

MONKEY SAW, MONKEY DID:
A STYLIZATION MODEL FOR CORRELATING NASCA AND WARI CHRONOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

Stylistic seriation is an important method of placing archaeological events in chronological order. Style represents the artistic expression of ancient artisans. Images, within an associated style, may document their beliefs and social activities. Changes in style may represent societal changes that affected the artisan's activities and reflect the religious changes and political expansion of the Wari society during the Middle Horizon in the Central Andes. This paper focuses on the stylistic seriation of iconography from the coastal Nasca culture and the highland Wari culture at the end of the Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon Epoch 1. The seriation provides a temporal model of the stylization process of the "monkey" or "humped-animal" icon. More importantly, by showing that Wari artisans developed designs from the later Nasca 8 icons, this seriation demonstrates that Wari's Epoch 1 society cannot correlate with early Nasca 8. Only at the end of Epoch 8 did both coastal and highland populations re-intensify their interaction and express their shared ideologies in artistic styles. This point in time marks the culmination of the Nasca culture's art and the beginning of the pan-Andean Wari artistic dominance.

STYLE, TIME, AND THE WARI TRANSITION

One of the largest ancient cities in the New World once existed in the Andean highlands of Peru. Ten kilometers northeast of Ayacucho are the extensive ruins of Wari (Figure 1). At an altitude of 2,800 m and situated defensively on a mesa with precipitous ravines on three sides, the durable remains of pottery, lithics (Stone 1983) and ground stone cover five square kilometers of intensive

architecture featuring streets, drainage canals, household compounds, monolithic stone slab mausoleums and ceremonial arenas. Since the 1950s, numerous archaeological excavations at various areas of the site have exposed multiple layers of cultural refuse to depths of three to four meters (Benavides 1984; Bennett 1953; Brewster-Wray 1990; Isbell *et al.* 1991; Knobloch 1983; Lumbreras 1960; Wagner 1981) thereby documenting the intensive occupation of this community. Because of the unusual characteristics of this ancient site, archaeologists could direct their research towards reconstructions of pristine urbanism (Isbell and McEwan 1991; Isbell and Schreiber 1978). Furthermore, widely dispersed sites with similar architecture and artifacts are acknowledged characteristics of a pan-Andean time phenomenon, the Middle Horizon (MH) (750-1000 A.D.),¹ and of a social system of interaction and exchange of information and manufactured goods, often referred to as the Wari state or empire (Anders 1991; Isbell 1977; Isbell and McEwan, editors 1991; Schreiber 1992).

During the 1950s and 1960s, John Rowe (1962) recognized that an archaeological chronology of ancient Andean activity was best preserved by the longevity and continuity of occupation in the Ica Valley on the south coast of Peru. Lawrence Dawson and Dorothy Menzel (Menzel *et al.* 1964) pursued this observation, using the method of "similiary seriation" to order Ica pottery along a

¹ The concept of "horizon style" has a long history in Andean archaeology (Kroeber 1944) and is still used to identify a temporally delimited and spatially multi-regional cultural phenomenon, such as a vast economic trade network, socio-religious movements, or political domination. The "non-horizon" periods indicate times when regional populations are more distinct and autonomous.

temporal continuum. A descriptive list of stylistic attributes or “features” of artifacts securely defined a style very early in time. Another list was assigned to a verified style occurring late in the temporal sequence. The undated artifacts believed to exist between these two styles were then seriated, based on similarities and differences in stylistic features from the earliest style to the latest style. In the Ica Valley, the Paracas style was used to create the earliest list and the Inca style to make the latest list. As markers of temporal changes, the differences in features established a master sequence of stylistic changes in Ica Valley artifacts from 1400 B.C. to the Inca and early Spanish occupations.²

As major stylistic changes were recognized, associated artifacts were placed within stylistic groups or phases of the Ica Valley occupational continuum. The order of these phases was then used to define relative units of time known as periods and epochs of the master sequence. Epochs are subdivisions of periods. Other artifacts could be cross-dated to the master sequence based on stylistic similarities, thereby assigning each one to an epoch, or relative unit of time. Nasca and Wari styles were seriated to correlate with the master sequence.

Based on stylistic changes of Wari artifacts, a general chronology was created to describe 400 years of expansion and demise of this vast social system (Knobloch 1983, 1988, 1991; Lumbreras 1960, 1974; Menzel 1964, 1968, 1977). In the present study, I refine this chronology by studying the stylization of a specific icon transferred from the coastal Nasca society to the highland Wari society during the crucial transition to urbanism at Wari.

² Pottery examples from the Nasca valley were used to fill gaps in the Ica Valley “master sequence”.

THE MONKEY ICON

The earliest versions of the monkey icon on Nasca 7 vessels display a long, curled tail and a face with short, curled ear and nose and sharp teeth³ (Figure 2). The body area is surrounded with round filler elements and recurved-ray designs. Though Dawson initially used the term “monkey” as a symbolic reference (Roselló Truel 1960:67), he later preferred the generic phrase “humped-animal”. The humped-animal icon is a rather generic description for animal icons with front and back legs, head, curved tail, and curved back. The back may be curved like a hump, but other examples indicate that the back curves into a dip. I believe that the curled tail and facial design elements identify the Nasca 7 humped-animal icon as the artisans’ rendition of a monkey. In the Nasca 9 style, these monkey attributes are missing and the term “humped-animal icon” is more appropriate (Muelle and Blas 1938: figure 4 and plate 30a).

The later versions of the Nasca 7 monkey icon display only the head motif (Figure 3). The head is still surrounded with round filler elements and recurved-ray designs. From this abstraction, artisans began to stylize the head design elements into Nasca 8 examples. Gayton and Kroeber’s (1927) early typology of Nasca pottery provides the first clues to this transitional stylization. Gayton and Kroeber categorized the Nasca pottery into the styles A, X, B, and Y. Based on Dawson’s later seriation, the styles A and B badly mixed early, Nasca Phases 3 and 4,

³ The numbering for colors are as follows: (1) white, varies from opaque for design areas to translucent for background; (2) black, usually for outlines, varies from opaque for design areas to translucent for background; (3) gray, usually bluish gray on early MH 1A highland pottery and steel gray on Nasca and later highland pottery; (4) beige, unpigmented background; (5) medium-toned orange; (6) yellowish orange, usually background for Ocros style pottery; (7) medium brown; (8) red, usually dark for designs; (9) dark orange, usually reddish for designs and background on fancy Chakipampa and Nasca 9 style pottery; (10) reddish brown; (11) grayish brown; (12) purple, usually reddish to a burgundy color for designs; (13) cream, varies from buff to yellow, usually for unpigmented background; (14) pink, usually for designs and unpigmented background; (15) dark brown, usually for background (Knobloch 1983:83).

with late, Nasca Phase 7, examples. The Y style fared better as Y1 became Nasca Phase 8 and Y2 became Nasca Phase 9. Gayton and Kroeber (*ibid.*: figure 10) recognized the “stylistic degeneration” of certain Nasca icons in their Y sub-style, as did Kroeber and Collier who observed that certain icons were abstract versions depicting a “deliquescent rayed trophy head” (Carmichael 1998: figure 326) and “deliquescent rayed heads” (*ibid.*: figure 367). Though the “degeneration” and “deliquescence” did not connect the stylistic change to any particular antecedent other than a trophy head or deity, Kroeber and Collier did perceive the change as an artistic stylization.

Dawson’s analysis improved the definition of the “degenerative process” of the icon in the late Nasca 7 examples (Figure 3; Gayton and Kroeber 1927: figure 10A). Dawson suggested that Epoch 7 was a time of contact between Moche IV and Nasca 7 populations and several Moche design attributes can be found in Nasca 7 art. One such attribute is the appearance of a right angle bend in the monkey icon’s tail that is similar to the Moche foxtail design (Figure 2a; see Donnan 1976: figure 91 and Wasserman-San Blas 1938: figures 64-66). Another common Moche artistic attribute is the use of monochrome designs in red or black without filler colors⁴ (Figure 3a). By Nasca 8, the potters depicted the head motif angled upward so the upturned mouth design almost touches the rim of the vessel (Figure 4). Dawson’s analysis establishes the stylized link of the “deliquescent” rayed heads to the antecedent

monkey head icon rather than to a trophy head or deity as suggested by Gayton, Kroeber, and Collier.

When Menzel refers to the humped-animal icon she states that there are no Nasca 8 examples but that the icon re-appears in Nasca 9 as a highland re-introduction (Menzel 1964:29). This observation is partially supported by Dawson’s observation that only the icon’s head motif continues into Epoch 8 and not the whole body motif. As presented here, the Nasca 8 humped-animal or monkey icon is stylized out of recognition as a creature motif. Thus, the continuity of an intact icon is somewhat questionable. The “reintroduction” might better be termed an “archaism” of the Nasca 7 icon or simply a Wari innovation because the Nasca 9 examples could just as easily represent any four-legged mammal with a curving tail (Muelle and Blas 1938: figure 4 and plate 30a).

METHODOLOGY

Using the method of similiary seriation (Rowe 1961) to analyze the design attributes of the monkey icon, I seriated several examples into a sequence of Nasca 8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, and 8F events. Rather than using the term epoch that may indicate that these examples typify an extended length of time, I prefer my unit of analysis to be temporally smaller, such as the manufacturing event of the vessel or the painting event of the stylistic attribute or icon. Also, with events rather than epochs I wish to avoid the assumption that each event lasted until the next event occurred; indeed, there may have been many years between these events and many gaps in the stylization process yet to be discovered. Thus, a grave lot or occupation layer may be a large unit of temporal analysis that combines many temporally distinct events.

My goal is to introduce a more refined sequence of temporal changes in the stylization of design attributes on artifacts. The improved sequence can serve as a tool to place activities associated with those artifacts in a more precise order. To stylize is “to design or represent according to the rules of a style rather than according to nature” (Webster 1983 s.v.). The process of stylization refers to changes in

⁴ In the early 1980s, Lawrence Dawson provided instruction on the stylistic seriation of Nasca iconography. Dawson discussed his research of stylistic changes in Nasca 7 icons that he suggested were the result of Moche IV contact, such as: (1) Nasca 7 warriors were drawn in profile like Moche 4 warriors; (2) on the Killer Whale icon, Nasca 7 fish fin design elements became curved like those from Moche 4; and, (3) monochrome outlines of icons (Figure 7a). To his list, I suggest adding other Moche attributes such as: (1) sexual themes as found on Nasca 7 pottery (Knobloch 1994; Larco Hoyle 1965:117, 127 right, 128); (2) a goblet shape similar to those depicted in the “sacrifice ceremony” theme (Donnan and McClelland 1999: figures 4.29 and 4.102; Knobloch 1997; 2000); and, (3) combatant themes as depicted on a Nasca 7 vessel (Rowe 1974: plate XLV).

the artistic expression between styles in various times and places, as defined by archaeologists for ancient Andean cultures. In this study I attempt to follow the stylization of a specific motif as my unit of analysis. By refining the stylization process to smaller units of artistic expression, I suggest that a more detailed pattern of behavior can be followed between different social groups over time. The “master sequence” uses broad style definitions, such as Nasca and Chakipampa, subdivided temporally into epochs that may represent 50 to 100 years. Refinement of this chronology is crucial for identifying the societal events and participants at the beginning of Wari urbanism and state expansion.

I present a temporal sequence of stylistic events in the design known as the monkey or humped-animal icon. This sequence of events is a model of a stylization process for redefinition of Middle Horizon Epoch 1A chronology. In summary, I interpret the style data to indicate the following sequence: (1) this animal icon originated with Nasca 7 potters during Early Intermediate Period (EIP) Epoch 7; (2) Nasca 8 potters stylized the icon into more abbreviated representations of only the head; (3) late Nasca 8 stylization separated the eye motif from the mouth motif; and (4) stylization by Epoch 1A artisans produced designs used by both highland Wari and south coast Nasca potters. Lawrence Dawson (personal communication 1981) constructed parts 1 and 2 of this sequence, while my stylistic analysis produced parts 3 and 4. The remainder of this paper describes this analysis in detail.

SAMPLE

For this paper, I draw extensively on Menzel's (1964) work on the Nasca and Wari style definitions. In the 1980s, I also received many hours of personal assistance and instruction from Lawrence Dawson at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California - Berkeley.⁵ The time periods for this study are Early Intermediate Period Epochs 7, 8, and 9 and Middle Horizon Epoch 1.

The pottery styles for these time periods are known as Nasca 7, Nasca 8, Nasca 9, Loro, Huarpa, Cruz Pata, Chakipampa, and Ocros. I base my stylistic analysis on iconography observed on both whole and fragmented pottery from several museum collections and one excavation, Unit 200, from William Isbell's 1977 Huari Urban Prehistory Project⁶ (Table 1).

1977 EXCAVATIONS AT WARI

In the 1970s, Peru built a paved road from Ayacucho northeast to Quinua to provide easier access to the memorial battlefield that marked South America's final independence from Spain. The road followed the western edge of the Wari mesa before heading due east to Quinua. Fortunately, this road bypassed most of the major architectural core area of the site, but the depth of the roadbed destroyed several meters of cultural deposits. For excavation purposes the destructive trenching provided a very long profile from which two locations were chosen that showed promise of deep, stratified occupational refuse. At one of these locations, a 2 x 2 meter unit was excavated through approximately 40 layers, producing artifacts that dated from the late EIP Huarpa occupants through Epoch 1 of the Middle Horizon Wari occupants (Figure 5).

As layers of cultural refuse accumulated, the pottery sherds document a transition into the urbanization of Wari by Middle Horizon Epoch 1 populations, the assumed descendants of the Huarpa populations. Middle Horizon Epoch 2 or Viñaque style pottery was not found in the uppermost layers. This area of the site was possibly abandoned before the end of Epoch 1, allowing the Epoch 1 materials to fill in the walled structures. Epoch 2 occupants do not appear to have built any walled structures in the immediate area, thereby allowing debris to wash across the area's surface, which has a 10° westward slope toward the ravine. Given the history of archaeological research at Wari, this 2 x 2 meter unit provides the only ceramic data excavated from

⁵ At that time, the museum was still known as the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology.

⁶ The Huari Urban Prehistory Project continued through two seasons 1977-1979, until terrorist activity prevented further work in the Ayacucho area.

undisturbed, non-arbitrary, cultural strata to document the sequence of activities at the site from the EIP into MH 1.

ANALYSIS

The following evidence indicates how the monkey icon was stylized during Epoch 8 and Middle Horizon Epoch 1 on Nasca and Wari pottery. With Nasca 8A examples (Figure 4), the monkey head motif was depicted with a discernable white eye and tooth design areas. Black dash marks were drawn around the eye and used as dental markings, or a solid, curved line replaced the dash marks in the tooth design area. The lip design is a band with a recurved-ray at the end of the bottom lip possibly to represent a chin. The lower lip design is a distinctive addition to Nasca 7 examples that have only an upper lip design above the tooth design. The curled nose, cheek, and chin design areas with recurved-ray designs along the chin were outlined together and separated from the outlined forehead area. The forehead design was depicted with hair of recurved-rays. There are very few filler elements. The forehead and cheek designs meet to form a bicolored band extending from behind the eye. The examples in Figure 4 also have traditional Nasca design elements such as doubled, recurved-rays (Figure 4a) and a "crown" of rays atop the head motif (Figure 4b).

With Nasca 8B examples, more emphasis was added to the recurved-ray designs (Figure 6). In general, the head motif retained most of its structural layout, including an upturned mouth design, a bicolored scheme to distinguish lip and forehead areas from the rest of the face, and a bottom lip design with a recurved-ray at the chin. The traditional Nasca design elements of the 8A examples are gone.

The Nasca 8C stylization is defined by an obvious loss of structural representation of an animal head with an elongated mouth design. The loss of separation between the cheek and forehead design areas that contrasted in color with the lip design created a motif with a distinct band appearance (Figure 7). Though the artist may have been forgetting the representational meaning of the monkey

head motif, some design rules still guided the artist to paint the tooth design area in white and keep a single, white eye design (Figure 7a). On another vessel, the elongated mouth is a band design with two contrasting colored, outer bands and a white central band with interior black dash marks or single curved line (Figure 7b). The lip or purplish-red (color 12) band does not surround the white tooth area and the forehead forms a contrasting reddish-orange color band (color 9) on the other side of the white tooth band. This example marks the beginning of the three-part, banded-wave design.

The Nasca 8D examples define a point of transition between Nasca 8 and 9. At this point in time, the artists' renditions stylized the eye and elongated mouth designs into a banded-wave design. The central band retained the white tooth area design with black elements such as dash marks or solid, curved lines. The outer bands retained the rule of contrasting colors; colors are usually a purplish red (color 12) and a reddish orange (color 9) edged with tripled-ray design elements. In two examples (Figures 8A-B), the white eye design is still associated with the reddish-orange band area. Though a common design rule throughout the stylization process of the 8A-C icons, Nasca 8D examples no longer have the alignment of the band with one end pointing up towards the rim.

From these transitional events, the Nasca 8E examples mark a point in time that allows correlation with highland Wari styles and, therefore, Middle Horizon Epoch 1A. The correlation is dependent on a specific stylization event occurring, and then being shared by artisans on both the south coast and in the Wari highlands at essentially the same time. This event is defined by the separation of the eye motif from the mouth motif. I doubt that these designs still held any meaning as the eye and mouth of the monkey icon. As motifs, their meaning can only be speculative. In any case, these Nasca 8E examples support the suggestion that the previous Nasca cultural meaning of the monkey icon had come to an end. On two effigy jars, the eye motif or circled-dot design was positioned on the upper half, whereas the mouth motif or banded-wave design was shortened into a banded-rectangle design on the middle or

lower half (Figures 9a-b). Triple-ray designs were added on one example (Figure 9a) and on the other, three finger-like design elements were added to outer edges of the colored bands (Figure 9b). The central white band has black dash marks (Figure 9a) or a wavy line (Figure 9b, visible on the side designs). On both jars, the circled-dot design appears to be maintained as a partial filler element, an attached, black-outlined, white design with an interior black line. On both examples, the artisans continued the alternating color scheme of purplish red (color 12) and reddish orange (color 9). On one example, the colors were contrasted as alternating, circled-dot designs (Figure 9b).

By displaying them on different vessels, the Nasca 8F examples indicate a further separation of the two designs and allow correlation with the stylization process for MH 1B Wari styles. The circled-dot design was depicted on an incurving bowl within a cream (color 13) circular field; the remaining surface is covered in a translucent, black pigment (Figure 10a shows one of two similar designs). The circled-dot design has two black dashes and the reddish orange, rayed-band design element does not completely surround the white circle. This particular artist's rendition shows close ties to Nasca 8A examples and may indicate that 8A examples were still in use, or that a only short time had elapsed between these two events. On another Nasca vessel, only the banded-rectangle design is depicted with the outer, colored bands and a central white band with a solid, wavy line. Triple-ray design elements are added to the outer edges of the colored bands (Figure 10b).

Evidence of shared artistic expression in the Wari area is the bi-colored, asymmetrical recurved-ray and pendent rectangle designs. Both occur together though in separate fields on an Epoch 1A Ocros bowl from Conchopata (Figure 11a). The Ocros style pottery is typified by a yellowish orange background paint (color 6). On this bowl, the orange pigment was used only on the interior. The exterior displays the separation of the two Nasca designs. Though referred to as the "bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray" and "pendent rectangle" by Menzel (1964:10, 18), the designs are the same conceptualization of the circled-dot and banded-rectangle

designs, respectively. The highland Wari artists rendered these designs in their own style and retained the contrasting purplish red (color 12) and reddish orange (color 9) colors. The circled-dot design has longer recurved-ray designs and two extra bands were added to the banded-rectangle design. I do not believe that these motifs evolved from earlier Huarpa or Cruz Pata designs because similar circled-dot designs with recurved-rays in those styles are typically symmetrical with multiple sets of recurved-ray designs (see Lumbreras 1974: figure 147, bottom) and the late Huarpa and Cruz Pata styles probably developed curvilinear and multicolored designs from interaction with Nasca 7 south coast populations.

From the 1977 Wari excavation, Unit 200, various sherds displayed circled-dot, recurved-ray, and banded-rectangle designs. Unfortunately, the fragmentation of the pottery provides few examples of complete motifs. Sherds from the Epoch 1A strata only show parts of the black-outlined, colored, recurved-ray designs, or are individual examples of symmetrical recurved-ray designs. Most designs are examples of less fancy Chakipampa and Ocros 1A styles (Menzel 1964) as they developed from the white Cruz Pata style and late Huarpa style (Knobloch 1991:248). From the Epoch 1A strata, one sherd contained a banded-rectangle design (Figure 11b) similar to the Ocros bowl example (Figure 11a). The banded-rectangle design was painted next to a rectangular field that may have displayed a recurved-ray design. A white outlined, as opposed to a black outlined, circled-dot filler element is still visible.

In the Epoch 1B strata, more complete examples of the bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray and pendent rectangle designs were found on separate vessels. The fancy Chakipampa 1B example (Figure 12a) was stylized with shortened recurved-ray designs that made the entire motif more circular than the Epoch 1A example (Figure 11a).

The banded-rectangle design was stylized into the Ocros 1B style "pendent rectangle" design (Menzel 1964:18). In the 1977 Wari excavation, Unit 200, this design occurred on sherds from early Epoch 1B strata (Figure 12b) and middle Epoch 1B

strata (Figure 12c). Not only does the separation of the bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray and pendent rectangle designs occur on more than one Nasca 8F vessel, but stylization during Epoch 1B at Wari resulted in the separation in styles presumed to be different, Chakipampa and Ocros.

REAPPRAISAL OF WARI CHRONOLOGY

Rowe (1961) stated that errors may occur in determining a chronology from seriation analysis alone, or just from excavation analysis. A chronology is best determined by both stylistic analysis of features using the similiary seriation method with support from analysis of grave lots, and considering stratified distributions of the stylistic features. Following Rowe's recommendation, the 1977 excavated evidence provided the opportunity to check most of Menzel's (1964) previous findings (Knobloch 1981, 1983, 1991). I thus begin with a review of those findings, before discussing new implications from this study.

1977 analysis of Middle Horizon Epoch 1 chronology

The main contradiction of Menzel's seriation was the temporal assignment of a pottery style identified as Chakipampa (Menzel 1964:10-17). She observed that Chakipampa pottery had both a fancy ware and less fancy ware. This fancy pottery is similar to the Nasca 9 style pottery. By definition, in the Ica Valley master sequence, the Middle Horizon began when the Nasca 9 style pottery appeared in the Ica Valley. Thus, Menzel correlated the Chakipampa style with Middle Horizon Epoch 1. She made the assumption that Epoch 1 populations gradually abandoned sites near Ayacucho, such as Acuchimay and Conchopata, and joined the occupants at Wari, continuing the urban growth into Epoch 2. Because of this assumption, she determined that the Chakipampa style could be divided into Epoch 1A features for pottery in the Ayacucho area, whereas features found on Chakipampa pottery only at Wari belonged in Epoch 1B. Thus, Menzel established a fancy and less fancy Chakipampa 1A style followed by a fancy and less fancy Chakipampa 1B style.

Lumbreras (1960:82) recognized the fancy Chakipampa 1A pottery as Ruda Qasa. This pottery was collected south of Ayacucho at the hilltop site of Acuchimay⁷ isolated from other Wari style pottery. Menzel suggested that highland potters were previously influenced by Nasca cultural contact for approximately 200 years, as defined by her observations of similarities in the Huarpa style pottery and the Nasca 7 and 8 styles.⁸ Thus, Menzel expected pottery similar to Nasca 9 to follow, and the discovery of Wari pottery with Nasca 9 similarities was not surprising. South coast Nasca 9 pottery was not divided into 1A and 1B at that time.⁹

The distribution of pottery in the 1977 excavation began above bedrock with Huarpa style pottery associated with several floor layers, a stone-lined channel, and a stone wall suggesting an occupied enclosure (Figure 5). The strata above contained Cruz Pata style pottery, or pottery with a mixture of Huarpa and Nasca style attributes; above that were strata that mixed less fancy Epoch 1A Chakipampa pottery and Ocros pottery sherds. The uppermost strata contained examples of the fancy Chakipampa 1A and 1B style with various creature motifs. I concluded that fancy Chakipampa pottery was a development within this highland style during Middle Horizon Epoch 1 resulting in a style similar to the Nasca 9 style. I suggested that the analysis may support a hypothesis that the Ica Valley's Nasca 9

⁷ This hill is now part of Ayacucho city's southern suburbs.

⁸ I analyzed a deposit of Huarpa ceramics discovered at Wari in 1974 (Knobloch 1976; in press). The analysis provided a description of the Early Intermediate Period Huarpa style without Nasca association and an uncalibrated ¹⁴C date of 1713 ± 120 B.P. (GX-4048; wood charcoal). Using CALIB 4.3 and the -24 year southern hemispheric correction (see <http://depts.washington.edu/qil/calib/calib.html>; Stuiver *et al.* 1998a; Stuiver *et al.* 1998b; Stuiver and Braziunas 1993), the calibrated date is cal A.D. 236-443 at 1F (p = .80) and cal A.D. 115-602 at 2F (p = .98). This analysis provides the earliest, as well as the only, evidence of pre-Nasca Huarpa occupation in the Wari heartland area.

⁹ Menzel and Dawson (personal communications 1980s) suggested one vessel (Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 16D) as a Nasca 9A example.

style developed from Wari-based innovations, rather than being a development directly from the Nasca 8 style on the coast. Therefore, I suggested that Epoch 1A at Wari correlated with the end of Nasca 8, rather than Nasca 9¹⁰ (Knobloch 1981, 1983:306). Thus, Nasca 7 style icons were stylized by Nasca 8 artisans whose designs were further stylized by Wari artisans into less fancy Chakipampa and Ocros motifs. As these motifs and Wari styles became “more fancy”, they then occurred on coastal Nasca 9 pottery.

NEW IMPLICATIONS OF THE STYLIZATION MODEL OF THE MONKEY ICON

Soon after the discovery that Nasca 8 and 9 might correlate with Epoch 1A and 1B, respectively, (Knobloch 1981, 1983), other researchers working at coastal Nasca sites arrived at similar conclusions. Silverman (1988, 1993:36, 40) suggested that Nasca 8 is not a Nasca style and should be labeled “Loro” after the site of Huaca del Loro (Strong 1957) and should date to Middle Horizon Epoch 1. Carmichael suggested that “Loro” is a “provisional, catchall designation for the ceramics which predominate during epoch 8” and could be subdivided (Carmichael 1988:255). In this study I partially agree with their insights. I simply suggest that not all of EIP Epoch 8 pottery manufacture should be removed from a coastal stylization process and placed in Middle Horizon Epoch 1. In other words, many examples that might be labeled “Loro” or were found at the Huaca del Loro site are still examples of traditional Nasca art and date to EIP Epoch 8 and not MH Epoch 1. I would apply the term, Loro, to the sub-division of Nasca 8 pottery identified by stylization events from 8E to Nasca 9 on the south

coast. Since this Loro pottery is not identical in artistic execution to the Wari styles, those style names would remain the same, such as Chakipampa and Ocros.

To use this model of the monkey icon stylization process as a tool to determine the chronology and correlation of activities at various Nasca and Wari sites, the sample size of artifacts from those sites should be extensive. One pot or surface collection may provide an initial integration of a site into a master sequence unit of time such as EIP Epoch 8. However, to provide the detailed information needed to associate site activities with the sequence of events in this study’s model, the sampling strategy would need to be extensive, to represent a site’s activities as a whole. For example, Strong’s work at Huaca del Loro provides evidence of a long period of occupation because examples were found of Nasca 7 (Strong 1957: figure 17E), 8A (Paulsen 1983: figures 4c and 6a), 8D (Figure 8a), 8F (*ibid.*: figure 5a), and Nasca 9 (Menzel 1964:28-29 citing Strong 1957: figures 17G-H). The results of this study might suggest that the occupation at Huaca del Loro was sporadic, with the lack of examples for the 8B-8C and 8E events indicating gaps. However, Strong’s small and randomly collected sample is inconclusive. Future stylization analysis of other Nasca icons might fill in the gaps.

Another example of the utility of the monkey icon stylization model is the site of Tambo Viejo, Acari Valley (Kent and Kowta 1994). Though considered a Nasca 8 site in an earlier seriation analysis, its ceramic artifacts include one small, necked jar and three ovoid shaped bowls that display examples of the separation of the circled-dot and banded-rectangle designs. The jar and one of the bowls display the banded-rectangle design with contrasting colored, outer bands and a central white band. The other bowls show examples of designs that artisans stylized from the previous rule of contrasting colors by using monochrome designs as filler elements. Due to the distance between people living in the core area of the Ica-Nasca cultures, social interaction was probably minimal with this Acari Valley population during MH Epoch 1. Their artisans appear to have stylized the 8E motifs into

¹⁰ The redefinition of Middle Horizon Epoch 1A also affects the temporal assignment of the Conchopata style as depicted on large urn fragments that were ritually smashed and buried at the site of Conchopata and known as the Tello Ofrenda or ‘offering’ collection (Menzel 1964). Menzel had assigned this collection and style to Epoch 1A based on similarities in design features to the fancy Chakipampa 1A or Ruda Qasa ceramics. Since I present a different chronology for those ceramics, I also suggest that the Conchopata style and Wari’s new religion also date to the end of Middle Horizon Epoch 1 or Epoch 2 (Knobloch 1981, 1983).

their own 8F renditions. Another possibility is that the Acari Valley population represented a migration during the 8F events that mark the beginnings of Wari expansion to the coast and developed the next stylization event, 8G. Here the sampling strategy and collection of the materials appear to be representative of the whole site. Thus Tambo Viejo would date to MH Epoch 1B.

If seriating the Nasca 8 designs of the monkey head icon is a convincing model of stylization into the less fancy Chakipampa 1A and Ocros styles, then the definition of the beginning of Middle Horizon as a time of pan-Andean interaction documenting Wari societal expansion can be continued, just with a different inventory of style attributes.

CONCLUSIONS

The seriation of Nasca 8 style presented in this study could mean that Middle Horizon chronology simply does not have a subdivision of the Nasca 9 style that identifies Epoch 1A at Ica to mark the beginning of the Middle Horizon. However, I recommend the following solution: (1) continue with the current definition of the beginning of the Middle Horizon as a temporal designation when a certain version of coastal style pottery appeared in the Ica Valley; but, (2) redefine Epoch 1A or Nasca 9A with stylistic attributes that more clearly indicate the end of the regionally autonomous Nasca culture and its religious iconography. Epoch 1A on the south coast would include the "Loro" style pottery as defined by this study. In the highlands the same motifs would occur later and there would be a mixture of these with previous late Huarpa and Cruz Pata style ceramics that include stylized designs from Nasca 7 as well as other local Wari ceramics that define less fancy Chakipampa 1A and Ocros 1A. This stylization of traditional Nasca art would coincide with the beginning use of common pan-Andean artistic expressions that document sustained coast-highland interaction. This social interaction led to Middle Horizon expansion of Wari society during Epoch 1B and Epoch 2 to coastal sites such as Pacheco, Atarco, Locarí, Coyungo, San José de Ingenio, and Tunga (Menzel 1964:46-47; Figure 1).

The difficulty with defining an exact beginning of the Middle Horizon is the logical assumption that stylization did not occur in both places at exactly the same point in time. I conclude that the moment when Nasca potters separated the very stylized monkey icon's eye and mouth motifs and Wari potters mimicked this division in the separate designs of bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray and bicolored pendent rectangle designs is the correlation of Epoch 9A and late Middle Horizon 1A. There may have been only a few years or a generation between the manufacturing event of the Nasca vessel in Figure 9b and the Ocros bowl in Figure 11a. Since there are no witnesses to confirm such accuracy, I can only suggest that the stylization process represents a "best fit" model of learning and communication in which the length of time between events might be determined by the number and accuracy of shared design attributes. Thus, the beginning of the Middle Horizon is really a period of transition; using detailed analysis of shared design attributes between the various events, I have attempted to pinpoint this transition to a short unit of time. In other words, Middle Horizon Epoch 1A cannot correlate with all of Nasca 8. This observation is crucial since the chronology of events that define the meaning of "horizon" should not be defined by stylization in only one area.

The main contribution of this paper is to begin establishing temporally sensitive artifactual data to discern the complexity of social activities during the expansion of the Wari society. However, delineating the stylization of one icon does not mean that stylization of other Nasca icons followed the same path and changed at the same rate. This study represents a single analysis of the stylization process of one Nasca 7 icon; there are several others that need investigation in order to continue refining the sequence of events during the Middle Horizon. Further research and analysis might discover that changes in Wari art were due to earlier or later stylization processes.

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Events	Samples
8A	1. Majoro Chico A, Grave 8 (Figure 4a; Carmichael 1998:212-217, figure 329) 2. "District of Nazca" (Figure 4b; Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 16b) 3. "Süd-Peru" (not illustrated; Eisleb 1977:138-139, plate 8) 4. Huaca del Loro (not illustrated; Paulsen 1983: figure 4c and 6a)
8B	1. Majoro Chico A, Grave 7B (Figure 6a; Carmichael 1998:211-212, figure 326) 2. Cahuachi (Figure 6b; Rowe 1974:328, Figure 375)
8C	1. "Nazca" (Figure 7a; Eisleb 1977:130, figure 236) 2. Ocongalla West B, Grave 9 (Figure 7b; Carmichael 1998:166-171, figure 245) 3. "Rukana Style" (not illustrated; Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture 1962: figure 60)
8D	1. Huaca del Loro (Figure 8a; Strong 1957: figure 17A) 2. "District of Nazca" (Figure 8b; Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 12A) 3. "Nazca" (Figure 8c; Eisleb 1977:139, figure 262) 4. "District of Nazca" (not illustrated; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology #4-8697) 5. "District of Nazca" (not illustrated; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology #4-8698)
8E	1. "Nazca" (Figure 9a; Eisleb 1977:138, figure 260) 2. Majoro Chico A, Grave 5 (Figure 9b; Carmichael 1998:230-231, plate 29) 3. Conchopata (Figure 11a; Lumbreras 1974: figure 148) 4. Wari (Figure 11b; Knobloch 1983: plate 52c) 5. Tambo Quemado, Ica (not illustrated; Rowe 1974:335, plate 48; Knobloch 2000: figure 4a) 6. Lobster shaped jar (not illustrated; on public display at Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima in August, 1999)
8F	1. "District of Nazca" (Figure 10a; Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 15E) 2. "District of Nazca" (Figure 10b; Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 13E) 3. Wari (Figure 12a; Knobloch 1983: plate 53d) 4. Wari (Figure 12b; Knobloch 1983: plate 49f) 5. Wari (Figure 12c; Knobloch 1983: plate 49c) 6. Huaca del Loro (not illustrated; Paulsen 1983:Figures 9a) 7. Huaca del Loro (not illustrated; Paulsen 1983:Figures 5a) 8. Pacheco (not illustrated but similar to #7 above; AMNH #41-0-5342) 9. Cahuachi, Room of the Posts (not illustrated; Silverman 1993:Figure 13.29)
8F/8G	1. Tambo Viejo, Acarí Valley (4 vessels not illustrated; Kent and Kowta 1994)

Table 1: Stylization events of the monkey head icon.

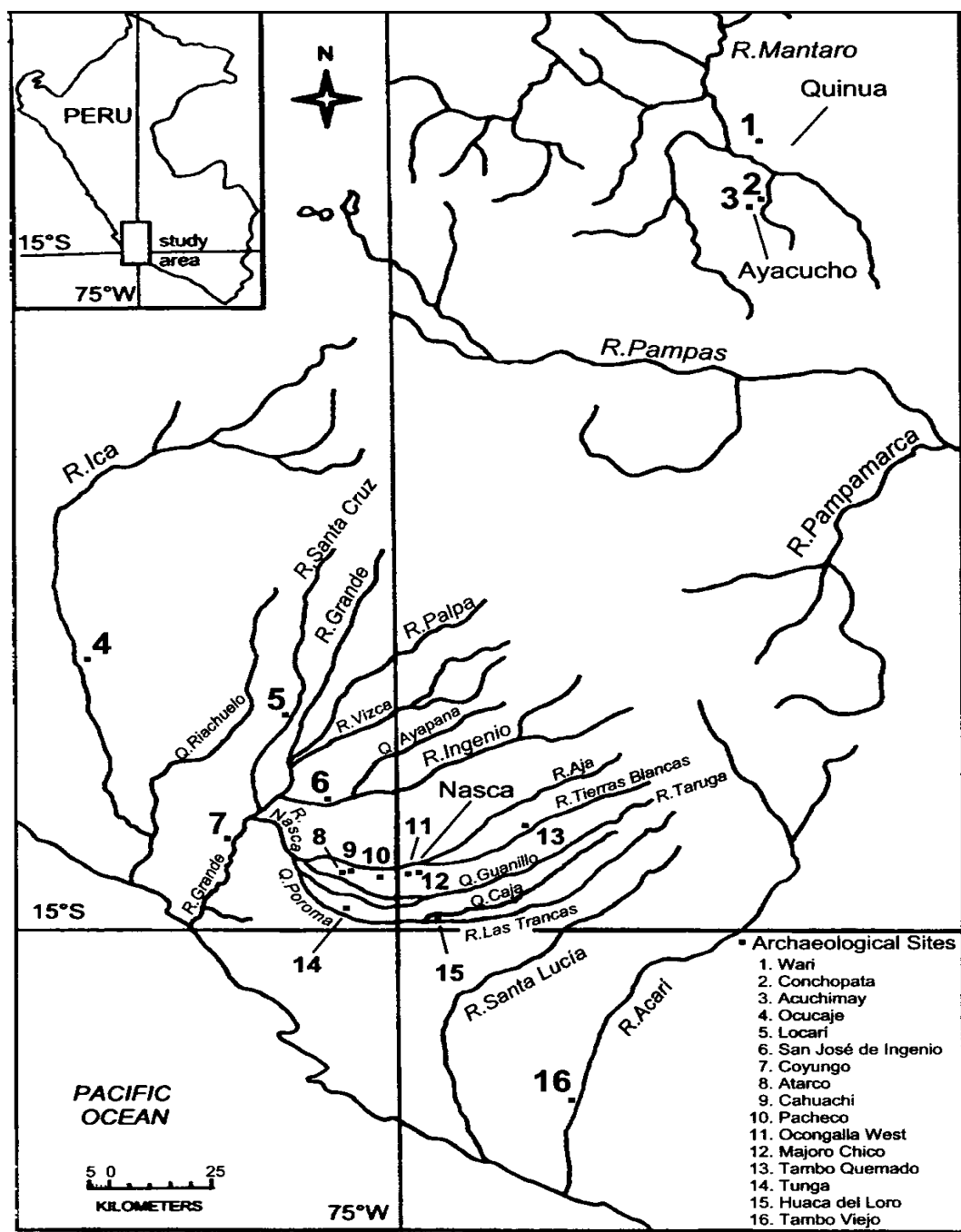


Figure 1. Map of archaeological sites mentioned for the Wari and Nasca cultures (from Institut für Geowissenschaften 1984 and Instituto Geográfico Nacional 1982).

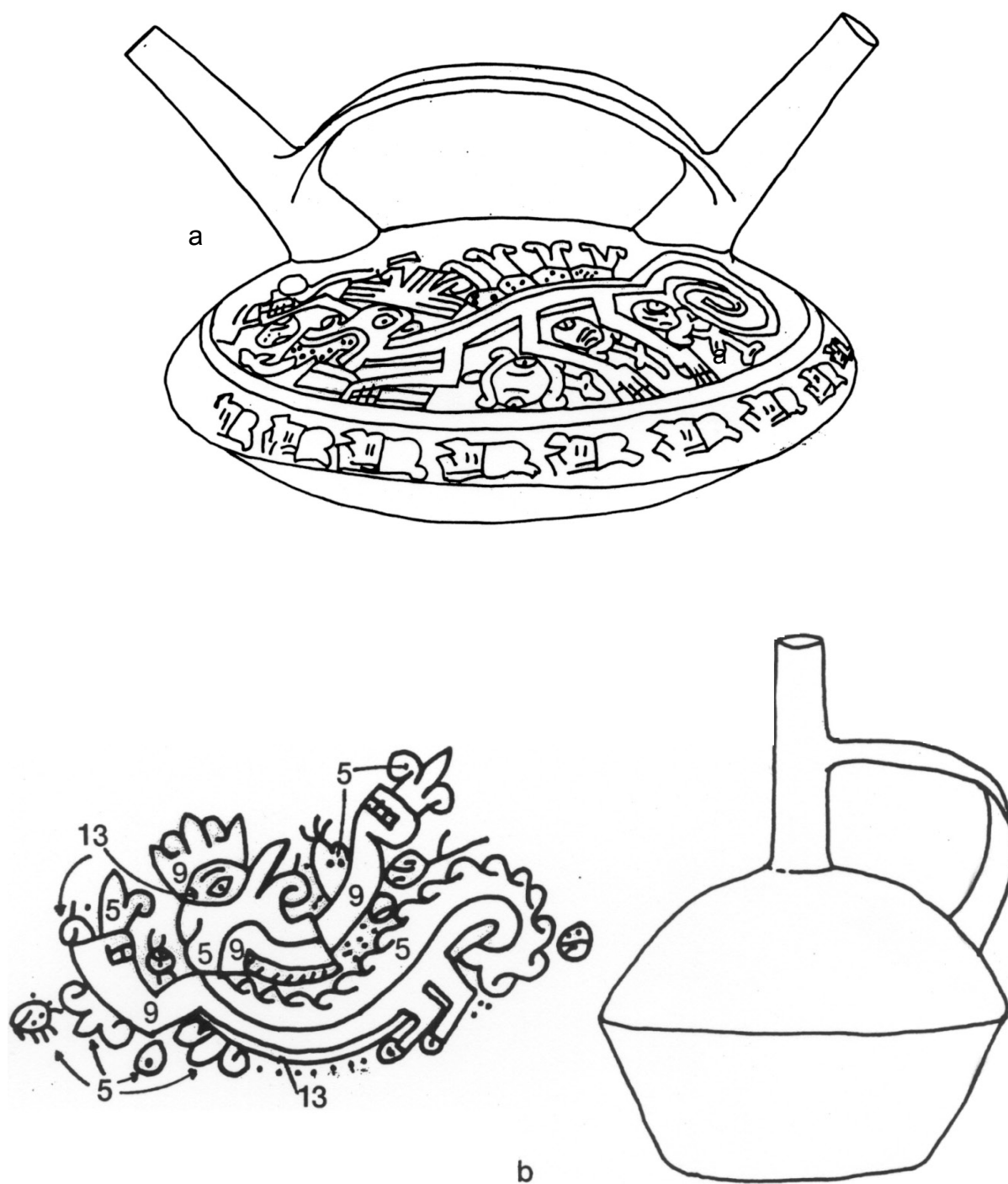


Figure 2. Nasca 7 examples of the monkey icon: (a) double spout, strap-handled jar. Colors are unavailable (from Muelle and Blas 1938: plate 4A); (b) single spout, strap-handled jar from Ocucaje. Unnumbered filler design elements are white (from Seler 1961: plate 254).

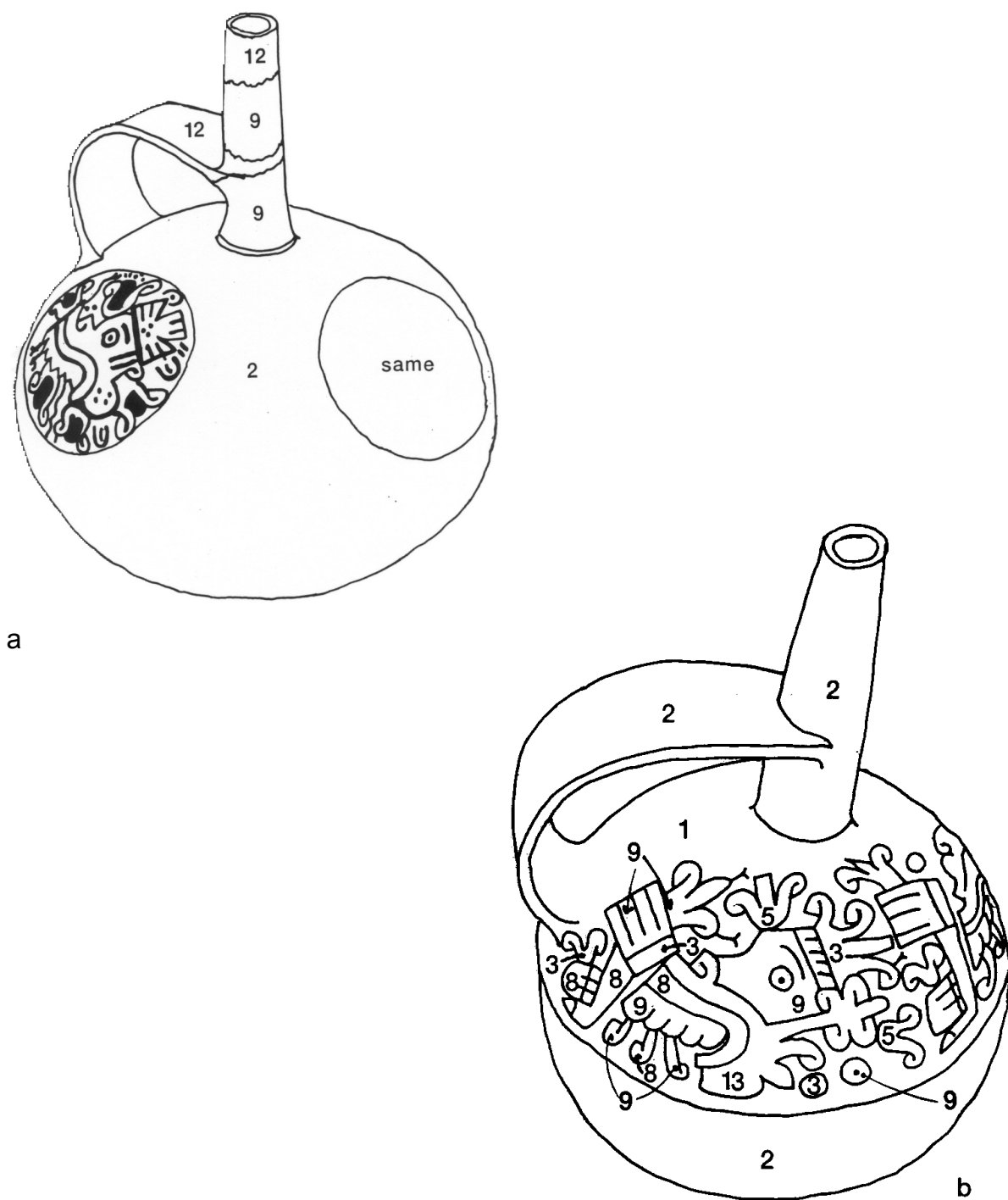


Figure 3. Nasca 7 examples of head motif of monkey icon: (a) single spout, strap-handled jar. Head motif drawn in color 9 on white background (from photo taken at American Museum of Natural History [AMNH] #41-2-7786); (b) single spout, strap-handled jar. Eye design is white. Height is 13.5 cm (from photo taken at Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology [PAHMA] #4-8865).

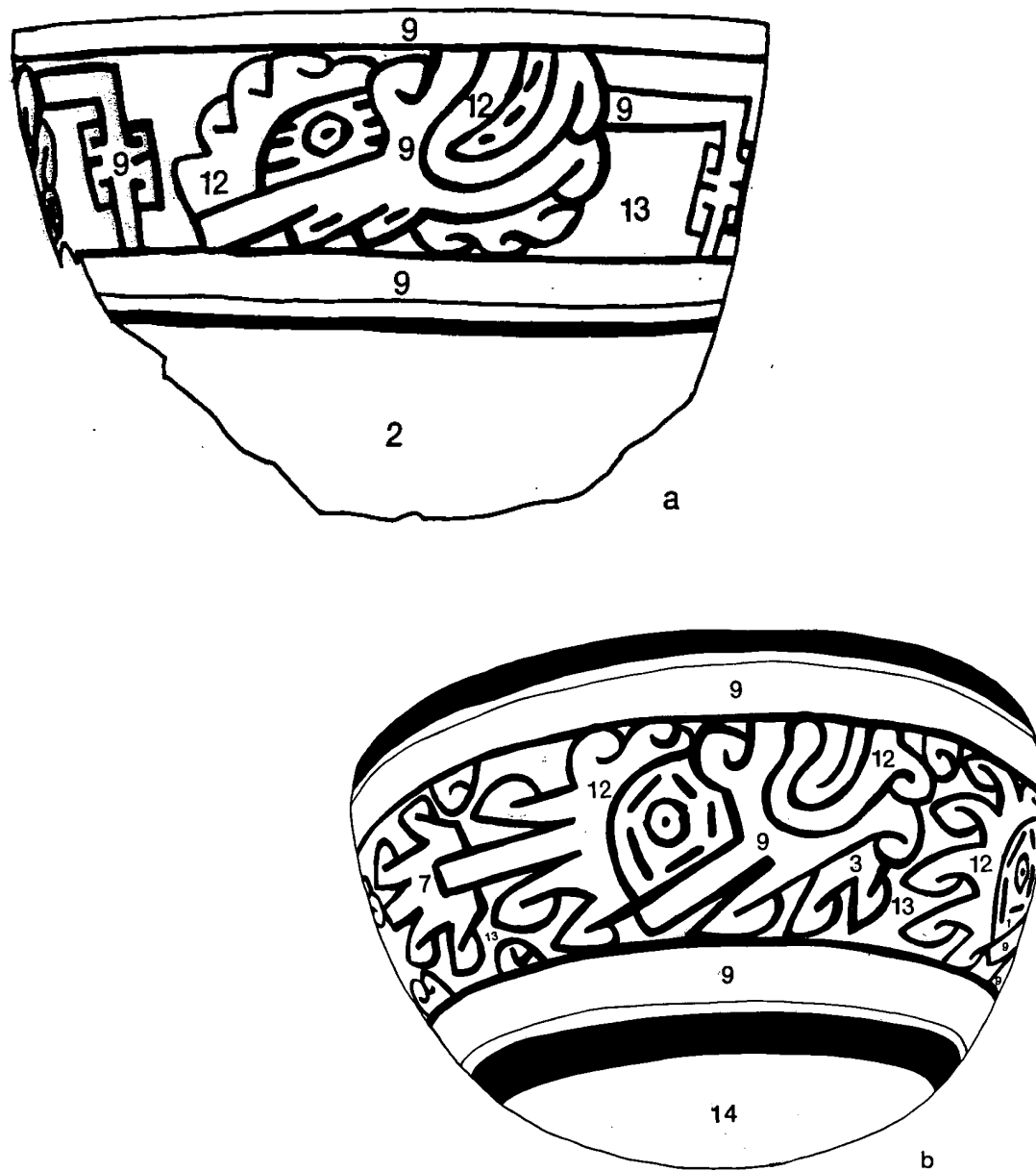


Figure 4. Nasca 8A examples of monkey head motif with upturned mouth design: (a) bowl sherd from Majoro Chico A, Grave 8. Unnumbered areas are white. Diameter is 17.5 cm (from Carmichael 1998:212-217, figure 329); and, (b) bowl from the "District of Nazca" (from photo taken at PAHMA #4-8700, see Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 16b).

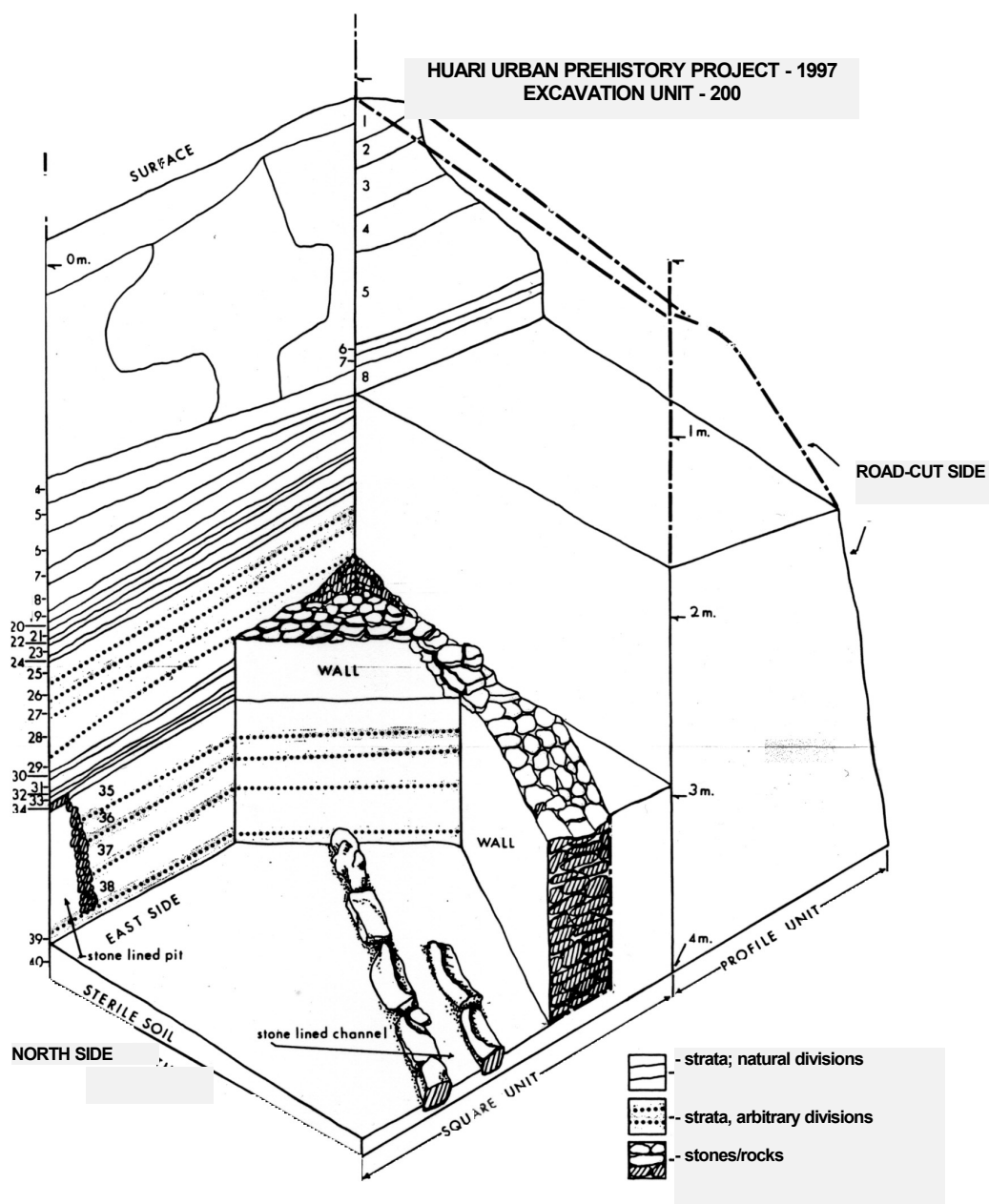


Figure 5. Isometric drawing of 1977 Wari excavation, Unit 200 (from Knobloch 1983:45).

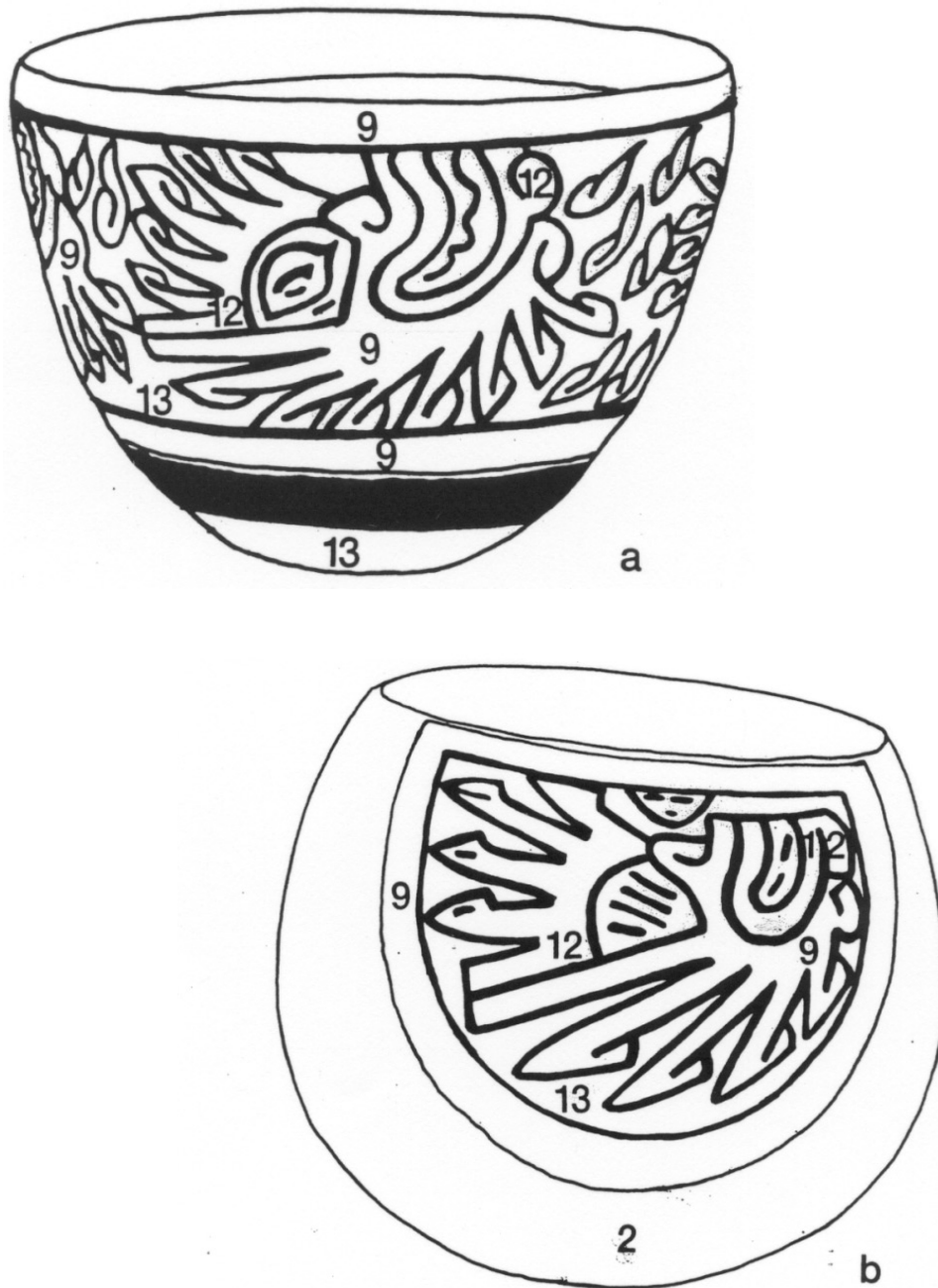


Figure 6. Nasca 8B examples of monkey head motif with upturned mouth design and design elements minimized: (a) bowl from Majoro Chico A, Grave 7B. Eye and mouth designs are white and filler elements are reddish-orange (color 9). Diameter is 16 cm (from Carmichael 1998:211-212, figure 326); (b) bowl from Cahuachi. Colors determined from written description. Black background appears more translucent than opaque. Height is 14.2 cm (from Rowe 1974:328, figure 375).

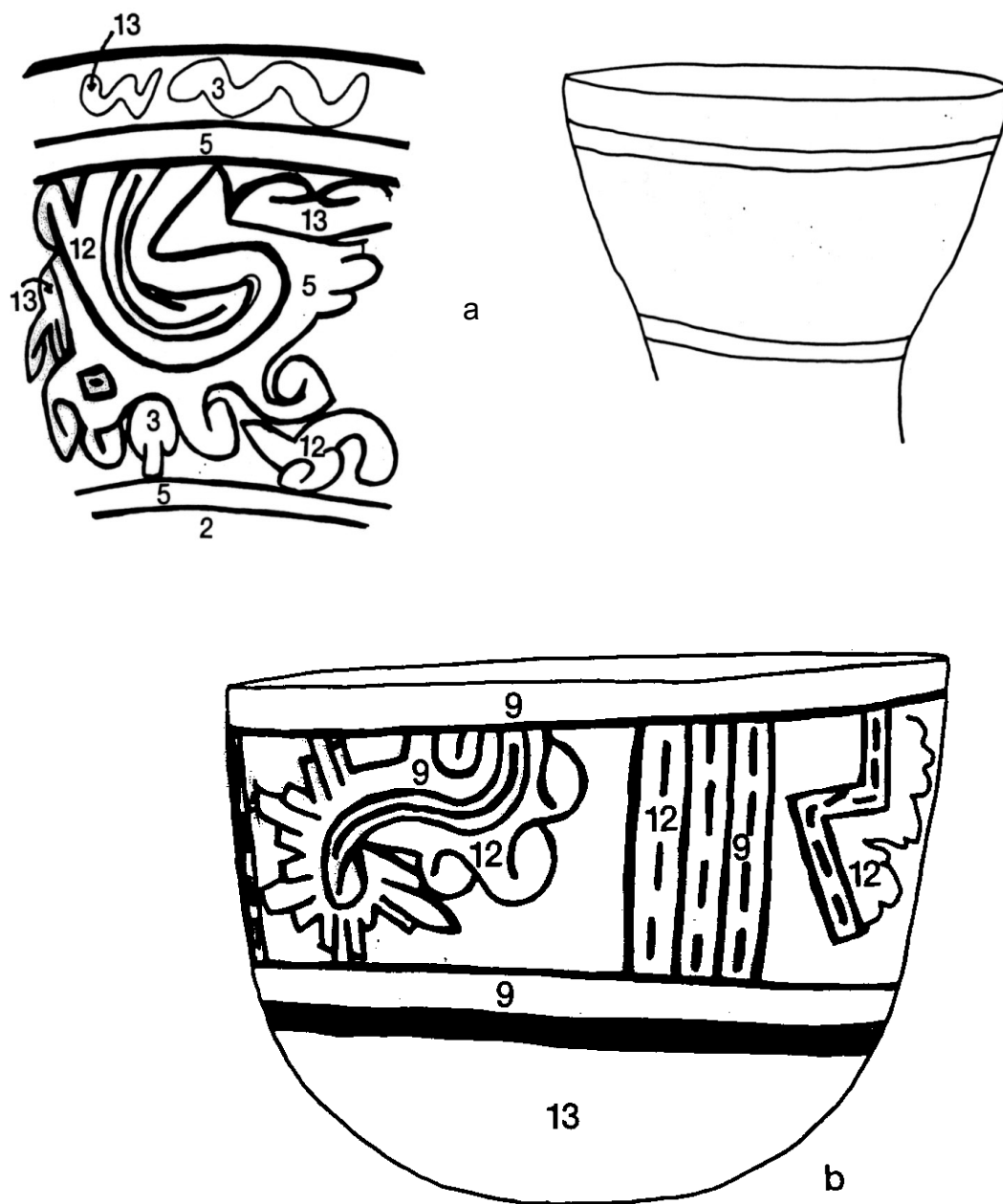


Figure 7. Nasca 8C examples of monkey head motif with elongated mouth design: (a) goblet from Nasca. Unnumbered areas are white. Diameter is 15.5 cm (from photo taken at Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin [MVB] #VA33234, see Eisleb 1977:130, figure 236); (b) bowl from Ocongalla West B, Grave 9. Unnumbered areas are white. Height is 11.2 cm (from Carmichael 1998:166-171, figure 245).

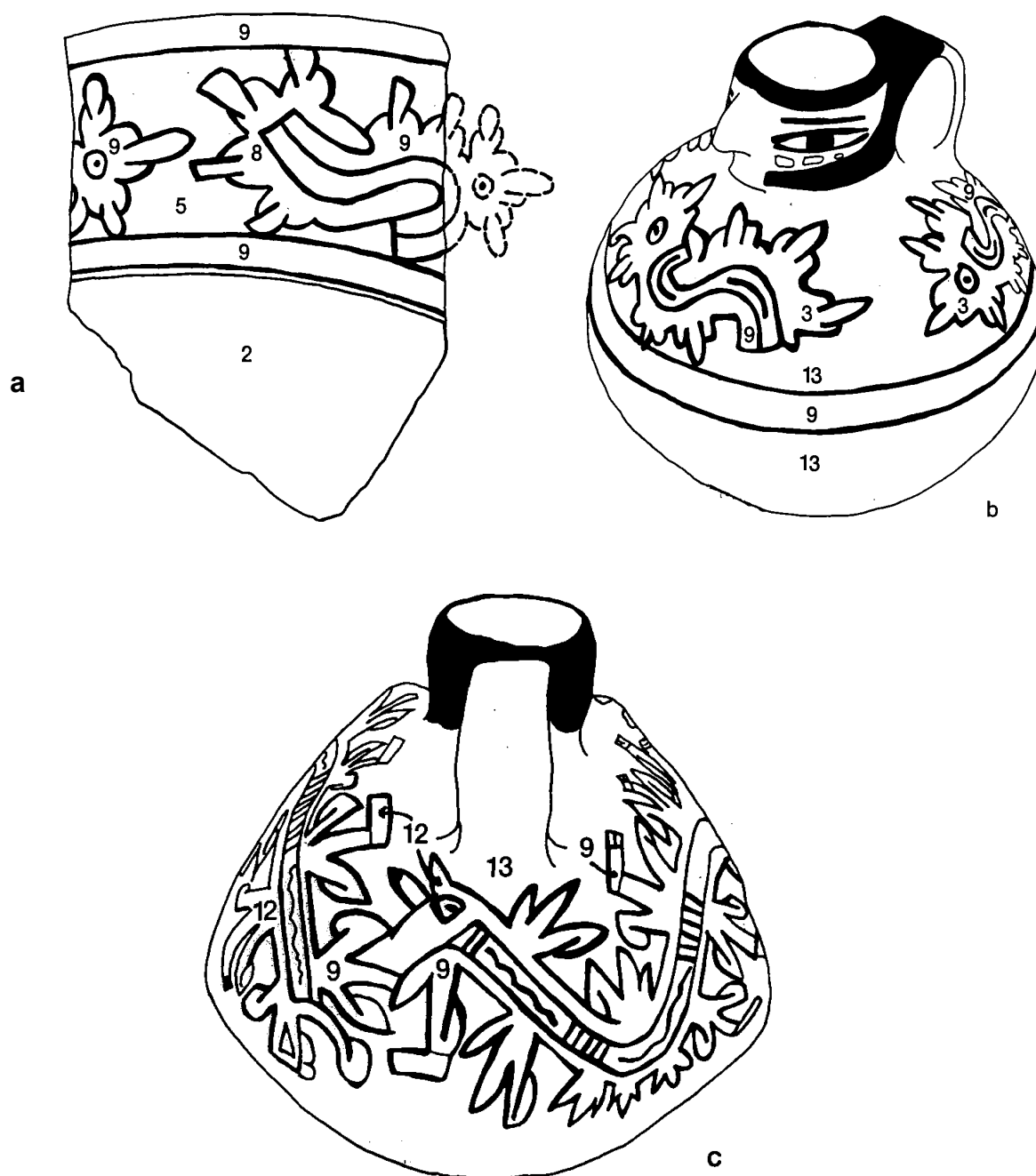


Figure 8. Nasca 8D transitional examples with banded-wave design: (a) bowl sherd from Huaca del Loro (from Strong 1957: figure 17A); (b) short necked, strap-handled effigy jar from "District of Nazca". Unnumbered areas are white. Spots under eye are red (color 8) (from photo taken at PAHMA #4-8696, see Gayton and Kroeber 1927: plate 12A); (c) short necked, strap-handled jar from Nasca. Unnumbered areas are white. Height is 20.8 cm (from photo taken at MVB #VA51172, see Eisele 1977:139, figure 262).

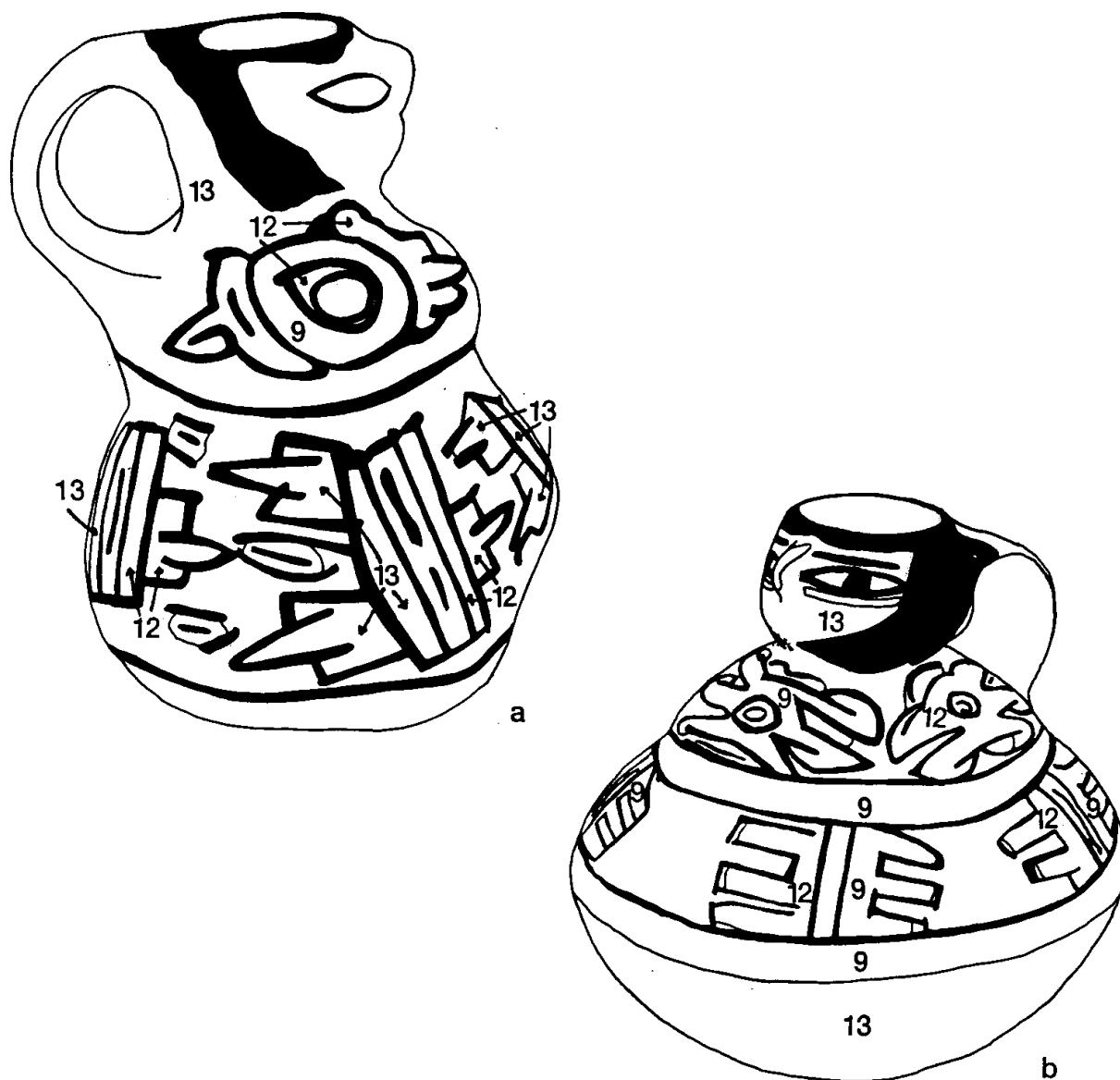


Figure 9. Nasca 8E or Middle Horizon 1A examples of eye motif or circled-dot design separated from mouth motif or banded-rectangle design: (a) short necked, strap-handled effigy jar from Nasca. Unnumbered areas are white. Height is 13.8 cm (from photo taken at MVB #50916, see Eisleb 1977:138, figure 260); (b) short necked, strap-handled effigy jar from Majoro Chico A, Grave 5. Unnumbered areas are white. On effigy face area, lines on nose and under eyes are reddish orange (color 9). Height is 20.8 cm (from Carmichael 1998:230-231, plate 29).

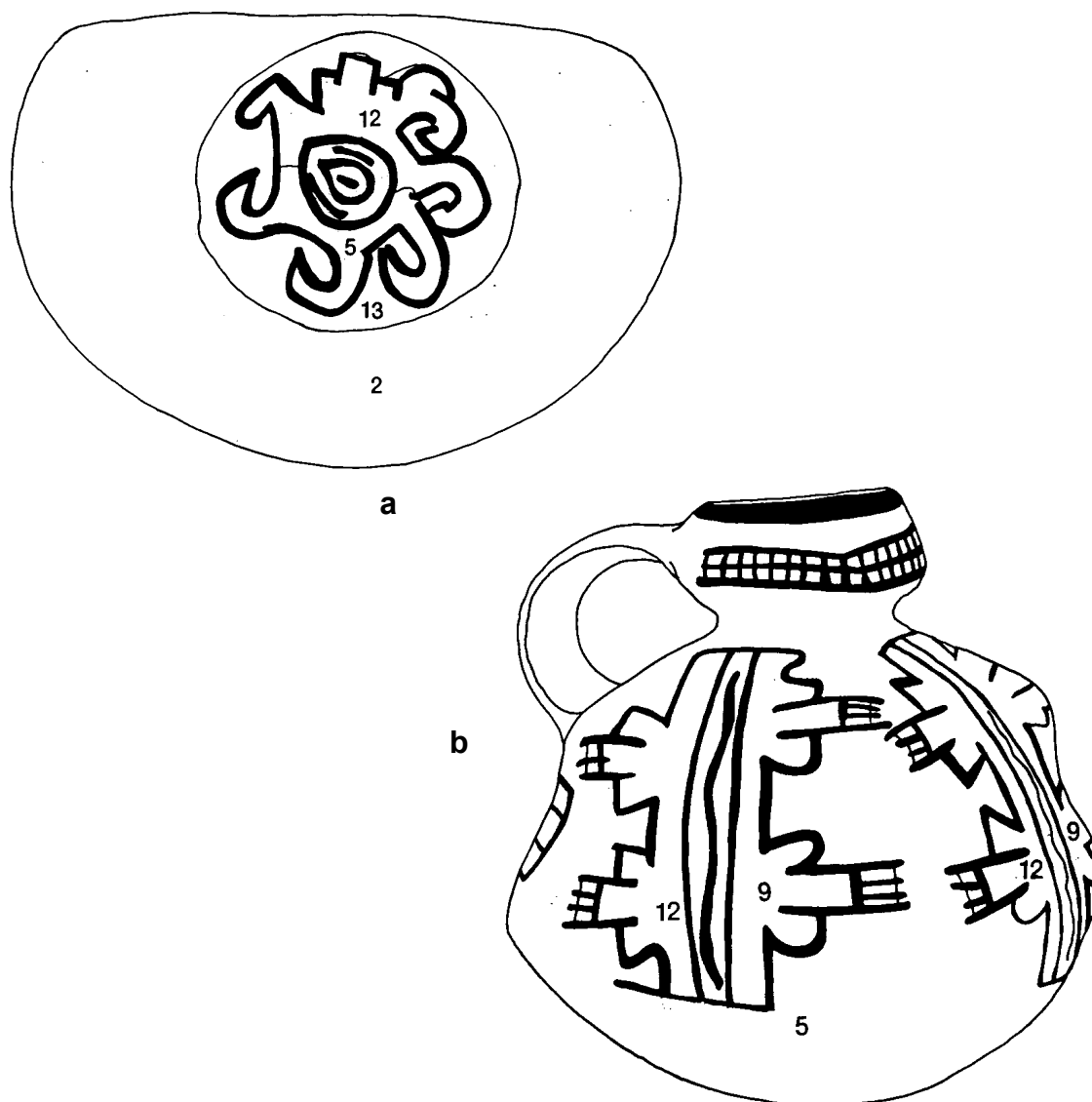


Figure 10. Nasca 8F or early Middle Horizon 1B examples of circled-dot and banded-rectangle designs: (a) bowl from "District of Nazca" (from photo taken at PAHMA #4-8760, see Gayton and Kroeber 1927: figure 10H and plate 15E); (b) short necked, strap-handled jar from "District of Nazca". Unnumbered areas are white (from photo taken at PAHMA #4-8722, see *ibid.*: plate 13E).

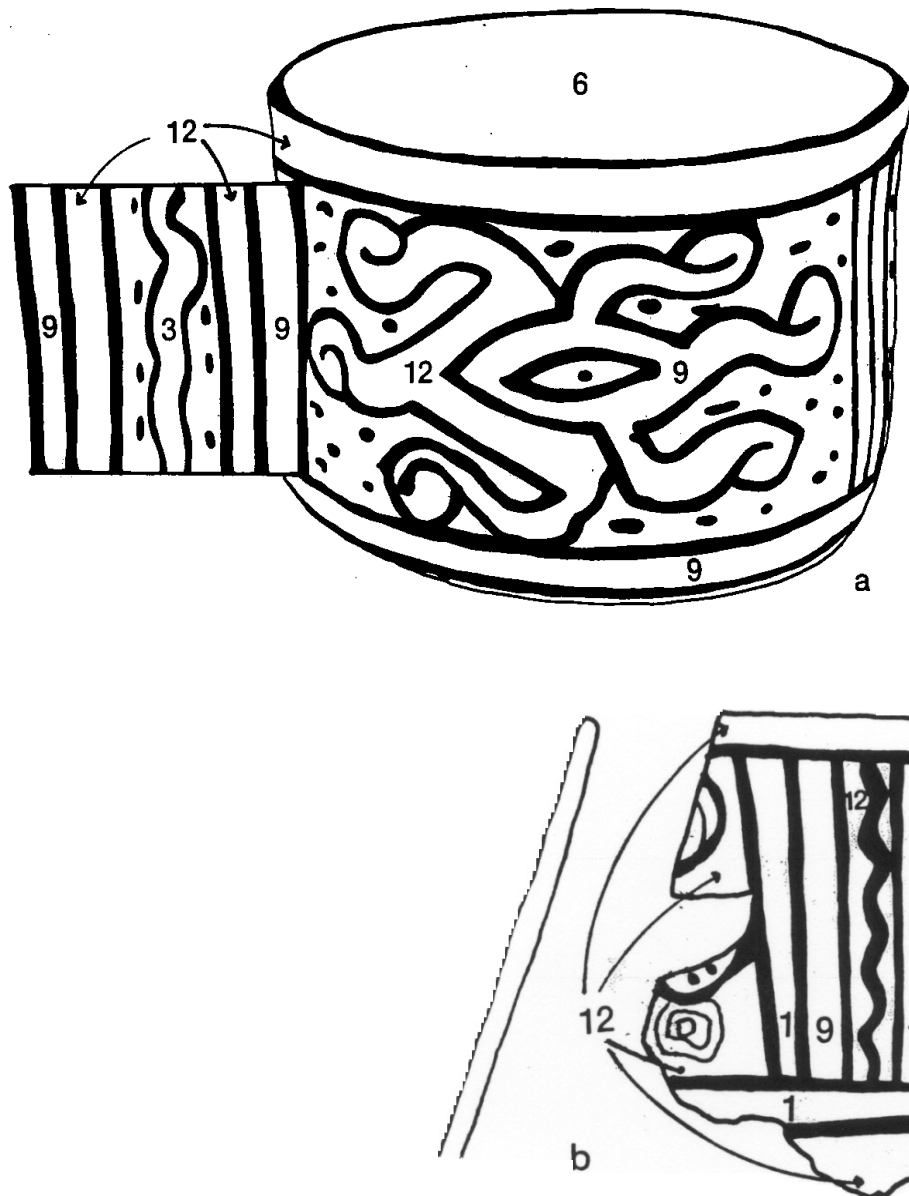


Figure 11. Middle Horizon 1A examples of circled-dot design as bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray design and banded-rectangle as pendent rectangle design: (a) Ocros 1A style bowl from Conchopata. Unnumbered areas are white. Diameter is 10 cm (from Lumbreras 1974: figure 148 with rollout from photo taken at Laboratorio de Arqueología, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga); (b) bowl rim sherd from Epoch 1A, stratum 28. Diameter is 11 cm (from Knobloch 1983: plate 52c).

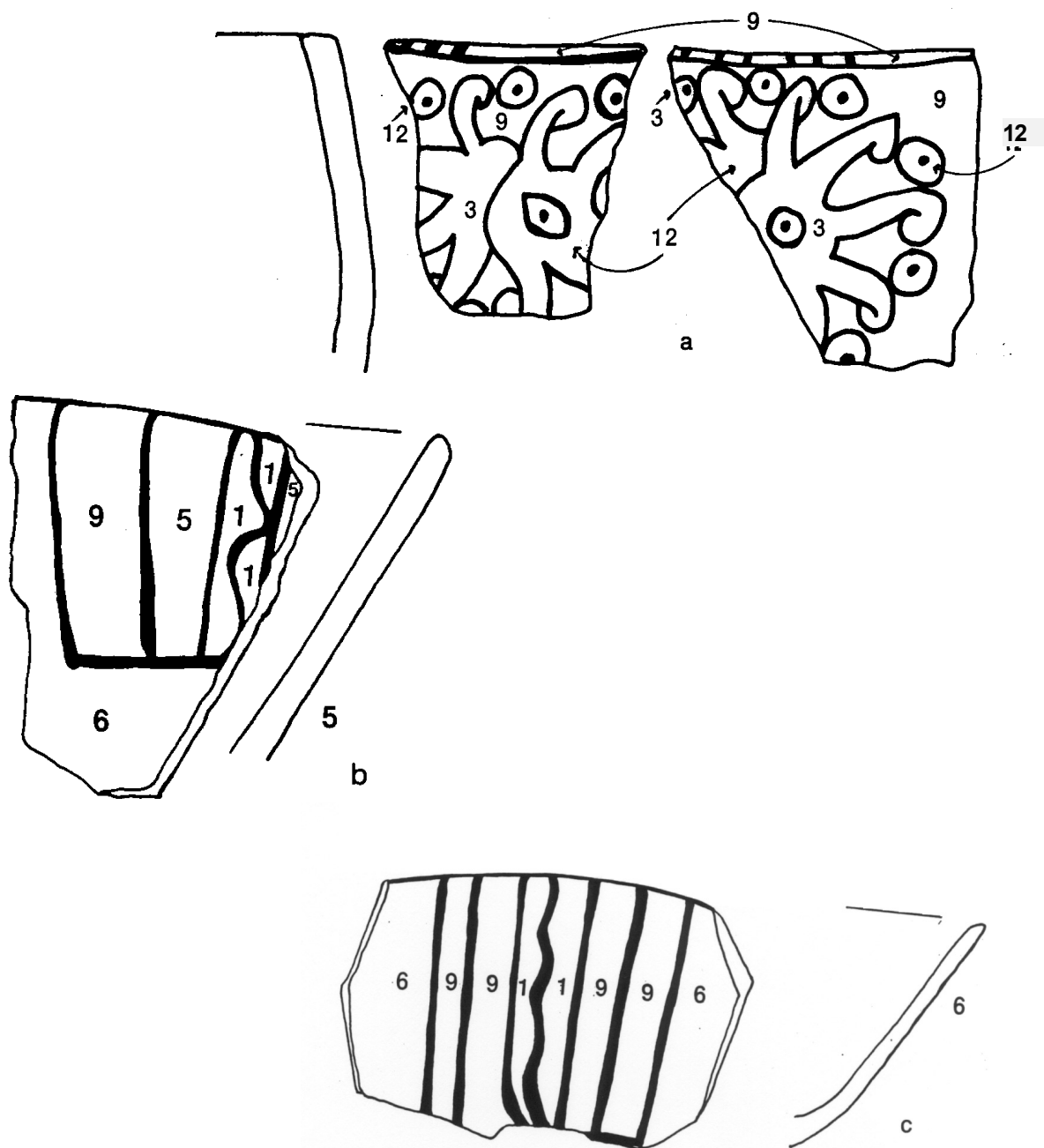


Figure 12. Middle Horizon 1B circled-dot design as bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray design and banded-rectangle as pendent rectangle design: (a) fancy Chakipampa 1B bowl sherds with bicolored, asymmetrical recurved-ray design from middle Epoch 1B, stratum 6. Unnumbered areas are white. Diameter is 14 cm (from Knobloch 1983: plate 53h); (b) bowl rim sherd with Ocros pendent rectangle design from early Epoch 1B, stratum 20. Diameter is 23 cm (from *ibid.*: plate 49f); and, (c) bowl rim sherd with Ocros pendent rectangle design from middle Epoch 1B, stratum 14. Diameter is 17 cm (from *ibid.*: plate 49c).