominates Wari scholarship today, even when her tightly bounded categories and time periods visibly do not fit the archaeological record. The truth is, Wari ceramic eludes classification, and we struggle to understand exactly how they were produced and by whom. Their materials, form, design, technique, and mode of making clearly varied in time and space.

Art historians studying Wari textiles focused on the aesthetic qualities and technical specificities of weavings. Wari textiles stood out for their use of inventive conventions of representation and clear standards in shape, technique, and decoration. Colorful and abstracted, they fascinated for their resemblance to modern Abstract Expressionist art. Their lack of archaeological context, however, meant that Wari textiles were seldom included in discussions on the structure and chronology of the Wari Empire. In consequence, Wari ceramics and textiles came to be considered as independent modes of expression, when instead clear connections link the two together.

¹²⁸ As James Elkins asserts, the field of art history has not fundamentally changed its canon over the last decades, but rather expanded its focus without reconsidering the status and role of eminent artists. James Elkins, ed., “Art History as a Global Discipline,” in *Is Art History Global?*, Art Seminar 3 (New York, NY and London: Routledge, 2007), 16.

This short overview of Wari artistic production and its study by scholars is far from exhaustive. Other Wari artworks include painted hide drums, bags, and shoes, or even gourd containers.¹²⁹ It would be impossible to expand on every material ever worked by artists in the Wari Empire in this chapter, but it is important to mention that all share a common repertoire of designs, polychromy, specific conventions of representation, and a striking range in sizes. In one way or another, Wari objects echo the human body, by depicting it, transforming it, or adorning it. Despite its incompleteness, this chapter aims to make important contributions to Wari studies by showing the integrated nature of Wari art across media, demonstrating the artificial divide of scholarly disciplines, and incorporating new types of objects to Wari art historical research. This dissertation will be an attempt at emphasizing relations in Wari artistic production, rather than dividing it according to academic classifications which, most often than not, do not reflect Indigenous categories.

Hence, if the work conducted by archaeologists has been, and still is, foundational for Wari studies, art historians have a role to play in the field by bringing their own perspective, methods of visual and material analysis, and focus on individual objects. In Wari times, art was meant to be worn, moved, displayed, and experienced. Objects, people, and places were in constant interaction, a deeply phenomenological approach to art that can give us insights into Wari modes of thinking and being in the world.

¹²⁹ Giersz, *Castillo de Huarmey*.

Chapter 3. Art in the Wari Heartland: The Decorated Ceramics of Conchopata

I begin my investigation of Wari artistic practices at Conchopata, a center of great importance believed to have been a bustling center of pottery production located ten kilometers away from the Wari capital. Conchopata has been studied for almost a century, yet uncertainties remain as to its social structure and the role that ceramic-making played within it. For some scholars, like José Ochatoma Paravicino and Marta Cabrera Romero, consider that the people of Conchopata produced vessels under imperial control and honored higher powers in religious structures.¹ Others, such as Isbell, picture a city comprised of elite groups living in compounds and performing state-sponsored rituals as part of a “multi-craft feasting complex.” In this view, members of each group would produce ceramics and other craft activities for their own benefit.² In both cases, ceramicists at Conchopata are presented as “craftspersons” producing highly regulated prestige goods for state representatives, with little to no room for artistic license and individual creativity. But was this true? How much individual expression was allowed, if any, in the Wari heartland?

This chapter aims to be the first in-depth, albeit non-exhaustive, art historical study of the ceramic collection of Conchopata. In it, I explore the richness of the imagery, colors, forms, but also technology and use of an uncurated group of ceramic fragments. Through this examination, I seek out patterns which might reflect Wari imperial guidelines, as well as ruptures, anomalies, and innovations that might indicate artistic license. In doing so, I address the prevailing

¹ José Ochatoma Paravicino and Martha Cabrera Romero, “Ideología religiosa y organización militar en la iconografía del área ceremonial de Conchopata,” in *Wari: Arte precolombino peruano*, ed. Luis Millones (Sevilla: Fundación El Monte, 2001), 179.

² Isbell, “A Community of Potters, or Multicrafting Wives of Polygynous Lords?,” 74.

assumption that ceramic production was a top-down strategy elaborated and tightly controlled by Wari state officials at Conchopata and thus simply executed by ceramicists.

Ceramics were one of the main media of the Wari cultural fabric and it remains one of the best preserved in the archaeological record. It is thus a deeply informative and relatively profuse artistic form that we can examine. There are an abundance of ceramic remains at Conchopata, and archaeologists have published on groups of ceramics from the site, such as fragments from ritual deposits and culinary and feasting equipment.³ Scholars have led those investigations guided by questions and concerns from the social sciences, trying to understand socio-political ceremonies and craft organization in Wari society. Thanks to their work, Conchopata ceramics have played a key role in what we know of Wari feasting, ritual sacrifices, and ceramic production. By contrast, no art historian has conducted research on more than a few selected objects from Conchopata, meaning that little work that has been done to explore avenues related to larger questions on artistic license, historical specificity, and individual creativity at the site.⁴ The abundance of ceramics at Conchopata available for analysis that can tell us about the rich and varied history of artistic production in this powerful Wari center.

The sheer volume of the ceramics excavated at Conchopata, combined with the fact that some were lost, and others dispersed between different institutions, hinders a comprehensive study of these objects. This situation does not preclude any kind of research on the objects and fragments that remain accessible, which is why this study can still contribute to our understanding of Wari artistic practices at Conchopata and beyond. Through it, my goal is not to

³ Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata”; Carlos Mancilla Rojas, José Ochatoma Paravicino, and Martha Cabrera Romero, “La iconografía del área ceremonial en «D» de Conchopata,” *Research Papers of the Anthropological Institute* 8 (2019): 93–110; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros Del Imperio Huari*; Pozzi-Escot, “Conchopata: A Community of Potters;” Cook, “Visllani Visllacuni.”

⁴ E.g., Vazquez de Arthur, “Clay Bodies, Powerful Pots.”

provide an exhaustive account of the ceramic assemblage of Conchopata, but to get a sense of some of the tendencies and points of divergence that emerge from the close-up analysis of decorated ceramics made and used at the site. Looking at these through an art historical lens is fundamental to uncover the role and identity of artists at Conchopata and to challenge, or at least complicate, anthropological narratives that tend to overlook traces of creativity in Wari artistic production.

I examined 256 decorated ceramic fragments recovered from 38 different architectural units (EA) at Conchopata, which were excavated by the Proyecto Arqueológico Conchopata (PAC) between 1999 and 2003. In the following pages, my examination is threefold. First, I give a historiographical account of the site and lay out previous research done on ceramic production at Conchopata. Then, I introduce the corpus of study, its provenance and distribution by shapes and design elements. And third, I look for evidence of the different artistic processes at play in this group of objects, from traces of making to the use of designs and modes of representation often disregarded in archaeological research.

a. History of investigations at Conchopata

The Wari city of Conchopata emerged from a settlement in use during the Early Intermediate Period (300-550 CE) to then become an active center gathering around 6,000 individuals in the Middle Horizon (c. 600-1000 CE). Although fairly reduced in its dimensions today, the site once contained multiple ritual structures, one to two palatial complexes, and numerous residences built during at least two major construction events. It is difficult to believe that the bustling center of Conchopata is now the modest settlement it is today, divided in half by an asphalt road and encircled by modern constructions. The remains of Conchopata have been threatened by urban expansion as early as the 1970s, when Conchopata suffered from the expansion of the

contemporary Peruvian city over the surviving remains of the Wari settlement.⁵ The construction of the Avenida del Ejercito, the road leading to the airport passing right through the middle of the site has separated the site in two sectors, which today are called A (to the West) and B (to the East). While not much remains of Conchopata today, this site was once a major artistic, ritual, and economic center of the Wari Empire.

Conchopata is one of the best documented Wari centers, as it was one of the first non-Inca sites ever identified by archaeologists in the Wari heartland and has since undergone decades of excavations by teams from Peru and the United States. The visit of Julio C. Tello to Conchopata in 1942 revealed the existence of the site to the scientific community and spread its current name.⁶ However, as it was the case for the site of Wari, Machu Picchu, and many other Andean heritage sites, archaeologists did not discover Conchopata. Tello was led there by locals, who were aware of the presence of architectural remains and polychrome ceramics in the area.⁷ Guided by those mentions, Tello excavated a cache of ritually broken urns inside four subterranean stone chambers, now referred to as the 1942 ceramic offering.⁸

The ceramics from Conchopata were similar to those Tello had unearthed at Pacheco in 1927, in that both groups had been purposefully smashed, integrated Tiwanaku-like designs, and evidenced the high level of artistry reached by Wari ceramicists. The resemblance between the

⁵ Anita Cook reports that several ceramic sherds were taken by workers and locals before the beginning of the salvage excavations in 1977. Cook, "Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata," 52.

⁶ The site was also sometimes referred to as Chakipampa in scholarship, as in Menzel's publications in the 1960s. *Style and Time*.

⁷ Benedicto Flores is the Ayacuchano credited with the first mention of Conchopata in 1927. Before even Tello's visit, Ayacuchano politician Pío Max Medina had published a preliminary analysis of ceramics from Conchopata, claiming that they were related to Tiwanaku iconography Mario Benavides, "Estudio de la cerámica decorada de Qonchopata" (Tesis de bachiller, Ayacucho, Universidad Nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga, 1965), 3; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros Del Imperio Huari*, 90.

⁸ Tello's excavations were conducted in Sector A, Zone B at Conchopata, where another find of broken ceramics was unearthed in 1977 by Isbell and Cook.

elements painted on the ceramics at Conchopata and those carved on the Gate of the Sun at Tiwanaku generated much interest from scholars in the 1960s. Dorothy Menzel used the 1942 ceramic offering as a base for her typology of Wari ceramics and model of Wari-Tiwanaku interaction. According to her, people affiliated with Wari began decorating the ceramics of Conchopata with Tiwanaku religious designs after they were introduced to a new cult from Tiwanaku, whether through missionaries or Wari pilgrims.⁹ Today, archaeologists such as José Ochatoma still consider that Conchopata was in direct contact with Tiwanaku during the Middle Horizon.¹⁰ It is this similarity with Tiwanaku imagery that propelled the ceramics of Conchopata to the fore of Wari studies.

The artistic connection between Conchopata and Tiwanaku became even more evident in 1977, after road workers inadvertently encountered a deposit of thousands of fragments of decorated Wari ceramics.¹¹ Archaeologist Abelardo Sandoval and the Huari Urban Prehistory Project, led by Isbell, subsequently conducted salvage excavations at that location. They pieced together more than twenty face-neck jars painted with front-face figures and staffed attendants, design elements reminiscent of the imagery found at Tiwanaku, and they considered that the size, quality, and iconography of the ceramics was linked to the introduction of a religious cult at Conchopata like Menzel had argued.¹²

Conchopata became known in scholarship for being a prolific pottery-making center during the Middle Horizon. In 1961 and 1962, Lumbreras led excavations nearby Tello's find at

⁹ Menzel, "New Data on the Huari Empire in Middle Horizon Epoch 2A."

¹⁰ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros Del Imperio Huari*, 80.

¹¹ The total amount of ceramics sherds recovered has been estimated around 19,500 fragments. Isbell and Cook, "Ideological Origins of an Andean Conquest State," 27-28.

¹² William H. Isbell, "Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon," 427-78.

Conchopata, unearthing a residence that contained high amounts of ceramics as well as pottery-making tools.¹³ For him, these were the proof that dedicated ceramicists used to live at the site, and Conchopata began to be considered as a “community of potters” working for the Wari Empire.¹⁴ Lumbreras excavated again at Conchopata in 1970, season during which he unearthed a burial containing Wari decorated ceramics of lesser quality. For him, this find confirmed that the people of Conchopata were low-level functionaries working for the state and who exported the fine ware they produced, instead using crude copies for their own consumption.¹⁵ Although this conclusion was based on a very limited portion of the site, it has impacted the way potters from the Wari Empire are perceived today, namely their devaluation as craftspersons and the idea that ceramicists lacked creative freedom and prestige. In 1982, Denise Pozzi Escot resumed excavations in the same sector of Conchopata explored by Lumbreras in the 1960s and found ample evidence for the presence of ceramic-making activities, such as molds and tools in almost every level of occupation.¹⁶ This material drove her to interpret the southern section of Conchopata as the area where potters worked and lived during the Middle Horizon.¹⁷

In the 1990s, Conchopata was still considered a residential site inhabited by ceramic specialists working for the Wari state. When archaeologists Ismael Perez and Ochatoma led salvage excavations at Conchopata in 1991, they unearthed a residence with two patios and a

¹³ Sector A, Zone A. Pozzi-Escot, “Conchopata,” 81.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Lumbreras, *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, 163.

¹⁶ Pozzi-Escot, “Conchopata,” 85.

¹⁷ Denise Pozzi-Escot, “Conchopata, Un Poblado de Especialistas Durante El Horizonte Medio,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’études Andines* 14, no. 3–4 (1985): 115–29; Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco, “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology.”

workshop, containing both pottery fragments and ceramic-making tools.¹⁸ Then, in 1993, Perez directed excavations in Sector B, the first project conducted in that part of the site, where he also found evidence of ceramic production. Hence, all four excavation projects conducted at Conchopata since Lumbreras in the 1960s confirmed his initial hypothesis that the site used to be a major center for specialized ceramic production.

Research at the end of the decade began to nuance the idea that Conchopata was a community of low prestige potters producing for export. In 1997 and 1998, archaeologists Marta Cabrera Romero and Ochatoma excavated the central portion of Sector B at Conchopata where they unearthed a D-shaped structure (EA 72).¹⁹ Their research focused on the daily activities and spaces of the ceramicists at Conchopata, but their excavation of a D-shaped structure revealed another aspect of the site: its ritual life. Inside the ceremonial building, they found an offering of large, decorated ceramics (known as the 1997 ceramic offering) and what they interpret as a solar clock, a stone block projecting vertically from a base. These two elements clearly indicated the importance of the D-shaped structure, and thus the role of rituals at Conchopata.²⁰ Scholars came to consider Conchopata as an elite Wari center with the last salvage excavations of the site, conducted by the Conchopata Archaeological Project (PAC) between 1999 and 2003.²¹ The PAC covered mostly Sector B, and in particular the ceremonial sector around a D-shaped structure (EA 100) and the Pink Plaza (EA 104). The collection of decorated ceramics analyzed in this chapter all come from this last excavation project at Conchopata.

¹⁸ In the northernmost portion of Sector A.

¹⁹ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*.

²⁰ Ibid, 235. Since then, Ochatoma has found a similar stone gnomon inside a D-shaped structure at the site of Wari. Ochatoma Paravicino, Mancilla Rojas, and Cabrera Romero, *El area sagrada de Wari*, 76.

²¹ William H. Isbell, "Conchopata: A Community of Palaces" (Presentation, 66th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans, LA, 2001).

Scholars' perception of Conchopata shifted over the years, but these different perspectives are compatible with one another. Conchopata is now generally believed to have been a combination of all: a way station for the neighboring state of Tiwanaku, a community of potters, as well as an elite center. For scholars like Lumbreras and Ochatoma, low-level ceramicists at Conchopata produced objects with Tiwanaku imagery for elites residing in patio groups and conducting ceremonies in D-shaped structures. For Isbell however, the potters would have been subservient women who also worked as brewers, as he considers that "wives and concubines appear to have labored in crafts and services to create social events of aggrandizement for lords sponsoring competitive and status-building feasts."²² The practice of polygyny at Conchopata or elsewhere in the Wari Empire has never been proven, and there is no evidence to support the claim that ceramic production was a gendered process in the Wari Empire.²³ Nevertheless, Isbell's proposition has the merit of challenging the binary opposition between elite members and ceramicists set in place by Lumbreras, a distinction that requires further research. Were these two social groups necessarily distinct, or engaged in a relation of power? Did they share spaces, practices, even kin members? Even though Conchopata has been relatively more studied by archaeologists than other Wari settlements, there is still much to uncover regarding the role and nature of ceramic production at Conchopata as well as the identity of its artists.

a. Description of the site

Conchopata is one of the few Wari sites which was built over an earlier settlement. The site was founded during the Early Intermediate Period (300-550 CE) by people producing Huarpa-style

²² Isbell, "A Community of Potters, or Multicrafting Wives of Polygynous Lords?," 73.

²³ Tung, "Gender-Based Violence in the Wari and Post-Wari Era of the Andes."

ceramic and grew into a city during the Middle Horizon.²⁴ Sometime around 400 CE, people buried several of their community members at what is now Conchopata, under what became the Pink Plaza (EA 104). Few to no traces of domestic life were recovered dating from that period, which is why archaeologist Richard S. MacNeish believes that Conchopata was no bigger than a hamlet during the Early Intermediate Period.²⁵ The site then expanded once locals built a canal to carry water from the nearby Quebrada de Totorilla.²⁶ Conchopata was not occupied after the demise of the Wari Empire, past 1000 CE.²⁷

The surviving remains of Conchopata extend over 15 to 20 hectares, but it is believed that the Wari city once covered almost 40 hectares, with a population estimated to have reached 6,000 inhabitants at its peak.²⁸ Most of the city's structures were built with stone masonry and its urban development does not appear to have been planned ahead of time.²⁹ Far from a grid layout, Conchopata includes around 250 structures placed next to each other in no apparent order, often

²⁴ The nature of Huarpa, whether cultural, ethnic, or linguistic group, and its political entity is still unknown to this day. Huarpa presence is identified through a characteristic black, white, and/or red ceramic with geometric motifs. People affiliated with Huarpa ceramic are said to have settled in small farming villages on and around hilltops in the Ayacucho region, such as Ñawimpuquio Juan Leoni, "Ritual and Society in Early Intermediate Period Ayacucho: A View from the Site of Nawinpuquio," in *Andean Archaeology*, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman, III (New York, NY: Springer, 2006), 279–306; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 75; Nishizawa, "Shifting Power and Prestige in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru's South Central Highlands," 31; Lumbreras, *The Peoples and Cultures Of Ancient Peru*; José Ochatoma Paravicino, "Acerca Del Formativo En Ayacucho," in *Estudios de Arqueología Peruana*, ed. Duccio Bonavia (Lima, Peru: Fomciencias, 1992), 193–213; Martha Cabrera Romero, *Evaluación Arqueológica En El Complejo Turístico de Ñawimpuquio* (Informe al Instituto Nacional de Cultura del Perú, 1998).

²⁵ Richard S. MacNeish et al., *Prehistory of the Ayacucho Basin, Peru*, vol. II: Excavations and Chronology (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1981).

²⁶ Isbell, "Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon," 439.

²⁷ Menzel had originally dated the occupation of Conchopata between 550 and 700. Menzel, "Style and Time in the Middle Horizon."

²⁸ William H. Isbell, Anita G. Cook, and Martha Cabrera Romero, *Informe al Instituto Nacional de Cultura Del Peru, Proyecto Arqueológico Conchopata, Año 2000*, 2000, 15; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros Del Imperio Huari*, 220.

rectangular buildings with multiple agglutinated rooms.³⁰ The growth of the settlement was organic and change was incremental. This is not to suggest there was no oversight or collective action in the urbanism at Conchopata, as it is possible that the city was once surrounded by a perimeter wall.³¹

It is believed that open spaces were loci of numerous activities and gatherings at Conchopata, from ceramic-making to group interments and most likely feasting. The city was composed of small exclusive interior spaces disposed in a maze-like fashion, without large structures that could have been used for large gatherings of people, such as during inclement weather. Exterior spaces however, like patios and plazas, were proportionally larger than any room at the site, which is typical of many highland Andean communities, where most daytime activities occur outdoors, in front of structures, in house courtyards, in community plazas, or on terraces.³² Two plazas formed the religious core of Conchopata, located in the northern section of Sector B. The first and northernmost plaza was covered with pink volcanic tuff called in Italian *pozzolana*, which gave it the modern name of Pink Plaza.³³ It was laid on top of the Early Intermediate Period cemetery around 550 CE and was likely one of the first large-scale urban arrangements done at Conchopata.³⁴ The Pink Plaza was bordered by a small and highly

³⁰ Pozzi-Escot, "Conchopata," 86.

³¹ Isbell, "Repensando el Horizonte Medio," 23.

³² The patio group EA 98 is composed at 61% by open space and EA 112 at 41%. Cook and Glowacki, "Pots, Politics, and Power," 186; Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca*.

³³ Named after the deposit of volcanic ash of Pozzuoli on Mount Vesuvius (Italy), *pozzolana* acts as cement when mixed with water and lime and was used for construction in the Greco-Roman world. At Conchopata, *pozzolana* was used both as a sand on the Pink Plaza and as temper in ceramic production. Nearby sources include Pacaycasa and Quinua, close to the former Wari capital. Wolfgang Morche et al., *Geológica Del Cuadrángulo de Ayacucho. Hojas 27-ñ*, Carta Geológica Nacional. Republica Del Perú, Boletín 61, Serie A (Lima: Instituto Geológico, Minero y Metalúrgico, 1995, 81-83; Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 141-145; Wolff, "Potters, Power and Prestige," 126; Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero, "Arquitectura y areas de actividad en Conchopata," 469-470; Cook and Benco, "Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama;" Wolff, "Potters, Power and Prestige," 324.

damaged D-shaped structure (EA 100) and a patio-group which likely served as an elite residence (EA 112). Archaeologists have excavated multiple ceramic offerings as well as ceramic-making tools both on and around the plaza (fig. 11). The second plaza, covered with plaster, was built around 700 CE, and nicknamed the White Plaza by archaeologists. It appears to have been remodeled at least twice, based on its multiple floor levels excavated by the PAC.³⁵ It is situated south of the Pink Plaza and opens on to another D-shaped structure (EA 72) in which smashed ceramic urns and trophy heads were recovered—the aforementioned 1997 ceramic offering.³⁶

In addition to the two main plazas, archaeologists have recovered evidence of ritual practices throughout the site, indicating the ceremonial significance—religious, political, or both—of Conchopata in the Wari Empire. Most ceremonies appear to have unfolded in D-shaped structures and patios, where drinking, feasting, and sacrifices occurred.³⁷ Potters produced monumental ceramics that were used and discarded at the site for those occasions. Most often, ceramicists made vessels in sets for those rituals, but sometimes deposits comprised fragments of ceramics of different paste and design. Corn and *molle* (pink peppercorn), two grains used to brew alcoholic beverages, were recovered in the ritual structures at Conchopata, thus confirming the use of those spaces for drinking ceremonies.³⁸

Scholars demonstrated that plazas and D-shaped structures were likely points of focus for rituals at Conchopata but may have overlooked the fact that secular spaces were loci of similar

³⁴ Isbell, “Repensando el Horizonte Medio,” 21.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁶ Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero, “Arquitectura y areas de actividad en Conchopata.”

³⁷ Cook and Benco, “Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama,” 186.

³⁸ Sayre et al., “A Marked Preference,” 244.

practices. For example, the largest ceramic vessel ever excavated in the Wari Empire came from Conchopata, where it was found smashed and scattered in a small residence (EA 205 to 208).³⁹ Numerous offerings, composed of ceramic fragments, potter's tools, semi-precious stones, animal remains, and more, were also recovered in pits dug into the floors of residences at Conchopata, including in kitchen and storage spaces.⁴⁰ The ritual life and significance of the site was thus likely not limited to its religious and elite structures; archaeological remains of Conchopata encourage us to reconsider the ceremonial/secular spatial divide by including spaces and practices of the everyday into the realm of the extraordinary.⁴¹

Bioarchaeological and paleoethnobotanical research demonstrated that the inhabitants of Conchopata were in majority a genetically distinct population that consumed a lot of animal protein but very little fish and shellfish from the Pacific Ocean, although some seafood remains have been found at the site.⁴² The people of Conchopata did not seem to intermingle with groups from other regions of the Central Andes in their daily life, and the only foreigners who were identified at Conchopata were the victims of sacrifice, whose heads had been transformed into trophies.⁴³ The fact that foreigners were brought to the site only to be decapitated suggests that Conchopata was a major imperial center toward which people from outside of the Central Highlands converged at one point, whether as tribute or for a specific event which ended in a D-shaped structure. For those reasons, Conchopata was an important secondary political, religious, and artistic center for the Wari Empire at large.

³⁹ Groleau and Isbell, "Wari Brewer Woman."

⁴⁰ Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero, "Arquitectura y areas de actividad en Conchopata"; Groleau, "Special Finds: Locating Animism in the Archaeological Record."

⁴¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

⁴² Finucane et al., "Human and Animal Diet at Conchopata, Peru," 1771.

⁴³ Tung and Knudson, "Identifying Locals, Migrants, and Captives in the Wari Heartland."

b. Ceramic production at Conchopata

Conchopata became known as a town of ceramicists as early as the 1960s thanks to the work of Lumbreras; multiple technical, chemical, and iconographic analyses have been performed since then on the ceramics of Conchopata to bring light to their making, significance, and use.⁴⁴ Still, after decades of excavations and laboratory research, there is much that remains unresolved about the organization and evolution of ceramic-making at Conchopata.

While everyone agrees on the intensive and extensive nature of ceramic production at Conchopata, the exact identity of the ceramicists and location of this activity is very much debated among scholars. For Ochatoma, the type of ceramics produced in each type of space varied: undecorated vessels, figurines, and small musical instruments were made in domestic spaces, whereas large decorated ceramics were made in public spaces like the Pink Plaza.⁴⁵ Wolff agrees that the Pink Plaza was an important place for ceramic production, where the activity was openly displayed to the public, but also considers that potters worked in private settings.⁴⁶ For Isbell, ceramicists were functionaries or the wives of “polygynous” lords working in palaces.⁴⁷ Finally, for Cook and Benco, potters belonged to extended family groups who owned a certain section of the city, and each produced a wide array of ceramics for their kin group.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ E.g., Cook, “Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata”; Cook, “Visllani Visllacuni”; Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige”; Nishizawa, “Shifting Power and Prestige in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru’s South Central Highlands”; Charlene D. Milliken, “Ritual and Status: Mortuary Display at the Household Level at the Middle Horizon Wari Site of Conchopata, Peru” (Ph.D. dissertation, Pittsburgh, PA, University of Pittsburgh, 2007).

⁴⁵ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 170.

⁴⁶ Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige.”

⁴⁷ Isbell, “Conchopata.”

⁴⁸ Cook and Benco, “Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama.”

During their excavations at Conchopata, archaeologists recovered evidence of ceramic production in both public and private spaces. Sector A, in what would have been the western half of the city, was composed mostly of small domestic spaces and is believed to have been entirely dedicated to pottery production. The sheer number of ceramic tools recovered in Zone A of Sector A, including over 800 scrapers, strongly indicates that a multitude of ceramicists once worked in this sector at Conchopata. The volume of ceramic remains found in this part of the city, three tons of sherds from a 600-square-meters section, is also significant.⁴⁹ Sector B, which includes the Pink and the White Plaza, most D-shaped structures, and at least one patio-group, is also replete with remains of ceramic production. Cook and Benco have identified four major spaces with high concentrations of ceramic-making tools (CH) there (fig. 11).⁵⁰ The main area which contained instruments and materials used for ceramic production (CH 1) was the Pink Plaza and its surrounding spaces (EA 102, EA 104), including the northern D-shaped structure (EA 100). More than 60% of the ceramic scrapers recovered in the entire Sector B at Conchopata came from EA 100.⁵¹

It is however important to remember that many ceramic-making tools were deposited and curated at the site, rather than left in situ in a Pompeii-like fashion.⁵² Ochatoma, in his publication on ceramic production at Conchopata, highlighted the fact that many of the tools recovered by archaeologists at the site had been intentionally placed there.⁵³ For example, the

⁴⁹ Pozzi-Escot et al., “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 260.

⁵⁰ The spaces with high concentrations of ceramic-making tools are abbreviated CH (*concentración de herramientas*) and those with evidence of firing AQ (*área de quema*). Cook and Benco, “Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama.”

⁵¹ Cook and Benco, “Vasijas para la fiesta y la fama,” 498.

⁵² Lewis R. Binford, “Behavioral Archaeology and the ‘Pompeii Premise,’” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37, no. 3 (1981): 195–208.

high number (almost 350) of pottery-making tools recovered in EA 33, a D-shaped structure which was filled and built over during the second half of the Middle Horizon, is surprising. Archaeologist Hideyuki Nishizawa hypothesized that ceramic-making tools were taken from other parts of the site and used to fill the structure.⁵⁴ Other ceramic-making tools, such as molds, were used by people at Conchopata in pit offerings, together with ceramic sherds, semi-precious stones, and grinding stones.⁵⁵ For those reasons, the identification of ceramic production spaces at the site through the concentration of tools (CH) in a determined space should be nuanced.

It is more difficult to assert where ceramics were fired at Conchopata. Between 1982 and 1992, archaeologists have only identified two possible locations for firing in Sector A, one to the north and one to the south (fig. 11).⁵⁶ Both areas of tool concentration and ceramic firing tend to be physically close in Sector B, and most are situated in the western portion of the sector, next to what is now the Avenida del Ejercito. That is the case of the firing space in EA 115 (AQ 3) and the production space in EA 106 (CH 2), where 6 of the decorated ceramic sherds of this corpus come from. Two of the firing spaces (AQ 4 and 6 on fig. 11) are nevertheless isolated and located at the edge of the site, which does not surprise much considering the smoke and safety hazard that the firing of ceramics must have entailed. This evidence suggests that the firing of ceramics was likely conducted in a variety of ways and spaces at Conchopata.

⁵³ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 157-8.

⁵⁴ Nishizawa warns however that some ceramic sherds may have been wrongly identified as scrapers by the PAC. Nishizawa, "Shifting Power and Prestige in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru's South Central Highlands," 232-3.

⁵⁵ Groleau, "Special Finds"; Nash and deFrance, Susan D., "Plotting Abandonment: Excavating a Ritual Deposit at the Wari Site of Cerro Baúl," 124.

⁵⁶ Ismael Pérez, "Excavación y definición de un taller de alfareros Huari en Conchopata", *Conchopata I* (1998): 93-137.

If the exact spatial layout of ceramic production at Conchopata is still unclear, it is certain that potters kept and transmitted their technical know-how over generations, as they retained similar recipes throughout the Middle Horizon and produced ceramics of diverse forms, decorations, and functions out of the same paste.⁵⁷ Contrary to Lumbreras' initial belief, most of these ceramics were both produced and used locally, albeit a few were sent to the Wari capital nearby.⁵⁸ This finding is essential, as it highlights the fact that ceramic-making was a shared practice at Conchopata, in contrast with other Wari sites like Castillo de Huarmey where each group of potters used its own recipe for ceramic paste.⁵⁹ It also proves that ceramic styles cannot be used as sole ethnic, geographic, or even chronological markers for Conchopata ceramics, given that all were made locally out of the same clay by the same community of practice. Rather, the different types of Wari ceramics recovered at the site were part of a site-wide, if not state-wide, creative strategy in which individual artists took an active part.

Ceramic-making was likely critical to the life and prestige of Conchopata during the Middle Horizon. According to Barbara Wolff, it contributed to building a community identity at the site and was part of a public display, as she writes that "its occurrence in an open, visible location suggests that production may have been something of a spectacle, visible not only within Conchopata but also from nearby hills."⁶⁰ Ceramic production was partly public at Conchopata, and as such it was likely valued and celebrated. The exact identity of the individuals who shaped and decorated ceramics at Conchopata is still unknown, and scholars disagree on the

⁵⁷ Nishizawa, "Shifting Power and Prestige in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru's South Central Highlands," 265.

⁵⁸ Williams et al., "Wari Ceramic Production in the Heartland and Provinces."

⁵⁹ Druc et al., "Offerings for Wari Ancestors."

⁶⁰ Wolff, "Potters, Power and Prestige," 274.

status, role, and prestige that they once had. The fact that the people of Conchopata already produced ceramics before the Middle Horizon supports the idea that the specialization of Conchopata was not simply the result of an ad-hoc political strategy on the part of the Wari, but instead the continuation of earlier local traditions—albeit with some modifications.⁶¹

2. Corpus description

I analyze in this chapter 256 fragments of decorated ceramics from the 1999-2003 salvage excavations of Conchopata by the PAC. They are today preserved at the laboratory of archaeology of the UNSCH in Ayacucho, where I spent two summers unboxing, photographing, recording, describing, measuring, and drawing them. Access and additional information were provided thanks to Barbara Wolff and Carlos Mancilla Rojas, with the authorization of William H. Isbell. The 256 decorated fragments are far from representing the entirety of the decorated ceramics excavated by the PAC at Conchopata, as some of the vessels that have already been reconstituted by the PAC are now housed at the Museo Regional Hipolito Unanue in Ayacucho, and many fragments have been lost.⁶² No specific logic guided the selection of those fragments if that of availability. The conditions of the ceramics in the UNSCH laboratory are very precarious, as the warehouse is running out of space and the remains are kept in unstable or acidic materials which degrade over time and are packed with dust and bugs. This unfortunate situation is due to the lack of funding and space granted to the department of Archaeology at the UNSCH.⁶³ For that reason, this chapter does not provide a comprehensive overview of the decorated ceramics of

⁶¹ Ibid, 305.

⁶² Already in 2011, Nishizawa mentioned the fact that many sherds were lost in the UNSCH laboratorio. Nishizawa, “Shifting Power and Prestige in the Ayacucho Valley, Peru’s South Central Highlands,” 239.

⁶³ Very recent news announced the opening of additional spaces for the Archaeology department of the UNSCH, the “Instituto Regional de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Ayacucho.” “Rector de la UNSCH inauguró ambientes destinados al instituto regional de investigaciones arqueológicas de Ayacucho”.

Conchopata, but a glimpse of an uncurated collection of ceramic fragments, as well as a record-tracking of the current state of the collection.

a. Distribution

The 256 fragments in this corpus come from 38 different architectural units (EA) located in majority in Sector B, but a few sherds were excavated in Sector A. The loci of finding of the ceramics spread throughout most of the site (fig. 12) and represent the majority of the EAs excavated during the 1999-2003 field seasons. The decorated ceramics come from different types of structures, from buildings with ritual functions and small compound rooms to plazas. Hence, while far from exhaustive, this corpus represents a wide array of contexts and locations from what remains of Conchopata today.

The number of decorated ceramics proceeding from each EA in this corpus is very uneven (table 1). EA 100, a rectangular zone in and around the D-shaped structure on the northern section of the Pink Plaza, has more than a third (39%) of the total fragments in this corpus. The EA that contained the second most decorated ceramics (18%) is EA 104 and its sub-EAs, which correspond to sections of the Pink Plaza. That is, 57% of the ceramics in this corpus come from the Pink Plaza and its associated D-shaped structure; this is likely since decorated ceramics were both made and deposited in numbers in that portion of the site.

Sector A was not the focus of the 1999-2003 excavations, but 19 ceramics in this corpus were recovered in five architectural units there: a D-shaped structure (EA 211) and a small residence with a patio (EA 204, 205, 206, 208). The latter structure is of specific interest to us, considering that it contained exceptional decorated ceramics as well as tools for ceramic production. In the central room, EA 205, a middle-aged woman and three children had been buried, accompanied by what are likely the largest decorated Wari ceramics ever found,

measuring up to 140 cm. The entire residence was closed off after the interment, to the exception of a small passage in EA 204 which may have allowed for offerings to be regularly made to the deceased. All rooms and the patio contained ceramic-making tools placed in pits with animal bones, semi-precious stones, figurines, spindle whorls, and more.⁶⁴

b. Forms

I determined the form of the decorated ceramics that make up this corpus following a formal typology based on those of Menzel and Ochatoma, detailed in Chapter Two.⁶⁵ I identified a total of 11 vessels forms and two non-vessel forms in the Conchopata collection (table 2). Two of these forms do not appear in those previous typologies: what I have named carinated vessel and ceramic sculptures, a category that I will describe further below. When mapping out the different ceramic shapes, I noticed a correlation between certain architectural units and the ceramic forms recovered there. 80% (n = 39) of the jar fragments and 45% (n = 5) of the urn fragments were recovered from EA 100.⁶⁶ Also, 2 of the 4 flat dishes in this corpus were recovered from the western D-shaped structure of Conchopata, EA 211. Both are well preserved vessels and were decorated with a similar “Ayacucho serpent” (fig. 13).⁶⁷

Of the 256 ceramic fragments, 95 did not have an identifiable form, as they lacked diagnostic features such as rims, handles, or bottom. The original shape of the remaining 161

⁶⁴ Groleau and Isbell, “Wari Brewer Woman.”

⁶⁵ See also Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives.”

⁶⁶ Most jar fragments depict a bird motif which we describe in the next sub-section.

⁶⁷ This combination of vessel form and motif occurs in other Wari sites, on the central coast, in the Nazca Valley, and in the tropical forest. Knobloch, “A Study of the Andean Huari Ceramics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon Epoch I,” 133. At Espiritu Pampa, a similar flat dish bowl with the “Ayacucho serpent” was recovered from Context 5.1 (EP 2010-47), a small rectangular room nearby a D-shaped structure. However, other this design is also painted on other ceramic forms, such as large jars and double spout and bridge bottles. See for example Valdez, “Dorothy Menzel y el estudio del estado Wari,” figure 8.

fragments could be determined, although for 105 of them this was done through comparison of similar examples which are better preserved and published or exhibited elsewhere. For example, I was able to identify several fragments depicting a sun motif on a red background and/or modeled human faces with banded rectangles on their cheeks (fig. 14a-b) as parts of face-neck jars based on a comparison with vessels recovered from the 2000b ceramic offering (fig. 15). Considering that the fragments in this corpus are formally like those face-neck jars and that they were recovered from the same location (EA 100 and 104), it can be assumed that they originally belonged to a face-neck jar. I took the same approach to attribute vessel shape to rim sherds with a feline head (fig. 16). Several restored examples of straight-sided open bowls bear that exact decoration, and thus I identified the fragments that featured both a rim and an animal head in relief as parts of open bowls (fig. 17).⁶⁸

Because the ceramics that compose this corpus are all incomplete sections of vessels and non-vessels, certain fragments may have belonged to the same original vessel. The number of fragments associated with each ceramic form thus does not necessarily reflect the initial amount of whole ceramic vessels at Conchopata. Only reconstructing the entirety of the ceramic vessels from Conchopata would allow for an accurate estimate of the number of decorated ceramic objects rather than fragments.⁶⁹ It cannot be excluded that certain decorated fragments in this corpus were parts of vessels which have already been partially reconstructed and are now on display at the Museo Hipolito Unanue or in the UNSCH laboratory in Ayacucho.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ While that is not the case in this corpus, the feline heads were not always associated with open bowls. At least one tall ceramic vessel, maybe a bottle, from the site of Wari features on its body a feline molded head (Yale Peabody Museum ANT.212676).

⁶⁹ No accurate estimate of the total number of decorated ceramics recovered from Conchopata exists and is likely impossible to get due to the preservation issues previously mentioned. See Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives.”

In my analysis, I identified what is possibly a new type of Wari object, which I have called ceramic sculpture. These sculptures are thick (1.5 cm in average) molded sections of human faces decorated with face-paint from two nearby units, EA 100 and EA 104 (fig. 18a-e).⁷¹ Three of these ceramic faces bear the exact same painted design, with four quadrants alternating between red and black and some white outlines around the nose and the jaw (fig. 18a-c).⁷² All five fragments stand out from the rest of the corpus for several reasons: some of them lack an opening where the rim would be placed on a face-neck jar (on top of the hat); others have holes in their nose or mouth, which would make them unreliable containers; and two of them appear to have been faces in semi-relief, with a flat back, rather than in-the-round figures. The size and weight of the molded ceramic heads would also have made them impractical to use as ceramic vessels, whether for drink or dry food, because the clay was so heavily packed in their molds. The fragments could have been part of effigy vessels with unusually placed openings, but the thickness and size of the fragments, and the fact that two of the molded faces were in semi-relief would make this option unlikely.⁷³ The ceramic faces could have belonged to a musical instrument, such as a drum, like the anthropomorphized Nasca drums with a human head

⁷⁰ For example, the ceramic fragment 88/3056/banqueta/6752A likely belonged to an urn depicting a row of warriors on *tatora* boat, now at the Museo Hipolito Unanue.

⁷¹ Objects number 100/1376/495; 100/1883/1403; 104T6/2899/5951; 104T7/3134/6749; 104T7/3132/instrusion en piso/6756.

⁷² Knobloch identified this face paint as that of Agent 122. Patricia J. Knobloch, "Who Was Who In the Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory?," accessed May 3, 2019, <https://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/WWWAgents.html>.

⁷³ Some Wari vessels have unusually placed openings, such as the object MRI0017601 at the Museo Regional de Ica. The molded faces averaged 20 cm in total, which is about the total height of most effigy vessels known to this date.

sculpted and painted on their closed end.⁷⁴ There are however very few Wari ceramic drums known to this date, and none of those instruments have a modeled anthropomorphic design.⁷⁵

It is difficult to know the original function of these ceramic faces, but I propose that these fragments were meant to be ceramic sculptures (fig. 19). Large ceramic sculptures are not common in the Andes, but they are in other parts of the Americas, such as in the Veracruz and Maya traditions.⁷⁶ While this does not preclude their utilization for other purposes, I suggest that the primary function of those objects was display and interaction with space. The ceramic sculptures could have been integrated into the built environment, in a fashion similar to tenon heads. Tenon-heads, while rare, have been found at a couple of Wari sites to this date.⁷⁷ They are better known at Chavín de Huántar, Tiwanaku, and other Andean centers (fig. 20).⁷⁸ This

⁷⁴ E.g., Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.412.111.

⁷⁵ The three drums that I am aware of are a painted, non-anthropomorphic example from the Museum Fünf Kontinente in Munich; a non-anthropomorphic miniature drum from Conchopata exhibited at the Museo Hipólito Unanue in Ayacucho; and a Nasca drum from the site of Cerro Baúl with painted figures in a Late Nasca fashion.

⁷⁶ E.g. Alfonso Medillín Zenil, *Cerámicas del Totonacapan* (Xalapa, Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, Instituto de Antropología, 1960); Henry B. Nicholson, “The Iconography of Classic Central Veracruz Ceramic Sculptures,” in *Ancient Art of Veracruz* (Los Angeles, CA: The Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles, 1971), 13–17; Henry B. Nicholson, “Major Sculpture in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico,” in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, ed. Robert Wauchope, Gordon Ekholm, and Ignacio Bernal, vol. 10, Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1971), 92–134.

⁷⁷ At Cerro Baúl, a tenon head sculpted in volcanic stone was excavated next to an unusual wall in the palace (Sector A). Isbell, Brewster-Wray and Spickard also describe a “tenoned stone object projected from the face of the Moraduchayuc temple” at Wari. Although not exactly identified as a head, it was found in situ and, according to the authors, related to the Chavín de Huántar rather than Tiwanaku tradition. Donna J. Nash, “What Was a Tenon Head Doing on Cerro Baúl?” (Poster, 50th Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies, Berkeley, CA, January 2010); Donna J. Nash, “Evidencia de uniones matrimoniales entre las élites Wari y Tiwanaku de Cerro Baúl, Moquegua, Perú”, en *El Horizonte Medio: Nuevos aportes para el sur de Perú, norte de Chile y Bolivia*, ed. Antti Korpisaari y Juan Chicama (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2015), fig. 5; Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Architectural and Spatial Organization at Huari,” 50.

⁷⁸ Alan L. Kolata, *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993); Nicole C. Couture, “The Production and Representation of Status in a Tiwanaku Royal House,” in *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*, ed. Robin A. Beck (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 422–45; Jonah Michael Fares Augustine, “Style, Aesthetics, and Politics: Polychrome Ceramic Iconography in the Tiwanaku Valley, AD 500-1100” (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago, 2019), 60; Andrea González-Ramírez, “Registro sistemático de las cabezas clavadas de Chavín de Huántar, Perú” (Informe Final de Práctica Profesional, Santiago de Chile, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Chile, 2005).

interpretation, which needs to be investigated further, is significant as it brings the possibility that Wari artworks were not meant to be solely functional objects, and that ceramics in particular were not only media through which to preserve or consume food and drinks.⁷⁹ It is possible that not all of the five fragments had exactly the same function, but they point to the importance that exhibiting art may have had in the Wari Empire.

The typology of shapes present in this collection is representative of the formal diversity of the decorated ceramics made, used, and deposited at Conchopata. The number of ceramics varies within each category, but that is due to the fragmentary nature of the remains and does not reflect the original number of objects of each form.

c. Design elements

I identified a total of 23 design elements on the ceramic fragments in this corpus (table 3), ranging from simple dotted circles to composite figures. A single ceramic fragment could feature more than one design. Anthropomorphic designs are the most common on the ceramics of this corpus, present on 83 of the fragments. In total, 70% of the fragments from this collection are decorated with at least one figurative motif (n = 181), ranging from zoomorphic to composite beings.

This analysis yielded a surprising result, which was the prevalence of birds in this sample. Profile stylized bird heads, as painted on oversized urns, are well known in Wari art (see Chapter Four). But here, two other types of bird motifs are present in this corpus, depicting full-bodied birds with spread wings. Both iconographies seem strictly codified, as they appear on

⁷⁹ There are three large-scale female figurines from Conchopata (Tomb EA 105), Espíritu Pampa (context 1.7), and Wari which could possibly have served the same function. However, the fact that they depict nude female figures in the exact same pose as Wari small-scale figurines would include them in the category of figurines rather than sculptures like the painted heads do. Tung and Cook, "Intermediate-Elite Agency in the Wari Empire," fig. 4.4; Fonseca Santa Cruz and Bauer, *The Wari Enclave of Espíritu Pampa*, fig. 2.25.

multiple vessels (as determined by their differing slip color) of similar size, following the same layout and with identical associated designs. The first type of bird vessel, found in the 2000b offering excavated in the Pink Plaza, has already been partially reconstituted (fig. 21) and consists of face-neck jars like those with painted suns (fig. 15). Their modeled face displays fishbone-like eyebrows and banded rectangles on the cheeks. The decoration on the body of the vessel is limited to a large rectangular slipped area on which the artist painted two mirrored birds with coiled wings punctuated with small volutes, a triangular tail with chevron motifs, and a S-motif on the stomach. The negative space around the birds is filled with dotted circles and suns.

The second type of bird motif was unknown to this date, and I was only able to reconstitute the most diagnostic features of the ceramic vessels with that design, namely their rim and neck (fig. 22).⁸⁰ They were large jars with a cylindrical neck, topped with a polychrome frieze of chevrons around the rim. At least two birds are depicted on the neck of those vessels, with their wings spread out, recurving down to their feet. Concentric circles mark the center of their stomach, while crosses fill the rest of their body. In between each bird stands a bicolor wavy plant motif.

It is still unknown whether all bird vessels belong to the same original group of ceramic vessels, or if some were made and used separately.⁸¹ 29 of the 32 ceramic fragments decorated with one of these two types of full-bodied birds come from the D-shaped structure on the Pink Plaza (EA 100), next to where the 2000b offering was excavated. It is undeniable that large vessels decorated with bird motifs were used in ceramic offerings at Conchopata, just like those depicting Tiwanaku-like imagery. According to Isbell, the bird and sun imagery was first used

⁸⁰ The fragments excavated at Marco (see below) seem to confirm this identification.

⁸¹ The color of their slip ranges from light yellow to dark orange, and at least one ceramic vessel (including fragment 100-1674-849) was mirrored in its decoration, with the chevrons oriented toward the left rather than right.

for ceramic deposits at Conchopata, and later replaced by Tiwanaku-like designs. This chronological division distinguishing a pre- and post-Tiwanaku imagery in Wari art has not yet been proven, and all types of decorations may have been in use concurrently at Conchopata.⁸²

The toad is another motif that appears on multiple fragments in this corpus and that may have been associated with birds on certain vessels.⁸³ Both toads and birds are painted with similar red feet (fig. 23a-b) and wavy plant-like motifs at Conchopata, and fragments decorated with these two animals were recovered from similar structures at the site.⁸⁴ Thanks to a comparison example from Marco (north of Ayacucho) generously shared by archaeologist Juan Domingo Mogrovejo Rosales (fig. 24a-b), I was able to determine that the fragments recovered from EA 100 at Conchopata likely belonged to the same large jars with straight necks painted with birds mentioned above.⁸⁵ These jars were anthropomorphized through the addition of a molded human head on their shoulder and painted hands on their body. Toads and bicolor wavy plant designs were also painted on the body of the vessel.

The toads represented on the ceramics of Conchopata (fig. 25) can be identified as poisonous *Bufo* toads due to their distinctive spotted warty skin (fig. 26). As we will see in

⁸² It is important to keep in mind that the pre- versus post-SAIS temporal division elaborated by Isbell is purely based on stylistic interpretation and is not supported by radiocarbon dating. For example, Isbell claims that the 2000b offering from Conchopata is “stylistically more advanced than the 2003 vessels, implying that this offering represents a moment somewhat later in time,” when both offerings were radiocarbon dated between the late 7th and the mid-9th century C.E. For that reason, there is currently no clear evidence that supports the idea that the ceramics depicting SAIS motifs were made later than those that did not. Isbell, “Ayacucho and the Staff God Pantheon,” 447.

⁸³ The presence of toads on Wari ceramics has been ignored in scholarship thus far, although it has been noted by Anita Cook in a personal communication to Susan deFrance. Toads are rare in Wari art but occur on a few ceramics as well as woven belts. deFrance, “Luxury of Variety,” 78. A few toads, without dots like on Wari examples, were painted on Nasca ceramics. Donald A. Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography: Reading a Culture Through Its Art* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2009), 158. See also Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.245.18. Ochatoma Paravicino, Mancilla Rojas, and Cabrera Romero, *El area sagrada de Wari*, 36. For a woven belt with spotted toad motif, see Yale Art Gallery 2019.1.17.

⁸⁴ 2 from EA 100, 1 from EA 104, 2 from EA 151.

⁸⁵ Personal communication.

Chapter Four, the remains of two *Bufo* toads were found at the site of Cerro Baúl, where they had been brought intentionally.⁸⁶ It is thus possible that the poisonous toad had an important significance to the Wari, as they were depicted on large ceramics found in the ritual center of Conchopata and the animals transported to Cerro Baúl. Toad designs are nevertheless not unique to Wari art and occur in the artistic traditions of previous Andean groups, such as the Nasca (fig. 27) and the Moche (fig. 28). One can only hypothesize that birds connect land and sky while toads connect water to land, which could be the reason behind the similarity of the bird and toad depictions on the ceramics of Conchopata. It is difficult to say if this type of anthropomorphized jars with toads and birds was only produced in the Wari heartland or throughout the Wari Empire; fragments with painted toads were recovered at Qoripata, in the Cusco region, but it may have been exported there.⁸⁷

Just like poisonous toads, the *vilca* plant contains a psychotropic substance, bufotenine, which was used by the Wari and other Andean groups as a drug during ceremonies. Twenty years ago, Patricia Knobloch identified *vilca* motifs on ceramic fragments from the D-shaped structure EA 72 at Conchopata. Subsequently, the archaeologist Carlos Mancilla Rojas reassembled the ceramic fragments (fig. 29).⁸⁸ The resulting image is that of a front-face figure whose rays end with *vilca*, an iconography which directly links Wari religious iconography to psychotropic plants.⁸⁹ One fragment from the present corpus depicts the *vilca* motif, but it was

⁸⁶ Remains of toads were excavated in Unit 2 and Unit 9, room B (both in Sector A). As indicated by deFrance, toads thrive in humid environments, far from the arid summit of Cerro Baúl. They are also non-food animals which are not eaten. For those reasons, they had to be brought to the Wari center for a specific purpose. deFrance, "The Luxury of Variety," 76; Nash and deFrance, "Plotting Abandonment," 123-124.

⁸⁷ Glowacki and McEwan, "Pikillacta, Huaro y la gran región del Cuzco," fig. 9A-B

⁸⁸ Knobloch, "Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata"; Mancilla Rojas et al., "La iconografía del area ceremonial en «D» de Conchopata."

recovered from EA 67, a small rectangular structure south of EA 72 (fig. 30). While this fragment may have belonged to the same vessel excavated in EA 72, it is also possible that it was part of a second vessel decorated with a similar design.

This corpus also comprised numerous fragments painted with simple geometric design elements, such as crosses, S-motifs, and chevrons. They mostly decorate the rim of closed, globular bowls which were likely used for the consumption of food and drinks by commoners (fig. 31).⁹⁰ Such bowls are found throughout the empire, from the Wari capital to distant outposts like Espiritu Pampa in the jungle and Quilcapampa on the South Coast.⁹¹ Their artistic renderings are not complex or much varied, but the designs are significant enough that they were reproduced and shared widely. For that reason, the combination of the form of the closed bowl and the geometric motifs painted on their rim may have been an easy and economical way to create vessels which were visually distinctively Wari.

3. Artistic strategies at Conchopata

What does the spatial, formal, and decorative distribution of this collection of ceramics from Conchopata reveal about Wari visual language and its makers? What are some similarities or tendencies in this collection, what might they reveal about Wari cultural sensibilities or tendencies, and what aspects of this corpus have been undermined, if not unaddressed, in scholarship thus far?

⁸⁹ For the relationship between Tiwanaku SAIS and *vilca* motifs, see: Constantino Manuel Torres, “Visionary Plants and SAIS Iconography in San Pedro de Atacama and Tiahuanaco,” in *Images in Action*, 287–326.

⁹⁰ Cook and Glowacki, “Pots, Politics, and Power,” 178.

⁹¹ Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*; Fonseca Santa Cruz and Bauer, *Wari Enclave of Espiritu Pampa*, fig. 7.19.

Archaeologists studying early empires have long focused on the progressive standardization of art produced under imperial influence.⁹² For example, archaeologists Cathy Costin and Melissa Hagstrum have argued that, in Inca workshops, “specialists produce standardized wares because their tasks are routine and fewer potters introduce less idiosyncratic behavior into the ceramic assemblage.”⁹³ This would mean that the imperial control of artistic production leads to fewer expression of individuality and overall more uniformity, which is not the case in the Wari or even Inca Empire. How do the ceramics produced at Conchopata fit in this model, when the heterogeneity of the ceramics made at the site is striking?⁹⁴

Based on our current state of knowledge, it is impossible to assert that standardized traits in Wari art were necessarily due to imperial control, while deviations from norms were the result of the artists’ intention and creativity. The tension between homogeneity, recreation, and reinvention on the ceramics of Conchopata may reflect more broadly a collaboration between individuals and the collective. For archaeologist Ian Hodder, norms and rules act as a frame for the actions of individuals, whose agency lies in turn in the way they react and adapt to such norms.⁹⁵ I argue that the elements that are the most standardized on the decorated ceramics of Conchopata, whether in their technology (molding), design features (birds, toads, etc.), and/or context (offerings, etc.), were the key components of a visual language born from the interaction

⁹² Susan Toby Evans, “Architecture and Authority in an Aztec Village: Form and Function of the Tecpan,” in *Land and Politics in the Valley of Mexico*, ed. H. H. Harvey (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 63–92; Carla Sinopoli, “The Archaeology of Empires,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994), 172.

⁹³ Cathy L. Costin and Melissa B. Hagstrum, “Standardization, Labor Investment, Skill, and the Organization of Ceramic Production in Late Prehispanic Highland Peru,” *American Antiquity* 60, no. 4 (1995), 622.

⁹⁴ Pozzi-Escot and her colleagues write: “at Conchopata, a far more diverse range of products was being produced than any single modern potter would be capable of.” Pozzi-Escot et al., “Wari Ceramics and Production Technology,” 273.

⁹⁵ Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

of Wari artists and the state, and not one or the other. What is certain is that the resulting visual language, even if regularly adapted and negotiated, was embraced, if not sponsored, by the Wari Empire.

a. Visible fingerprints: molding and shaping Conchopata ceramics

Concepts of repetition, recreation, and reinvention in Wari art are intimately tied to their process of making, which allows for changes and individual expression. Artists in the Wari Empire did not use cartoons nor models and solely relied on their memory and the rhythm of their hands to create motifs, rendering each creation distinctly unique and prone to improvisation.⁹⁶ The making of Wari art thus integrated formative errors, a concept which art historian Todd Olson finds in the unscripted interaction of the material and the hand of the artist.⁹⁷ This process is not limited to artists in the Wari Empire: a similar practice was at play in the Inca Empire, whose polygonal masonry was emblematic of the imperial presence yet determined by the stone blocks being used and the personal experience and mastery of the builder.⁹⁸ More recently, anthropologist Ed Franquemont compared modern Andean weavers to jazz musicians, who introduce movement and distortion to their work as they go along and follow “symmetrical rules as a guide but not a limit.”⁹⁹ Hence, the contingent marks, fingerprints, and other traces left by the hands of the artists on Conchopata ceramics can be considered evidence for their agency.

⁹⁶ Recent evidence indicates that Wari architects may have used models for their work. Matthew J. Edwards and Katharina Schreiber, “Pataraya: The Archaeology of a Wari Outpost in Nasca,” *Latin American Antiquity* 25, no. 2 (2014), 221; Cook, “The Shape of Things to Come: The Genesis of Wari Wak’as,” 302.

⁹⁷ Todd Olson, “Clouds and Rain,” *Representations* 104, no. 1 (2008): 102–15.

⁹⁸ Jean-Pierre Protzen, “Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, no. 2 (1985): 161–82.

⁹⁹ Edward Franquemont, “Jazz: An Andean Sense of Symmetry,” in *Embedded Symmetries: Natural and Cultural*, ed. Dorothy K. Washburn (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 92.

Wari ceramic production relies deeply on the hand of the ceramicist, or more accurately ceramicists, who conduct each step manually or with the help of rudimentary tools. The ceramics which are made from scratch using coils of clay are shaped, both literally and figuratively, by the potter. In contrast, molding allows for less control and variability on the part of the artist, whose hands are mediated by the mold reproducing a model which they designed. Anthropologist Lee A. Parsons wrote that in Moche art, where molding is common, “it is assumed that the purpose of the mold method of manufacture is to permit easy duplication.”¹⁰⁰ Repetition is at the core of the technique of molding, and it is assumed that molded ceramics will be more uniform, with little traces left by their makers, while hand-shaped ceramics will vary and bear evidence of the individual who made them.

The expected dichotomy between coiling and molding was not clear-cut in this corpus. First, I happened to find direct traces left by artists on ceramics that had been molded. They all have thick walls and their internal walls are rugged. The clay was intentionally packed in the mold and bears traces of both fingerprints and tools because of this process (fig. 32a-b). To the contrary, the ceramics shaped through coiling were smoothed on the inside using scrapers, which is why the hand of the artist is less visible on coiled rather than molded ceramics. While the imprints left in the clay of the molded examples can give more information on the identity of the ceramicists, the erasure of the hand on the modeled ones shows the technical expertise required to smooth both the inside and outside of the clay.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Lee A. Parsons, “An Examination of Four Moche Jars from the Same Mold,” *American Antiquity* 27, no. 4 (1962), 515.

¹⁰¹ The size and shape of the fingerprints left on clay have previously been used in archaeology to determine the sex or age of a ceramicist. There are however some methodological issues with this practice, considering that physical characteristics tend to vary from one individual to the next. In 1988, Linda Mowat already explained that “Chimu potters must have had very small hands, though as the Amerindian hand in general is probably much smaller than the European, this is not a very conclusive piece of evidence for female potters” Linda Mowat, “The Chimu Potter:

If ceramicists in the Wari Empire used molds to allow for duplication and repetition, were the resulting molded objects meant to be distributed widely? Moche portrait bottles made from the same mold were found at multiple sites, meaning that the vessels—or their molds—were exported, possibly as a means to share their imagery broadly.¹⁰² Yet, another dynamic seems at play at Conchopata, where molded ceramics were kept within the same perimeter, sometimes used for the same purpose or at the same event as their replicas. For example, the aforementioned ceramic sculptures were recovered from the same sector at Conchopata. Were they meant to be exhibited next to each other, or was each iteration meant to replace the previous one after a certain amount of time or use? If all were clustered around the Pink Plaza, the juxtaposition would have drawn attention to the repetition of the molded heads with the same painted decoration. Hence, it is possible that the technique of molding was not meant for exportation and diffusion at Conchopata, but rather for the creation of works in sets or series. The ceramic offering of Pacheco excavated by Tello in 1927 would seem to confirm this view, as it included multiple ceramic vessels made in sets and deposited in the same space.

Mold-made ceramics are often perceived to be of lesser quality than hand-shaped ones in the Andes, yet that does not seem to be the case at Conchopata.¹⁰³ Open straight-sided bowls with animal head lugs (small clay protuberances) illustrate well this assertion.¹⁰⁴ The first type of bowl (fig. 17) consists of vessels with molded and painted feline heads attached to their external

Mass-Producer or Mastercraftman? Some Thoughts Based on the Spottiswoode Collection,” *Newsletter (Museum Ethnographers Group)*, no. 22 (1988), 16.

¹⁰² Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), 163-164.

¹⁰³ Mowat, “The Chimu Potter”; Christopher B. Donnan, “A Chimu-Inka Ceramic-Manufacturing Center from the North Coast of Peru on JSTOR,” *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 1 (1997): 30–54.

¹⁰⁴ An example recovered from the site of Wari by Wendell Bennett, today at the Yale Peabody Museum (specimen ANT_212676), seems to have been placed on the neck of a tall vessel instead of a bowl.

wall using slip. The painted decoration can extend over to the sides and back of the bowl to recreate a full animal body, but in some cases, it is limited to a semi-circle around the head, akin to a collar. The second type corresponds to bowls with a similar design and decoration, but with hastily modeled owl heads instead of molded feline heads.¹⁰⁵ Some owl-like heads are simplified to the extreme, to only leave a small pinch of clay surrounded by a semi-circular painted collar (fig. 33a). There seems to be some overlap between the two types of bowls, as a few of them display modeled rather than molded feline heads (fig. 33b). The heads that are shaped by hand are simplified and uneven, while the ones that are molded are more delicate in their shape and painted details

The range of execution of the lugs might reflect the different degrees to which the ceramic vessels were shared. Molding made their iconography more detailed and easier to read, hence more accessible to a wider audience. The more abstracted versions shaped by hand became much more esoteric, albeit often less masterfully executed. As Stone-Miller has previously argued in relation to Wari textiles, “It is interesting to reflect that the creation of increasingly illegible versions was not the result of increasing misunderstanding of the image.”¹⁰⁶ If such was the case, then it can be hypothesized that at least part of Conchopata ceramic production was made by and for knowledgeable experts, who had the privilege to hold and behold small-scale vessels from up-close, and the prerequisites to interpret their non-figural depictions.

¹⁰⁵ Owls are not common in Wari art, and this identification is not definitive. It is based on the two rounded wide eyes and the indent in the forehead. This would be consistent with the fact that molds of owl heads were found with feline ones at Conchopata by Ochatoma and his team. Ochatoma Paravicino, *Alfareros del imperio Huari*, 198.

¹⁰⁶ Rebecca Stone-Miller, ed., *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 35-36.

The visual similarity between the modeled animal lugs on Wari bowls and their presence on Inca *urpu* (also referred to with European nomenclature as *aribalo*), the large emblematic Inca jars, is striking. Scholars have mentioned these Inca lugs in passing and addressed their function, yet they have never discussed them in terms of artistic strategy.¹⁰⁷ Lugs usually consist of a boorish knob of clay marked with deep slits, but are sometimes more explicitly modeled as felines.¹⁰⁸ Archaeologist Tamara Bray has convincingly argued that Inca painted jars were metaphors of the clothed body of the Inca ruler, yet she has not addressed the presence of the head lug on the shoulder of the vessel and how it may impact the idea of embodiment of the vessel.¹⁰⁹ The relation between the metaphorical body of the vessel and the abstracted head on Inca jars reflects a possibly similar approach to that on the ceramics of Conchopata. Who was able to identify the ceramic as a body, and who needed more contextual information to do so? Nash and Cook have already argued that the artists who made Wari ceramics were elite members and/or ritual specialists who had access to a high level of information.¹¹⁰ I suggest that artists at Conchopata were knowledgeable and created both forms of animal head lugs, each for a different audience.

The molded ceramics from Conchopata emphasize repetition, but examples from this corpus revealed that molding is not a technique necessarily associated with mass production at

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Meyers, “Algunos problemas en la clasificación del estilo incaico,” 11; Bray, “Inka Pottery as Culinary Equipment,” 13.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Denver Art Museum 1993.25.

¹⁰⁹ Tamara L. Bray, “Exploring Inca State Religion through Material Metaphor,” in *Religion in the Material World*, ed. Lars Fogelin (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 118–38.

¹¹⁰ Cook, “Wari Art and Society;” Nash, “Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes.” It is possible that artists also were ritual specialists in other Andean traditions, such as Cupisnique. Cathy Costin, “Ceramic Iconography and the Control of Esoteric Knowledge in the Andean Middle Formative” (Presentation, Andean Working Group, University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, May 16, 2019).

the site. Anthropologist Linda Mowat has argued that “true mass-production, perhaps state-controlled, would feature many potters working from very few models, with a corresponding reduction in creativity,” which is evidently not the case at Conchopata.¹¹¹ The ceramic sculptures that I identified were made using molds, and they are to this day the only examples recorded in the Wari Empire. It seems that artists used molding to create a wide array of objects for diverse uses—some meant to be vessels, others to be sculptures, some molded dozens of times, and others a few times only. For that reason, the use of molds cannot be taken as evidence of a lack of creativity on the part of artists in the Wari Empire.

b. Taking trophies: ceramic heads and Wari faces

There is a wide-ranging diversity in the imagery of the molds recovered at Conchopata, but all appear to revolve around the same subject. Whether that of humans, animals, or composite beings, the molds from Conchopata focus on the face or the head, although in some rare cases they depicted individual body parts meant to be assembled.¹¹² It has previously been argued that the Moche people used molded ceramics to control and distribute imageries of specific importance; if that is the case for the Wari, then the head—of both humans and non-humans—

¹¹¹ Mowat, “The Chimu Potter,” 12.

¹¹² The human head had a central role in the Andes which has already been extensively written about. Mary Weismantel, “Many Heads Are Better than One: Mortuary Practice and Ceramic Heads in Ancient Moche Society,” in *Living with the Dead in the Andes*, ed. Izumi Shimada (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 76–100; Valerie A. Andrushko, “How the Wari Fashioned Trophy Heads for Display. A Distinctive Modified Cranium From Cuzco, Peru, and Comparison to Trophies From the Capital Region,” in *The Bioarchaeology of the Human Head: Decapitation, Decoration, and Deformation*, ed. Michelle Bonogofsky (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley, 2011); Mary Glowacki, “The Head as the Seat of Soul: A Medium for Spiritual Reciprocity in the Early Andes,” in *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Henry Tantaleán and María Cecilia Lozada (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019), 183–212.

was undeniably a point of focus at Conchopata.¹¹³ The heads replicated through Wari ceramic molds are far from lively portraits of specific individuals, but instead generic features.¹¹⁴

People at Conchopata molded human, animal, and composite bodies and curated their ceramic heads. Amy Groleau has examined caches of offerings at Conchopata containing what she calls “disembodied faces,” which are anthropomorphic and zoomorphic head lugs, or their molds. The lugs, originally attached to vessels representing—literally or figuratively—their bodies, had been intentionally broken off.¹¹⁵ Such severed heads, which include the molded feline heads previously discussed, were deposited in offerings with semi-precious stones, burnt camelid bones, and grinding stones. The vessels onto which the face lugs used to be attached (their “bodies”) were found in different caches or even rooms. Hence, it appears that the head, even as a small knob added to the shoulder of the vessel, contributed to transform pots into bodies; their decapitation was perceived as meaningful enough that the broken heads were added to offerings. This practice is reminiscent of that of cutting and depositing human heads and burying skulls in caches, both at Conchopata and elsewhere.¹¹⁶ The fact that the molds could be used together with, or instead of, the molded images themselves, raises the question if the molds

¹¹³ Margaret A. Jackson, “Notation and Narrative in Moche Iconography, Cerro Mayal, Perú” (Ph.D. dissertation, Los Angeles, CA, University of California, Los Angeles, 2000); Glenn S. Russell and Margaret A. Jackson, “Political Economy and Patronage at Cerro Mayal, Peru,” in *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 159–75; Abigail Levine, “A Case for Local Ceramic Production in the Jequetepeque Valley during the Late Horizon,” in *From State to Empire in the Prehistoric Jequetepeque Valley, Peru*, ed. Colleen M. Zori and Ilana Johnson (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 169–77

¹¹⁴ Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*. Anita Cook has however suggested that the face-neck jars recovered from the 1977 offering at Conchopata portray specific individuals, considering that they display different facial features. Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata,” 60.

¹¹⁵ Groleau, “Special Finds,” 402.

¹¹⁶ Tung, “Dismembering Bodies for Display;” McEwan, “Function of Niched Halls in Wari Architecture,” 77.

were somehow perceived as a metonymy for the heads that could be produced out of their imprint.

If molded heads were powerful body parts on ceramic vessels at Conchopata, how did users handle vessels decorated with molded heads? The case of the face-neck jars with molded faces seems quite straightforward, given the vertical orientation of the vessels and the anthropomorphic nature of the jar itself. Face-neck bottles and jars could be treated as humans and considered active participants of Wari ceremonies, standing on their base during rituals.¹¹⁷ What about the bowls with head lugs? The positioning of the animal heads against the rim of the vessel, as well as their physical relief is reminiscent of small handles. Was one supposed to place their hands on them? Or instead to avoid them if the heads were imbued with life before being decapitated? If that was the case, was the head meant to be placed away or against the user? The ceramic, transformed into a body through the addition of a face lug, would likely have been handled with specific care, and in determined orientations. In that aspect, the face-neck jar and the open bowls would have been held and displayed differently, emphasizing further the vertical or horizontal quality of the human or the animal.¹¹⁸

A close-up analysis of the facial features of ceramic heads from Conchopata can provide us with precious insights into Wari conceptions of the body.¹¹⁹ The way human faces are represented in clay at Conchopata varies widely. The treatment of their eyes, for example, ranges

¹¹⁷ Vazquez de Arthur, “Clay Bodies, Powerful Pots,” 268.

¹¹⁸ The practice of transforming ceramic bowls into animals with the addition of head lugs continued in the Ayacucho region throughout the Late Intermediate Period. Frank Meddens and Cirilo Vivanco Pomacanchari, “The Late Intermediate Period Ceramic Traditions of Ayacucho, Apurimac, and Huancavelica: Current Thoughts on the Chanca and Other Regional Polities,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 38, no. 1 (2018), figure 7 and 25.

¹¹⁹ For insights on the distinction between the head and the face in portraiture, see: Barbara Baert, “{Head} {Face} {Arm}. Framing as Decapitation. The Case of St John the Baptist in Early Modern Art,” in *Framings*, ed. Slavko Kacunko, Ellen Harlizius-Klück, and Hans Körner (Berlin: Logos, 2015), 211–34.

from a knob to a slanted coffee bean shape, when eye forms have long been used as cultural markers in non-European art history to distinguish different artistic traditions or styles.¹²⁰ The fact that they vary within the ceramics of Conchopata seems to show that ceramicists had leeway to express certain facial features and may not have had to adhere to tight cultural and artistic norms for human representations. It is however possible these diverse features are due to temporal variation, which we cannot yet accurately determine.

A commonality of the humans faces depicted on ceramics at Conchopata is that they lack an emphasis on the mouth. On many of the fragments in this corpus, the mouth is barely sketched and at times not even depicted, whereas other details like nostrils or ears are carefully noted. Even on very schematic human faces that lack a mouth, the ears are present on the side of the face. As such, ceramicists seem to have omitted the mouth and exaggerated other features, like the ears. I believe that this tendency was not due to a potter' style or dexterity, but rather to their choice to express their view of the human body. This suggests that Wari facial traits may have been depicted less for descriptive purposes than for ideological reasons or cultural instructions.

A linguistic analysis of the body in Quechua, or *runasimi*, can inform us on Wari conceptions of the human face by comparing the Conchopata fragments with previous studies conducted on the body in the Central Andes. Research suggests that it was the Wari who first spread the Quechua language in the Andes. I do not intend to apply modern-day vocabulary blindly onto Wari material, but to open new ways to consider human depictions on Wari ceramics that directly address and are informed by a larger Andean history and context. In Quechua, the eyes, ears, and nose are all considered *t'uqu*, that is “splits” or “windows”, while the mouth belongs to a different lexical

¹²⁰ Jeffrey P. Blomster, “What and Where Is Olmec Style? Regional Perspectives on Hollow Figurines in Early Formative Mesoamerica,” *Ancient Mesoamerica* 13, no. 2 (2002): 171–95; Patricia S. Christmas, “Bearing Memory: Woman and Child Figurines from Tlatilco” (M.A. Thesis, San Marcos, TX, Texas State University, 2011).

category.¹²¹ The mouth is singled out in Quechua thought as it is an opening that interacts with the environment through breathing, eating, and speaking, rather than being perceived as just another sense organ that only takes in information. Teeth, and canines specifically, also play an important role in Quechua, in that they are considered to be doorways to the body. This linguistic information helps explain why certain Andean groups may create human imagery that isolates the mouth from other facial features. It appears that, on Conchopata ceramics, sense organs are limited primarily to those taking in information, through the eyes, the nose, and the ears. These *t'uqu*, or splits, are necessary to make people aware of their environment, as observers. However, these windows to the external world do not position people as actors, for their mouths are represented shut. They do not have facial expressions, nor do they speak; rather, they seemingly stare blankly at their surroundings.

In contrast with those stern representations, I have identified two human faces with exaggerated features in this corpus (fig. 34a-b). Their facial traits, which were molded, look purposefully distorted and strikingly similar: they feature a large, curved nose, a semi-circular mouth, a chin divided by a dimple, and no visible ears. The emphasis is put on their mouth, arched in a wide smile, and in one case highlighted with white paint. Their lack of adornments and headdress points to these beings as commoners, or at the very least humans rather than supernatural entities. The context of use of the two vessels is unknown, and the two heads were recovered from different sections of the site (EA 153 and EA 204). The one from EA 204, the building which contained the largest decorated ceramics from Conchopata, had been placed in an offering

¹²¹ Urton's research is based on Louisa Stark's lexicon of the dialect from the Cusco-Chincho region of central Peru. Gary Urton, "The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art," in *Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture*, ed. William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter, vol. 29–30 (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 237–55; Louisa Stark, "The Lexical Structure of Quechua Body Parts," *Anthropological Linguistics* 11, no. 1 (1969): 1–15.

containing other head molds and molded ceramics, and it is possible that this vessel was used in another section of the site prior to being deposited in that cache.

Differently-abled bodies and non-normative” appearances are commonly depicted in both Andean and Mesoamerican art, in which they are interpreted as liminal entities at the juncture of the natural and the supernatural, or the living and the dead.¹²² It is possible that the individuals with exaggerated facial features on the ceramics from Conchopata belong to that category. The treatment of their eyes and mouth is similar to that of an individual with a cleft palate identified by Wolff on a ceramic that does not belong to this corpus (fig. 35).¹²³ A face-neck jar fragment from EA 204 might also be related to this group of ceramics (fig. 36), as despite its lack of exaggerated facial features, it also has white highlights around the mouth and thick black outlines around the eyes. Were these three—or even four—faces with exaggerated features part of a larger group of deformed or mutilated bodies?¹²⁴ Encountering additional depictions of such extraordinary faces on Wari ceramics is necessary to investigate this issue further, as the current sample is too reduced to be considered representative.

This analysis helps us to interpret Wari depictions of the head by favoring Andean perspectives on the body by using the senses as a lens and Quechua linguistic categories as a potential insight into Conchopata ceramic imagery. Through the repeated depiction of both

¹²² Steve Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006); Katherine A. P. Iselin, “Transitional Bodies: Amputation and Disfiguration in Moche Pottery,” *MUSE: Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology* 48 (2012): 107–32; William T. Gassaway, “Extraordinary Bodies: Death, Divinity, and Distortion in the Art of Postclassic Mexico” (Ph.D. dissertation, New York, NY, Columbia University, 2019).

¹²³ That example was recovered from EA 40. Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige,” fig. 6.25.

¹²⁴ Trever, “A Moche Riddle in Clay; Gassaway, “Extraordinary Bodies;” Rebecca Stone-Miller, “Empowered, Not Disabled: An Ancient Shaman Effigy Vessel at the Carlos Museum,” *Journal of Humanities in Rehabilitation* (blog), April 30, 2018, <https://www.jhrehab.org/2018/04/30/empowered-not-disabled-an-ancient-shaman-effigy-vessel-at-the-carlos-museum/>.

humans and non-humans, the ceramics of Conchopata challenge us to rethink the concept of portraiture in the Andes. From delicately modeled features to a simple circle with two dimples for the eyes, Wari representations of the head does not seem to express individuality, but instead larger ideological concepts embedded in a body part of high significance to the Wari and other Andean groups.

Conclusions

Conchopata was once a bustling center for ceramic production as well as a place of political and religious influence, and ceramic objects were key to these activities. Making sense of the formal diversity of the Conchopata assemblage is not an easy feat, and further investigation is needed to gain a more comprehensive overview of the ceramics made and used there. Spending more time with the 256 ceramic fragments emphasized how little it seems that we know about Wari visual language. Rather than answers, this analysis has generated more questions: about what was at the core of Wari visual identity, about the concept of repetition of Wari art, and even about the purpose and use of Wari artworks.

Despite these uncertainties, I have identified certain images, shapes, and practices that are at the core of the visual language at Conchopata by addressing three commonalities in my corpus of analysis. First, it is undeniable that anthropomorphic depictions widely dominate on ceramic objects at Conchopata, which often take the form of large face-neck jars. In contrast with the sculptural faces that adorn the neck of these jars, the painted design on their body is flattened, intricate, and does not explicitly refer to a human body. Instead, motifs of suns, birds, or toads are common on face-neck jars recovered in the ceremonial center of Conchopata. What could possibly be their relevance in such context? If these are representations of textiles, why have few

to none been recovered with these motifs?¹²⁵ I discuss further the role of animals in Wari art and their interconnectedness with humans in Chapter Five.

Second, there is a clear focus on both the face and the head of humans and non-humans at Conchopata. The faces depicted on ceramics are often far from lively portraits and do not appear to be individualized, but a few exceptional examples show faces with exaggerated features or modifications. The fact that ceramic lugs and molds in the shape of human or animal heads can be—literally and figuratively—decapitated from the body of vessels highlights the significance of the head to the Wari, and how clay bodies could stand for fleshed bodies.

Third, Wari ceramicists commonly molded (at least partially) their ceramics, at the same time as they used other modes of making to fashion similar objects by hand. That way, molding could be used to rapidly reproduce feline heads or faces for face-neck jars, or to create large-scale sculptural ceramics destined to be brightly painted and delicately polished. Hence, if molding was favored for the repetition and standardization of certain ceramic elements at Conchopata, this technique may sometimes have been chosen intentionally for its ability to recreate volume and details and transmit information clearly and uniformly, when instead modeling rendered motifs more simplified, and thus more esoteric.

The possible existence of ceramic sculptures in the ceremonial center of Conchopata forces us to reconsider the emphasis put on the use of decorated ceramics for drinking and feasting in the Wari Empire. Ceramic vessels and instruments were undeniably important for the unfolding of drinking and feasting rituals critical to the functioning of the Empire, but it is also highly likely that display was part of the intended function of Wari ceramic—and non-ceramic—objects. Most Wari artworks are movable and wearable, but others were embedded within the

¹²⁵ It is important to keep in mind that only few Wari textiles have been recovered in the highlands, due to their poor preservation.

landscape or the architecture. That is for example the case of the monolithic sculptures mentioned in Chapter One from the site of Wari; where did those imposing volcanic stone effigies once stand? Did polychrome ceramic sculptures accompany them, or adorn the niches inside of Wari structures? The mere existence of these statues encourages us to start rethinking Wari art as purely “functional” objects, and to extend our understanding of the role and function of Wari material culture as part of larger relations between landscapes, bodies, and things.

The 256 ceramic fragments from Conchopata that form this corpus, while not exhaustive, reflect certain tendencies of the ceramic assemblage at the site which, in turn, inform our vision of Wari art. Going back to Isbell’s assertion that ceramicists at Conchopata worked for and under the control of the Empire, it seems that this statement could be nuanced considering these new findings. As we have seen, Wari ceramics at the site are diverse in their shape, decoration, and contexts of finding, even though they were in vast majority produced locally using the same paste recipe. The heterogeneity of the Conchopata assemblage was far from a secret to the Wari Empire, as ceramic production was conducted at such a high quantitative and qualitative standard at the site, and partially in public spaces. Like Wolff, I argue that ceramicists at Conchopata were far from nameless servants of the state. She wrote that “public recognition (...) seems likely to have bolstered potters’ self-identification with their craft, and spectators’ identification of individual potters, their sponsors and the community of Conchopata for its ceramic artistry.”¹²⁶ It is likely that artists at Conchopata intentionally chose formal diversity in their production, which was in turn publicly accepted. It is however essential to keep in mind that we have still little idea about the temporal variation of Wari ceramics at Conchopata, as inaccurate stylistic categories and the disturbed stratigraphy of the site blur more than four hundred years of history together.

¹²⁶ Wolff, “Potters, Power and Prestige,” 306.

It is safe to assume that imperial authorities were aware of the heterogeneity of the ceramics produced within its territory, as ceramics from Conchopata were sometimes exported to the capital. Then, a certain amount of leeway had to be given to artists at Conchopata, without this freedom contradicting imperial guidelines. Although I do not pretend to be able to attribute the diversity of Wari ceramics to their makers on the one hand, and their standardization to the state on the other, it is inevitable that both Wari artists and the administrators took part in the elaboration of a Wari visual language that navigated these two poles. Some pottery makers, as we will come to see in the next chapter, may even have been both Wari elite or administrators and ceramicists.

Chapter 4. Wari Art in the Provinces: The Decorated Ceramics of Cerro Baúl

Was the variety of the ceramics of Conchopata (in terms of form, design elements, modes of representation, techniques, and use) unique to the Wari heartland, or instead a shared practice across the Wari Empire? In this chapter, I examine decorated ceramics from Cerro Baúl, a Wari provincial center, to begin determining elements and conventions that were shared and reproduced in art as part of a Wari visual language. There is evidence that the decorated ceramics recovered from Cerro Baúl were produced and used at the site rather than imported from the Wari heartland, which is why I wish to examine the commonalities and possible regional variations in the ceramic assemblage at Cerro Baúl to determine which aspects, if any, were key to Wari art.¹

People affiliated with the Wari Empire established an imposing outpost at the summit of Cerro Baúl that thrived for about four centuries (c. 650-1050 CE). The *cerro* (“mountain”) named Baúl (“trunk”) dominates the Moquegua Valley in what is today southern Peru, close to the Chilean border, nearly 600 kilometers away from the Wari capital.² There, masons replicated the monumental architecture found in the imperial heartland, such as D-shaped ritual structures. The activities that unfolded in those buildings and open spaces were similar to the ones

¹ E.g., Menzel, “Style and Time in the Middle Horizon”; Robert Feldman, “A Speculative Hypothesis of Wari Southern Expansion,” in *The Nature of Wari: A Reappraisal of the Middle Horizon Period in Peru*, ed. R. Michael Czwarno, Frank M. Meddens, and Alexandra Morgan, BAR International Series 525 (Oxford: B.A.R, 1989), 72–97; Patrick Ryan Williams, Donna J. Nash, y Johny A. Isla, “Cerro Baúl: un enclave Wari en interacción con Tiwanaku”, *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 5 (2001): 69–87.

² The name Cerro Baúl refers to the mountain peak and the Wari outpost located at its summit. For more convenience, I will use Cerro Baúl to indicate the Wari settlement, and instead we will specify “the mountain of Cerro Baúl” when necessary.

conducted at Conchopata: ceremonies, feasting, toasting, and offerings in pits and on floors like at other Wari locations.³

I chose Cerro Baúl as a counterpoint to my study of Conchopata as it is the ideal comparison to the heartland center. First, Cerro Baúl was one of the imperial outposts located the furthest away from the Wari capital, which gives us a sense of Wari artistic production in a context completely different from the heartland. Second, Cerro Baúl contained far fewer decorated pottery and ceramic-making tools than Conchopata, thus allowing me to compare two different modes of Wari ceramic production between these sites. Third, people affiliated with the Wari Empire interacted with members of the Tiwanaku society at Cerro Baúl, which is an exceptional opportunity to explore Wari art produced at a place where both states interacted. Fourth, archaeologists have deeply studied Cerro Baúl, its history, architecture, and ritual practices, and their research provides context to the artistic practices that I examine. The case of Cerro Baúl gives us insights into how people affiliated with the Wari Empire adapted the production and consumption of decorated ceramics to a remote province also occupied by Tiwanaku.

The mountain of Cerro Baúl has a long regional history and has become a strong symbol for the people of Moquegua both past and present. The mountain has been, and still is, revered as an *apu* (sacred peak) to which offerings are made regularly (fig. 37).⁴ Chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega relates that local groups fought Inca invaders in the 15th century at Cerro Baúl, but no evidence has yet been found to confirm or disprove that hypothesis.⁵ Like Conchopata, the Wari

³ E.g., Cook and Glowacki, “Pots, Politics, and Power”; Glowacki, “Pottery From Pikillacta,” 109; Donna Nash, “The Art of Feasting: Building an Empire with Food and Drink,” in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, 82–101.

⁴ Patrick Ryan Williams and Donna J. Nash, “Sighting the Apu: A GIS Analysis of Wari Imperialism and the Worship of Mountain Peaks,” *World Archaeology* 14 (2006): 455–68.

⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de Los Incas* (Buenos Aires: Emece Editores SA, 1943).

heritage site of Cerro Baúl was known to locals long before it came to the attention of scholars in the 20th century.⁶ Since then, archaeologists have conducted intensive scientific investigations at the sites located both on the summit and slopes of the *cerro* and its neighboring hills.⁷

In this chapter, I conduct an in-depth analysis of the decorated ceramics recovered in the administrative and religious center of Cerro Baúl, examining how they visually, materially, and contextually relate to the ceramics of Conchopata previously analyzed.⁸ After summarizing the excavation history of the site, I provide an overview of the architecture and past activities at Cerro Baúl. I then explore what the ceramics of Cerro Baúl can tell us about artistic practices in the Wari Empire, from the making to the use and deposition of objects.

1. A uniquely located Wari site

a. History of investigations at Cerro Baúl

Local populations in the Moquegua region never forgot about Cerro Baúl, yet the Wari outpost remained virtually unknown to the scientific community until recently. In the early 1980s, archaeologists Michael Moseley, Robert Feldman, and Irene Pritzker briefly explored the site during their survey of the Moquegua Valley. They believed at the time that Cerro Baúl was

⁶ Michael E. Moseley, Robert Feldman, and Irene Pritzker, “New Light on Peru’s Past,” *Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 53, no. 1 (1982): 3–11; Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, Rodolfo Vera, and Elias Mujica, “Cerro Baúl: un enclave Wari en territorio Tiwanaku,” *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 1, no. 2 (1982): 4–5.

⁷ E.g. Donna J. Nash, “The Archaeology of Space: Places of Power in the Wari Empire” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Gainesville, FL, University of Florida, 2002); Nash and Williams, “Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier”; Patrick Ryan Williams, “Wari and Tiwanaku Borderlands,” in *Tiwanaku: Papers from the 2005 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, ed. Margaret Young-Sanchez (Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 211–24; Patrick Ryan Williams and Donna J. Nash, “Imperial Interaction in the Andes: Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baúl,” in *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic and Plenum Press, 2002), 243–65; Williams and Nash, “Sighting the Apu”; Williams, Nash, and Isla, “Cerro Baúl.”

⁸ For a detailed overview of the corpus of decorated ceramics recovered at Cerro Baúl between 1989 and 2007 used in this study, see Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives.”

affiliated with Tiwanaku rather than Wari.⁹ They described the ceramics that they recovered at the site of “pure Tiwanaku style,” despite the absence of accompanying illustrations to support that claim. When Peruvian archaeologist Rodolfo Vera visited the site a few months later in 1982, he could only find evidence of Wari affiliation at Cerro Baúl, and thus reidentified the site as Wari.¹⁰ Vera’s reattribution was groundbreaking at the time, in that no Wari outpost had yet been found south of Arequipa, in the south of Peru, as the presence of a Wari outpost in the Moquegua Valley implied that Wari and Tiwanaku people coexisted in the region. In an article co-authored with Lumbreras and Elias Mujica, Vera hypothesized that artists affiliated with the Wari Empire began to incorporate Tiwanaku features to their art because of that interaction with Tiwanaku people at Cerro Baúl. As such, Vera’s initial work at Cerro Baúl was critical in gaining a fuller picture of the Wari Empire, its territorial extent, and its relation to Tiwanaku.

In the late 1980s, Robert Feldman returned to Cerro Baúl to survey, map, and excavate some of the summit structures.¹¹ During his fieldwork in 1989, he excavated structure 1 and 2 in Unit 1 (the brewery) and Unit 2 in sector A (a residential area). He suggested that the brewery was used for elite rituals of reciprocity, a hypothesis which was later confirmed.¹² After consulting several Wari specialists, Feldman claimed that the ceramics recovered at the site were likely imported from the Wari heartland or produced locally by artists from the Ayacucho region. Relying on ceramic styles to date the site, Feldman estimated that Cerro Baúl was occupied for

⁹ Moseley, Feldman, and Pritzker. “New Light on Peru’s Past.”

¹⁰ Lumbreras, Vera, and Mujica. “Cerro Baúl,” 4.

¹¹ Feldman, “A Speculative Hypothesis of Wari Southern Expansion.”

¹² Feldman, Robert. “La ciudadela Wari de Cerro Baúl en Moquegua.” In *Moquegua: los primeros doce mil años*, edited by Karen Wise. Moquegua, Peru: Museo Contisuyo, 1998, 60.

about a century at the beginning of the Middle Horizon. We now know that the site was used for much longer thanks to additional radiocarbon data.¹³

Ryan Williams conducted research in the 1990s that allowed to refine our understanding of the chronology and ceremonial life at Cerro Baúl. First in 1993 by helping Feldman to draw a detailed map of the site together with Johnny Isla. Then, in 1997, by initiating the *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl* (PACB) which he co-directed with Johnny Isla. The PACB excavated a D-shaped structure (Unit 5), Units 3 and 6, sampled Unit 4, as well as the southern room of the brewery at Cerro Baúl. In the brewery, archaeologists uncovered the largest deposit of decorated ceramics at the site and confirmed Feldman’s intuition that the brewery was a space of restricted drinking and exchange.¹⁴ After conducting excavations and analyses at the site, Williams and Isla concluded that Cerro Baúl was occupied for much longer than Feldman had previously thought, from 600 to 1050 CE.¹⁵ Williams co-directed the PACB with Mario Ruales for three consecutive seasons, from 2001 to 2004, during which they conducted research in multiple sectors at the site.¹⁶ Nash led excavations in and around the palace of Cerro Baúl, in Sector A at that time.¹⁷ In 2007, the PACB excavated the boiling room and Arundane “temple”. Three years

¹³ Moseley, Michael E., Robert Feldman, Paul S. Goldstein, and Luis Watanabe. “Colonies and Conquest: Tiwanaku and Wari in Moquegua.” In *Huari Administrative Structure*, 121–40.

¹⁴ Patrick Ryan Williams, *Informe de Campo e Informe Final, Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl 2006-7* (Chicago, IL, Gainesville, FL, and Moquegua, Peru: University of Florida, The Field Museum, and Museo Contisuyo, 2008).

¹⁵ The Wari city was likely abandoned c. 1200 C.E. after recalibration of the radiocarbon dates. Nash and deFrance, “Plotting Abandonment.”

¹⁶ Williams, Patrick Ryan, and Mario Ruales. *Informe de Campo e Informe Final, Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl 2001*. Chicago, IL, and Moquegua, Peru: The Field Museum and Museo Contisuyo, 2002; Williams, Patrick Ryan, and Mario Ruales. *Informe de Campo e Informe Final, Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl 2002*. Chicago, IL, and Moquegua, Peru: The Field Museum and Museo Contisuyo, 2004; Williams, Patrick Ryan, Mario Ruales, and Ana Miranda. *Informe de Campo e Informe Final, Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl 2004*. Chicago, IL, and Moquegua, Peru: The Field Museum and Museo Contisuyo, 2005.

¹⁷ The palace was excavated by Donna Nash in 2001, 2002, 2004, and 2007, unearthing around 30% of the compound. Williams, Patrick Ryan. *Informe de Campo e Informe Final, Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl 2006-7*.

later, the focus of the investigations switched to the westernmost part of the site, Sector D (which is not a part of this present study).¹⁸ Over the years, research was also conducted at neighboring sites and sectors dating from the Middle Horizon, such as Cerro Mejía. Although wide-ranging temporally and geographically, all PACB fieldwork followed the same excavation protocols: archaeologists would investigate features within architectural units following a superimposed grid of one-by-one-meter squares. To this day, twenty summit contexts have been excavated.

b. Description of the site

The summit site of Cerro Baúl is impractical in many ways, which is why archaeologists believe that it was built as part of a political and/or religious strategy.¹⁹ Wari and Tiwanaku powers settled in the Moquegua Valley at the beginning of the 6th century.²⁰ People affiliated with Wari built in the upper part of the Valley, while those from Tiwanaku settled in the middle Valley, establishing core religious buildings and cemeteries at Omo and Chen Chen.²¹ In this context, Cerro Baúl seemed to assert dominance over the Moquegua Valley with its visible position at the top of a 600-meter mountain and its closeness to the nearby sacred peak of Picchu Picchu, which could be observed from a platform in the western part of the summit.²² It is

Chicago, IL, Gainesville, FL, and Moquegua, Peru: University of Florida, The Field Museum, and Museo Contisuyo, 2008.

¹⁸ Patrick Ryan Williams, Manuel Lizárraga, and Nicola Sharratt, *Informe de Campo e Informe Final, Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl* (Chicago, IL, Gainesville, FL, and Moquegua, Peru: The Field Museum, University of Florida, and Museo Contisuyo, 2010).

¹⁹ Williams, “Cerro Baúl,” 82.

²⁰ Bruce D. Owen, “Distant Colonies and Explosive Collapse: The Two Stages of the Tiwanaku Diaspora in the Osmore Drainage,” *Latin American Antiquity* 16, no. 1 (2005), 50.

²¹ Paul S. Goldstein, “Omo, a Tiwanaku Provincial Center in Moquegua, Peru” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Chicago, IL, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1989); Paul S. Goldstein and Bruce D. Owen, “Tiwanaku En Moquegua: Las Colonias Altiplánicas,” ed. Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP, Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias*, 5 (2001): 139–68.

²² Williams, “Cerro Baúl,” 78-79; Williams and Nash, “Sighting the Apu,” 460; Patrick Ryan Williams and Donna J. Nash, “Imperial Interaction in the Andes: Huari and Tiwanaku at Cerro Baúl,” in *Andean Archaeology I: Variations*

possible that the outpost of Cerro Baúl was designed to serve as a type of embassy in the Moquegua Valley, to interact with local groups as well as with people affiliated with Tiwanaku.²³ There is evidence that people from Tiwanaku visited Cerro Baúl, such as the multiple Tiwanaku ceramic censers that were recovered around the altar of the Arundane Temple (Sector D).²⁴

Wari-affiliated people managed to draft enough labor forces to build impressive settlements at Cerro Baúl, as that location did not provide direct access to food, water, or building material (outside of stone).²⁵ An extensive and sophisticated irrigation system had to be built to make life at Cerro Baúl viable, including a 20-kilometer canal, an aqueduct, and numerous agricultural terraces.²⁶ This outpost required a huge investment in time, energy, and resources, which is why building and inhabiting Cerro Baúl for over four centuries had to be meaningful (i.e., such as a symbolic act and/or a demonstration of power), as it was not an efficient way to build a Wari satellite.

The settlement at the summit of Cerro Baúl has been divided by archaeologists into five different sectors, each organized according to a perceived shared function or design features and

in *Sociopolitical Organization*, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic and Plenum Press, 2002), 243–65.

²³ Charles Stanish, “What Was Tiwanaku?,” in *Visions of Tiwanaku*, ed. Charles Stanish and Alexei Vranich (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2013), 163.

²⁴ Nash, “Evidencia de uniones matrimoniales entre las élites Wari y Tiwanaku de Cerro Baúl, Moquegua, Perú ;” Patrick Ryan Williams and Donna J. Nash, “Religious Ritual and Wari State Expansion,” in *Ritual and Archaic States*, ed. Joanne M. A. Murphy (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2016), 145; Patrick Ryan Williams and Donna J. Nash, “Consuming Kero: Molle Beer and Wari Social Identity in Andean Peru,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 63, no. 101327 (2021).

²⁵ Moseley et al., “Burning down the Brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial Colony at Cerro Baul, Peru,” 17264.

²⁶ Williams, “The Role of Disaster in the Development of Agriculture and the Evolution of Social Complexity in the South-Central Andes.”

thus meant to highlight distinct units in the original Wari settlement (fig. 38). Sector A is believed to contain the residential section of this outpost, which comprised the palace (Units 9, 25, 40, 41) as well as the living quarters of artists working semi-precious stones.²⁷ Sector B is thought to include the ceremonial heart of Cerro Baúl, consisting of a D-shaped structure (Unit 5) and a brewery (Unit 1). Sector C is defined by its singular architecture, namely a D-shaped structure (Unit 10) in a large compound. Sector D, also known as the Arundane Temple, is spatially distinct as it is located separately further West and was built around a rock outcrop.²⁸ Sector E consisted of a viewing platform and plaza.²⁹

Nash and Williams consider that the outpost was shaped through two different building phases: one at the beginning of the site's occupation, in the 7th century, and one later at the beginning of the 10th century.³⁰ The alphabetical order of the sectors does not reflect the order in which the Wari built these areas, but simply indicates a way to label these units today. The first construction stage at Cerro Baúl occurred during the 6th and 7th century and likely began with Sector E. The platform and sunken court complex of that sector are reminiscent of earlier ceremonial buildings in the Andes, including at Tiwanaku.³¹ It is assumed that Unit 10, a D-shaped structure, was built around the same time, followed by a second D-shaped structure (Unit 5) 160 years later.³² The palace was also erected during that first construction phase, before

²⁷ Williams, "Cerro Baúl," 71.

²⁸ Nash and Williams, "Religious Ritual and Wari State Expansion."

²⁹ Ibid; Williams and Nash. "Imperial Interaction in the Andes," 251.

³⁰ Nash and Williams, "Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier," 160.

³¹ Williams and Nash, "Religious Ritual and Wari State Expansion," 140.

³² Unit 10 was radiocarbon dated around 640-810 C.E.

being abandoned sometime after 750 CE, after an elite woman was buried in its patio.³³ The event was accompanied by feasting and the subsequent destruction of ceramic vessels, scattered across the structure.

Around 900 CE, a major reconstruction event occurred at Cerro Baúl. New, larger structures were built, including 30-meter-wide plazas in Sector C and an annex that was added to the Arundane temple (Sector D).³⁴ The main portion of the site was abandoned around 1030 CE, an event marked by a termination ritual during which the brewery was burnt. Decorated drinking vessels were broken and scattered across the brewery, and shell and semi-precious stone necklaces deposited afterward on the remains.³⁵

Buildings at Cerro Baúl were made using double-faced stone masonry, sometimes plastered and painted following the Wari heartland tradition.³⁶ Several structures were multi-storied, as attested by the wooden upper floors that had collapsed on the ground and were recovered during excavations.³⁷ The resources necessary to build Cerro Baúl were substantial, from the water needed to make plaster to the wood required to support upper floors and roofing.³⁸ Overall, no effort was spared to create a Wari outpost in the Moquegua Valley.

The summit site of Cerro Baúl appears to have been built for and primarily used by members of the elite, whereas commoners resided on the flanks of the mountain and the nearby

³³ Nash and deFrance. "Plotting Abandonment."

³⁴ Nash and Williams, "Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier," 166.

³⁵ Williams and Nash, "Imperial Interaction in the Andes," 260; Moseley et al., "Burning down the Brewery."

³⁶ Donna J. Nash, "El establecimiento de relaciones de poder a través del uso del espacio residencial en la provincia Wari de Moquegua", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 41, 1 (2012): 1–34.

³⁷ Williams, "Cerro Baúl," 75.

³⁸ Nash, "Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire," 345; Williams and Nash, "Imperial Interaction in the Andes," 261-262.

hill of Cerro Mejía. At the height of its occupation, the population of Cerro Baúl reached around 1,000 inhabitants.³⁹ The most common plant species at the site, *molle*, was not used for food, but for drink: archaeologists recovered vast amounts of this red peppercorn which was once fermented into an alcoholic beverage. Another non-food plant, coca, was also recovered from the elite residence of Cerro Baúl.⁴⁰ People at the site ate camelid meat as well as marine fish and shellfish, but several of those faunal remains from Cerro Baúl may have been used for offerings rather than food preparation.⁴¹ The use of ritual and non-dietary plants at the site echoes the presence of animals that were not meant to be ingested, such as the hallucinogenic *bufo* toad and the Andean condor.⁴² It thus seems that the people of Cerro Baúl brought plants and animals to the site for sustenance but also for spiritual concerns.

c. Ceramic production at Cerro Baúl

Ceramic production was limited in its scope and location at the site of Cerro Baúl, to the opposite of Conchopata. Nash recovered tools and materials necessary to ceramic-making in and around the palace, where she believes the activity took place.⁴³ Residents made undecorated wares in the residential portion of Cerro Baúl and at the nearby hill of Cerro Mejía (where the lower classes resided) using their own paste recipe, but the workshop around the palace was the only location where decorated Wari ceramics were produced in the entire Moquegua Valley.⁴⁴

³⁹ Moseley et al., “Burning down the Brewery,” 17264.

⁴⁰ Biwer et al., “Comida y contacto cultural”.

⁴¹ Nash and deFrance, “Plotting Abandonment,” 119.

⁴² deFrance, “The Luxury of Variety.”

⁴³ Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire,” 340.

⁴⁴ Cerro Mejía was one of a few Wari subsidiary sites in the Moquegua Valley which had a similar architecture to Cerro Baúl but of lower execution, with very little Wari material culture. Nash, “The Archaeology of Space” 113;

Few decorated Wari ceramics have been recovered in the region, and it is possible that they were highly restricted in their production and use at Cerro Baúl.⁴⁵ Elites had enough labor and resources at Cerro Baúl to bring food, water, and material to the summit, thus they could have relegated ceramic production to lower classes, if needed. But instead, they restricted this activity spatially and in terms of scale. For those reasons, Nash considers that the production of Wari ceramics at Cerro Baúl was an elite prerogative.

Ceramic production at Cerro Baúl took the form of a segmented production process, meaning that the making of a single ceramic was divided into distinct steps, spaces, and likely individuals, as at the Wari site of Maymi in southern Peru.⁴⁶ For example, clay and temper storage, paste preparation, shaping, and burnishing would have been conducted on a plaza (Unit 40 A), while the slip, decoration, and firing of the ceramics must have occurred in other spaces, possibly the garden (Unit 40 C). Pigment stored and prepared in the nearby plaza (Unit 41 E) was also likely used to paint ceramic.⁴⁷ Because ceramic production unfolded in multiple open and closed spaces, the individuals performing that activity were people who had access to those multiple structures.

Ceramicists in the elite workshop at Cerro Baúl worked with materials that were in the majority local and had similar characteristics to those used in the Wari heartland, such as *pozzolana*.⁴⁸ Despite relying on local sources to make their decorated vessels and figurines,

Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire,” 346; Nash, “Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes,” 489.

⁴⁵ Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire,” 346.

⁴⁶ Anders et al., “Early Middle Horizon Pottery Production at Maymi, Pisco Valley, Peru.”

⁴⁷ Nash, “Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes,” 487; Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire,” 340-342.

potters managed to recreate a ceramic paste akin to that found in the Wari heartland, which was also distinct from that used by the Tiwanaku people in the Moquegua Valley. Through this example, we witness how facture and materials, categories of value in Andean culture, were deeply meaningful to Wari ceramic production.

The production and consumption of Wari decorated ceramics in the Moquegua Valley was tightly controlled spatially, technologically, and quantitatively. Archaeologists have previously argued that local groups in the region did not make decorated pottery before the Middle Horizon and that the decorated ceramics recovered at Cerro Baúl do not draw from local antecedents.⁴⁹ As such, the current perspective is that the making of decorated ceramics at Cerro Baúl was restricted to elites with direct ties to the Wari, who brought with them both the technical and artistic knowledge from the imperial heartland and made sure to keep it as part of their prerogative.⁵⁰ My analysis of ceramics from the summit site of Cerro Baúl seems to support the idea of an intrusive, Wari-affiliated decorative program.⁵¹

1. Artistic strategies at Cerro Baúl

My analysis is based on 62 decorated ceramics that were excavated between 1989 and 2007 at Cerro Baúl. I carefully recorded and examined them, as well as complemented my visual

⁴⁸ Laure Dussubieux et al., “LA-ICP-MS Analysis Applied to the Characterization of Peruvian Wari Ceramics,” in *Archaeological Chemistry: Analytical Techniques and Archaeological Interpretation*, ed. Michael D. Glascock, Robert J. Speakman, and Rachel S. Popelka-Filcoff, American Chemical Society Symposium Series 968 (Washington, D.C.: American Chemical Society, 2007), 349–63; Nicola Sharratt et al., “Ceramic Production during the Middle Horizon: Wari and Tiwanaku Clay Procurement in the Moquegua Valley, Peru,” *Geoarchaeology* 24 (2009): 792–820; Williams et al., “Wari Ceramic Production in the Heartland and Provinces,” 127; Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire,” 343.

⁴⁹ Moseley et al., “Colonies and Conquest: Tiahuanaco and Huari in Moquegua,” 135.

⁵⁰ Nash, “Craft Production as an Empowering Strategy in an Emerging Empire;” Nash, “Art and Elite Political Machinations in the Middle Horizon Andes.”

⁵¹ Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives.”

analysis by consulting excavation reports, Donna Nash and Ryan Williams' extensive publications, and having personal conversations with the two archaeologists. This chapter dives into the artistic strategies and specificities of this corpus: repetition and abstraction.

a. Imitation and recreation at Cerro Baúl

One of the most striking features of the ceramics of Cerro Baúl is the fact that they include multiple groups of two or more vessels.⁵² Pairs or larger sets of ceramics are not rare in Wari art, as we have seen previously in the Wari heartland. However, most of the ceramics at Cerro Baúl were not molded like at Conchopata, and instead they had to be shaped and painted by hand. In this section, I examine closely three groups of three to four vessels from the site to uncover the processes through which artists repeated, or recreated, them.

The first group that I analyzed was a set of three tumblers averaging 12 cm in height with a dark orange slip and six-legged beings painted on their outside.⁵³ All have a diameter of 11 cm, but their profile varies slightly from vessel to vessel, attesting to the fact that they were shaped by hand. Slip covers the whole exterior of the vessel as well as the rim on the inside. The outside walls were burnished, although some to a higher degree than others, as in the case of VR 208.

All decorative elements were painted on the tumblers using dark brown and light grey paint with black outlines. The overall colors on VR 208 (fig. 39) are brighter than on CB-02-26-1092 (fig. 40), which may be due to different paints or pigment concentrations being used or variations that occurred during firing.⁵⁴ Because of the serious burning of the remains of CB-04-

⁵² In a recent article, Williams and Nash compare multiple sets of tumblers and cups from the brewery at Cerro Baúl in light of their use in drinking rituals and libations. Williams and Nash, "Consuming Kero."

⁵³ VR 208, CB-02-26-1092, and CB-04-26-3142.

⁵⁴ Even in sections similarly preserved on CB-02-26-0221 and VR 208, the colors used on CB-02-26-0221 are much deeper and more intense.

26-3142 (fig. 41), it is difficult to determine the quality of its original paint, but a well-preserved sherd seems to indicate that it once had bright colors and deep black outlines. The outlines of VR 208 were almost drawn in one single motion, to the exception of one foot of the six-legged creature. In contrast, the outlines on the other two tumblers have many points of junction that do not match exactly, and thus had to be drawn in several movements. The outlines were made using a brush slightly thinner than that used to paint the shapes underneath. In all instances, chevrons were made in two steps, by painting two opposing diagonal lines that meet at the top, rather than by drawing a “V” in a single motion. This process of painting chevrons seems to be the most common for Wari ceramics.⁵⁵

The only tumbler with a six-legged figure and a preserved bottom is CB-02-26-1092. The vessel’s bottom is almost intact, except for some stains which may be manganese spots, common on ceramics that have been buried for a long period of time.⁵⁶ The lip of the tumbler is worn on CB-02-26-1092 and especially CB-04-26-3142, but not as much on VR 208. When it comes to the imagery of the vessels, it is similar but not strictly codified: the number of toes on the six-legged beings varies between three and four from vessel to vessel, and even in one instance on the same vessel (CB-02-26-1092).

Two of the tumblers were excavated in Unit 26 in Sector C, what is referred to as the temple annex, but in different rooms.⁵⁷ The remaining one, VR 208, was found in the opposite side of the site, in the forecourt of the palace in Sector A. All tumblers are clearly based on the

⁵⁵ Suggestion based on the examination of dozens of ceramics from museum collections. Thus far, the only vessel found with chevrons drawn in one motion was the specimen X65.12936 from the Fowler Museum.

⁵⁶ Stephen L. Whittington and David E. Shoemaker, “Context Found - Hudson Museum - University of Maine,” *Hudson Museum* (blog), accessed January 11, 2021, <https://umaine.edu/hudsonmuseum/exhibits/online/images-for-eternity/context-found/>.

⁵⁷ CB-04-26-3142 was found in recinto C2 and CB-02-26-1092 in recinto A1.

same model, as they all display a similar form, color palette, and imagery—while not identical. The two vessels which were found in the same structure, CB-04-26-3142 and CB-02-26-1092, have the most in common. VR 208 does not seem to have been used as much as the other two vessels have; it stands out due to its facture and may have been made at a different time than the others, albeit possibly by the same person.

The second group of vessels I analyzed consisted of four tall black and white tumblers averaging 20 cm in height.⁵⁸ They have straight flaring walls with a wide opening, and a protruding band below the rim in relief (also called torus).⁵⁹ The shape of VR 003 (fig. 42) differs slightly from the others (figs. 43 and 44), with a taller rim and straighter walls. The decoration of the tumblers is divided in three horizontal sections: on the top are alternating bands of black, orange, black, and white paint. The central section, which corresponds to the torus, displays a fret band between two orange lines. The bottom section covers the rest of the vessel, with half white and half dark paint. The decoration of the black and white tumblers is similar, to the exception of VR 003, which has a smaller fret band than the others.

The tumblers were painted in the same order, with first an orange slip on the entire outside of the vessel, followed by white paint, and finally black paint. The colors of the vessels are all vibrant and very well preserved, except for VR 003, whose black paint was thinner and shows the orange slip underneath, thus making it look light brown rather than black. All four tumblers were skillfully burnished and have a smooth, reflective surface. The treatment of the inside is the same for all but VR 012 (fig. 45): this one was entirely slipped inside (likely dipped

⁵⁸ VR 012, VR 025, VR 003, CB-97-1436.

⁵⁹ John W. Janusek, “Vessels, Time, and Society: Toward a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland,” in *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology Paleocology of an Andean Civilization*, ed. Alan L. Kolata, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003), 30–89.

fully in a slip bath), while the others only have slip on the inside rim (figs. 46 and 47). Two of the black and white tumblers have a preserved bottom: VR 012 (fig. 48) and VR 003. That of VR 012 bears a lot of use marks, as well as a circular post-fire engraving (PFE) at the center. In contrast, that of VR 003 is barely worn, and was not incised. A partially lost PFE can be seen on the lower part of the body of the vessel (fig. 49). The four tumblers were recovered from the brewery, and most of their remains had been scattered across several rooms. All have some slight traces of use on their lip.

The black and white tumblers of Cerro Baúl can be divided in three sub-groups: VR 003 stands out as the most singular of the set, with a slightly different shape, colors, and design, as well as a post-fire incision on the body of the vessel rather than its bottom. The other three are much more similar formally, but VR 012 is the only tumbler that was slipped entirely on the inside. Even though its bottom bears multiple traces of use, its internal slip is spotless, which might indicate that the vessel did not contain liquid for long, if ever. None of the black and white tumblers seem to have been heavily used, and they may have been meant for display solely or for libations rather than regular drinking.

The last group of vessels that I analyzed was composed of four large tumblers painted with a front-face figure (figs. 50-53).⁶⁰ Their shape and size are similar to those of the black and white tumblers but they have straighter walls, in particular VR 002 (fig. 50). Their decoration consists of three horizontal sections: on the upper one, a geometricized design of opposed feline heads between broken lines. On the torus, there is a meander-like motif filled with white circles on a grey background. A rayed front-face figure with stylized animal heads fills most of the body of the tumblers. The face of that figure is decorated with white lines and circles; only on VR 002

⁶⁰ CB-04-01-0377, TI 3292, VR 002, and VR 001. Only two vessels are complete: VR 002, which measures 26 cm, and VR 001, which measures 22.7cm.

are the lines filled with dark red paint. The colors of the slip and paint vary quite strikingly in this group, with TI-3292 (fig. 51) standing out for its deep red slip and high polish. The order in which they were painted appears to be the same for all, with first the slip, then grey paint, white paint, black paint, and finally white highlights.⁶¹ Three of the four tumblers have a preserved bottom; all bear traces of use and are marked by a PFE at the center, which was done after at least some of the wear occurred on the surface. The bottom of VR 001 is slightly rounded, compared to the other two which are flat.⁶²

The tumblers in this set have similar but not identical design elements, which is evident in the treatment of the profile heads of felines and birds around the front-face figure. Each vessel gives a different interpretation of those animal heads: the placement of their eye, nose/beak, mouth, and neck ornament varies on each vessel. VR 002 seems to follow the conventions and orientation commonly used in Wari art. On VR 001, the bird heads are inverted, and the neck of a feline is placed above its ear. On CB-04-01-0377, a bird has its neck above its head while the rest do not, and a feline has a neck indicated both above and below its head. Finally, on TI-3292, a feline has its mouth and nose inverted. These variations indicate that the individuals who decorated the tumblers did not understand the nature the designs they were painting, and I suggest that that all were painted by different individuals.⁶³ Despite this variability in color and design, all four tumblers were excavated in the brewery. None of them has traces of use on their lip, solely on their base, indicating that they were likely used for libation or display rather than drinking.

⁶¹ This order is evident on VR 001 and CB-04-01-0377.

⁶² VR 002 and CB-04-01-0377.

⁶³ Nash and Williams also believe that some of the vessel sets from the brewery of Cerro Baúl were made by different artists. Williams and Nash, "Consuming Kero."

The vessels produced in sets at Cerro Baúl seem at first to emphasize repetition, uniformity, and lack of individualization in the artistic process, but my analysis revealed that each can tell their own story. These sets appear to have been made at different times or by different people, and each of the vessels that compose them could be used for different purposes and in different spaces. Some tumblers seem to have been used and reused for drinking, while others were barely touched and must have been recipients for libations or display. I argue that the ceramic sets from Cerro Baúl were all meant to refer to the same model, but artists transformed each iteration through creative reinvention.

The sets of ceramics from Cerro Baúl complicate the long-standing colonial and scholarly emphasis on Andean duality and the role that pairs of vessels played in drinking rituals.⁶⁴ Pairs of wooden tumblers, or *kero*, are considered the epitome of Inca drinking rituals, often involving two people of different ranks.⁶⁵ Since scholars have often transposed Inca models to Wari studies, it is no surprise that duality is also prevalent in Wari scholarship on drinking rituals.⁶⁶ Duality is present on some aspects of the decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl, such as the clear

⁶⁴ Henry Tantaleán, “Andean Ontologies: An Introduction to Substance,” in *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Henry Tantaleán and María Cecilia Lozada (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019), 18; Billie Jean Isbell, “La otra mitad esencial: un estudio de complementariedad sexual andina,” *Estudios Andinos* 12 (1976): 37–56; Carolyn J. Dean, “Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men,” in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, ed. Cecelia F. Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 143–82; Dean, “The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place”; González Holguín, *Vocabulario de La Lengua General de Todo El Perú Llamada Lengua Qquichua, o Del Inca*, 236. See also José Yáñez del Pozo, *Yanantin: la filosofía dialógica intercultural del manuscrito de Huarochiri* (Washington, D.C.: Abya-Yala, 2002); R. Tom Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca Empire* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964).

⁶⁵ E.g. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*; Tamara L. Bray, “To Dine Splendidly: Imperial Pottery, Commensal Politics, and the Inca State,” in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic and Plenum Press, 2003), 93–142; Constanza Ceruti, “Human Bodies as Objects of Dedication at Inca Mountain Shrines (North-Western Argentina),” *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2004): 103–22.

⁶⁶ Bergh, “The Bird and the Camelid (or Deer)”; Cook, “The Stone Ancestors”; Vazquez de Arthur, “Semiotic Portraits”; Bruce Owen, “Rural Wari Far from the Heartland: Huamanga Ceramics from Beringa, Majes Valley, Peru,” *Andean Past* 8 (2007), 304; Nash, “The Art of Feasting,” 87–88.

opposition of dark and light halves on the black-and-white tumbler. However, some of the largest and most labor-intensive drinking vessels at the site were produced in sets of three and four. Other organizing numbers were important in the Andes, like the number three that can be perceived as an indicator of good fortune and of completion and wholeness in contemporary Andean communities.⁶⁷ I thus wonder if the concept of duality is really what guided the making of these sets of ceramics, rather than, for example, the idea of recreating a model already in use at the site and that was associated with specific events or individuals. Focusing on the meaning of numbers can take away from the creative possibilities of repetition in Wari art.

a. Challenging the prevalence of figuration

In this section, I want to demonstrate that artists in the Wari Empire combined both abstraction and naturalism to a degree unmatched in Andean history, and that we can learn from the way that they navigated such distinct ways of seeing in their art. Until relatively recently, art historians perceived abstraction in Andean art as rudimentary and unrefined. However, following Dean and Pasztory's important challenges to this problematic view, I argue that Andean abstraction, in particular that created by artists in the Wari Empire, reflects the virtuosity of the makers and the sophistication of the consumers of their art.⁶⁸ In this section, I investigate the

⁶⁷ Anthropologist Hickman recorded for example during his fieldwork in Chinchera, next to Puno in the Southern Highlands, that "three being lucky or multiples of three." John M. Hickman, "The Aymara of Chinchera, Peru: Persistence and Change in a Bicultural Context" (PhD Dissertation, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University, 1963), 81. See also Elsie Parsons, *Peguche, Canton of Otavalo, Province of Imbabura, Ecuador: A Study of Andean Indians* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 115; Gary Urton and Primitivo Nina Llanos, *The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philosophy of Arithmetic* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 40; According to Arnold and Dransart, "an odd count is considered simply 'incomplete' because it is still lacks its other half, while an even count is considered 'complete' in and of itself." Arnold and Dransart, "Woven Techniques and Social Interactions in the South Central Andes : Ladder Designs and the Visualisation of Productive Output," 310.

⁶⁸ Pasztory, "Andean Aesthetics;" Stone-Miller and McEwan, "The Representation of the Wari State in Stone and Thread"; Ellen K. Levy, "Repetition and the Scientific Model in Art," *Art Journal* 55, no. 1 (1996), 81.

meaning of abstracted designs at Cerro Baúl to the people who made and used them, and how these design elements related to figural motifs which also occur on Wari ceramics.

The set of black and white tumblers previously described are examples of the importance that abstraction may have had for makers and users of Wari art. There is clear evidence that these tumblers were of great value to the people of Cerro Baúl: their great size and weight (almost 700g empty), their extremely delicate manufacture (their surface polish and opaque paint is unequalled at Cerro Baúl), and their use during the termination event of the brewery. Black and white tumblers are not restricted to Cerro Baúl, and some have also been found in the Wari heartland.⁶⁹

Scholars have long assumed that representational images linked to Tiwanaku, such as front-face figures, were meaningful in Wari art.⁷⁰ If black and white tumblers were of the same size, quality, and were used in the same contexts as tumblers with front-face figures, then it is possible that both types of tumblers had a similar value to the people who made and used them. There is no evidence that supports the fact that non-representational artworks, such as the black and white tumblers, were less important than those with figurative motifs in the Wari Empire.

What was the message conveyed through representational and abstract visual expressions in Wari art, if both were valuable? What was the visual language and reproduced and shared through Wari art at Cerro Baúl? For archaeologist Bruce Owen, ceramic corporate styles “embody specific, complex iconography that could have conveyed particular messages for

⁶⁹ See Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives;” Ochatoma Paravicino and Cabrera Romero, “Ideología religiosa y organización militar en la iconografía del área ceremonial de Conchopata,” 248.

⁷⁰ Tiwanakoid motifs are now referred to as Southern Andean Iconographic Series (SAIS) motifs. Menzel 1964, 66; Knobloch, “A Study of the Andean Huari Ceramics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon Epoch I;” Patricia Knobloch, “Founding Fathers of the Middle Horizon: Quests and Conquests for Andean Identity in the Wari Empire,” in *Images in Action*, 687.

institutional purposes; were made to very high standards, (...) and were distributed to, or accurately duplicated in, the distant periphery.”⁷¹ The decorated ceramics made at Cerro Baúl appear to copy models from the Wari heartland, but which of them have a “specific, complex iconography”? Do black and white tumblers with fret bands, “made to very high standards,” count as such? What about the role of simple geometric motifs of clear Wari origin, such as the chevron?⁷² I suggest that both representational and non-representational designs formed an integral part of the Wari visual language, and that decorative elements were not necessarily valued for the technical skill and accuracy that they required. Other standards may have been favored, such as the ability of artists to combine different modes of representation in new, creative, and expressive ways.

The distinction between abstraction and figuration is far from clear-cut in Wari art. Both figuration and abstraction could generate a variety of meaning across artworks without necessarily contradicting one another. The same design element could be used in a variety of ways: at Cerro Baúl, fret bands are found on tumblers with fully abstract decorations, while at Conchopata, they are mostly used as collars to frame human modeled heads.

Abstract decorative elements might be puzzling to us today, and possibly even to some people in the Wari Empire, but that may not have been true for all users. According to Knobloch, abstract elements on Wari face paint was used as heraldry or even as *tocapu*, a visual system of communication.⁷³ For Nash, the same could be said about the design elements that appear on

⁷¹ Bruce Owen, “Wari in the Majes-Camana Valley: A Different Kind of Horizon,” in *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru*, ed. Justin Jennings (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 61.

⁷² Menzel, “Style and Time in the Middle Horizon,” 13.

⁷³ Knobloch, “Who Was Who In the Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory?.”

Wari ceramics.⁷⁴ Abstract imagery possibly functioned as a visual symbol of ethnicity, status, or other social categories to a wide audience.

Based on existing evidence, I argued that, in certain cases, artists used abstract modes of communication to evoke human bodies through metonymy, by playing with the placement of geometric designs and the anthropomorphic quality of ceramic vessels. For example, the only decorated jar recovered at Cerro Baúl, which bears a polychrome frieze of chevrons around its rim (fig. 54), is reminiscent of the large face-neck jars from Conchopata which are topped with the same chevron band (fig. 55).⁷⁵ In the latter case, the frieze of chevrons stands for a braided headband, a hypothesis supported by the fact that this type of chevron is derived from the pattern of braids, which form the base of Wari headbands, according to textile specialist Elena Phipps.⁷⁶ Adding a frieze of chevrons to a simple jar may thus have been enough to transform the vessel into an anthropomorphic figure. The black and white tumblers from Cerro Baúl may also have been abstracted references to a human body. That is evident when they are compared to a head-shaped cup from the MNAAHP in Lima (fig. 56).⁷⁷ The back of the cup depicts a headdress and strands of hair in a way that parallels the black and white partition of the Cerro Baúl tumblers and their orange, black, and white rim. Bray has long argued that the Inca *urpu*, mainly decorated with geometric designs, was a visual metaphor for the body of the Inca ruler.⁷⁸ Certain Wari

⁷⁴ Nash, “The Art of Feasting: Building an Empire with Food and Drink,” 89.

⁷⁵ Cerro Baúl specimen number VR 024 and Conchopata 82-2651-8819.

⁷⁶ Personal communication.

⁷⁷ Cerro Baúl specimen number VR 012, VR 025, VR 003, CB-97-1436; MNAAHP specimen number unknown.

⁷⁸ Tamara L. Bray, “Exploring Inca State Religion Through Material Metaphor,” in *Religion, Archaeology, and the Material World*, ed. Lars Fogelin (Carbondale, IL: Board of Trustees, Southern Illinois University, 2008), 118–38.

ceramic containers may have functioned similarly, with their abstract motifs acting as signs for the human body.

Abstracted designs may not always have been signifiers in Wari art and were possibly embraced as such. Dean has advised scholars to avoid iconocentricity (the obsession with figurative motifs) in our perception of Inca art.⁷⁹ For her, “The search for zoomorphic forms in Inka polygonal masonry serves to transform the Inka’s walls of purposefully aniconic stone into plain-air galleries of pictures (...).”⁸⁰ I believe that, if some Wari ceramics with abstract decorations could be abridged esoteric versions of figurative designs, others were purposefully aniconic. Projecting iconography on Wari ceramics to necessarily give them a singular meaning is an ethnocentric practice, as argued by Dean.

Seemingly simple design elements may have had a wide range of meanings in the Wari Empire, depending on the viewer, their knowledge, and background. Wari artists could have intentionally played with the polysemous nature of geometric shapes and designs.⁸¹ Abstract design elements were favorable to repetition, easily copied, and could be used in a variety of contexts. Many imperial powers around the world have embraced such multidimensional iconographies, for example the Roman and Achaemenid empires.⁸² The significance of abstract designs was likely viewer-dependent, and the fact that these motifs were associated with a variety of ceramic shapes, decorative layout, and associated designs seems to indicate that

⁷⁹ Dean, “The Trouble with (the Term) Art.”

⁸⁰ Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 172.

⁸¹ Roland Barthes, “Rhetoric of the Image,” in *Visual Rhetoric in a Digital World: A Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Carolyn Handa (Boston, MA; New York, NY: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004), 156.

⁸² Karl Galinsky, “Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, no. 3 (1992): 457–75; Elspeth R. M. Dusinger, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 161; Dalila Özbay, “The Representation of Emperor as God in Byzantine Mosaics and Frescos,” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 4 (2015): 58–65.

polysemy was integral to the Wari visual language. Abstract designs could be part of an esoteric sign system destined to an informed audience, or instead, it may have been meant for a group excluded from the knowledge necessary to interpret these motifs. Such could be the case of the globular bowls with hastily painted geometric symbols from Wari sites such as Conchopata, which are said to have been used by commoners. Abstract decorations may have been used as tools for both inclusion and exclusion, just like Wari ritual architecture.⁸³

It could be argued that Wari artistic expression evolved from abstraction to figuration or vice-versa, but there is evidence that artists used both modes of representation concurrently. For example, the delicately modeled leg-shaped vessel from Cerro Baúl topped with a frieze of chevrons combines a detailed naturalistic representation with abstract designs (fig. 57).⁸⁴ It seems unlikely that the chevron band refers to a braid or a headband in this case, as it is located above a human shin. The chevrons may, instead, have been used for their geometric quality and maybe their visual association with the Wari Empire while remaining aniconic.

Naturalism and abstraction were not opposed to each other in the artistic production of Cerro Baúl and Conchopata, but purposefully entangled representational strategies. As I will demonstrate in the following chapter, artists did not simply juxtapose geometric and abstract motifs with naturalistic elements at random in Wari art. This realization forces us to reconsider the way we categorize artistic expressions, separating abstract to figurative, what these meant, and to whom, and why.

2. The imperial made local: comparing Cerro Baúl to Conchopata

⁸³ Nash and Williams, “Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier.”

⁸⁴ Specimen number CB-02-26-0087.

My study of ceramics from the central sectors of Cerro Baúl has shown that the decorated vessels at the site, whether abstract and/or figurative, were very similar to those from the Wari heartland.⁸⁵ Evidence suggests that the Wari were not interested in developing strong ties with local populations when they moved to the Moquegua Valley, choosing to maintain their own ceramic tradition rather than adapting to regional preferences. Ceramic forms and designs found at Conchopata were recreated locally in the Moquegua Valley. In this section, I question whether Wari art was designed to adapt to determined locations or if it was made, used, and deposited independently as part of a pre-established Wari imperial “kit.” In this section, I contextualize Wari ceramic objects to get a sense of their function and interpretation at the local scale.

The association between decorated pottery at Cerro Baúl and ritual performances at the site is undeniable, and here I explore how this use life may have transformed Wari objects as key actors shaping human engagement with the built environment, mind-altering substances, and non-humans. Considering that almost half of the decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl had been used in the termination event of the local brewery, I examine how the use and breaking of the decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl may have been critical to allow these objects to take on a variety of functions and meanings.

a. Shaped by this place: the landscape at Cerro Baúl

The landscape that surrounds Cerro Baúl was essential to the decision to establish a Wari outpost at that specific location. Snow-capped peaks and revered *huaca*, or sacred features, structured the way the site was built and oriented. These features were certainly important to

⁸⁵ Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives.”

people affiliated with Wari, but also local populations from the Moquegua Region.⁸⁶ By being located on top and next to sacred peaks, Cerro Baúl was part of a large ecosystem of powerful entities.

The fact that Cerro Baúl was built where the Tumulaca and the Torata River merge could also be interpreted as highly meaningful based on Andean traditions. *Tinkuy*, or juncture, was originally meant to refer to the meeting of two rivers, but this concept has been applied more broadly to physical and more figurative encounters—that of two people or two halves, creating a new entity.⁸⁷ *Tinkuy* is a term that exists in both Quechua and Aymara, the two most widely spoken indigenous languages of the Andes, demonstrating how fundamental that concept is in that region of the world.⁸⁸ There is no direct source dating back to the Wari that can definitely prove that the Wari were aware of and used the concept of *tinkuy*, and I want to acknowledge that my suggestion lies in the projection of pan-Andean ontologies.⁸⁹ The significance of the confluence of two rivers, in Andean urban planning is attested from as early as the middle to late

⁸⁶ A *huaca* is a sacred and powerful place or objects in the Andes, which possess a human-like behavior. See Tamara L. Bray, ed., *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2015).

⁸⁷ According to Diego González Holguín, the term *tincukmayo* refers specifically to the joining of two rivers. Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de La Lengua General de Todo El Perv Llamada Lengua Qquichua, o Del Inca*, 224. See also Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988); Hillary S. Webb, *Yanantin and Masintin in the Andean World* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2012); Teresa Valiente Catter, “Tinkuy. Encuentro de Contrarios o Diferentes. Una Mirada En Las Fuentes,” *Indiana* 33, no. 1 (2016): 199–220; John Earls and Irene Silverblatt, “La realidad física y social en la cosmología andina,” *Actes Du XLIIe Congrès International Des Américanistes (Paris, 2-9 Septembre 1976)* 4 (1978), 311; Verónica Cereceda, “Aproximaciones a una estética andina: de la belleza al tinku,” in *Tres reflexiones sobre el pensamiento andino*, ed. Therese Bouysse-Cassagne et al. (La Paz, Bolivia: Hisbol, 1987), 212.

⁸⁸ According to the early Aymara dictionary compiled by missionary Ludovico Bertonio, *tincutha* refers to the moment when two opposing armies, or sides in war, meet (“encontrarle los exercitos, o bandos contrarios en la guerra (...)”); *tincusitha*, to fit one with another, to come together well, to adjust (“conformarse una cosa con otra, venir bien, ajustarse”); and *tincuyatha*, to compare (“cotejar”). Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de La Lengua Aymara*, vol. II (Juli: Francisco del Canto, 1612), 350-351.

⁸⁹ Archaeologist Henry Tantaleán reminds us that “one needs to be cautious when using certain Inca notions across all Andean settings, cultures, and time periods, as they most likely represent a narrative developed by one particular indigenous group in a specific period of time, and in part by the Cuzco elite.” Tantaleán, “Andean Ontologies,” 4.

Formative period (1200–500 BCE) at Chavín de Huantar, which was established where the Mosna and the Huachecsa rivers meet.⁹⁰ Almost two thousand years later, the capital of the Inca Empire, Cusco, was built at the *tinkuy* of the Huatanay and Tullumayo rivers.⁹¹ Certain Wari sites are also located at the confluence of two rivers, such as Corral Redondo which was built between the Chorunga River and the Ocoña River. Hence, both mountains and waterways may have conferred great power to the location of Cerro Baúl. Just like the snow-capped peaks, the agricultural terraces, canals, and aqueducts of the Moquegua Valley were visible to the inhabitants and visitors of Cerro Baúl, who were reminded of their connection to the water.

In the Andes, aspects of the landscape are tied to sacred forces as well as to state, communal, and personal stories and lineages. Features such as rivers, snow-capped peaks, and boulders are imbued with life and act as mnemonic devices for oral histories.⁹² For those reasons, the surrounding landscape may have impacted the life and rituals at Cerro Baúl and influenced how feasting, offering, and depositing decorated ceramics was perceived by the participants. The complex sacred landscape would have shaped the experience of the users and become an essential part in the meaning of the place where activities were performed. Waterways and mountains could also have been the main recipients of the rituals performed at the site with Wari artworks.

⁹⁰ Richard L. Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1992); John W. Rick, “The Nature of Ritual Space at Chavín de Huántar,” in *Rituals of the Past: Prehispanic and Colonial Case Studies in Andean Archaeology*, ed. Silvana A. Rosenfeld and Stefanie L. Bautista (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2017), 21–50.

⁹¹ Jean-Pierre Protzen and John H. Rowe, “Cuzco: Hawkaypata the Terrace of Leisure,” in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 236; Dean, “The Inka Married the Earth.”

⁹² Stella Nair, “Space and Time in the Architecture of Inca Royal Estates,” in *The Measure and Meaning of Time in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Anthony Aveni (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 128.

b. Exclusive objects, exclusive spaces

The built environment played a critical role in the creation, perception, and life histories of decorated ceramics at Cerro Baúl. As many of these objects were used in spiritual, political, and domestic rituals, architecture would have been an integral part in the experiences—formal and informal—of residents and visitors at Cerro Baúl. Buildings framed, attenuated, or accentuated the senses (e.g., sight, hearing, smell) and feelings (e.g. exclusivity, isolation, closeness) of the people that navigated those spaces.

Our knowledge of Cerro Baúl's architecture is only partial, and we must rely heavily on projections to get a sense of how buildings and outdoor spaces were experienced at the site. Floor plans are generally preserved, which allows us to determine the general size and shape of buildings' footprints, their entrance and exit points, the building's proximity to one another, and even possibly some sense of their function (as in the case of the D-shaped structures). Yet, we have little idea of how spaces looked and felt since only the bases of the walls remain at the site. The identification of certain architectural features, such as wall niches and windows, are high up above the foundation stones and thus most did not survive. What records we have was determined solely from minimal surviving evidence at Cerro Baúl, and some may not have been recorded.⁹³ As new excavations are undertaken, and thus more architectural evidence comes to light, our reconstruction of buildings at Cerro Baúl may change. Related evidence, such as more architectural models being found, may also impact how we understand the built environment at the site. For example, the architectural model that has been previously found at Conchopata (figs. 1 and 2) has already changed our perception of the Wari built environment and its colorful and inviting rather than stern appearance. Key questions relative to the main structures of the site

⁹³ Nash, "The Archaeology of Space," 91.

thus remain to be answered, such as the initial height of the walls of the D-shaped structures, which is a critical information to determine if the people located inside the temple were visible from the outside or instead hidden, as well as how the interior space felt, the impact of light, and how sounds may have traveled.⁹⁴

Despite the remaining uncertainties, it is possible that architecture was used to intentionally manipulate the senses of visitors throughout the Wari Empire. At the site of Wari, walls followed a certain hierarchy in thickness, with the external enclosure walls being much thicker than the internal dividing walls.⁹⁵ This variation might have been intended to provide a sense of secrecy or a clear separation between each level of access being granted, which also seems to be the case on the architectural model from Conchopata (fig. 3). Many Wari buildings also had windowless walls and lacked openings leading to the exterior. McEwan has imagined a visitor may have felt walking at the Wari site of Pikillacta

“As visitors approached and entered, they passed through a long, narrow avenue with high stone walls on either side. Because it was impossible to see out of the confines of the walled avenue, visitors immediately became disoriented. Escorted by a guide, they wound their way through a series of maze-like passages that took them into the heart of the monument. As they advanced, the walls rose higher around them and only the sky above and the path ahead were visible. The intended effect was sensory deprivation and the beginning of a transformation of mental state.”⁹⁶

Did architects craft a similar experience for the visitors at Cerro Baúl? We know that most buildings at the site were small, narrow, and exclusive spaces.⁹⁷ Often, the ceramics were not found in the main room of a compound, like the central portion of the brewery, but rather in adjacent spaces, such as the galleries that surrounded it. These spaces were enclosed and

⁹⁴ See Williams, Nash, and Isla, “Cerro Baúl.”

⁹⁵ Isbell, Brewster-Wray, and Spickard, “Huari Administration and the Orthogonal Cellular Architecture Horizon,” 296.

⁹⁶ Williams and McEwan, “The Wari Built Environment,” 81.

⁹⁷ Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives.”

restricted and could only host few individuals at once. For example, the D-shaped structures at Cerro Baúl only measured around twelve meters in diameter, meaning that they could contain around a dozen people.⁹⁸

Architectural features within each structure at Cerro Baúl could help craft the experience of users and visitors. For example, the doorways of the two D-shaped structures at Cerro Baúl were oriented towards the peak of Picchu Picchu to the northwest, meaning that people looking out the door or exiting the temples had to face the sacred mountain.⁹⁹ Also, the use of plaster and pigment on the walls of certain building could change the sound, feel, and look of the space.¹⁰⁰ Painted structures would have been vibrant capsules amidst the monochromatic landscape of the Moquegua Valley.

Visitors and inhabitants at Cerro Baúl drunk, shared, and shattered decorated ceramics in spaces fostering secrecy, exclusivity, and sacredness, if not otherworldliness. Not only were ceramics held in one's hands for toasts or libations, but they may also have been on display on the floor or in wall niches.¹⁰¹ Each aspect of the making of Wari ceramics was a significant step, from the choice of their materials and techniques to their imagery, but the spatial context in which these objects were used was just as important in shaping them. It is however important to remember that the decorated ceramics of at Cerro Baúl were not necessarily used in the spaces that they were found in.

c. Things and place-making

⁹⁸ Nash and Williams, "Architecture and Power on the Wari-Tiwanaku Frontier," 163.

⁹⁹ Williams and Nash, "Religious Ritual and Wari State Expansion," 140

¹⁰⁰ Williams et al., "Cerro Baúl," 72; Moseley et al., "Burning down the Brewery," 17270.

¹⁰¹ Nash, "The Archaeology of Space," 105.

In addition to landscape and architecture, the relationship of decorated ceramics with the human body was fundamental to conferring meaning to those artworks at Cerro Baúl. Bodily experiences accompanied all steps of the life of the ceramic objects and were shaped by both internal and external factors, such as mind-altering substances and ritualized movement. While this phenomenological approach to decorated ceramics is not unique to Cerro Baúl, it made those decorated ceramics specific to their time, place, and users. Building on phenomenology, I approach the decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl as objects deeply embedded with bodily experience.¹⁰² Vessels acted as and with anthropomorphic bodies as well as other-than-human entities and elements.¹⁰³ As such, Wari ceramics both impacted and were impacted by their users in a kind of synesthesia, which may have been key to Wari visual and material language.¹⁰⁴

The use of the decorated ceramics at Cerro Baúl was intertwined with the human body and its senses, and in particular the consumption of hallucinogens. People in the Wari Empire took mind-altering substances, such as bufotenine extracted from *vilca* pods.¹⁰⁵ Molle beer was heavily consumed at Cerro Baúl as well, and recent research suggests that *vilca* and alcoholic beverages were mixed and ingested at Quilcapampa.¹⁰⁶ A toad had been also been intentionally brought up to the site of Cerro Baúl and was recovered in the palace, which likely indicates that

¹⁰² This approach builds on, albeit is not limited to, Heidegger's idea of "things." Martin Heidegger, "The Thing," in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1971), 163–80; Chris Gosden, "Making and Display: Our Aesthetic Appreciation of Things and Objects," in *Substance, Memory, Display: Archaeology and Art*, ed. Colin Renfrew, Elizabeth DeMarrais, and Chris Gosden (Cambridge, MA: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, 2004), 35–45.

¹⁰³ Martin Heidegger, "On the Origin of the Work of Art," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford History of Art, 1998), 419.

¹⁰⁴ For Heidegger, "(...) the senses of sight, hearing, and touch convey, in the sensations of color, sound, roughness, hardness, things move us bodily." Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Knobloch, "Wari Ritual Power at Conchopata."

¹⁰⁶ Matthew E. Biver et al., "Hallucinogens, Alcohol and Shifting Leadership Strategies in the Ancient Peruvian Andes," *Antiquity*, 2022, 1–17.

it was used for a medicinal or ritual purpose, as toads are not consumed as food.¹⁰⁷ Toads are omnipresent in rituals and sacred belief systems in the Amazon.¹⁰⁸ According to anthropologist Peter Furst, the toad is in the Americas an “agent of transformation, teacher or helper of shamans, owner of the arts of curing, originator even of coca and hallucinogens.”¹⁰⁹ The transformative quality of the toad could evidently come from the mind-altering effects of the bufotenine, but also from other properties of the batrachian. For example, certain groups in the Amazon practice *tapirage*, which consists of altering the color of the feathers growing on a bird by applying a substance on their skin, often secretions from toads or frogs.¹¹⁰ If toads are relatively common in Andean art, only on Wari ceramic do they appear to be associated with birds and humans as part of a specific thematic model.¹¹¹ While the hallucinogenic qualities of toads are still debated, the fact that they are depicted on many Wari ceramics at Conchopata and that one toad was taken to the summit of Cerro Baúl does seem to indicate its importance to the Wari.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ deFrance, “The Luxury of Variety,” 76.

¹⁰⁸ Vittorio Erspamer et al., “Pharmacological Studies of ‘Sapo’ from the Frog Phyllomedusa Bicolor Skin: A Drug Used by the Peruvian Matses Indians in Shamanic Hunting Practices,” *Toxicon* 31, no. 9 (September 1, 1993): 1099–1111; Peter Furst, “Hallucinogens in Precolumbian Art,” in *Art and Environment in Native America*, ed. Mary Elizabeth King and Idris R. Traylor Jr (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech Press, 1974), 55–101.

¹⁰⁹ Furst, *Hallucinogens in Precolumbian Art*, 95.

¹¹⁰ Alfred Métraux, « Une découverte biologique des Indiens de l’Amérique du Sud : la décoloration artificielle des plumes sur les oiseaux vivants », *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 20 (1928): 181-92; Amy J. Buono, “Tupi Featherwork and the Dynamics of Intercultural Exchange in Early Modern Brazil,” in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Victoria: Miegunyah Press, 2009), 292.

¹¹¹ Marlene Dobkin de Rios, *Hallucinogens, Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Martti Pärssinen, “Snake, Fish, and Toad/Frog Iconography in the Ceramic Caches of Pariti, Bolivia,” in *Images in Action: The Southern Andean Iconographic Series*, ed. William H. Isbell et al., *Cotsen Advanced Seminars* 6 (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2018), 661–82.

¹¹² Thomas Lyttle, “Misuse and Legend in the ‘Toad Licking’ Phenomenon,” *International Journal of the Addictions* 28, no. 6 (1993): 521–38; Thomas Lyttle, David Goldstein, and Jochen Gartz, “Bufo Toads and Bufotenine: Fact and Fiction Surrounding an Alleged Psychedelic,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 28, no. 3 (1996): 267–90; Nash and deFrance, “Plotting Abandonment,” 123-124.

It was through Wari artworks that people consumed alcoholic beverages and drugs, and these substance in turn impacted the way Wari objects were designed and perceived by their makers and users. Both *vilca* and toads are depicted on large storage jars, suggesting a correlation between the ceramic containers and their internal content. Other ceramic objects at Cerro Baúl, such as the decorated spoons, were also likely used as utensil to consume drugs. Maybe abstract designs were specifically catered to the use of hallucinogens, as the aniconic nature of these motifs allowed users in altered states to generate new interpretations with each of their trips to other realms. The ceramics enabled the consumption of drugs and alcohol, likely stimulating the imaginary of the participants through their imagery, and they were the ones being in turn activated by those substances.

Objects thus made the link between architectural spaces, the landscape, and the intangible realm to which drinker traveled during ceremonies. It was during those moments of bodily transformation, in particular when under the influence of hallucinogenic substances, music, or dances, that the orientation of the ceramics was disturbed, as they were tipped, broken, or moved by individuals. The ensuing disorientation of the ceramics paralleled that of their users, of becoming something, or someone, else. The vessels were the physical remainder and reminder of that experience.

The relationship between decorated ceramics and their viewers or users would have varied depending on the identity of the individual. It is possible that people that we not affiliated with Wari visited Cerro Baúl and took part in rituals there. For Nash, local elites likely had to participate in activities in Wari spaces as part of Wari political strategies.¹¹³ If that was the case,

¹¹³ Nash, “El establecimiento de relaciones de poder a través del uso del espacio residencial en la provincia Wari de Moquegua,” 7-8.

local elites were enclosed in Wari buildings, feasted with people affiliated with Wari, and used Wari wares. Maybe the ceramics facilitated visitors' incorporation into Wari ceremonies, or instead what left them feeling confused and disoriented—due to unfamiliar objects, imageries, and hallucinogenic substances. It is possible that non-Wari elites may not have been granted the use of decorated vessels but given undecorated wares instead. They may thus have been excluded from the dynamic process of consuming Wari art.

We can imagine how ambivalent the decorated ceramics may have been viewed by local elites, as symbols of both enablement and submission. Archaeologists have argued that locals likely revered the sacred peaks around Cerro Baúl long before the arrival of Wari-affiliated people in the region.¹¹⁴ The unfolding of ceremonies at Cerro Baúl must thus have been conflicting for people who lived in the Moquegua Valley for generations, long before Wari intrusion. These people would have been able to see those sacred mountains up-close when on the summit of Cerro Baúl, and the architecture of the site may have reinforced that visual connection with the peaks, which were now co-opted by Wari power. This practice can be put in parallel with the erection of wooden poles in the Mississippian site of Cahokia (11th-14th century C.E.), which Pauketat and Alt interpret as intersubjective moments: “To the extent that any given practice involved collective labor or coordinated performances, it probably created communal sensibilities or resistance to such sensibilities memorialized in physical form.” At Cerro Baúl, ceramics may have been the physical form that memorialized the intersubjective moment of the encounter of Wari-affiliated people with local or Tiwanaku elites.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Williams and Nash, “Sighting the Apu,” 466.

¹¹⁵ Timothy R. Pauketat and Susan M. Alt, “Agency in a Postmold? Physicality and the Archaeology of Culture-making,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12, no. 3 (2005), 217.

Following the use, and likely re-use, of their decorated ceramics, the people of Cerro Baúl took great care in discarding them.¹¹⁶ This step appears to have been essential in the life of those objects, as doing so required both time and focus on the part of the drinkers. The practice of smashing and scattering Wari ceramics is far from specific to Cerro Baúl and occurred in other parts of the Wari Empire and in other Andean cultures.¹¹⁷ While not specifically Wari, I argue that this practice can be interpreted as an act of placemaking at Cerro Baúl, meaning the construction of a sense of place and belonging through cultural practices. Anthropologist Keith Basso calls this “world-building,” a term which corresponds well to what seems to have happened in the Wari world.¹¹⁸ That is, creating a narrative by inscribing objects and events in space that will be imagined and remembered in the future.

Place-making can take many forms in the Andes—verbal, visual, or material. This practice is probably best attested in the Inca Empire, where Inca administrators and builders transformed non-Inca spaces through architectural strategies, such as the integration of natural rock outcrops. In doing so, they turned these architectural or landscape features into markers of belonging. Less visible place-making practices in the Andes included the deposition of goods, raw materials, and human or animal remains into pits or on floors.¹¹⁹ According to archaeologist

¹¹⁶ Nash, “The Art of Feasting.”

¹¹⁷ E.g., Cook, “Huari D-Shape Structures, Sacrificial Offerings and Divine Kingship;” Cook and Glowacki, “Pots, Politics, and Power;” Mary Glowacki, “The Wari Ceramic Offering Tradition: New Data from the Huaro Valley, Cuzco” (64th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Chicago, IL, 2000).

¹¹⁸ Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apaches* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 5. See also Michael Jackson, *At Home in the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Barbara Bender, *Stonehenge: Making Space* (Oxford: Berg, 1998); Lucy R. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society* (New York, NY: The New Press, 1997); Patricia E. Rubertone, “Engaging Monuments, Memories, and Archaeology,” in *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America*, ed. Patricia E. Rubertone (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 13.

¹¹⁹ Deborah E. Blom and John W. Janusek, “Making Place: Humans as Dedications in Tiwanaku,” *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2004): 123–41.

Edward Swenson, ritual practices such as the act of feasting could also act as a place-making to solidify intersubjective relations in the Southern Jequetepeque Valley.¹²⁰ I argue that drinking, pouring libations, and overall coming together at Cerro Baúl followed a similar logic. The fact that the participants scattered, burnt, or buried sherds from those events physically dispersed and eternalized a fleeting moment. Hence, place-making must have allowed people affiliated with the Wari to gain legitimacy and long-lasting remembrance at Cerro Baúl, a particularly significant location in connection with sacred mountains and waterways. Those practices transformed space into place by connecting specific buildings and outdoor spaces to experience and memory.¹²¹

There are different types of depositional practices of ceramics at Cerro Baúl: offerings in pits, clusters on the floor, and broken and scattered remains on the ground.¹²² All of these types of deposits are thought to have been made in relation to a feasting event—whether before, during, or after. The depositional act of burying or scattering decorated ceramics at Cerro Baúl was thus intimately tied to that of feasting, as well as its related aspects of social gathering, political alliances, and reverence to the mountain peaks. By smashing and depositing ceramics, the people of Cerro Baúl were marking a specific event in time and space, through their own movement as well as through the physical remains that the participants left behind. Today, the walls of the buildings of Cerro Baúl have collapsed, some objects have been looted, but the ceramics that have been broken and scattered remain to tell their story.

¹²⁰ Edward Swenson, “The Materialities of Place Making in the Ancient Andes: A Critical Appraisal of the Ontological Turn in Archaeological Interpretation,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22 (2015): 677–712.

¹²¹ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987); John B. Jackson, *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, NY: A.A. Knopf, 1995).

¹²² Nash and deFrance, “Plotting Abandonment,” 124-125.

Conclusions

The decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl were made using recipes, techniques, and imagery shared with the Wari heartland, indicating that the presence of Tiwanaku and local groups in the Moquegua Valley did not readily impact this art form at the site. The production of decorated ceramics was tightly controlled at Cerro Baúl, yet the resulting vessels and figurines were diverse in their forms, designs, and modes of representation like the ceramics of Conchopata. As such, the ceramics of Cerro Baúl are critical to reassess our interpretations and understanding of Wari artistic practices and value system.

The presence of sets of ceramics at Cerro Baúl showcases the ability of artists to creatively reinvent models in the Wari Empire. Repetition does not seem to have been perceived as an artistic devaluation, but instead as an opportunity to explore and introduce slight idiosyncratic variations. The ceramics that form part of sets at Cerro Baúl were not meant to be identical, but rather similar or complementary. They functioned as a group as well as individual objects. The mode, intensity, and evidence of use of each iteration could vary, and vessels that formed part of a set may not have been meant to be kept together. In a sense, these conclusions align with the Andean concept of *yanantin*—the idea of uneven yet complementary rather than equal pairs. This does not mean that Wari vessels were necessarily produced in pairs or emphasized duality, as most were made in sets of three or more. A detailed visual analysis of the sets of ceramic vessels at Cerro Baúl reminded us of the complex and individual histories of each individual artwork.

The quality, size, number, and context of the ceramics decorated with abstract designs at Cerro Baúl challenges the longstanding divide between abstraction and figuration in art

history.¹²³ Both modes of representation appear to be complementary in the art of Cerro Baúl. Artists sometimes combined them, while other times they chose one over the other depending on the context and mode of production chosen. It does not seem that people in the Wari Empire valued one mode of representation over the other. Vessels with seemingly simple iconography could have been made and used by elites in exclusive contexts. The signification of those abstract designs is currently unknown, at least by scholars, but their meaning was likely manifold and viewer dependent. At Cerro Baúl, like elsewhere in the Wari Empire, artists did not limit themselves to a specific style or mode of representation or follow a set aesthetic tradition. Instead, I argue that artists used abstraction and figuration as tools to cater to certain publics, media, and bodily modes of engagement.

Like at Conchopata, the formal heterogeneity of the decorated ceramics at Cerro Baúl must have been intentional. Ceramic-makers at the site were elite members or imperial emissaries, and the diversity of the Cerro Baúl assemblage indicates that ceramic multiformity was embraced in the Wari Empire as part of a Wari visual and material language. That is especially significant considering that Cerro Baúl was likely used as an embassy for the Wari Empire, with local elites and members of the Tiwanaku state visiting and partaking in activities at the site. The art made, used, and displayed at Cerro Baúl may have been designed to express Wari identity in this multicultural and multiethnic context. For that reason, I suggest that Wari artists could express their creative freedom at the individual level while not necessarily contradicting imperial guidelines.

The ceramics of Cerro Baúl also suggest that the making and use of Wari art was integral to that visual and material language. These ceramics were made at Cerro Baúl with local

¹²³ See Pasztory, “Andean Aesthetics.”

materials, but the clays and temper were purposefully chosen to resemble those in use in the Wari heartland. Given that materials are at the core of the Andean value system, the care taken by ceramicists at Cerro Baúl in matching the ceramic paste from the Ayacucho region is significant.¹²⁴ Even if not readily visible, the matter that composed the artworks and the techniques used to shape them was likely critical to their Wari identity.

Ceramic vessels and spoons were intimately tied to the ceremonial life of the site, to consume food or drugs as everywhere else in the Empire, but display may also have been one of their intended functions.¹²⁵ The decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl were not mere tools to consume food or drinks or billboards for imperial propaganda, but objects which, through their life, participated in a complex set of relations between ideas, places, spaces, events, and bodies. Even if similar ceremonies may have been conducted elsewhere in the Empire, all were so intimately tied to the local landscapes, buildings, and experience of the participants that they became specific through place-making practices.

The comparison of the two collections of decorated ceramics in this dissertation showed that there are similarities between Conchopata and Cerro Baúl despite the 600 kilometers that separate the two sites, thus reflecting a certain degree of harmony, if not control, in Wari imperial production. However, my findings highlight the fact that Wari visual and material language was multivocal and constantly in the making, rather than a set imperial kit to be repeated. Some practices and formal elements were shared across the Wari Empire, but these

¹²⁴ Lechtman, “The Central Andes: Metallurgy without Iron”; Lechtman, “Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy”; Dean E. Arnold, *Ecology and Ceramic Production in an Andean Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Pasztory, “Andean Aesthetics.”

¹²⁵ Williams and Nash, “Consuming Kero”; Matthew E. Biber et al., “Hallucinogens, Alcohol and Shifting Leadership Strategies in the Ancient Peruvian Andes.”

were inevitably made singular through slight changes introduced by the hand of the artist, whether intentionally or not.

Chapter 5. Bodies in Relation: Defining a Wari Artistic Language

My analysis so far has provided no evidence that Wari administrators tightly enforced repetition and uniformity in Wari art or imposed their order on nature and on individuals in a militaristic manner, as it has been said about the Wari grid structure in art and architecture.¹ Examining decorated ceramics from both Conchopata and Cerro Baúl has shed light on the high degree of decorative, formal, functional, and technical diversity of the ceramics that artists produced at these two Wari centers. Even though these two assemblages span four hundred years, it is clear that a broad variety of ceramics was in use together during important events, such as the closing of the brewery at Cerro Baúl. It appears that a diverse artistic range was likely accepted, if not claimed, as part of a Wari visual language.

This research suggests that ceramic production may have been a locus of personal expression for artists as well as for collective Wari identity. Wari administrators likely did not impose pre-established imperial guidelines onto this art form, which was instead the result of a collaborative process. Art historian Rebecca Stone-Miller argued decades ago that Wari weavers managed to incorporate their individual approach to tapestry tunics, despite them being in appearance standardized.² Based on the evidence presented in the previous chapters of this dissertation, I argue that a similar statement is true for Wari ceramicists. In this chapter, I explore the possibility that this phenomenon applied across Wari artistic production, and even beyond.

Wari artworks made in different materials and techniques were meant to be displayed, used, and deposited in conjunction with one another, as well as be in relation with the

¹ Cook, “The Emperor’s New Clothes,” 92; Isbell, “Los Rostros de Wari,” 213; Stone-Miller and McEwan, “The Representation of the Wari State in Stone and Thread,” 61.

² Stone-Miller, “Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics.”

surrounding built environment. How can we incorporate that approach to our study of Wari art today?

What can this contribute to our understanding of Wari values and ways of thinking? Examining Wari art beyond the boundaries set by academic disciplines is critical to a deeper understanding of Wari artistic strategies. Here, I explore the possibility that artists in the Wari Empire developed a visual and material language that transcended media, time, and place, while allowing for creative freedom. A unique way of thinking, telling, and presenting the world. To that end, I will first examine two types of Wari artworks, wooden containers and metallic figurines to then identify conventions of the Wari visual and material language based on similarities across media. In doing so, my goal is to gain a better understanding of the way people made and experienced Wari art from our contemporary viewpoint.

1. Bodies in conversation: Wari metal and wood figurines

Decorated ceramic vessels and woven textiles have become so emblematic of Wari art that we tend to forget the breadth of expression reached by Wari artists. If a few museums in North America and Europe house unusual Wari objects, such as shell mosaic figurines and feathered hats, most lack provenance and comparisons, thus making them difficult to research.³ I want to begin addressing those shortcomings and focus on two types of Wari artworks often overlooked in scholarship, both with and without archaeological context: metallic figures and carved wooden containers.

³ E.g., the standing dignitary at the Kimbell Art Museum (AP 2002.04) and the four-cornered hat at the Brooklyn Museum (41.228).

a. Wooden containers and metallic figures

During the restoration of the Eastern Gate at Pikillacta in 2004, archaeologists Carlos Arriola Tuni and Louis Tesar excavated a pit that contained metallic bars, shell fragments, and figurines made of stone, metal, and shell. This offering constitutes an ideal case study for this chapter due to its multimedia nature and well-documented archaeological context. Some of the elements found in the pit were similar to already known Wari artworks, such as the two groups of forty miniature figurines from Pikillacta, while others never-before-seen objects in Wari scholarship, like the cast metallic figures.⁴ Despite being rich in terms of visual and technological diversity, this deposit has received little to no attention from scholars, in particular art historians.

The offering, placed at the main entry point to the site, was divided into three different depositional layers. The first layer consisted of fragments of Wari pottery, spread over the surface. Two meters underneath were sheets of metal, cut spondylus shells, and camelid bones. Below this second level were six figures cast in copper alloy that will be the focus of this section. They were accompanied by more fragments of spondylus shell and around fifty miniature figurines made of sheet metal, cast metal, stone, or spondylus shell.

The six cast-metal figures recovered in the offering pit are a new art form in Wari studies and, despite their reduced size (between 5 and 9 cm in height) they are very rich in information. The small sculptures are thematically grouped in pairs: anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and composite entities. All are corroded, having lost some of their definition and their original surface color, but their volume and certain incised details can still be discerned through high resolution photographs. Drawings of the said figures should make their imagery clearer to the reader.

⁴ Cook, "The Stone Ancestors;" Arriola Tuni and Tesar, "The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit;" Susan E. Bergh, "Figurines," in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, 233–41.

The first pair of figures (figs. 59-60) consists of two crouching felines with their mouth wide open, their long fangs directed at the viewer. They are naturalistically rendered, the shape of their body and underlying muscles still perceptible under the layer of corrosion. The facial features of each feline are distinct, one having a much wider nose and rounded ears than the other. The pair needs to be turned around to reveal tails curled in opposite directions, as pointed out by Tuni and Tesar.⁵ Evidently shaped with different molds, these figures were likely based on models made by different artists or meant to represent different feline sub-species. The two animals were nevertheless connected by their paralleled stances and tail positioning.

Two fully clad warriors form the second pair. Their apparel and weapons are characteristically Wari, but their large rectangular shield stands out from other representations of armed individuals in Wari art. The first warrior (fig. 61) holds the shield on their left side together with three darts, while their right arm is arched behind them, a spear locked in their spear thrower about to be launched. They wear a truncated conical hat without decoration, with their hair let loose on their back. Given their swollen cheeks, they seem to be chewing something, possibly coca.⁶ The second warrior (fig. 62) wears a conical hat with tufts of feathers on each side, a type of headdress found other miniature figurines from the same deposit at Pikillacta.⁷ They hold a long club upright in their right hand, while the rest of their body is almost entirely hidden by the shield they are protecting themselves with. One must tilt and turn the figure to reveal, even partially, their face and left hand. Movement, which is not common in depictions of Wari bodies, including warriors, is remarkable here in both cases. Armed

⁵ Arriola Tuni and Tesar, "The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit," 14.

⁶ Lidio M. Valdez, "Interaction and Cultural Change in the Peruvian Central Highland Valley of Ayacucho," *Anthropology* 5, no. 4 (2017).

⁷ Arriola Tuni and Tesar, "The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit," figs. 28-30.

individuals carry their weapons in their hands in Wari art, yet it is rare to see a figure in action, such as here launching a dart with a spear-thrower.

The third pair is comprised of two supernatural beings, albeit of different nature. The first (fig. 63) is a composite figure reminiscent of the Nasca killer whale, with a crested back and elongated head.⁸ It wears a tall vertical headdress contrasting with the horizontal lines of its crested back and holds a mace in its right hand. At its feet lies a human body, their chest cut open right at the center, their heart and lungs visible. The second composite being (fig. 64) holds in its left hand a decapitated human head by the hair, while in its right hand they carry a wavy lance upright. This being also seems to be made of parts from multiple animal species: its extremities with only two digits evoke the feet of camelids while its position, rounded ears, triangular nose, and lack of tail of that figure evokes a bear.⁹ Bears are present in the Andes, rarely but sometimes depicted in the art made by Indigenous groups in the region.¹⁰ The spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus*; fig. 65), one of the only surviving species of bears in South America today, has facial markings that emphasize a triangular shape around their nose, similar to the features of the composite being.

The metallic figures from the Eastern Gate deposit at Pikillacta were not meant to be handled, but likely only to be deposited in a pit. Tuni and Tesar argue that the copper-alloy figures are evidence of “warfare, trophy taking, and the status of warriors and others engaged in warfare,” but I believe that they are much more than images of violence and militarization, and that a cross-media examination will open up Tuni and Tesar’s interpretation.¹¹

⁸ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 85.

⁹ Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit,” 13.

¹⁰ Susanna Paisley and Nicholas J. Saunders, “A God Forsaken: The Sacred Bear in Andean Iconography and Cosmology,” *World Archaeology* 42, no. 2 (2010): 245–60.

¹¹ Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit,” 1.

Another type of three-dimensional Wari artwork featuring similar figures can help us understand the deep connections and artistic strategies evidenced by the metallic sculptures. A small wooden container, today at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), was also carved with a composite being, felines, and human warriors and captives. It was likely looted and lacks provenance, yet it still has a lot to tell us about Wari artistic conventions and practices. The main body of the container is shaped like a composite being that stares intensely at us with exposed fangs (fig. 66a-b). Its head is framed by two hissing felines that rest on the being's shoulders. The protagonist, with its wide eyes and a knob-like nose, is difficult to identify. It wears a cubic headdress decorated with a different figure on each side: a protruding feline on the front, plunging birds on the left and right, and a human on the back.

The large composite being holds in its hands two human heads, their hair flipped over its fists. This gesture evokes other Andean imageries of composite figures holding trophy heads, such as depictions of the Killer Whale in Nasca art (fig. 67). The heads, placed on the ground on each side of the feet of the composite being, visually echo the two felines that sit on the figure's shoulders. When viewed from the side (fig. 68a-b), the container reveals that there are bodies attached to the heads. Pinned down on the floor, the two humans have their hands tied behind their back and their feet up, in a captive position well known from other contemporary representations (fig. 69). The parallel between the two felines and the two human captives is even more striking from this viewpoint, as they are depicted with their limbs aligned, but in opposite directions.

On the back of the container (fig. 70), the long hair of the composite being turns into stylized bird heads. Below it, a warrior stands guard, wearing a feathered headdress and holding a round shield and an upside-down mace. The warrior, seemingly human, measures less than half

the size of the composite being. This intricate scene, both detailed and spectacular, was carved on an object small enough to fit in one's hands. The container features four different species and more than six bodies in a complex aesthetic narrative that requires a lot of care to visually unpack. Each side of this three-dimensional object reveals a new, unexpected element to the scene. The wooden carving is a portable microcosm that one must hold, turn, and examine up-close in order to reveal its visual and material narrative.

This object was designed to be handled in order to be “read” and physically used. The wear patterns on its surface indicates that it was certainly in use for a long period of time. The container has two openings, one at the top which was likely once closed by a stopper (fig. 71) and one at the bottom (fig. 72) that had a removable bottom. The original content of the container is currently unknown. It has long been assumed, without any evidence, that wooden containers were used to hold powdered lime to be taken in conjunction with coca leaves.¹² But it may instead have been made to contain numerous other elements, such as cinnabar, a precious red pigment valued in the Wari Empire.¹³ Wooden containers such as these have received very little attention from scholars, but they have much to reveal about Wari modes of making and thinking the world. This example brings together design elements from textiles and ceramics as well as figures and scenes featured on the metallic sculptures from Pikillacta.

b. Relations of bodies and things

¹² Tiwanaku snuff paraphernalia, which is well known from examples preserved in the Atacama Desert (Chile), included a leather pouch rather than a wooden container for snuff powder. Manuel Torres, “Visionary Plants and SAIS Iconography in San Pedro de Atacama and Tiahuanaco,” 335.

¹³ I requested to perform an X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) of the inside of the container but was unable to do so due to time and physical constraints with the renovation of the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing. Cinnabar can be identified using non-destructive methods of analysis, such as XRF. See also Bergh, “Wood Containers and Cups,” 247, note 6.

The metallic figures and the wooden container described above feature complex relationships between human and nonhuman entities—seemingly protecting, holding, torturing, or attacking each other. The interlocking of bodies is evident in the juxtaposition of humans, animals, and composite beings on these objects. The metallic sculptures from Pikillacta clearly treat these different species as part of a coherent ensemble: artists had to shape models for each sculpture and then cast them individually, yet they made all six figures the same height and out of the same material, and the resulting works were placed in the same depositional layer.

Humans, animals, and composite beings were all actors of that world, and the relationships between these entities appears to shift. Artists managed to express the balanced or imbalanced nature of those relations. For example, the composite beings from Pikillacta are visually contrasted to their human victims. The height and vertical axis of the being that resembles a killer whale (fig. 67) is exaggerated by the staff it brandishes to the sky, while the body at its feet is laid flat horizontally, small, and rigid. On the wooden container, the felines are depicted active, hissing and with their legs towards the ground (fig. 68a-b). To the opposite, the human captives below them have their limbs tied upward. The bodies of the captives and felines mirror each other, the latter in a triumphant attitude, and the former in a vulnerable position. Artists seem to have explored these interactions visually and materially, not only in terms of iconography, but also in layout, scale, and positioning.

I argue that the Pikillacta metallic figures and a wooden container reveal more than warrior or sacrificial practices, and that they should be considered first and foremost as bodies in connection. The status and relationships between the beings depicted on those objects vary, especially those between humans and non-humans. The stance of the human figures changes from offensive, as in the case of the metallic figure throwing a dart, to defensive, as in that of the

warrior hiding behind a large shield. Some humans are presented as prey, for example the captives on the wooden container and the victims on the metallic sculptures, while others act as predators, like the warrior launching a dart. The case of the warrior standing in the back of the wooden container is intriguing, given that they seem to be protecting the large composite being behind them rather than defending themselves against it. The club of that warrior is oriented upside-down, indicating a non-threatening stance rather than defeat.

The changing role of the human figures on these works generates an interesting tension between the objects, in particular the wooden container, and their human users. How was one meant to interact with these threatening scenes when the carvings were small enough to be opened, turned, or emptied by a human user? If the composite figure cutting a human's chest open fitted in one's palms, did it become less threatening? Or did it instead become more powerful, being physically concentrated, like animal miniature carvings used in Andean pastoral communities?¹⁴ The heavy wear pattern on the wooden container from the Metropolitan Museum attests to its recurring use, likely as a prized personal possession. I suggest that these artworks were not solely meant to empower users by letting them handle entire worlds—quite literally—in their hands, but also that they were reminders of the shifting relations in which humans are engaged. The figures from Pikillacta were likely not made to be used but directly deposited in the offering pit, yet their small size is also notable.

Size relations are critical to the way artists conceived the wooden container and the metallic sculptures from Pikillacta. Their makers gave indications as to the size of each of the beings presented on the objects. A full-bodied human or feline can serve as a reference for the viewer, who should have been able to determine the size of other figures in relation to them. For

¹⁴ Catherine J. Allen, "The Living Ones: Miniatures and Animation in the Andes," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 72, no. 4 (2016): 416–41.

example, the warrior standing in the back of the wooden container indicates that the composite being next to them measures at least twice their height. Similarly, the composite beings on the metallic sculptures of Pikillacta are in average three times bigger than their human victims.

Human beings are thus presented as frail and vulnerable when next to composite beings.

I argue that the manipulation of size and scale was part of an artistic strategy designed to materialize the changing relations of humans and non-humans. The metallic sculptures shaped like humans and felines have the same dimensions as the ones with composite beings, as all six copper-alloy figures from Pikillacta were cast around the same height. This aspect appears to have been intentional on the part of the artists, considering that each figure had to be crafted individually. The three pairs were also made with similar materials and deposited together during a single event, meaning that they intended to be part of the same group from the moment of their conception. Artists thus chose to keep the sculptures the same height rather than the scale of the figures coherent, which would have entailed small felines, slightly larger humans, and monumental composite beings. In adapting the size of the human figures on their works, artists confronted viewers to their own relative position in the world.

Similarly, it seems that the artist(s) who carved the wooden container used the different sides of the object to create shifting narratives for the viewer to decipher. The container appears less as a three-dimensional carving than a conjunction of four distinct sides meant to be viewed frontally. That is, one side of the object does not seamlessly transition to the next, but instead each appears to be independent from the next. When seen from the front, the composite being holds what look like two trophy heads, following the same layout as Andean artworks (fig. 67). However, looking at the object from the side (fig. 68a-b) reveals the bodies to which the heads belong, with their hands tied in the back. Using both a fragmented body and a fragmented

design, the artist(s) brought an element of surprise to anyone who would expect trophy heads, but instead would discover the body of captives. It is difficult to determine whether this design was an innovation on the part of the carver, or part of a larger convention of representation in Wari art. For example, were the heads shown on the bottom of staffs on Wari ceramics and textiles also meant to represent entire bodies? It is possible that people familiar with objects carved in the round like the wooden container from the Metropolitan Museum of Art may have interpreted cut heads in Wari art as those of captive bodies rather than trophy heads. Further research on this specific convention should help shed light on that question.

Beyond issues of violence and trophy-taking, I argue that the metallic sculptures of Pikillacta, just like the wooden container from the Metropolitan Museum of art, emphasized shifting roles and perspectives, reciprocity, and interdependence in a world in the making. Wari artists designed different bodily modes of engagement—or lack thereof—based on the same iconography: one type of work was meant to be buried, its presence in the ground radiating and marking the entrance of a major Wari settlement; the other shaped to be handled, touched, and kept close. In doing so, artists provided users with tools for creating, thinking, making, and even breaking worlds.

1. Central nodes: conventions in Wari visual and material language

Scholars have brought to the fore isolated evidence that people in the Wari Empire engaged in reciprocal relationships with an animated environment, and my research suggests that interactions with non-humans structured Wari lifeways. According to archaeologists Mary Glowacki and Michael Malpass, people affiliated with Wari considered their environment

sacred, especially water sources.¹⁵ In a recent publication, Cook suggested that, in the Wari Empire, “buildings can also be considered to possess personhood and have subjectivity.”¹⁶ Similarly, my analysis of the ceramics from Conchopata and Cerro Baúl, of the metallic figures from Pikillacta, and of a wooden container has highlighted how Wari artists explored the interconnectedness of humans with other beings, places, and things in their work. Chapter Three demonstrated how ceramicists in the heartland site of Conchopata traced clear visual and conceptual parallels between human and animal vessels on which they affixed head lugs. Both animal and human lugs (or the molds used to shape them) could be decapitated and deposited together in offering pits. In Chapter Four, I underscored the relationship between humans at the site of Cerro Baúl and their surroundings, namely mountain peaks, bodies of water, and the built structures in and around the site. In this section, I expand this reflection to Wari art at large and look for artistic practices that may shed light on Wari relational approaches, their core nodes, and conventions.

The question is thus less to assess whether the Wari considered their world as interconnected, than to determine how and where relations can be detected through Wari art. If relationality is non-hierarchical, it does not imply that relations exist everywhere, between everyone and everything at an equal level. Certain bodies, matters, or things will develop more relations than others. As archaeologists Susan Alt and Timothy Pauketat wrote, among Indigenous groups in Central and Eastern North America in the 15th century onward, “Especially revered (...) were materials, substances, and phenomena with palpable power, energies, or

¹⁵ Glowacki and Malpass, “Water, Huacas, and Ancestor Worship.”

¹⁶ Cook, “The Shape of Things to Come,” 321.

bioactive properties.”¹⁷ While I do not pretend to be able to determine exactly which materials, substances, and phenomena were especially revered in the Wari Empire through my research, I investigate what could have been nodes of relations as perceptible through artistic production.

a. Shifting relations, shifting representations

Animals are part of the everyday life of humans who raise, hunt, capture, eat, display, or sacrifice them, and the depiction of fauna in Wari art can help us better understand the changing relationship between humans and animals in the Wari Empire. The faunal remains recovered at Wari settlements point to the diverse species with which Wari-affiliated people once interacted. Yet, there is no direct correlation between the animals that were the most physically present at Wari sites (camelids and guinea pigs for the most part) and the species that were the most represented in Wari art.

Felines, raptors, and religious themes

The two types of animals most depicted in Wari material culture are by far the feline and the raptor bird, especially in their form associated with the iconographic repertoire shared with Tiwanaku (commonly referred to as SAIS).¹⁸ On both Wari and Tiwanaku iterations, raptors and felines are standardized as geometricized profiles with a round eye, often bipartite, a round snout or a white beak, and a white neck or collar.¹⁹ When their full bodies are represented, as in the

¹⁷ Timothy R. Pauketat y Susan M. Alt, “Water and Shells in Bodies and Pots: Mississippian Rhizome, Cahokia Poiesis”, en *Relational Identities and Other-than-Human Agency in Archaeology*, ed. Eleanor Harrison-Buck y Julia A. Hendon (Louisville, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 77.

¹⁸ Sawyer, “Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design”; Menzel, “Style and Time in the Middle Horizon”; Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics”; Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata”; Isbell et al., *Images in Action*.

¹⁹ See Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives,” fig. 11h and 11i.

case of winged attendants, they are visibly anthropomorphized (fig. 73). Artists used color, such as white patches, to emphasize the animals' lethal features (namely fangs and claws) on polychrome depictions, such as ceramics and tapestries.²⁰

These two types of Wari and Tiwanaku felines and raptors are related to a much larger Andean artistic corpus that began in the Formative period and has been extensively discussed in scholarship. Specifically, they are assumed to be associated with concepts of shamanism.²¹ These animal depictions, which also include caimans and serpents, all share supernatural features, geometricized mode of representation as well as a close connection to the human body. Species sometimes merge with one another, combining into composite beings that one cannot readily identify, at least in today's context. Composite beings have been common in Andean art since at least the development of Chavín in the first millennium BCE. On Chavín stone, metal, and textile works, artists could give serpents, birds, or even humans a snarling feline mouth, or bodily appendages in the form of small snakes.²² On Wari, Tiwanaku and Pucara art, hair strands turn into stylized bird heads, as exemplified by the wooden container described previously.²³ Hence,

²⁰ See Louise Deglin, "Bottle in the shape of a feline," Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/317793>.

²¹ E.g. Julio C. Tello, "The Feline God and Its Transformations in Chavín Art", en *The Life and Writings of Julio C. Tello: America's First Indigenous Archaeologist* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2009), 165–234; Yoshio Onuki, "La iconografía en los objetos del sitio de Kuntur Wasi," *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, no. 12 (2008): 203–18; Weismantel, "Seeing like an Archaeologist"; Nicco La Mattina and Matthew P. Sayre, "Analogism at Chavín de Huántar," in *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, 79–98.

²² John H. Rowe, "Form and Meaning in Chavin Art," in *Peruvian Archaeology: Selected Readings*, ed. John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel (Palo Alto, CA: Peek Publications, 1967), 72–103; Urton, "The Body of Meaning in Chavin Art"; Weismantel, "Seeing like an Archaeologist"; Hugo C. Ikehara, "Multinaturalismo y perspectivismo en los centros ceremoniales formativos", en *Los desafíos del tiempo, el espacio y la memoria. Ensayos en homenaje a Peter Kaulicke*, ed. Rafael Vega-Centeno y Jalh Dulanto (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2020), 339–73.

²³ Hair strands ending with snake heads appear as early as the Early Horizon in the Andes. Haerberli, "Front-Face Deity Motifs and Themes in the Southern Andean Iconographic Series," 156.

the imbrication of bodies and species in art is far from a Wari invention, and I do not intend to trace the history or possible meaning of these inter-species juxtapositions.²⁴

In Wari art, humans, felines, and raptors appear to have formed a triad, these three species being sometimes interchangeable with one another. Winged attendants can have the head of any of these three species (fig. 74) while profile figures can bear staffs, headdresses, wings, and trophy heads decorated with humans, raptors, and/or felines.²⁵ Hence, artists in the Wari Empire visually placed the animals and humans on an equal footing on those representations. This close relation between humans, raptors, and felines was likely not limited to artistic imagery, as some type of correlation existed with religious and funerary practices at Wari settlement. For example, raptor talons had been deposited together with human and feline trophy heads in the cemetery of Uraca in the Majes Valley, in Southern Peru.²⁶

Some scholars have argued that the equal relationship between humans, felines, and raptors bird (three types of predators) in Andean art is rooted in perspectivism. This idea is based on the foundational research conducted by anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro in the Amazon.²⁷ In many Amazonian communities, species (whether human, animal, or spirit) perceive themselves as human and others as prey or predator. Hence, jaguars consider that they live in houses and drink manioc beer. As Viveiros de Castro puts it, “the Amerindian conception would suppose a spiritual unity and a corporeal diversity.”²⁸ This spiritual universal human core

²⁴ For more information, read Isbell et al., *Images in Action*.

²⁵ Bergh, “Pattern and Paradigm in Middle Horizon Tapestry Tunics,” figs. 77, 86, 89.

²⁶ Beth Koontz Scaffidi, “Power, Mediation, and Transformation: Dismembered Heads from Uraca (Majes Valley, Peru) and the Andean Feline-Hunter Myth”, en *The Poetics of Processing: Memory Formation, Identity, and the Handling of the Dead*, ed. Anna J. Osterholtz (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2020), 15–40.

²⁷ Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

is simply concealed by a different physical envelope, be it feathers, a jaguar's pelt, or clothes. According to Mary Weismantel, a similar connection exists between felines, raptors, and humans in Chavín artistic production, "which emphasizes physical and metaphysical linkages among entities."²⁹ One could thus gain access to a species' perspective by taking on that that species' appearance through their envelope. That is why many ritual specialists will take on an animalistic appearance during a ritual to transform into that animal. according to their own perspective.

Humans, raptors, and felines were visually equated in Wari times, yet I believe that the link between those species goes beyond perspectivism and that the nature of their relationships was unstable. Wari artists, just like the ones at Chavín, depicted the feline-raptor-human triad in a manner that was abstracted, visually composite, and overall difficult to read without closer inspection. The lack of legibility of that imagery was further accentuated on Wari textiles, where it could be compressed and deconstructed, making it even less readable.³⁰ Weismantel has argued that this visual choice may have been a strategy used by Chavín artists to evoke the fleeting, blurred glimpses that humans get of those animals in the wild, initially eluding identification.³¹ I argue that this may not have been the case for Wari representations, and instead that Wari artists adapted their modes of depiction to shifting contexts.

²⁸ Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism," *Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute* 4, no. 3 (1998), 470

²⁹ Mary Weismantel, "Encounters with Dragons: The Stones of Chavín," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 65/66 (2014), 42.

³⁰ Louise Deglin, "Tunic," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed May 23, 2022, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/675980>.

³¹ Weismantel, "Encounters with Dragons."

Naturalistic renderings of felines

In certain instance, Wari artists depicted raptors bird or felines in a way that was far from the stylized and composite motifs mentioned above. Felines can be represented in the round with much detail, including their spotted coat, whitened nose, and the curvature of their mouth. That is the case of Wari ceramics that depict humans—both fleshed and skeletonized—wearing feline heads and pelts as headdresses, for example a skull-shaped container from Conchopata (fig. 75) or face-neck jars from the Pacheco find (today at the MNAAHP).³² On these instances, the felines are rendered in volume and with polychromy, directly contrasting with the human body they adorn. And while these scenes may be complete inventions, it is possible that Wari people did wear feline remains as regalia; Koontz-Scaffidi has for instance suggested that the feline trophy head excavated at Uraca could have been used as a headdress.³³ The treatment of the feline head is similar on the feline lugs recovered from the site of Conchopata, which as we have seen in Chapter Three, can be molded and painted with ample details (fig. 16). Although they can be simplified when hand-shaped (fig. 33b), the lugs remain based on a similar model. The pair of feline metallic sculptures from Pikillacta (figs. 59-60) and the two felines that sit on the shoulder of the composite being on the wooden container from the Metropolitan Museum are also naturalistically rendered, in their facial and bodily features as well as in their posture.

It could be argued that Wari artists resorted to abstraction solely when depicting religious themes shared with Tiwanaku (the SAIS), and naturalism when in association with more daily activities and images, but that is far from the case. The composite being on the wooden container, with its bird-headed hair, is directly affiliated with that religious iconographic

³² E.g., object 0000162982.

³³ Koontz Scaffidi, “Power, Mediation, and Transformation,” 32.

repertoire; similarly, the feline figures at Pikillacta were associated with composite beings holding human trophy heads or victims. On the other hand, the ceramic vessel with a feline headdress from Conchopata (fig. 76) presents a human skull with bulging eyeballs and a red mouth that appears to be an artistic interpretation rather than the naturalistic rendering of a scene.

I propose that Wari artists chose naturalistic mode of representation to depict felines and other animals when non-humans were both visually and metaphorically contrasted to another kind of being, especially a human. For example, at Conchopata, both human and feline head lugs were molded, applied on ceramic vessels, and decapitated to be placed in offering pits, sometimes with one another.³⁴ The form and function of the human and feline lugs was parallel at different stages of their life, yet these ceramics heads emphasize the difference between the two species. While feline head lugs are used on the lip of wide, open bowls, sometimes complemented with painted details of spots or a tail on the surface of the vessel, human head lugs are restricted to the shoulder of jars (fig. 24a), which often have painted hands or arms on their body. As such, each type of vessel evokes the morphology of the species it depicts through its form, orientation, and painted decoration. The open bowl and the jar are laid out in opposing directions, as the shape of the bowl with the feline head lug accentuates the horizontal orientation of the feline body, while the tall-standing jars with human head lugs evoke the vertical axis of the human body. This artistic approach to the feline body seems to highlight the stark distinction between the physical characteristics of the human and the nonhuman animal, in opposition with the idea of interchangeability. It is worth noting that, in several cases, the felines that were naturalistically rendered had been hunted and transformed into headdresses worn by humans. For

³⁴ Groleau, "Depositional Histories at Conchopata."

those reasons, it cannot be said that wild animals are always stylized in Wari art or that their rendering is linked to their brief appearances to human eye.

If ideas of pan-Andean and Amazonian shamanism and perspectivism are helpful to deepen our understanding of past views and practices in the Andes, they may not suffice to render the complexity of the Wari world and its diverse artistic forms. It is possible that the two modes of representation of felines in Wari art (abstracted and naturalistic) refer to two separate species, for example a pampas cat versus a jaguar, which could explain their different treatment by Wari artists and their distinct relationships with humans.³⁵ But it is also possible that these images simply differ depending on contexts and artists. It is likely that people in the Wari Empire had constantly evolving rapports with other species, beings, and materials, rather than equilateral relationships with them. Such was the observation of anthropologist Catherine Allen after years of fieldwork in Sonqo (Peru) when she realized that, depending on one's relation to a specific territory, the *apu* (mountain peaks) could be more or less powerful beings, or even simply "inert lumps" in the landscape.³⁶ In Wari art, a feline could be a powerful lethal figure in some instances, and an inanimate headdress in others. Maybe Wari artists thought to express the contingent nature of their relations to animals in their work, by adapting their modes of representation to specific contexts and interactions.

Dogs in Wari art

³⁵ As we will come to see with the case study of a Wari wooden container from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both modes of representation of felines and raptors coexist on some objects, which shows that the different artistic treatments are not due to a being made at different times.

³⁶ Allen, "The Living Ones," 426.

Examining a type of animal long overlooked in Andean studies, the dog, might shed further light on the complex association between animals, their relationships to humans, and their modes of representation in Wari art. Here, I consider that the animal depicted in Wari art with a triangular snout and long, drooping ears is a dog (fig. 75). Such images have been identified in scholarship as felines, and more recently as bats, yet this kind of ears is not found on felines or bats.³⁷ My iconographic interpretation is certainly too literal, but the fact that archaeologists have excavated remains of Andean dogs at multiple Wari-related sites such as Cerro Baúl, La Real, La Pampa, and Quilcapampa supports the fact that people commonly interacted with dogs in the Wari Empire.³⁸ Both dog species present in the Andes before European colonization, the hairless (fig. 76) and the *chiribaya* dog, have been recovered at these Wari settlements. Iconography is a limited methodology when it comes to examining representations in the past, in that it wrongfully assumes that Wari used art to document an unfiltered reality. For that reason, I do not intent improve our knowledge of the Wari repertoire of motifs in identifying possible dog designs, but rather to challenge our assumption about human-animal relationships in the past and to shed further light on the different modes of representation so brilliantly manipulated by Wari artists.

Dogs have a distinct role and history in the Andes, particularly in relation to death, that may be reflected in Wari art. First, people seem to have treated dogs as companions in the Wari

³⁷ For the identification as felines, see for example Menzel, “Style and Time in the Middle Horizon,” 43. For the identification as bats, see Vazquez de Arthur, “Clay Bodies, Powerful Pots,” 158.

³⁸ Mirtha Cruzado Paredes and Alicia Fernandez Huaman, *Estilos del Horizonte Medio en el sitio arqueológico La Pampa en el Valle Camaná* (Arequipa: Gobierno Regional de Arequipa; Consocio Salud Camana II; Acruta & Tapia Ingenieros, 2018), 44 ; deFrance, “The Luxury of Variety,” 71; Aleksa Alaica et al., “Herding Companions and Other-Than-Human Persons: Dog Burials at the Middle Horizon Site of La Real, Arequipa Peru (600-1000 CE);” Aleksa Alaica, Patricia Quiñones Cuzcano, and Luis Manuel González La Rosa, “Vertebrate and Invertebrate Remains at Quilcapampa,” in *Quilcapampa: A Wari Enclave in Southern Peru*, ed. Justin Jennings, Willy Yépez Álvarez, and Stefanie L. Bautista (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2021), table 9.1.

Empire, being close to them in both life and death. At Castillo de Huarney, adobe bricks bear a moving parallel between the imprints of two dog paws and two human hands.³⁹ At La Real, dogs and the front paws of a puppy were interred together with mummy bundles.⁴⁰ At La Pampa, dog hair was found inside a human mummy bundle (fardo 10).⁴¹ At Conchopata, ceramic fragments bear a scene depicting individuals wearing belted dresses and a human skull, next to which small canines and raptors attack a human foot.⁴² Finally, several ceramic representations of the Wari skull, both with and without detailed provenance, were accompanied by the stylized profile heads that I have identified as canines.⁴³

The association of humans with canines in Wari art may be explained by the function of dogs as intercessor with humans, especially in death, in many Indigenous cultures of South America. In the Moche world, dogs were placed in close association with human bodies in the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca del Sol at Moche, at San José de Moro, and even in two of the tombs at Sipán. In this latter case, the dogs had their heads resting next to the deceased' feet.⁴⁴ It is possible that dogs were thought to accompany the dead into this new stage of life.

Ethnographical research also supports the idea that dogs are seen as intercessors among Indigenous groups of South America.⁴⁵ Anthropologist Eduardo Kohn writes about

³⁹ Giersz, "El hallazgo del mausoleo imperial," 75.

⁴⁰ Alaica et al., "Herding Companions and Other-Than-Human Persons."

⁴¹ Cruzado Paredes and Fernandez Huaman, *Estilos del Horizonte Medio en el sitio arqueológico La Pampa en el Valle Camaná*.

⁴² Of note is the fact that the canines have an upright nose but no drooping ears. Cook, "Wari Art and Society," fig. 8.3a. Patricia Knobloch (personal communication) has identified a sculptural bottle in the shape of a dog which has similar feature (British Museum Am1938,-.19).

⁴³ E.g., David Bernstein Pre-Columbian Art M7046, Fowler Museum X94.33.1, Museum of Fine Arts Houston 2014.675.

⁴⁴ Christopher B. Donnan and Carol J. Mackey, *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978), 144-149.

contemporary populations in the Ecuadorian Amazon that, “[w]ith and through their dogs people connect both to the broader forest ecology of selves and to an all-too-human social world.”⁴⁶

Dogs are both nonhuman animals and beings that are behaviorally and physically close to humans. For that reason, they appear to transcend worlds, those of humans and nonhumans, of the dead and the living. Because dogs also accompanied the dead in Wari society, they may have been perceived as intercessors in the Wari world.

If the abstracted animal profiles with triangular snouts are indeed dogs, then their representation does further complicate the suggestion that felines and raptors are represented in an abstract manner to evoke the visual experience of their human observer. Dogs would have been part of the daily life of Andean peoples, especially herders and fishers. As such, artists would have had the luxury of observing them on a regular basis.⁴⁷ Wari artists also depicted canines in a more naturalistic manner on Wari ceramics, like their feline counterparts, as is the case of the fragments from Conchopata identified by Cook. More examples remain to be identified. Overall, the different ways in which canines and felines could be depicted in Wari art seem to confirm the fact that artists were able to manipulate modes of representation according to their subject and their context, or even personal experience. As such, Wari art may have visually expressed the contingent relationships that humans had with other entities, in particular animals.

⁴⁵ E.g. Valérie Robin Azevedo, *Miroirs de l'autre vie. Pratiques rituelles et discours sur les morts dans les Andes de Cuzco (Pérou)* (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 2008), 72-75; Eduardo Kohn, “How Dogs Dream: Amazonian Natures and the Politics of Transspecies Engagement,” *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 1 (2007): 3–24; Nicolas Goerpfert, *Frayer la route d'un monde inversé. Sacrifice et offrandes animales dans la culture mochica (100-800 apr. J.-C.), côte nord du Pérou*, Paris Monographs in American Archaeology 28 (Oxford: BAR International Series, 2011).

⁴⁶ Eduardo Kohn, *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human* (Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA, and London, UK: University of California Press, 2013), 18.

⁴⁷ Alaica et al., “Herding Companions and Other-Than-Human Persons.”

Artists may have been responsible for showcasing the shifting role that nonhumans held in Wari society. Through their work, artists reminded viewers and users of the possibility of interactions and even transformations between species. Animals could take on anthropomorphic aspects and conversely, humans be zoomorphized. While not specific to Wari, this approach to nonhumans and their depictions goes far beyond a shamanistic view of animals based on a shared Andean visual repertoire or a mere taxonomical difference between predators and prey. Rather, it brings to the fore a world made of more complex, tenuous, and shifting interactions and illustrates the innovative and diverse strategies developed and used by Wari artists to materialize these relations.

b. Pigments: color and materiality

Wari scholars have rarely, if ever, focused on color and paint in Wari art and society, although pigments and dyes were integral to the life and appearance of Wari objects, buildings, and bodies.⁴⁸ I investigate in this subsection how pigments, and color more broadly, may also have played an important role in the relations of Wari bodies, substances, and things. I suggest that color, and especially red, was a substance with agency and matter that visually and physically created relationships between objects, structures, and bodies. The chemical nature of the pigments used in the Wari Empire may have been understood as having a strong impact on health, thus bridging artistic, symbolic, and medicinal uses. Even if not applied on a body, building, or object, the pigment may have retained value as matter: pigment was for example

⁴⁸ Pigments are non-soluble coloring additives, usually minerals, while dyes are organic water-soluble substances. Elena Phipps did publish a monograph on the history of cochineal in Andean textiles, albeit not specifically Wari. Elena Phipps, *Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color*, vol. LXVII, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 3 (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010).

used as offerings together with spondylus shell, obsidian, quarts, and bird feathers during the termination ritual closing access to the Red Mausoleum at Castillo de Huarmey.⁴⁹

Red, as in many other parts of the world, appears to have borne a particular meaning for many Andean peoples.⁵⁰ This color has been found repeatedly on disarticulated human bones and mummies, on buildings, wrapped in cloth as bundles, and on objects like carvings. People in the Andes have been using red pigments in burials and as offerings since at least the Formative Period, in the second millennium BCE.⁵¹ Intriguingly, although the color used is invariably red, the type of colorant can vary between cinnabar, ochre, achiote, and cochineal. Cochineal, a dye made from insects found on *tuna* or cacti, was mostly reserved for textiles, and used in the Andes starting the Nasca period. Achiote (the seeds of the *Bixa orellana*) has been and continues to be a substance applied on the body in South America, although its use has not yet been attested for the Wari.⁵² My focus will be here on cinnabar and ochre, the two most common pigments in Wari material and visual language.

In the Andes, red ochre (mainly hematite, an iron oxide) was in use at least twelve thousand years ago, as evidenced by fragments excavated by archaeologists at the southern Peruvian site of Cuncaicha.⁵³ During the Early Intermediate Period, the Nasca began to process

⁴⁹ Giersz, Milosz. *Castillo de Huarmey*, 143.

⁵⁰ Megan Hinks, “Fifty Shades of Red: The Connection of Red Material to the Elite and Supernatural in Pre-Columbian Peru” (M.A. Thesis, York, University of York, 2016).

⁵¹ For example, in his dissertation, archaeologist Carlos Arevalo writes that “Th[e] activity of ritually grinding hematite, placing it in shell containers, and smearing it on little rounded stones is a typical characteristic of the North Coastal Formative period.” Carlos Gustavo Elera Arevalo, “The Puémape Site and the Cupisnique Culture: A Case Study on the Origins and Development of Complex Society in the Central Andes, Peru” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Calgary, University of Calgary, 1998), 107; Junius Bird, John Hyslop, and Milica Dimitrijevic Skinner, “The Preceramic Excavations of the Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley. Peni.,” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 62, no. 1 (1985), 66.

⁵² Phipps, *Cochineal Red*.

⁵³ Kurt Rademaker et al., “Paleoindian Settlement of the High-Altitude Peruvian Andes,” *Science* 346 (October 24, 2014): 466–69.

hematite intensely within dedicated mines, probably to respond to an increasing demand in red ochre.⁵⁴ The ambiguous nature of red ochre, both utilitarian and symbolic, is evidenced by the fact that hematite was used at the time for ceramic production, copper smelting, to paint walls, wooden objects, textiles, but also to make offerings to the sea. The mineral was so important that during the Middle Horizon, people affiliated with Wari took control of Mina Primavera, a Nasca hematite mine, and deposited ceramics and musical instruments as offerings to mark their new ownership of the site.⁵⁵

Red ochre has medicinal properties, internal and dermatological, that may have been used in both ritual and utilitarian ways in the Wari Empire (even though the divide between these two spheres is not always clear). The medicinal qualities of red ochre, rarely discussed in the Andes, are addressed in the scholarship of other regions of the world. The most ancient health-related use of ochre is attested in sub-Saharan Africa, approximately ninety to sixty thousand years ago when it was applied as sunscreen; the photoprotective quality of red ochre has been confirmed by a recent study.⁵⁶ Indigenous groups of the Americas treated numerous ailments with red ochre: in Mexica medicine, the red ocher stone (*tetlahuitl*) was infused in water that could then be mixed with plants and applied directly on the body, as on the womb of a woman in labor.⁵⁷ Indians from the Plains and what is now the U.S. Southwest, such as the Havasupai and the Apache, are said

⁵⁴ Hendrik Van Gijseghem et al., “The Organization of Mining in Nasca During the Early Intermediate Period,” in *Mining and Quarrying in the Ancient Andes: Sociopolitical, Economic, and Symbolic Dimensions*, ed. Nicholas Tripcevich and Kevin J. Vaughn, Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology (New York, NY: Springer, 2013), 177.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁵⁶ Riaan F. Rifkin et al., “Evaluating the Photoprotective Effects of Ochre on Human Skin by In Vivo SPF Assessment: Implications for Human Evolution, Adaptation and Dispersal,” *PLoS ONE* 10, no. 9 (2015).

⁵⁷ Martin de la Cruz, *An Aztec Herbal: The Classic Codex of 1552 (Codex Badianus)*, trans. William Gates (Mineola, NY: Courier Corporation, 2000).

to have rubbed the skin of children with red ochre to prevent irritations, while the same treatment would have been performed in what is now British Columbia for those bitten by snakes.⁵⁸ In addition to the topical properties of ochre, the mineral is a great source of nutrients for the organism with its high iron content, helping to combat anemia. One can even hypothesize that the taste of an iron-rich mineral, together with a deep red color, greatly recalls the taste and smell of blood, thus creating a strong parallel between the two substances.

Cinnabar, a mercury sulfide called *llimpi* in Quechua, has long been used as another major source of red pigment in the Andes, and its use is attested in Wari art and on Wari bodies.⁵⁹ The use of cinnabar spans the Americas, from Mesoamerica to the Andes where it is found in burials, and on gold, ceramic, wood, and even plastered walls.⁶⁰ Considered the natural vermilion, cinnabar is much rarer and more intense in its hue than ochre. It was applied on a multitude of Wari artworks to give them color. A group of six wooden containers recovered from the main section of the Red Mausoleum at Castillo de Huarney—one of the only instances of professionally excavated Wari containers—included two carvings that stood out: the smallest of the six, measuring only 3.2 cm, depicted a woman breastfeeding a child, her face fully covered in cinnabar.⁶¹ The tallest of all containers, reaching 9.2 cm, was carved in the shape of a person

⁵⁸ Linda Wootan Ellis et al., “Geochemical and Minerological Characterization of Ocher from an Archaeological Context,” in *Hot Rock Cooking on the Greater Edwards Plateau: Four Burned Rock Midden Sites in West Central Texas* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 662.

⁵⁹ Gabriela Siracusano, *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800* (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2011), 22.

⁶⁰ Richard L. Burger and Jerrold B. Leikin, “Cinnabar Use in Prehispanic Peru and Its Possible Health Consequences,” *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 17 (2018), 731; Lasaponara, Rosa, Nicola Masini, and Giuseppe Orefici. *The Ancient Nasca World: New Insights from Science and Archaeology*. New York, NY: Springer, 2016, 141.

⁶¹ The role of red pigment in this group of carvings is especially intriguing, given that cinnabar was applied with such intensity on the smallest of the containers which is explicitly female. In the next chapter, I explore further the connection between gender and cinnabar as face paint.

with braids and a long, crested headdress that extends in their back.⁶² Their teeth, eyes, and parts of the headdress were inlaid with shell, and the rest of their body painted. Many other wood carvings, such as a wooden container from the Cleveland Art Museum (fig. 7), and even the so-called Pachacamac idol (the more than two-meter-tall wood carving that stood inside a ritual building at the pilgrimage site) had cinnabar applied on their surface.⁶³ It thus seems that cinnabar was often applied on a variety of wood carvings, whether small refined personal belongings or monumental sculptures.

We cannot determine exactly the substance used by the Wari for painting their body during their lifetime, but we do know that cinnabar was applied on the body of important deceased women in the Wari Empire.⁶⁴ Hence, an elite burial in EA 150 at Conchopata contained rich burial goods like goldworks as well as the bodies of two adult females, one juvenile, two children and an elderly woman whose skull was covered in cinnabar.⁶⁵ Similarly, the Red Mausoleum at Castillo de Huarmey included numerous burials, yet the richest was that of an elderly woman who had been covered with red pigment.⁶⁶ It is thus possible that cinnabar was one of the pigments used for body decoration in the Wari Empire, since it was used on the body

⁶² This individual has been identified by Pimentel as a woman, likely on the base of the hairstyle, but I prefer to keep the figure's gender open until further research. Pimentel, "Contenedores de Madera," 180.

⁶³ Pimentel, "Contenedores de Madera"; Bergh, "Wood Containers and Cups"; Sepúlveda et al., "Unraveling the Polychromy and Antiquity of the Pachacamac Idol."

⁶⁴ The use of cinnabar on elite deceased women is attested before the Middle Horizon. Tomohito Nagaoka et al., "Bioarchaeology of Human Skeletons from an Elite Tomb at Pacopampa in Peru's Northern Highlands," *Anthropological Science* 128, no. 1 (2020): 11–17. Tomohito Nagaoka et al., "A Case Study of a High-Status Human Skeleton from Pacopampa in Formative Period Peru," *Anatomical Science International* 87, no. 4 (2012): 234–37.

⁶⁵ Tung and Cook, "Intermediate-Elite Agency in the Wari Empire," 84; Tung, *Violence, ritual, and the Wari empire*, 68.

⁶⁶ As archaeologists Brown and Dye remind us regarding the depiction of Mississippian cut heads, "we should not rush to dismiss alternatives" when it comes to identifying the sex and gender of the bodies represented. James A. Brown and David H. Dye, "Severed Heads and Sacred Scalplocks: Mississippian Iconographic Trophies," in *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians*, 292.

of the deceased, red is one of the most common colors of face paint as depicted on Wari art (fig. 4), and there are records of Andean groups that applied cinnabar as face paint up into the colonial period.⁶⁷ It is even possible that cinnabar was kept inside Wari wooden containers, which could have been helpful to apply or reapply face paint throughout important events.⁶⁸ Cinnabar thus seems to have been reserved to highlighting important bodies in the Wari world. These bodies could be animated or not, organic or inorganic, of monumental scale or reduced size.

In addition to its ornamental qualities, cinnabar seems to have had an important role in Andean rituals. Chronicler Martín de Murúa wrote that the *llimpi* “was very highly valued for the superstitions.”⁶⁹ The pigment was sometimes combined with human blood as binder, as attested by the analysis of a Sicán gold mask.⁷⁰ At the Inca ceremonial burial of Cerro Esmeralda in northern Chile, which may have been a sacrifice, fragments of cinnabar were found within layers of textiles in the funerary bundle.⁷¹ It is possible that the religious importance of cinnabar was due, at least in part, to its powerful chemical composition. Being derived from mercury, cinnabar is a great insecticide that contributes to preserve organic matter, making it particularly adapted to mortuary contexts.⁷² The extraction of mercury is known to cause long-lasting environmental and related sanitary issues, such as severe neuropsychological diseases like dementia, as

⁶⁷ Siracusano, *Pigments and Power in the Andes*, 22.

⁶⁸ Bergh, “Wood Containers and Cups.”

⁶⁹ Murúa, Martín de. *Historia general del Perú*. Edited by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. Madrid: Dastin, 2001, 411.

⁷⁰ Elisabete Pires et al., “Human Blood and Bird Egg Proteins Identified in Red Paint Covering a 1000-Year-Old Gold Mask from Peru,” *Journal of Proteome Research* 20, no. 11 (November 5, 2021): 5212–17.

⁷¹ Arriaza, Bridget, Juan Pablo Ogalde, Marcia Campos, Carolina Paipa, Patricio Leyton, and Nelson Lara. “Toxic Pigment in a Capacocha Burial: Instrumental Identification of Cinnabar in Inca Human Remains from Iquique, Chile.” *Archaeometry* 60, no. 6 (2018): 1324–33.

⁷² Prieto, Gabriel, Véronique Wright, Richard L. Burger, Colin A. Cooke, Elvira L. Zeballos-Velasquez, Aldo Watanave, Matthew R. Suchomel, and Leopoldo Suescun. “The Source, Processing and Use of Red Pigment Based on Hematite and Cinnabar at Gramalote, an Early Initial Period (1500–1200cal. B.C.) Maritime Community, North Coast of Peru.” *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 5 (2016), 57.

evidenced by the impact that cinnabar and mercury mines has had on the health of local populations and the safety of nearby waterways.⁷³ Applied on the skin, cinnabar also causes hypersensitivity, which would have been problematic in the case of its use as a body paint, or possible could have been a desired sensory effected, during rituals.⁷⁴

People in the Wari Empire extracted cinnabar from the mine of Huancavelica, located less than a couple of hundred kilometers away from the Wari heartland. Pigment from that source was transported over long distances as far back as 1,400 BCE.⁷⁵ Cinnabar mines were highly prized during Inca times, third in importance after gold and silver according to Guaman Poma de Ayala.⁷⁶ The mine of Huancavelica continued to be exploited intensively for quicksilver during the colonial period, starting 1564 CE, until the early 19th century.⁷⁷

Both archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence point to the fact that pigments such as hematite and cinnabar were more than colorants in the Andes, and instead active substances that could act as medicine, markers of status, ritual implements, layers of protection, harmful essence powders, or all of the above. The Maprik in Papua New Guinea rub yams with red pigment to help them grow and bring them protection, which makes me wonder if people in the Wari Empire also used cinnabar or hematite on plants and foodstuff.⁷⁸ Minerals could be deposited in

⁷³ Robins, Nicholas A. *Santa Bárbara's Legacy: An Environmental History of Huancavelica, Peru*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017; Cooke, Colin A., Prentiss H. Balcom, Harald Biester, and Alexander P. Wolfe. "Over Three Millennia of Mercury Pollution in the Peruvian Andes." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 22 (2009): 8830–34.

⁷⁴ Burger and Leikin. "Cinnabar Use in Prehispanic Peru and Its Possible Health Consequences," 733.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*. Translated by Roland Hamilton. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009, 74.

⁷⁷ Kendall W. Brown, "Workers' Health and Colonial Mercury Mining at Huancavelica, Peru," *The Americas* 57, no. 4 (2001): 467–96.

⁷⁸ Karl Gröning, *Body Decoration: A World Survey of Body Art* (New York, NY: Vendome Press, 1998), 79.

bundles or applied on a wide array of bodies and surfaces, thereby transforming—protecting, vivifying, and marking—them and incorporating them within a multilayered material and visual relational worldview. This phenomenon can be observed in cultures across the world. For example, the Mafa of northern Cameroon cover their ceramics in a black burnish with the same oil that is used to coat the human body.⁷⁹

By covering their skin with pigments and designs, people in the Wari Empire likely transformed their own bodies, connecting them to a much larger realm of substances and practices. As such, it seems that the Wari pictorial and material language extended far beyond manufacturing objects. It seems that pigment could create and materialize complex interactions between beings, bodies, structures, and spaces at different levels and with different interlocutors, both animate and inanimate. To that point, archaeologist Andrew Roddick wrote that, in the Andes, minerals were not bare, neutral substances, but instead “geological materials were already embedded within a greater social field, one that was constituted in practice.”⁸⁰ Pigment, such as hematite and cinnabar, could be examples of nodes of social relations. Rather than being a mundane and isolated act, I suggest that the act of painting a Wari ceramic or one’s face may have been connected to a much larger cultural environment, connecting the animate to the inanimate, the organic to the inorganic, and the maker to its product. The geometric designs used for Wari face paint may have been meaningful, but I believe that the color and type of pigment chosen to do so was just as significant. Red would not simply be a symbolic color, for example

⁷⁹ Nicholas David, Judy Sterner, and Kodzo Gavua, “Why Pots Are Decorated,” *Current Anthropology* 29 (1988), 371.

⁸⁰ Roddick, Andrew A. “Geologies in Motion: Itineraries of Stone, Clay and Pots in the Lake Titicaca Basin.” In *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*, edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, 2015, 130.

evoking blood. The cinnabar, hematite, or even achiote or cochineal used on the body of people in the Wari Empire also had properties in and of itself, as matter.

c. Fragments: curating body parts

My research has shown that bodies, objects, and materials in the Wari world were often fragmented at a point in their life. Fragmentation has been a common thread throughout my analysis of the making, use, and breaking of Wari art. This practice can take the form of smashing and burning ceramic jars and trophy heads in D-shaped structures at Conchopata or curating intentionally smashed drinking vessels at Cerro Baúl. The act of fragmenting and scattering was not a coincidence in the Wari Empire, but a shared and conscious practice that contributed to the performative dimension of Wari art. When the palace of Cerro Baúl was closed off, participants spread sherds of bowls in up to four different rooms.⁸¹ Tumblers and cups recovered in the brewery had been marked with engravings, likely during a drinking event, then broken, scattered, and finally burnt.⁸²

Heads, whether those of humans or ceramic vessels, were often fragmented from their bodies in Wari society. Yet, evidence suggests that other body parts could be fragmented from the human body in the Wari Empire, such as body extremities. In the circular building EA 143 at Conchopata, Tung found that the Wari had not only deposited trophy heads, but also a multitude of phalanges, as human fingers and toes had been cut and placed there.⁸³ At Castillo de Huarmey, two individuals resting in the antechamber of the main mausoleum had their left foot amputated

⁸¹ Nash and deFrance, Susan D., "Plotting Abandonment," 127.

⁸² Moseley et al., "Burning down the Brewery;" Williams and Nash, "Consuming Kero: Molle Beer and Wari Social Identity in Andean Peru;" Deglin, Nash, and Williams, "Wari Imperial Motives," fig. 17.

⁸³ Tiffany A. Tung, "Dismembering Bodies for Display: A Bioarchaeological Study of Trophy Heads from the Wari Site of Conchopata, Peru," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 136 (2008), 299-300.

long before their death.⁸⁴ This mutilation, albeit isolated in the Wari world, is reminiscent of the accompanying individuals in the famed tomb of the Moche Lord of Sipán, who also lacked their left foot.⁸⁵ Wari artists also shaped ceramic vessels like legs and hands, as is the case of a container from Cerro Baúl (fig. 57). If Więckowski believes that Wari ceramics mostly depict left feet, I believe based my own experience examining two foot-shaped vessels at Cerro Baúl that it is difficult to assert so. It is nevertheless undeniable that the containers are meant to represent fragmented extremities, especially given their detailed features such as the nails lined with black, which I argue is a convention developed by artists in the Wari Empire.⁸⁶ If human heads were considered to be powerful body parts, described as “the seat of the soul” in Andean scholarship, what does the practice of cutting, depositing, and representing hands and feet say about these extremities?⁸⁷

Wari-affiliated people did not only sever, collect, and make offerings with the extremities of human bodies, but they reserved a similar treatment to certain animals. For example, at Castillo de Huarmey, a condor claw was placed as an offering in one of the side cubicles located in the back of the Red Mausoleum.⁸⁸ At the site of Uraca, archaeologists recovered the cut talons of a raptor bird, but also the head of a pampas cat and the feline’s four severed paws.⁸⁹ Finally, at La Real, the front paws of a pup (and only that) had been deposited in a funerary context.⁹⁰ It

⁸⁴ Więckowski, *Wari Women from Huarmey*, 129; Wiesław Więckowski, “A Case of Foot Amputation from the Wari Imperial Tomb at Castillo de Huarmey, Peru,” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 26 (2016): 1058–66.

⁸⁵ John W. Verano, “Human Skeletal Remains from Tomb I, Sipán (Lambayeque River Valley, Peru) and Their Social Implications,” *Antiquity* 71 (1997): 670–82.

⁸⁶ Deglin, Nash, and Williams, “Wari Imperial Motives,” 11.

⁸⁷ Glowacki, “The Head as the Seat of Soul.”

⁸⁸ Giersz, “El hallazgo del mausoleo imperial,” 94.

⁸⁹ Koontz Scaffidi, “Power, Mediation, and Transformation.”

⁹⁰ Alaica et al., “Herding Companions and Other-Than-Human Persons.”

does not seem like a coincidence that the feet, talons, or paws of humans, raptors, felines, and dogs were regularly singled out in Wari funerary, ritual, and artistic practices. These animal species were, together with humans, clearly significant in the Wari Empire and sometimes equated in their representations. Does this mean that the heads and extremities of humans, raptors, felines, and dogs could substitute for one another? Or did each have its own specific values and characteristics?

Quechua terminology proves useful here to shed light on the conception of body parts in the Andes, despite the limitations previously mentioned that come with using *runasimi* in a Wari context. Linguistics can help understand the importance of the fragment in Wari art and society. Bodies, especially ones considered animated, share a similar anatomy in the Quechua world, meaning that Quechua speakers will use the same term to refer to the foot of a human, a bird, or a feline. Archaeologists and anthropologists have even demonstrated that the same terms used to designate human body parts can refer to features of the landscape or objects, like textiles or pots.⁹¹ In her foundational study of Quechua body parts, Louisa Stark noted an equivalence in the terminology used to refer to extremities, writing that “the Quechua speaker conceptualizes the hand and foot as being similar, if not identical, entities.”⁹² Therefore, it might not be coincidental that both human and animals fingers and toes, or front and back paws, have been excavated or depicted in Wari art. In mythical thinking around Ayacucho, hands are the locus of knowledge, while legs are considered vital. In the words of Carlos Flores Lizana, one cannot be

⁹¹ Constance Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1993); María Cecilia Lozada, “Indigenous Anatomies: Ontological Dissections of the Indigenous Body,” in *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Henry Tantaleán and María Cecilia Lozada (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019), 99–115; Veronica Cereceda, “The Semiology of Andean Textiles: The Talegas of Isluga,” in *Anthropological History of Andean Politics*, ed. John Murra, Nathan Watchel, and Jacques Revel (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2009), 149–73; Sillar, “The Dead and the Drying.”

⁹² Stark, “The Lexical Structure of Quechua Body Parts,” 8.

Andean if they cannot walk.⁹³ Depositing one's hands and legs or feet may thus have been highly significant in Wari times.

The act of fragmenting objects may have made them slightly different and possibly significantly so, from that of fragmenting human and animal bodies, but both practices were certainly part of the same ideological sphere. The act of smashing drinking and storage vessels is amply documented and addressed in Wari studies, but other Wari objects and materials were also subject to mutilation and fragmentation.⁹⁴ That is the case of the several spondylus shells placed in the Pikillacta Eastern Gate offering, which contained the metallic figures that I examined previously below. The shells had been broken and some intentionally cut in wedges and in the shape of a D.⁹⁵ At Castillo de Huarmey, sculpted loom sticks covered in cinnabar had been broken and sometimes burnt.⁹⁶ It is worth noting that cinnabar is often associated with fragments, whether of humans, animals, or objects, and used in burials and termination rituals. For example, in EA 179 at Conchopata, the isolated mandible and teeth of a child were found covered in cinnabar.⁹⁷

Evidence suggests that the act of breaking objects and shells could be a way to ritually “kill” them, while to the opposite, but I argue that this practice may have instead indicated the beginning of a new life cycle. The notion of fragment in Wari studies, and more largely the study

⁹³ Carlos Flores Lizana, “Hacia una formación de una antropología de la persona en la cultura andina quechua peruana”, en *Ayacucho a 500 años de la conquista de América*, ed. Ranulfo Cavero Carrasco (Ayacucho, Peru: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1992), 38.

⁹⁴ E.g., Amy B. Groleau, “Depositional Histories at Conchopata: Offering, Interment, and Room Closure in a Wari City” (Ph.D., Binghamton, NY, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2011); Cook, “The Middle Horizon Ceramic Offerings from Conchopata;” Moseley et al., “Burning down the Brewery;” Nash and deFrance, “Plotting Abandonment.”

⁹⁵ Wedge-shaped spondylus fragments were also common offerings at Conchopata. Milliken, “Ritual and Status,” 172. Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”

⁹⁶ Giersz, Milosz. “El hallazgo del mausoleo imperial.”

⁹⁷ Tung, *Violence, Ritual, and the Wari Empire*, 68.

of the Indigenous Americas, has mainly focused on the topic of deposits, termination rituals, and sacrifices—a mutilation that marks an end. Examples can be found in the pottery of the Mimbres, Maya, and many other groups in North America, who purposefully pierced their vessels before depositing them in funerary context.⁹⁸ In contrast, art historians working on European traditions present the fragment as generative. In that case, fragmentation is considered an approach that is both spiritual and artistic and that pushes past boundaries, from reliquaries to the act of cropping bodies with the frame in late 19th-century paintings. One of the major arguments made by Nochlin’s foundational book on the fragment in modern European art was to separate the idea of fragment as *pars pro toto* from that of an individualized fragment. According to her, the French Revolution birthed “the fragment as a positive rather than a negative trope.”⁹⁹ In Modern European art, the fragment is ripe with possibilities, in constant process of becoming.¹⁰⁰ The significance of the fragment in Wari society, such as the depiction and cutting of extremities, is still unknown to us. Yet I suggest that, as Nochlin argues in the case of post-Revolution France, it was more than a *pars pro toto*; it was a creative process—the indication of a presence rather than an absence.

In the case of Wari art, broken objects and severed body parts would take on a new life as part of a different assemblage when scattered on the ground or buried in pits, allowing for more formations. Fragments would overlap, be associated with other kinds of materials, entities, and

⁹⁸ Jerry J. Brody and Rina Swentzell, *To Touch the Past: The Painted Pottery of the Mimbres People* (New York, NY: Hudson Hill Press, 1996); Andrew Finegold, *Vital Voids: Cavities and Holes in Mesoamerican Material Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2021); Rebecca J. Harkness, “‘Kill Holes’ in Context: A Study of Post-Firing Modification in the Prehispanic Southwest New Mexico” (M.A. Thesis, Flagstaff, AZ, Northern Arizona University, 2019); VanPool and Newsome, “The Spirit in the Material,” 250, 257.

⁹⁹ Linda Nochlin, *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity*, Walter Neurath Memorial Lecture 26 (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994), 8.

¹⁰⁰ Dan Mellamphy, “Fragmentality (Thinking the Fragment),” *Dalhousie French Studies* 45 (1998): 83–98.

artworks. In other cases, fragments could be grouped by typology, like in the cache of human skulls in a niched hall (Unit 10) at Pikillacta.¹⁰¹ The curation process of the fragment remained similar in that it generated new relations, whether the fragment was isolated, placed with other fragments of similar nature, or deposited with entirely different bodies and objects. Fragments could be littered on the ground, moved around, and/or placed in a specific location. New patterns would emerge from these connections. More than a linear trajectory from whole to part, the act of fragmenting in the Wari world was very much cyclical, both creating and breaking worlds at once. We can imagine the stages through which a drinking vessel shaped like a leg would have gone at Cerro Baúl. The ceramics, shaped like a fragmented body part, would be used to consume liquid, make libations, or be on display while participants would drink or feast. Once the ceremony over, the leg-shaped vessel would be shattered into fragments and scattered. It is even possible that its sherds were intentionally placed in a structure away from the brewery, where a similar drinking vessel was found.¹⁰² From there, the fragments of the fragmented body took on a new life and meaning. From intentionally shattered vessels to trophy heads, the fragment thus appears to have been a fundamental guiding strategy, embodied practice, and symbol in the Wari Empire.

Conclusions

Wari art and architecture was a way for artists in the Wari Empire to engage with the world around them, which in turn generated a Wari visual and material language that structured Wari ways of being in the world. Examining Wari art is critical for us to uncover this language and its conventions. I believe that this can only be done effectively by approaching objects, not merely

¹⁰¹ McEwan, "The Function of Niched Halls in Wari Architecture," 77.

¹⁰² Williams and Nash, "Consuming Kero," 8.

as end products, but also as the manifestation of complex relations in the making—and in the breaking, to get to the dynamic view of what Wari artistic strategies aimed at. To grasp how Wari art organized forms of interaction and shaped social relations and rituals, one must approach the study of Wari artistic peoples, materials, practices, expressions, places, and objects as relational nodes.

With this chapter, I attempted to demonstrate what insights can be gained from looking at Wari arts across media and placing material culture back in space. Far from an exhaustive account or final report, this examination aims to spark a new approach to Wari arts: one that can bridge materials and disciplines beyond academic categories. I believe that including objects in multiple media, the built environment, mortuary practices, pigments, or even mind-altering substances when examining Wari art can allow us to think more broadly, to question our assumptions, and to look for patterns beyond the artificial realms of art or anthropology. I hope that this chapter has shown the benefits of conducting art historical studies across media and of including objects usually left out by scholars, such as metallic and wooden sculptures, to approach the Wari ecosystem as one made of constantly fluctuating relations.

My research has shed light on the role played by artists in elaborating a Wari visual and material language that runs across media following certain conventions such as materials, motifs, scale, and orientation. Far from being limited to “artworks” however, this language permeated all aspects of the Wari world, from interactions with the dead to the unfolding of drinking ceremonies. Although I do not pretend to have unlocked the functioning of Wari artistic production at large, I hope to have identified elements and practices that, across the diversity and creativity of Wari art, became key conventions in that language.

Opening scholarly categories is essential for art historians to bring to the fore Indigenous ways of making, conceptualizing, and experiencing material and visual culture, and to question our prejudices in the process of understanding. Parallels across materials and technologies can often reveal much more about the values, concepts, and priorities of a group. Matter and technologies are especially helpful lenses through which to approach Wari practices. For example, Sillar has used Quechua and Aymara dictionaries as well as contemporary ethnological research to highlight the similarities between pottery making, food preparation, and the treatment of the dead in the Central Andes, concluding that “the potters have drawn upon techniques that cross-cut many spheres of Andean technology and that the techniques themselves have become imbued with culturally specific meanings.”¹⁰³ In the absence of Wari dictionaries, and to limit the use of direct historical approach, Wari art historical research across media and practices is key to gain insights, not only in relation to techniques, but also to subjects, materials, modes of representations, orientation, scale, and more.

It is necessary to study objects individually to understand all the critical ways in which they were conceived, made, used, reused, and discarded, and thus how it may have carried meaning. But it is also vital that we understand how those objects fit into larger patterns, and approach them as part of complex material, cultural, and artistic practices, ones that engaged the individual and the larger society. In my research, I have tried to uncover the role of artists by looking at the diversity of things they created and used, and the spaces in which they did so. It is this process that interests me here: how Wari visual and material language was not simply executed by Wari artists, but rather elaborated and experimented by them and further activated by the use, reuse, and discard of those works. It is because individuals made the objects that we

¹⁰³ Sillar, “The Dead and the Drying,” 261.

see today that this language became part of the way in which the Wari understood their world. My goal is not to track the chronological development of artistic conventions, but instead to access it and new ways of thinking, by analyzing works across media and considering the ways in which making things produced a visual and material language through which people could then reflect. In that sense, we can argue that artists and artistic practices played a key role in shaping the Wari Empire, rather than the other way around.

By highlighting the importance of relations as a practice of making and thinking in Indigenous Andean communities, I have indeed tried to challenge views of Wari art and society as militaristic, homogenizing, and predetermined. It appears that people in the Wari Empire aware of the impact that matter, bodies, and things had on them and integrated them to artistic production. As such, Wari art allow us to think differently about the status and methods of artists working for a larger socio-political structure, such as an empire: rather than craftspersons executing orders and reproducing models without room for personal expression, they could be creators who found ways both intellectually and practically combine their own approach to imperial guidelines. Sillar has brilliantly summarized this situation when discussing agency in the Andes, writing that “it is partly due to the inter-relationships that commitments create that the boundary between individual and corporate agency is not clear,” which “facilitates the blending of their individual agencies within a corporate goal.”¹⁰⁴ Such statement concurs with Stone-Miller’s interpretation of Wari weavings in her dissertation almost forty years ago, which concluded that Wari tapestry tunics were a “visual presentation of the state” as well as the product of personal idiosyncratic choices.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Sillar, “Acts of God and Active Material Culture” 181.

¹⁰⁵ Stone-Miller, “Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics,” 191.

Art historians need to reconsider the idea that artmaking must be singular in order to be valuable; as the Wari prove to us, authorship can be plural. To them, this meant that several weavers could contribute to the same piece, or that potters would extract the clay and minerals which would then be shaped, painted, and fired by others, without necessarily becoming neutral. But also, that earth, water, plants, wild animals, hallucinogenic visions, ancestors, or even imperial administrators could be seen as having contributed to the making of an object. In the Wari world, the plural and the repetitive did not necessarily entail the loss of the individual, but rather magnified the role of the individuals—as collaborative multiples.

Beyond Wari Art

Almost a century after the Wari culture was first identified by Julio C. Tello, Wari art has still much to teach us about Wari values, practices, and posterity, but more largely about our approach to Indigenous arts and authorship in art history. From the molded ceramics of Conchopata to the metallic figures of Pikillacta, Wari artists created much more than imperial prestige goods. Instead, they developed a visual and material language that was both diverse and coherent, running through artistic media and shaping different modes of bodily engagement. At the crossroads of highland and coastal traditions, Wari artists managed to manipulate abstraction and naturalism, transform colors into patterns, create and recreate fragments, and combine materials to a level unprecedented in the Andes. At Conchopata, Cerro Baúl, and beyond, one can witness how Wari makers explored this artistic breadth while expressing a collective Wari visual and material identity—through certain images, techniques, or even exact models that were recreated locally.

Examining Wari art across a variety of materials is critical, as it is closer to the ways Wari people would have understood, made, experienced, and used objects. By moving beyond academic prerogatives, preferences of collecting, and gendered divisions, art historians can bring to the fore a new understanding that more closely matches Wari visual and material identity. In doing so, it also challenges scholarly paradigms regarding where artistic practices and values may lie. For the Wari, this means seeing the human body, even in its desiccated state, as something deeply meaningful and thus often artistically rendered across media. One of such examples is the depiction of human skulls with distinctive features that separate them from any skull image depicted by artists from other cultures or time periods. These skull images are

recurring enough in Wari art to make them stand out as a unique Wari design element, which will be the focus of my future research.

I believe that one of the keys to a renewed and inclusive to Wari art history is to embrace a relational worldview, which appears to be closer to Wari perception and conception of the world rather than academic nomenclatures stemming from 19th-century Europe. In the Andes, relationality was and still is expressed in many ways and attested by community practices by Indigenous peoples, and in scholarship via material, textual, performative, and oral records.¹ I refer here to the Andes at large, rather than the Wari, considering our limited knowledge of the language spoken by the Wari and the taxonomies that they used. I am however far from implying the existence of a pan-Andean, atemporal relational worldview. Rather, I draw from the Inca, early modern, and modern examples analogies to provide a base from which to compare Wari examples. Hence, in the Late Horizon Andes, inanimate things could be animated by *camay*, a type of life force.² Certain natural features, buildings, or objects were considered to be *huaca* which had agency over animate and inanimate bodies.³ One of the most commonly cited phenomena of animate agency in the Inca world was that of stones, which could turn into human soldiers, cry if tired of being moved, or be the petrified body of a human being.⁴ The *camay*

¹ Edward Swenson, "The Materialities of Place Making in the Ancient Andes: A Critical Appraisal of the Ontological Turn in Archaeological Interpretation," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22 (2015), 683.

² Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1991), 45.

³ According to Tamara Bray, "Focusing on the materiality and agency of wak'as challenges western ontological assumptions and commonsense understandings of objects and subjects as discrete and essentialized entities inhabiting distinct and impermeable worlds, in the same way it challenges the division between sacred and secular." Bray, "Andean Wak'as and Alternative Configurations of Persons, Power, & Things," 8.

⁴ Bernabé Cobo, *Historia Del Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 91–92 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1964 [1653]), book 13, 9-10; Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 269; Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*.

could also leave them, if they were not treated properly by the Inca, and thus become inanimate stones.

Even in more recent times, the animacy and agency of things, matter, and beings appears critical to one's subsistence in the Andes. In the testimonial narrative of Gregorio Condori Mamani and Asunta Quispe Huamán, an Indigenous couple from a rural community in the mountains near Cusco in the 1970s, they ask: "And what's left to harvest if the crops have been stripped of their spirit?"⁵ thus highlighting the importance of the essence, or spirit, of plants. In Sonqo, a rural community in the department of Cusco, nonhuman personhood was an integral part of everyday life at the village: anthropologist Catherine Allen writes that, there, "one did not so much act upon, as interact with, objects."⁶ In this relational worldview, humans (fleshed and venerated ancestors) were part of a complex and diverse world that was both animate and inanimate, where substances were interconnected, and engaged in reciprocity with one another—all of whom were shaped through those relationships.⁷

To many Indigenous groups, both in and outside the Americas, relationality is nothing academic or theoretical.⁸ It is a lived reality that shapes many aspects of one's life, given that relations entail reciprocity, which in turn demands concrete actions. As such, it greatly impacts

⁵ Ricardo Valderrama Fernández and Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez, eds., *Andean Lives: Gregorio Condori Mamani and Asunta Quispe Huamán* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996), 45.

⁶ Catherine J. Allen, "The Living Ones: Miniatures and Animation in the Andes," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 72, no. 4 (2016), 423.

⁷ De la Cadena, *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice across Andean Worlds*, 103; Swenson, "The Materialities of Place Making in the Ancient Andes," 682.

⁸ Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Relationality: A Key Presupposition of an Indigenous Social Research Paradigm," in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, ed. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 69. See also Lauren Tynan, "What Is Relationality? Indigenous Knowledges, Practices and Responsibilities with Kin," *Cultural Geographies* 28, no. 4 (2021): 597–610.

the role, status, and functioning of Indigenous artists and scholars.⁹ In Andean communities for example, productive tasks are inseparable from one's commitment to nonhuman agents towards which humans are indebted to, working for, and with.¹⁰ In this view, artists do not create for themselves or for the state in an extractive and unidirectional manner, as it has been often implied previously for the Wari.¹¹ According to Yellowknives Dene scholar Glen Coulthard, reciprocity means "certain obligations to the land, animals, plants, and lakes, in much the same way that we hold obligations to other people."¹²

Relationality ties all aspects of life together beyond categories—animate or inanimate, organic or inorganic, human or nonhuman. This imbrication includes non-physical and spiritual beings, and thus goes beyond the realm of the visible and tangible. Teacher and activist Haunani-Kay Trask explains that, in Hawaiian thinking, "The cosmos, like the natural world, was a universe of familial relations. (...) Thus, gods had human as well as animal form and human ancestors inhabited different physical forms after death."¹³ As we have come to see, this idea of connection and interchangeability between species and beings echoes what may have been Wari practices of making and thinking.

As a non-Indigenous scholar, I do not claim to be able to speak from an Indigenous perspective or even to accurately emulate such deep connections to non-human entities as an

⁹ Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing Co, 2001); Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants* (Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 2013).

¹⁰ Sillar, "Acts of God and Active Material Culture: Agency and Commitment in the Andes."

¹¹ E.g., Isbell, "A Community of Potters, or Multicrafting Wives of Polygynous Lords?"

¹² Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 60.

¹³ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, 2d edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 5.

Indigenous scholar would. However, as philosophy professors Jerry Lee Rosiek, Jimmy Snyder, and Scott L. Pratt rightfully explain, in scholarship, “[c]hoices are being made about which literatures are worth the effort of engaging.”¹⁴ Focusing on Indigenous scholarship is one of them. Indigenous research stems from tens of thousands of years of wisdom and intergenerational practices, but despite that antecedence it has long been overlooked in academic publications. Many scholars have thus focused on the work of philosophers of the European diaspora concerning topics linked to relationality, such as non-human agency and new materialism, rather than engaging with Indigenous thinking and publications.¹⁵ And, as archaeologists Eleanor Harrisson-Buck and Julia A. Hendon caution, “Anthropologists become guilty of trying to save indigenous peoples from derogatory images of primitivity and, in turn, attempt to rehabilitate popular views of these “non-Western” cultures by casting them in a new light of economic and political complexity that is more sophisticated, at least by our own standards.”¹⁶ Overall, a plethora of methodologies that are broadly applied across disciplines, even beyond the humanities and social sciences.

That is not to say that the work of these European scholars or other external theoretical frameworks cannot be helpful or relevant to Wari research—I myself resorted to Peircean semiotics in my ultimate chapter—but that they may overshadow and even take credit from

¹⁴ Jerry Lee Rosiek, Jimmy Snyder, and Scott L. Pratt, “The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency: Making the Case for Respectful Anti-Colonial Engagement,” *Qualitative Inquiry* 26, no. 3–4 (2019), 330.

¹⁵ E.g., Ian Hodder, “Human-Thing Entanglement: Towards an Integrated Archaeological Perspective,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (2011): 154–77; Bruno Latour, “On Interobjectivity,” *Mind, Culture, and Activity* 3, no. 4 (1996): 228–45; Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Rosi Braidotti, *The Posthuman* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013); Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹⁶ Eleanor Harrisson-Buck and Julia A. Hendon, “An Introduction to Relational Personhood and Other-than-Human Agency in Archaeology,” in *Relational Identities and Other-Than-Human Agency in Archaeology*, ed. Eleanor Harrisson-Buck and Julia A. Hendon (Louisville, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 20.

Indigenous thinkers. Questions about relations have long been central to Indigenous thinkers. In a poignant testimony, Red River Métis and Otipemisiwak anthropologist Zoe Todd recalls attending a talk given by Bruno Latour: “I waited through the whole talk, to hear the Great Latour credit Indigenous thinkers for their millennia of engagement with sentient environments, with cosmologies that enmesh people into complex relationships between themselves and all relations (...).”¹⁷ Whether Latour and others came to develop their own theoretical frameworks on their own or not, it is necessary that they, and we, acknowledge Indigenous modes of thinking, knowing, and being in the world that were discarded and sometimes ridiculed by non-Indigenous people for centuries and are now co-opted or copied by non-Indigenous researchers.¹⁸

My goal here is thus not to theorize relationality according to the Wari, but rather to shed light on how such artists used their work as a way to reflect on their world, and how Wari artistic practices were critical to understanding relationships in Wari society. This perspective allows me to bring nuance to the dominant view of the Wari Empire as an extractive power imposing its order over nature (see Chapter One) and to challenge the artificial divide of Wari material culture according to disciplines, media, and methodologies (see Chapter Two). More and more scholars, like archaeologist Rachel Crellin, point out their “discipline’s struggle to come to grips with dualistic ways of seeing—and being in—the world.”¹⁹ If duality is undoubtedly a major guiding concept in the Andes, it is one that is quite remote from that of Cartesian and Judeo-Christian thinking which has shaped academic research.²⁰ In the Andes, although binary pairings are a

¹⁷ Zoe Todd, “An Indigenous Feminist’s Take On The Ontological Turn: ‘Ontology’ Is Just Another Word For Colonialism,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 29, no. 1 (2016), 6-7.

¹⁸ Martin Holbraad and Morten Pedersen, *The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

¹⁹ Crellin et al., *Archaeological Theory in Dialogue*, 6.

²⁰ Tantaleán, “Andean Ontologies: An Introduction to Substance,” 18.

fundamental notion, they consist of shifting complementarities rather than set oppositions.²¹ In consequence, relational thinking is critical in that it allows to approach Wari art beyond neatly bounded entities, categories, and dichotomies on which the social sciences often relies, to instead bring Indigenous epistemologies to the fore.²²

This dissertation showed that Wari makers were artists in their own rights and who made idiosyncratic choices in their work. This leeway at the individual level did not prevent them from working collaboratively or following certain formal standards. The establishment of conventions and specific design elements, such as the *uma tullu* or skull design, is significant in that it highlights key features and practices that were shared and became, a sense, icons of the Wari Empire.

²¹ It is also important to keep in mind that these notions are much better documented for the Inca and later periods than earlier ones, such as the Middle Horizon. E.g., Isbell, “La otra mitad esencial”; Dean, “Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men”; Dean, “The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place.”

²² Astrid van Oyen, “Historicising Material Agency: From Relations to Relational Constellations,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23 (2016): 354–78.

FIGURES



Figure 1. Architectural model before restoration, Conchopata, EA 38B. Courtesy William H. Isbell.

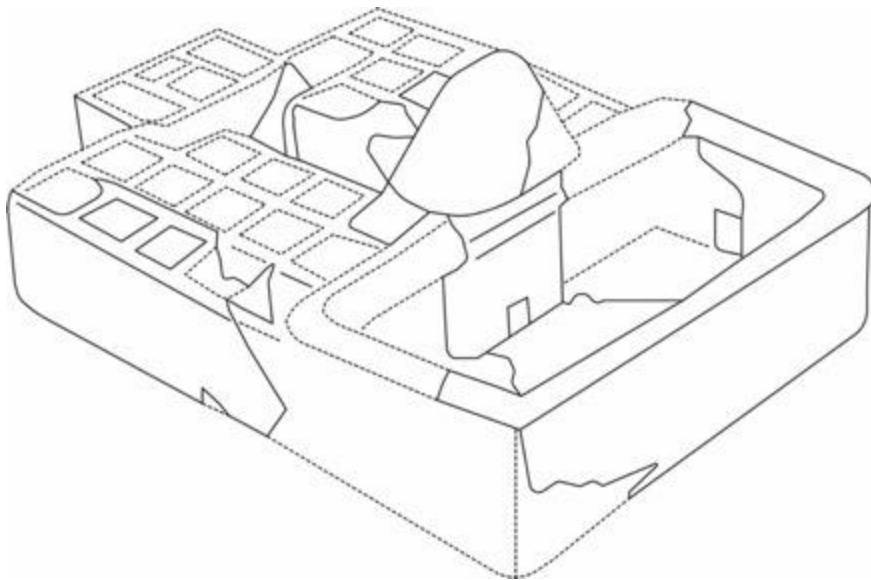


Figure 2. Schematic drawing of the model after restoration. Dashed lines show the portions which were added.

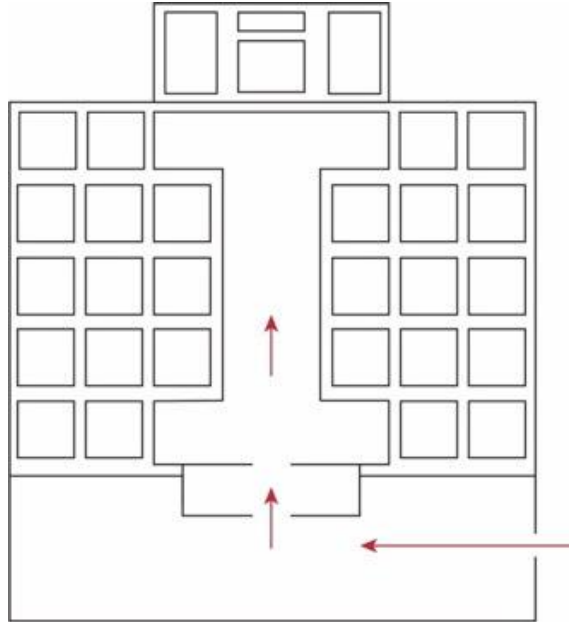


Figure 3. Schematic plan of the architectural model after restoration. Red arrows show the path a visitor would have to go through to navigate the structure, going through small and controlled points. Access to and circulation between the cubicles on each side are unknown.



Figure 4. Face-neck bottle depicting a fully adorned individual, Wari, 600-1000 CE, Detroit Institute of Arts (1991.113), Detroit.



Figure 5. Decorated ceramic fragment (93/1868/4128-1208) showing how black outlines were traced on top of color fills, Conchopata, EA 93. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 6. Attempt at reproducing Wari interlocked tapestry weaving and selvages, showing the freedom granted by this technique in terms of weaving designs that go beyond the square grid of the textile.



Figure 7. Container in the form of a sacrifier, Wari, 770-890 CE (radiocarbon date, 95% probability), Cleveland Museum of Art (2007.193), Cleveland.



Figure 8. Statues of Wari from the *hacienda* Waka Urara. In Tello, *Antiguo Peru: Primera Época*, fig. 115.



Figure 9a-b. Monolithic sculptures from Wari, Museo Histórico Regional “Hipólito Unanue,” Ayacucho.



Figure 10. Figurine, Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1979.206.417), New York.

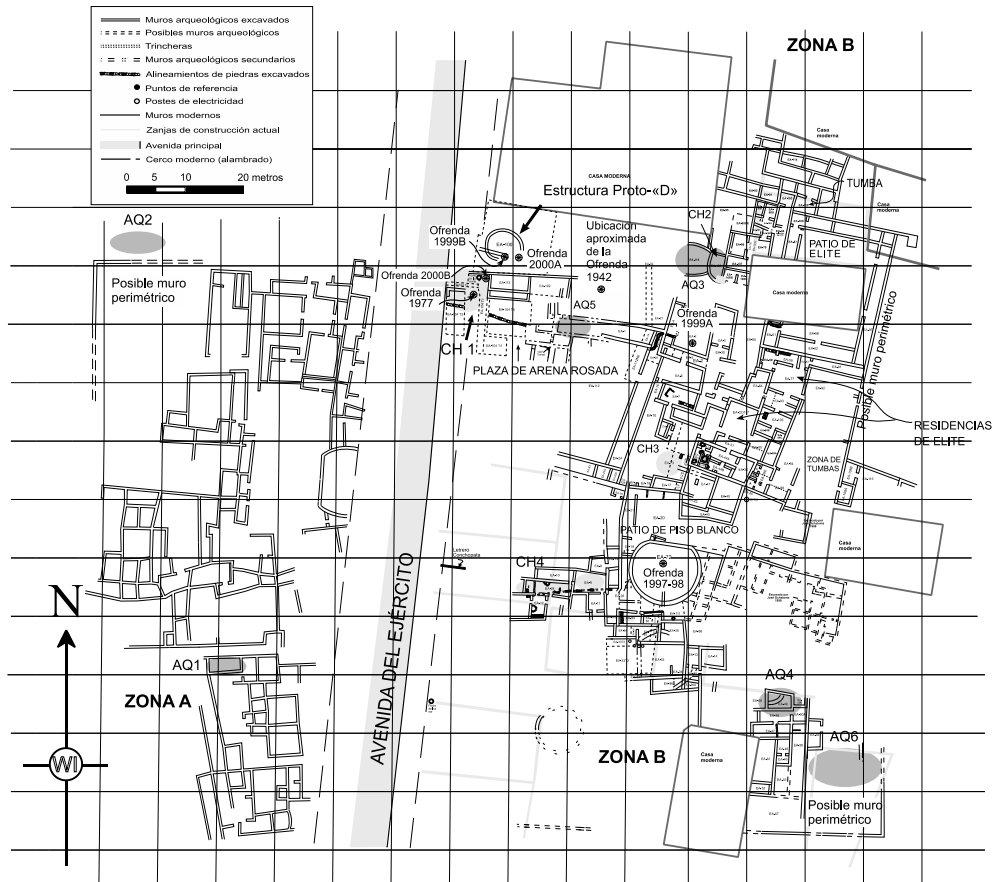


Figure 11. Map of Conchopata (partially incomplete) showing the location of the concentrations of ceramic-making tools (CH) and possible zones of ceramic firing (AQ). In Cook and Benco, “Vasijas Para La Fiesta y La Fama: Producción Artesanal En Un Centro Urbano Huari,” drawing by J. C. Blacker.



Figure 12. Spatial distribution of the decorated ceramics of Conchopata. Each EA is associated with a color reflecting the number of decorated ceramic fragments from this corpus recovered in that specific EA. Base map courtesy Barbara Wolff.

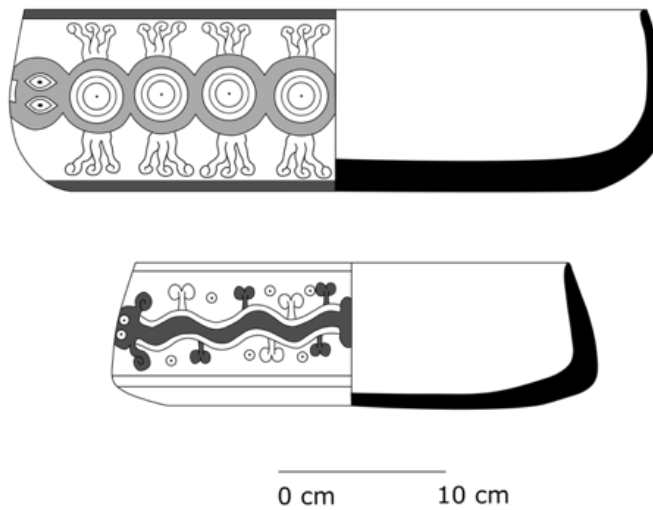


Figure 13. Flat dishes with design of “Ayacucho serpent” (211/3490-3540-3534/538A; 211/3490/lade E/9056), Conchopata, EA 211. Drawing Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 14a-b. Face-neck jar fragments (100/1883/C/ofrenda/886A; 104T1/1899/nivel3/2030), Conchopata, EA 100 and EA 104, UNSCH, Ayacucho. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 15. Face-neck jar with sun-like designs, Conchopata, Museo Histórico Regional “Hipólito Unanue,” Ayacucho.



Figure 16. Rim fragment with a feline head lug (33T3/1709/1050A), Conchopata, EA 33, UNSCH, Ayacucho. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 17. Open bowl with feline head lug, Conchopata, Museo Histórico Regional “Hipólito Unanue,” Ayacucho.







Figure 18a-e. Five fragments of molded and painted ceramic identified as possible parts of ceramic sculptures (100/1376/495; 100/1883/1403; 104T6/2899/5951; 104T7/3134/6749; 104T7/3132/instrusion en piso/6756), Conchopata, EA 100 and EA 104. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



0 cm 10 cm

Figure 19. Possible reconstitution of a sculpted ceramic head from Conchopata based on three fragments from EA 100 and EA 104.

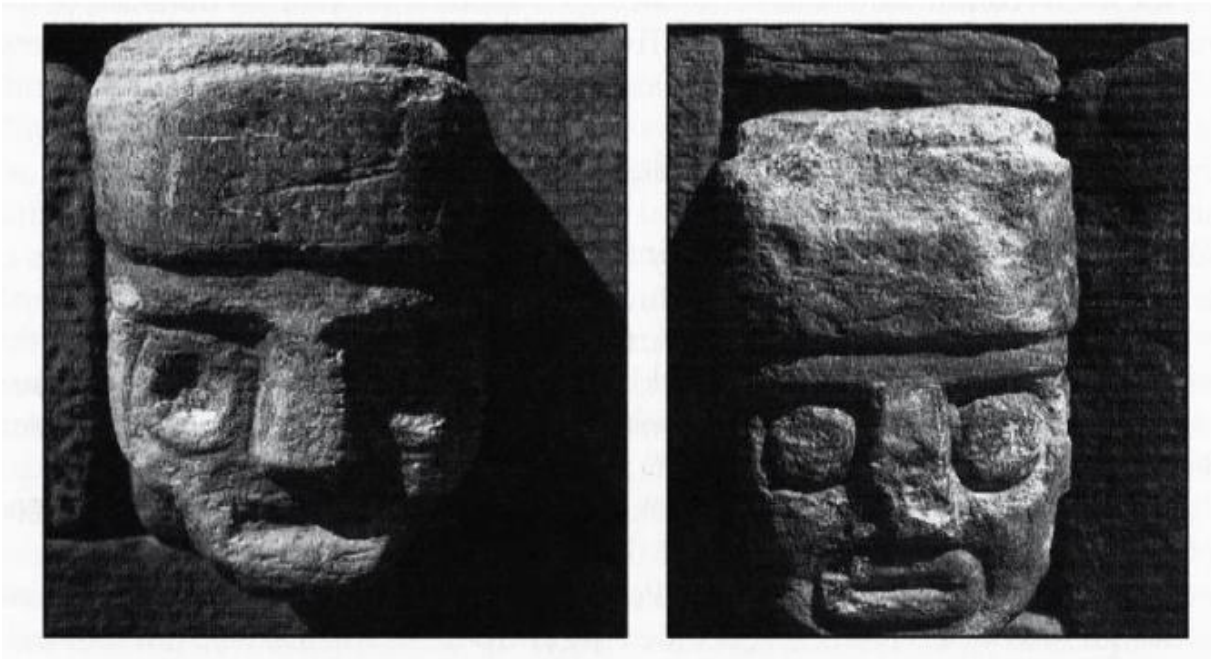


Figure 20. Tenon heads from the Semi-subterranean Temple, Tiwanaku. In Couture, “The Production and Representation of Status in a Tiwanaku Royal House,” figure 19-3. Standing ceramic sculpture from Wari. Museo de sitio Wari.

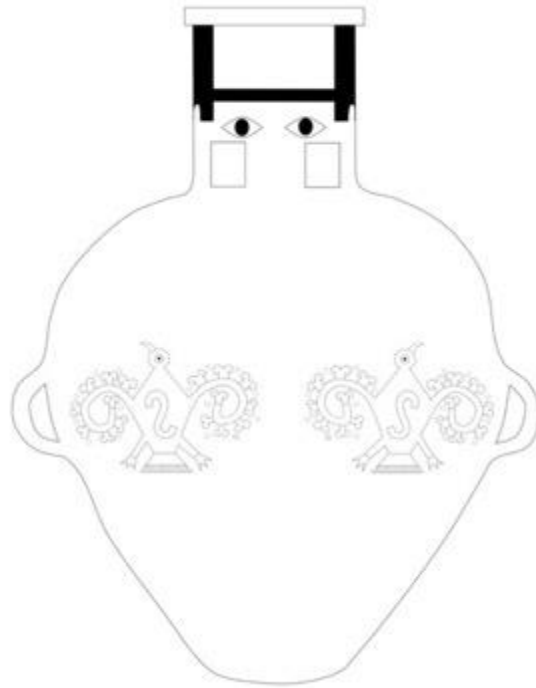


Figure 21. Schematic drawing of a face-neck jar with bird motif from the 2000b offering, Conchopata, EA 100.

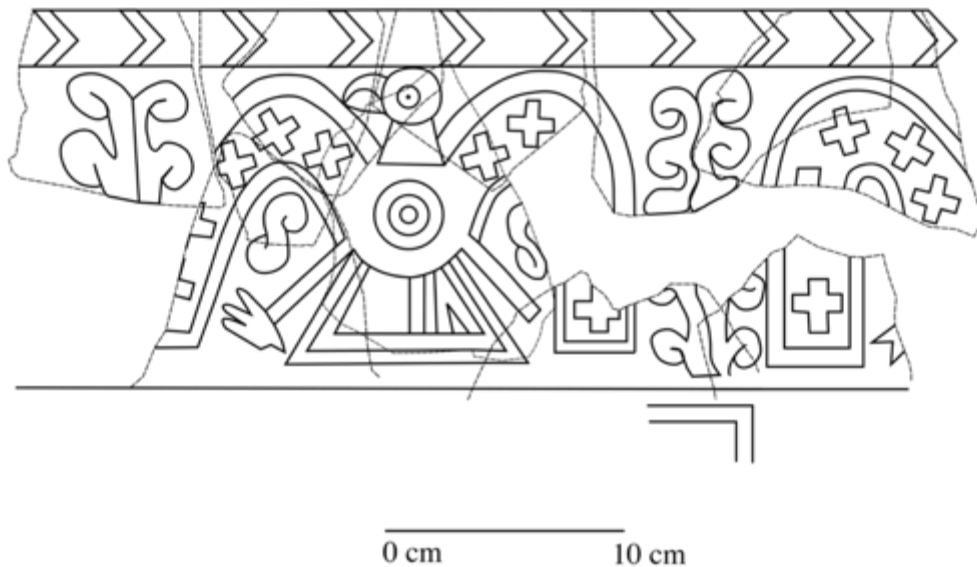


Figure 22. Hypothetical roll-out drawing of the neck of the jars with bird motif based on fragments from different vessels, Conchopata, EA 100 and EA 104.



Figure 23a-b. Comparison of fragments decorated with full-bodied bird and toad (100/1674/974A and 104T8/3270/E/91A), Conchopata, EA 100 and EA 104. Note the similarity between the feet of the creatures, and the similar paw-like motif on their left. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 24a-b. Ceramic fragments (a) molded human head and painted toad design; (b) jar neck with bicolored plant and bird designs, Marco, Jauja. Courtesy Juan Domingo Mogrovejo Rosales.

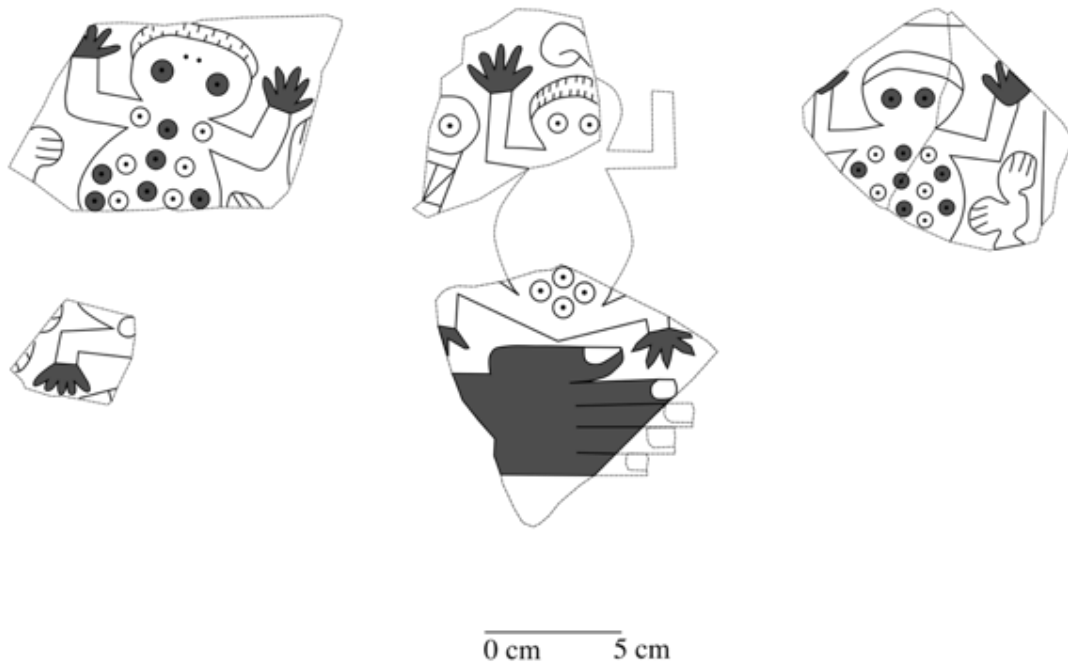


Figure 25. Toad designs on ceramic fragments (100/1391/CI/ofrenda/4841A; 151/2826/7512A; 151/2694/7432A; 104T8/3270/E/91A), Conchopata, EA 100, EA 104, and EA 151.



Figure 26. *Bufo* toad with characteristic spotted skin. Photo Andrew Hoffman.



Figure 27. Painted bowl with toads, Nasca, 100-600 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1970.245.18), New York.



Figure 28. Frog or toad ornament, Moche, 50-800 CE, Cleveland Art Museum (1955.178), Cleveland.

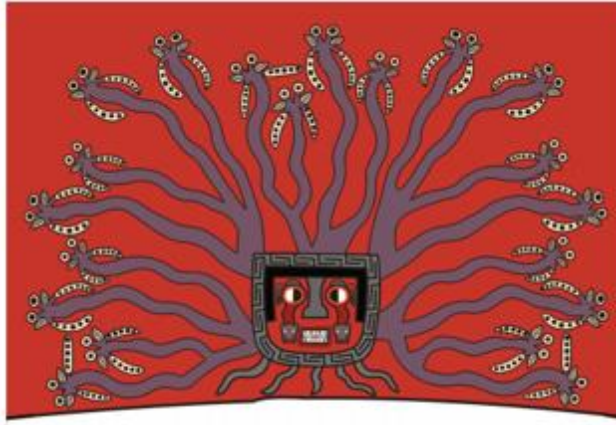


Figure 29. Reconstructed design of a front-face figure with rays ending in *vilca* pods, as identified by Patricia J. Knobloch, Conchopata, EA 72. Drawing and courtesy Carlos Mancilla Rojas.



Figure 30. Ceramic fragment (67/1508/6574A) depicting *vilca*, Conchopata, EA 67. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 31. Closed bowl with geometric designs (208/3567/A/112A), Conchopata, EA 208. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 32a-b. Inside of a molded ceramic sculpture (104T6/2899/5951) with traces of tools and handprints visible in the corners (a), and inside of a face-neck jar (104T1/1899/nivel3/2030) shaped with coiling technique which has been smoothed (b), Conchopata, EA 104. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 33a-b. Hand-shaped zoomorphic lugs with different degrees of abstraction (211/3490-3540-3534/538A and 208/3552/750), Conchopata, EA 208 and EA 211. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 34a-b. Examples of modeled faces with exaggerated features and large smile (153/6082/7208; 204/3522/9166), Conchopata, EA 153 and EA 204. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 35. Mold of face with cleft palate and face-neck jar fragment produced with negative mold, Conchopata, EA 40 and EA 81. In Wolff, "Potters, Power and Prestige: Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon Ceramic Production at Conchopata, Ayacucho, Peru (A.D. 400-1000)," fig. 6-25. Courtesy Barbara Wolff.



Figure 36. Fragment of face-neck jar (204/3504/854) with mouth painted in white and outlined in black, Conchopata, EA 204. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 37. Cerro Baúl. Photo Randal Sheppard.

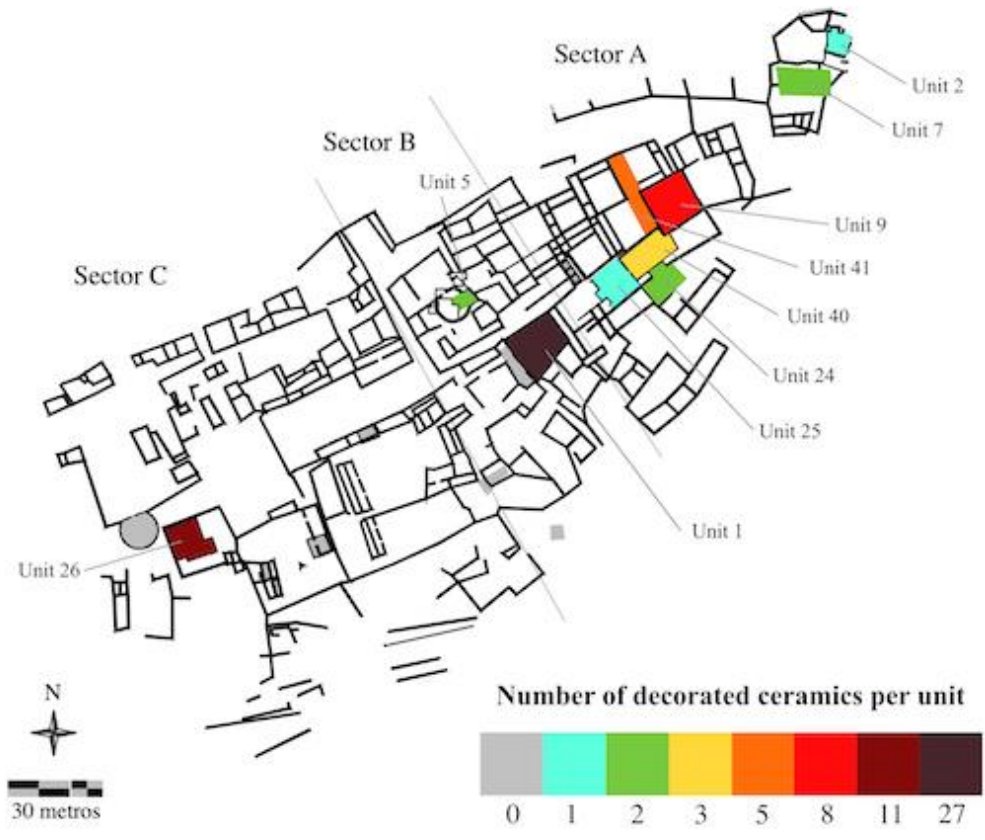


Figure 38. Spatial distribution of the decorated ceramics of Cerro Baúl. Base map courtesy Ryan Williams.



Figure 39. Tumbler (VR 208), Cerro Baúl, Unit 25. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 40. Tumbler (CB-02-26-1092), Cerro Baúl, Unit 26. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 41. Tumbler (CB-04-26-3142), Cerro Baúl, Unit 26. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.

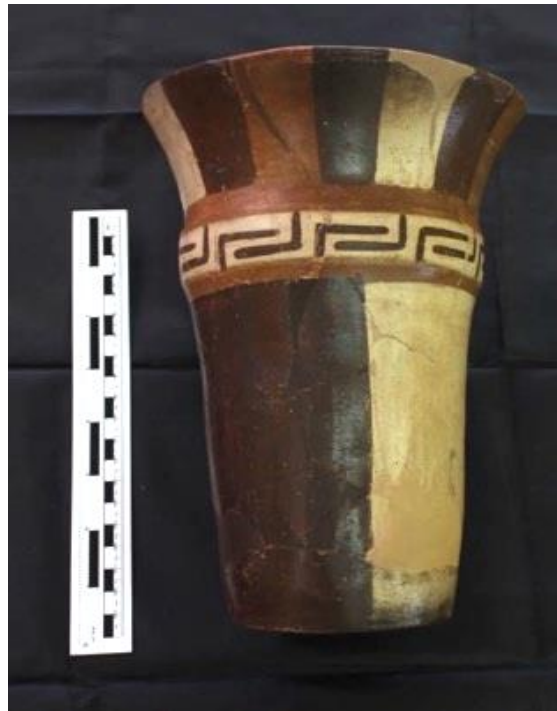


Figure 42. Tumbler (VR 003), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 43. Tumbler (VR 012), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 44. Tumblers (VR 025 and CB-97-1536), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 45. Tumbler (VR 012; view of the inside), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 46. Tumblers (VR 025 and CB-97-1536; view of the inside), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 47. Tumbler (VR 003; view of the inside), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 48. Tumbler (VR 012; bottom view), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 49. Tumbler (VR 003; detail of the PFE), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 50. Tumbler (VR 002), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 51. Tumbler (TI-3292), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.



Figure 52. Tumbler (CB-04-01-0377), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.

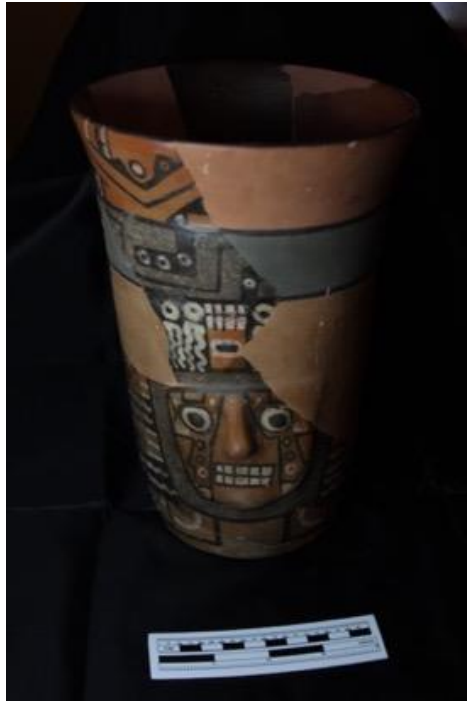


Figure 53. Tumbler (VR 001), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*



Figure 54. Jar (VR 024), Cerro Baúl, Unit 1. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*



Figure 55. Neck of a large face-neck jar (82/2651/8819A) with modeled ears and a row of chevrons, Conchopata, EA 82. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy Conchopata Archaeological Project.



Figure 56. Back view of a head-shaped bowl, Wari, 600-1000 CE, MNAAHP, Lima.



Figure 57. Leg-shaped vessel (CB02-26-0087, CB02-26-2475, and CB02-26-3795), Cerro Baúl, Unit 26. Photo Louise Deglin, courtesy *Proyecto Arqueológico Cerro Baúl*.

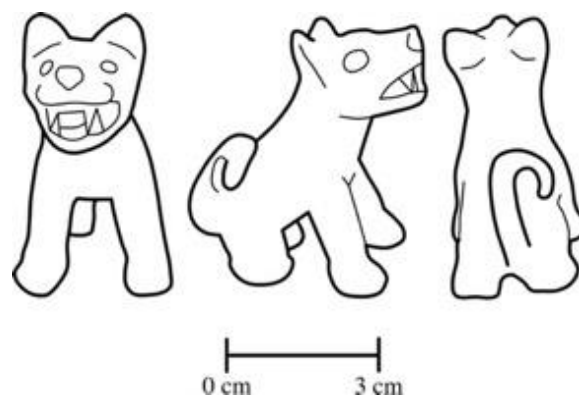


Figure 59. Seated feline with its tail curled toward the right, Pikillakta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillakta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”

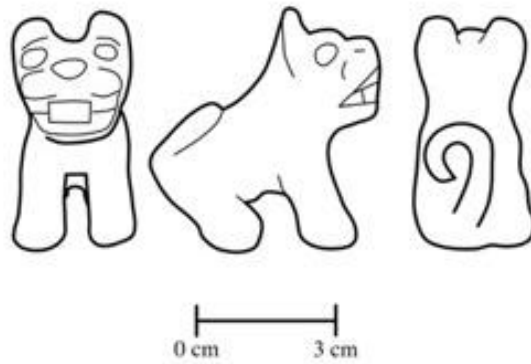


Figure 60. Seated feline with its tail curled toward the left, Pikillacta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”

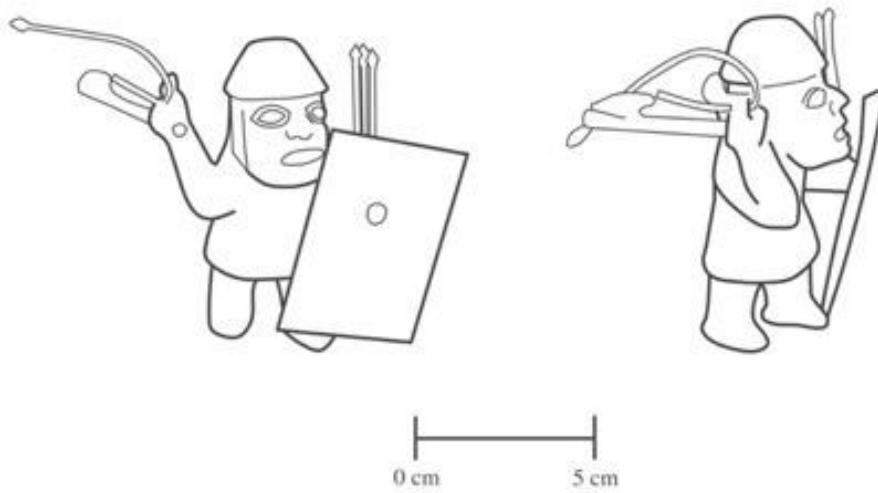


Figure 61. Warrior holding a spear thrower, spears, and a shield, Pikillacta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”

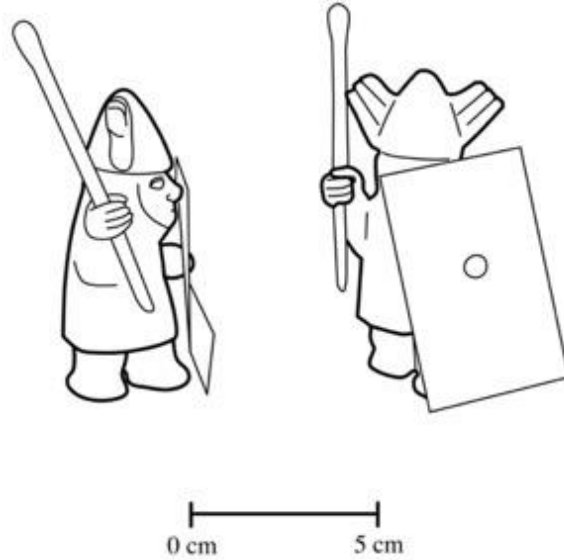


Figure 62. Warrior with a feathered helmet, holding a staff or club and a shield, Pikillacta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”

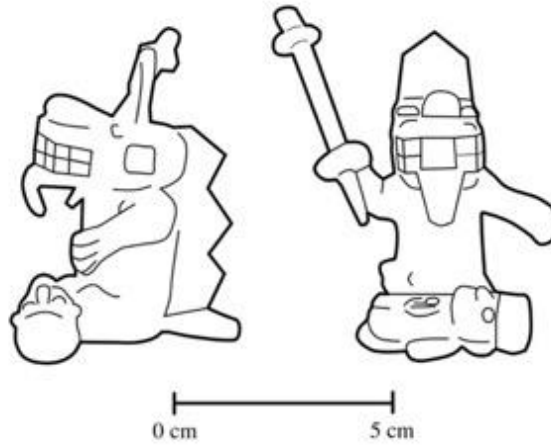


Figure 63. Crested composite being holding a club, with at its feet a human body lying with its chest open, Pikillacta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”

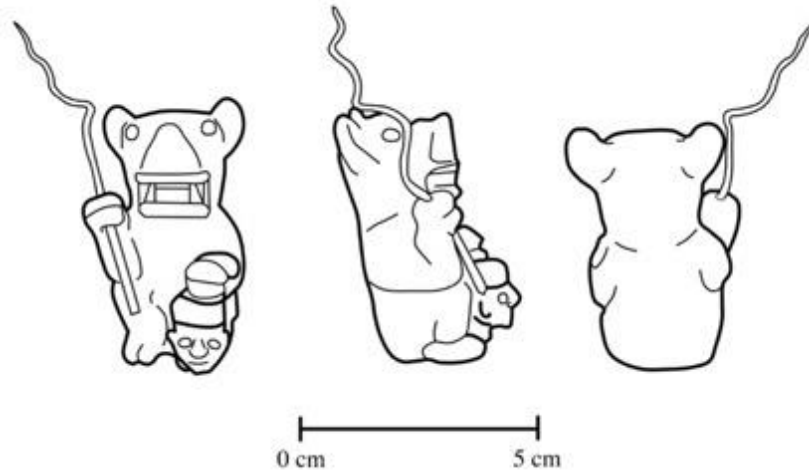


Figure 64. Bear-like composite being holding a club, with at its feet a human body lying with its chest open, Pikillacta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, “The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit.”



Figure 65. Spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus*). Photo Linnaea Mallette.



Figure 66a-b. Wooden container (front view), Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1978.412.142), New York.



Figure 67. Double-spout bottle with a killer whale holding a trophy head, Nasca, 1–600 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (64.228.70), New York.

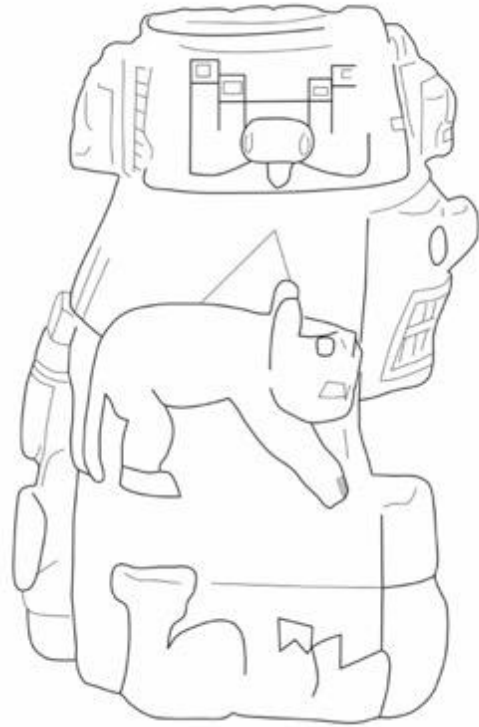


Figure 68a-b. Wooden container (side view), Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1978.412.142), New York.

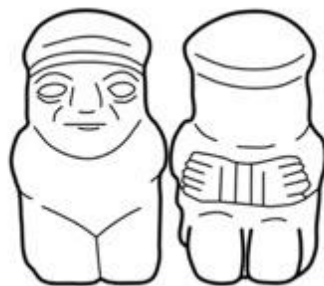


Figure 69. Metal figurine in the shape of a kneeling captive, Pikillacta, Eastern Gate offering. Drawing after Arriola Tuni and Tesar, "The Pikillacta 2004 Eastern Gate Offering Pit."

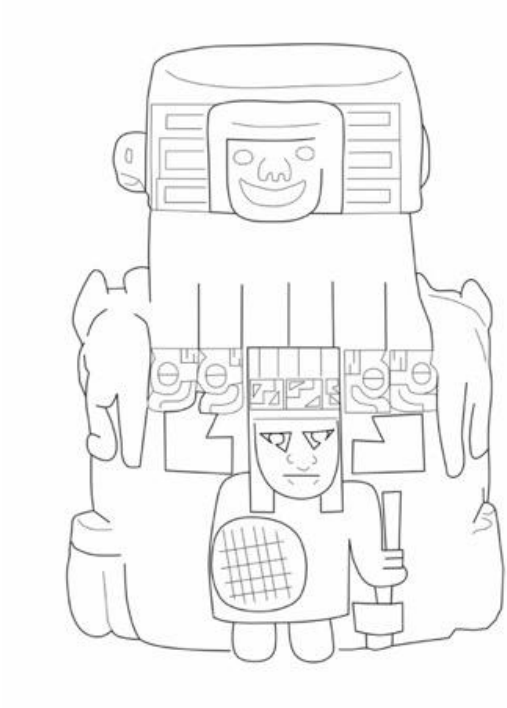


Figure 70. Wooden container (back view), Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1978.412.142), New York.



Figure 71. Wooden container (top view), Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1978.412.142), New York.



Figure 72. Wooden container (bottom view), Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1978.412.142), New York.



Figure 73a-b. Tunic with winged anthropomorphized feline and details of bird heads, Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (2021.146), New York.



Figure 74. Tunic with winged felines and humans, Wari, 600-1000 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1979.206.394), New York.



Figure 75. Skull face-neck jar with painted animal heads (side view), Wari, 600-1000 CE, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (2014.675), Houston.



Figure 76. Ceramic vessel in the shape of a human skull and feline head, Conchopata, Museo Histórico Regional “Hipólito Unanue,” Ayacucho.



Figure 77. Hairless Andean dog or “Inca dog.” Photo Thomas Quine.

TABLES

EA	Sub-EA	Number (sub-EA)	Number (total)
2			3
9			3
20			1
31			9
33		2	4
	33 (T)	1	
	33 (T3)	1	
35			1
39		1	2
	39 (D)	1	
41			3
59			10
64			1
65			1
	65 (T2)	1	
67			3
73		1	2
	73 (T)	1	
75			1
81			1
82			2
88		1	3
	88 (N)	1	
	88 (S)	1	
89			2
	89 (A)	2	
93			2
100			99
104		1	46
	104 (T1)	6	
	104 (T2)	1	
	104 (T3)	12	
	104 (T4)	6	
	104 (T5)	1	
	104 (T6)	7	
	104 (T7)	9	
	104 (T8)	3	
106			4
	106 (T1)	3	
	106 (T2)	1	

115			2
116			2
132			1
143			4
	143 (T1)	3	
	143 (T3)	1	
149			1
150			1
151			18
153			1
174			1
	174 (T3)	1	
175			2
	175 (T1)	1	
	175 (T4)	1	
181			1
204			10
205			1
206			1
208			3
211			4
TOTAL			256

Table 1. Distribution of the decorated ceramics of Conchopata per locus of finding (EA).

Form	Number of ceramics
Jar	50
Face-neck jar	43
Open bowl	19
Urn	11
Face-neck bottle	11
Closed bowl	10
Sculpture	5
Flat dish	4
Cup	4
Effigy vessel	2
Figurine	1
Tumbler	1
Total	161

Table 2. Distribution of the decorated ceramics of Conchopata per form.

Design element	Number of ceramics
Anthropomorphic	83
Geometric	49
Bird	33
Chevron	28
Dotted circle	20
Plant	16
S-motif	15
Banded rectangle	14
Feline	13
Abstract feathers	12
Fleur-de-lys	10
Composite figure	10
Textile	10
Fret band	9
Sun	9
Flower	7
Toad	5
Serpent	4
Plant and circled dots	3
Turtle	2
Camelid	1
Fish	1
Totora boat	1

Table 3. Distribution of the decorated ceramics of Conchopata per decorative design.

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