

The work of surfaces: object worlds and techniques of enhancement in the ancient Andes

Journal of Material Culture
15(3) 259–286

© The Author(s) 2010

Reprints and permission: sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1359183510373986

<http://mcu.sagepub.com>



George F. Lau

University of East Anglia, UK

Abstract

This study is an examination of techniques in the Recuay culture (1–700 AD) of ancient Peru. In addition to identifying things that look alike, it reviews different procedures by which they were made to resemble each other. The author examines shared techniques across different media and forms, which helped to shape a general noble aesthetic. Three main points are discussed: first, the techniques share a similar emphasis on enhancing surfaces by conceiving and applying the designs in terms of their negative space or adjacent background. Second, the different technical procedures constructed the exterior worlds of chiefs, their social and physical structures, by saturating special objects and settings with surface elements related to nobility. Finally, it is suggested that the techniques distinguished Recuay value systems from those of neighbouring groups and cultures.

Keywords

embodiment, materiality, multi-media, Peru, pre-Columbian art, style, technology, value systems

It is commonly accepted that the making of things is rarely, if ever, arbitrary or purely instrumental. All making is culturally constituted – weaving together values, dispositions, intentionalities and economies of production. This article focuses on multiple types of making as a way of studying ancient cultures and their desires. I suggest that the more styles of making that can be discovered for a given universe, or ‘culture’, the more they help to constitute a coherent universe easily distinguished from other universes (e.g. cultures, traditions). Hence, distinct cultural systems are expressed through systems of techniques.

I will analyse these points by examining artefacts from Recuay (1–700 AD), a little-known cultural tradition of ancient Peru. This was a group largely comprised of small-scale chiefly polities in Peru’s north highlands (Figure 1). The culture was known for its

Corresponding author:

George F. Lau, Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, UK.

Email: george.lau@uea.ac.uk

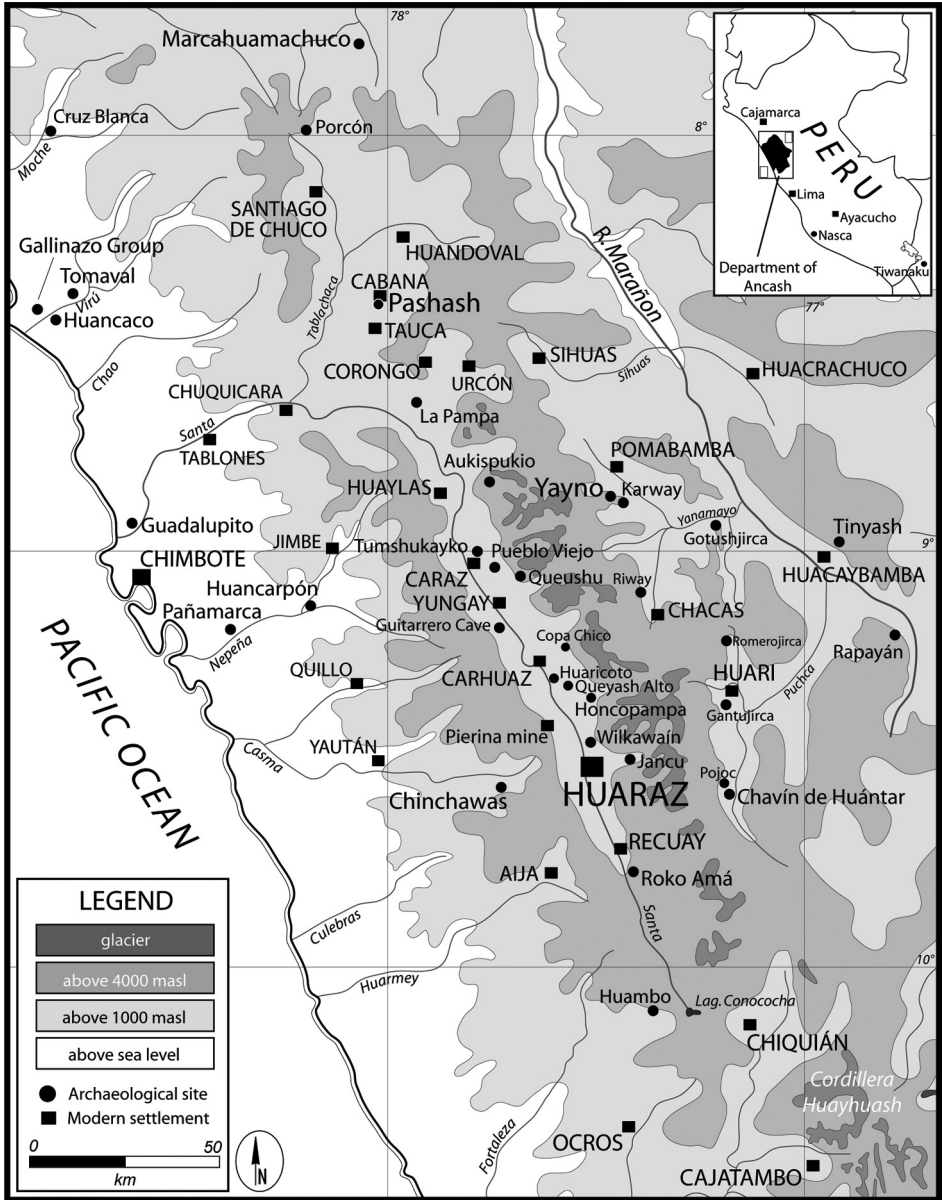


Figure 1. Map of Peru's north central highlands and locations mentioned in text. © George F. Lau.

highly decorated pottery, stone sculptures and architecture, but textiles and metalwork have also been identified. In this article, my focus is not on the finished products, although, of course, they represent the core evidence. Rather, I assess the techniques of making them, which I contend help to make the culture distinctive.

Elsewhere, I have discussed how most Recuay artworks centred on chiefs and their social relations (Lau, 2002, 2006). This article elaborates on how fine surfaces were crucial to the fashioning of chiefly worlds and aesthetics. Surfaces adorned and depicted them, and thus helped to objectify them. Through a general emphasis on exterior surfaces, the Recuay marked their bodies with social capacities and roles. The extensive covering of such surfaces expressed relationships between people, places and things – making out of each one, special kinds of interactive, social bodies.

Value systems, making and surfaces

This article seeks to understand why, in any given culture, objects of different classes and media resemble each other. It is useful to review the main ways that scholars have theorized this, namely where objects share a similar logic, manifest a local decorative impulse, or are linked cognitively. I will put forward a complementary argument to explain their resemblances, namely, that objects are made the same way.

Cross-media relationships are often seen as part of a culture's internal order or general organizing principles, in the Lévi-Straussian tradition (e.g. Adams, 1973; Rosman and Rubel, 1990). Here, the focus is on bounded collectives and comparability between widely different kinds of cultural production, especially the manifested form (e.g. myth, speech, village plan). Decoration across media, meanwhile, is often the basis for distinguishing stylistic groups or areas (Boas, 1955). DeBoer (1991: 147), for example, discusses pervasive modes of decoration among Shipibo groups of eastern Peru, who paint designs across the 'total artefactual environment' (human bodies, textiles, pots, canoes, etc.). Shipibo style is 'multi-mediated' and its coherence results from minimal historical change and a decorative imperative (DeBoer 1990, 1991). The latter is not seen as a costly add-on, but an ethos concerning the proper look and nature of things. For the archaeologist, who can never experience the 'total artefactual environment', the consideration of multiple media may serve to both spot structural correspondences and help act as a check for stylistic consistency.

The emphasis on finished forms complements research on the meaningful connections made between objects. Gell's (1998: ch. 8) analysis of style theorizes formal patterning found on Marquesan tattooing and carving as 'axes of coherence'. The transfer of generative schemes – homologizing formal relations between objects (the 'interartefactual domain') to those between people – fuels the argument about the partibility of artworks, of their capacity to be split, concentrated, multiplied and distributed in socially effective ways (see also, Knappett, 2006). According to this viewpoint, the reason why things should look alike is because they are derived from corresponding forms of social relations.

Other scholars have articulated systems of representation as 'intertextual', where works are 'linked to one another by concrete shared features, such as shared reference to some object or event, mutual reference to one another, elaboration (whereby one work amplifies or complements another), or contradiction of one by the other' (Hanks, 1989: 17). Keane (2003: 414) develops a useful concept, 'bundling', to describe a process of intuition where multiple qualities and possibilities for meaning can be evoked synchronously through objects.

In social life, actions, as well as things and spaces, embody and intensify local value systems (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977: 116; Munn, 1986). Habits and structural logics predispose

the body in different sorts of actions, but are cognized as homologous. So, in addition to finished products, technical actions within and across media can be mutually reinforcing. Motor and conceptual equivalencies may be made between special practices (e.g. agriculture, dance, counting and weaving) to enhance intertextual meanings (e.g. Arnold, 1997; Urton, 1997) or mark 'redundant' aesthetics (Hardin, 1993). Ceremonial practices are pivotal social fields in which different forms converge. Allen's (2002) analysis of Andean drinking rituals, for example, identifies overt analogies between wooden/ceramic drinking cups and the human body. Words and actions are integral to their movements (in partnered flows, dance choreography) and physical forms (vessels and conduits for liquid potencies) (see also, Weismantel, 2004). In short, cultural forms, including actions of making, register on multiple symbolic levels and gain significance through relations with other artefacts and forms, whilst resisting the analytical insistence on singularity, either in the object of study or in single meanings.

Techniques of making are critical because they can index cultural dispositions informed through local knowledge and practice. They are shared between people – often, but not necessarily, between families, communities and regional collectives. Their study helps to operationalize commonly held, but rarely explicit, assumptions about style (Dietler and Herbich, 1998; Dobres, 2000; Lemonnier, 1993). As objects are created, materials also 'act back', making an effect through their properties (colour, elasticity, fracture, etc.) at different stages of formation (Ingold, 2000). Artefacts of the same style, what we might think of as an object's family and genealogy, also exert constraints as they come into being (Gosden, 2005; Gell, 1998: ch. 8). While these may explain the form of an object (e.g. basket) or a class of objects over time (e.g. submarines), it is more difficult to explain synchronic resemblances between objects of different materials.

In considering resemblances between different media, it quickly becomes apparent that material properties or qualities appear to be subordinated to cultural preferences. For Lechtman (1984), Andean technical procedures are fundamental to understanding how objects instantiate local value systems. Sophisticated techniques for producing metalwork and textiles were developed to make materials and their 'essences' integral to an artefact's fabric, even though the procedures may be more costly in terms of raw material and labour. Yet, fine objects are also often composite artefacts and may need to be studied holistically, both in terms of being with other objects in a given activity context (e.g. tomb) and formal relationships between diverse raw materials and their modification (Shimada, 1996). What affects production choices, then, varies according to a range of variables, and cannot be easily reduced to energy-maximizing schemes. Among the Recuay, the choices consistently valued qualities of form and materials (e.g. durability, colour, containment, contrasts, monumentality), but above all, embellished surfaces.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines surface as 'the outermost boundary (or one of the boundaries) of any material body'. Surface qualities are particularly significant because they are basic to how people experience things. At the interface between mediums and substances, surfaces are where the 'action is' (Gibson, in Ingold, 2007: 28). Studies of pre-Columbian art generally focus on iconography, and surfaces tend to be consigned the role of *setting* for representations. Surfaces can be more than inert bearers of images, however. They can have their own agentive qualities. In particular, their sensorial properties (e.g. colour, brilliance, sharpness, size) often manifest and pilot cultural patterns in remarkable,

unpredictable ways: e.g. gold, pearls, weavings, glass and obsidian (Cereceda, 1987; Helms, 1993; Lechtman, 1984; Miller and Hamell, 1986; Saunders, 1999; Thomas, 1991).

This analysis explores the roles of surfaces as they cover the human body and forms that are likened to the human body. A wide literature exists on the significance of personal ornament and attire and their essential role for personal and collective identity. Suffice it to say that the diverse modes of circum-corporeal enhancements (e.g. cosmetics, tattooing, attire) present contact zones, portable frontiers, for the communication of meanings, especially as they relate to social others (e.g. Carrasco, 1999; Gell, 1993; Turner, 1980). For example, in eastern Peru, a range of forms – special pots, cloth, female bodies – are crucial for group sociality, especially commensal and initiation rites (Gow, 1999). Their female-painted designs are ‘properties of the surface’ and stand as a source of creativity and show of knowledge, but are especially linked, recursively, to ‘exteriorizing’ dimensions of womanhood through action and painted form.

To discuss why things look alike, Recuay groups can be said to have drawn on a similar paradigm of cultural production which, in innovative ways, emphasizes cross-over technical choices in the fashioning of object-bodies. In particular, I explore the role of ‘negativization’, which I understand as design, within a bounded unit, conceptualized or rendered through its background or reverse image, like a film negative or cookie mould. By examining the surficial properties of objects, I offer a broad comparison of different techniques and forms, proceeding with the assumption that the interpretation of material cultures is enhanced when different media are studied together.

The human form of Recuay persons, places and things

Following the collapse of the Chavín civilization, the Central Andes witnessed the proliferation of many distinct cultures during a dynamic time known as the Early Intermediate Period (1–700 AD). Many regions featured their own corporate art style (Moseley, 1992), each characterized by a suite of local artistic and technical traditions.

During this period, some of the largest and most complex settlements of ancient Peru were established, with urban populaces and monumental buildings. There were also wide innovations in technology, especially in producing food and prestige objects. Craft specialists were associated with high status groups (Shimada, 2007; Uceda Castillo and Rengifo, 2006; Vaughn, 2006). In many regions, there was unprecedented social differentiation, as shown by variability in burial practices, access to wealth and labour, and health profiles. Scholars attribute the developments to the emergence of large regional polities and ethnic groups.

Most areas of highland Ancash featured small lineage-based collectivities. In key valleys, however, more powerful societies emerged, almost certainly headed by native lords similar to those known from colonial times (Cook, 1977; Espinoza Soriano, 1978; Varón Gabai, 1980). Large political centres included Huaraz, Pashash and Yayno. This study focuses on materials from around 400–700 AD, at the height of these centres’ significance, and before their decline attributed to Wari state expansion.

Recuay political complexity emerged from a setting in which warriorhood and predation became explicit modes of cultural production. As in many chiefly societies, warfare and its material culture (weaponry, clothing, imagery, fortified settlements) were vital



Figure 2. Jar with central chiefly figure, holding club/sceptre, surrounded by attendant warrior figures. Note the projecting hem of the main figure's tunic. Photo by W. Schneider-Schütz, courtesy of bpk / Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

sources of male authority and personhood. The rise of elites also coincided with a new-found, systematic interest in human effigy representation (Figure 2). Recuay human mimesis concerned the body's capacity for social action and distinction. Like a number of coeval coastal cultures, they used the human body, in its entirety or in various parts, explicitly as a crucial symbolic locus. Much of the imagery was to commemorate specific individuals and their networks of social relations in funerary ritual and in public festive events.

The innovation in body reckoning holds implications for reconstructing Recuay social and political life. It elucidates how the human form was invested with capacities and inequalities through things, activities and other beings (e.g. Hill, 2000; Houston et al., 2006; Joyce, 2001; López Austin, 1988). Just as important, ancient representations comprise one of the few lines of evidence which show how ancient Andeans conceived of themselves and social others.

Notably, other corporeal forms shared human-like qualities, as indicated by their surfaces. These featured especially on the elaboration of durable bodies: in ceramics, stonemasonry, monolithic sculpture and wrapped mummy bundles. I suggest that visual equivalencies, or 'analogies' (Küchler and Were, 2005; Stafford, 1999), were made between these media through surface resemblances. Special types of surfaces and imagery covered bodies, physical and symbolic, with a 'skin' that extended chiefliness to material things. Surfaces have been theorized as extensions of body and mind, intended



Figure 3. Fancy painted pottery from Recuay tradition sites in highland Ancash: (A–B) Recuay style polychrome bowls, Yayno; (C–H) Recuay style polychrome with exterior resist painting, Yayno; (I–M) Black Linear style, Yayno; (N) Top and profile view of open bowl, Wilkawain Negative style, Chinchawas. Colour key: light grey (red, opaque red); dark grey (dark red); white (white or paste colour). © George F. Lau.

to be layered and networked (Gell, 1998; Knappett, 2006). I would add that some surfaces are meant to relate to other similar surfaces. Such a proposal helps to explain their limited frequency and bunching, but also their widespread distribution.

Ceramics

The Recuay are best known for their elaborate ceramics. The name derives from an eponymous collection of funerary vessels, acquired in the late 19th century from Recuay province, Ancash (Wegner, 1982). The style is typified by its use of thin and light coloured (often kaolinite) clays, polychrome painting and sculptural modelling of animal, human and building forms. Among the myriad shapes (Reichert, 1977), the most elaborate were small serving and offering vessels.

A range of techniques enhanced surfaces: pattern burnishing, matte finishes, incisions, reduction firing and plastic modelling. Polychrome painting employed very characteristic designs, using the typical colour combination of red, white and black (Figure 3). The black, of negative or ‘resist’ technique, was very common on the fanciest vessels, including the exteriors of bowls, dippers, jars, building representations and figurines. Not all fine vessels featured resist decoration, but most did (in one study, 81% of 735 vessels; Reichert, 1977: 193).

Since the surface treatments entail multiple firings, making a Recuay pot entails a careful production sequence (Donnan, 1992: 75–9; Reichert, 1977: 35–7). After the vessels were modelled, slip and black paint were applied. Sometimes, terra-cotta vessels were first given a coating of white slip. Then a reddish slip might be applied, providing a red on white scheme. After the initial firing (oxidizing), black resist decoration was added, either by scorching an organic pigment applied directly or, more commonly, with a resist material (e.g. wax, resin, or slip) in solution or mouldable pieces that made up the designs. The entire vessel would then be dipped or given a wash with black pigment. When fired, all the parts not covered by the resist material became a hazy, graphite black. Removing the resist material produced a ‘negative’ design, in white and/or red, with a black background.

Recuay resist designs are linear and repetitive, and included anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms, often in single framed panels (Figure 3, C–H). There are also more abstract, geometric motifs, usually small and repetitive. Kroeber (1947) explained the imagery by the technique: ‘It may be suspected that the linearity or avoidance of mass and area in Recuay painting is the product of some feature of the technical process of negativizing [in resist painting]’ (p. 445).

Resist painting fell out of favour by around 600–700 AD. But some potters in the Recuay heartland continued to fashion vessels using the technique, such as Wilkawain Negative ware (Figure 3, N). It is significant that the disposition to negativize vessels continued even when the resist technique was abandoned. For instance, a late Recuay style (Yayno Black Linear) emerged, which employed positive black paint (Figure 3, I–M). This would not be unusual except that the designs were created, laboriously, by painting their ground. The black was applied carefully around the design, in order to form a figure (which is in the original red slip colour). In essence, like typical negative painting, this false negative technique engendered the desired image through its background.

Stone sculpture

Modifying exterior surfaces was also fundamental in stone carving. Made around 200–800 AD, approximately 500 to 600 sculptures have been identified. The sculptures served as structural elements – horizontal lintels, vertical slabs, and tenon-heads – on high-status tombs and buildings (Figure 4). Some also stood freely as uprights, almost certainly in ritual spaces. Most effigy sculptures formed parts of episodic building programmes for communities and their ancestor cults (Lau, 2006).

Although animal and geometric representations were rendered, sculptures emphasized single anthropomorphs. The imagery depicted a general honoured status, ancestorhood, achieved by different individuals. They celebrated male and female progenitors, warriors and chiefly leaders, many in the seated position of mummy bundles and/or with genitals (Figure 5).

Unlike pottery, stone carving is a medium based on reduction, the removal of rock from a stone block. Occasionally, statues were carved in the round or employed very high relief. Most works combined low relief and incision on planar slabs, where designs were created by stone removal around the principal image. This is also true for smaller



Figure 4. Two stone sculptures, depicting frontal anthropomorphs (80 cm tall), flanking the entrance to a room complex and staircase, Chinchawas. The sculptures probably represent ancestor figures. © Photograph George F. Lau.

works, such as stone bowls or carved bones (Grieder, 1978: 104, 117). As is typical for negativization, the image emerges out of the background and an explicit contrast is made between figure and ground. The northern Recuay region is also known for a ‘negative’ style and higher relief (Figure 6, A–B), where the sculpted image extends toward the viewer (Schaedel, 1952: 214).

Copper metal tools were available for carving, but stone hammers were probably more commonly used. Coarser work chipped away and evened out irregular surfaces. Flat surfaces were probably created using abrading blocks and sand, a technique popular among the Inca (Protzen, 1992). Stone sculptures were meant to be seen and interacted with, either in natural lighting (Figure 6, C) or through fire-lit interiors. Higher relief pieces, especially heads, almost certainly anticipated plays between light and shadow.

Architectural stonemasonry

Architecture constituted another medium for the Recuay commitment to surfaces. Distinctive stonework adorned monumental buildings: enclosures (Figure 7), temples, subterranean tombs and, later, above-ground mausolea (*chullpas*).



Figure 5. Carved monolith of seated figure, approximately 70 cm tall. The seated, cross-legged position, genitals and prominent mask-like facial features characterize ancestor mummy bundles and their representations. Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz. © Photograph George F. Lau.

Recuay stonemasonry was quite variable. In part, this was the result of variations in the form and availability of different rock types (mainly granites, andesites, schists, slates and limestones). Most walls used rounded fieldstones or combined stones of varying size; many walls did not feature large stones. A single site may show a range of masonry types even for similar architectural forms (Tschauner, 2003). Unlike the Tiwanaku or Inka ashlar styles, the Recuay laid stones, even cut rectangular blocks, with sandy mud-clay mortar (Grieder, 1978: 21). Very large blocks were often used for highly visible, load-bearing areas, such as thresholds, staircases and corners.

High-status buildings usually employed the *wanka-pachilla* masonry style. Walls were formed by aligning large uprights, *wankas*, while spaces between the *wankas* were carefully filled with flat, *pachilla* chinking stones. The technique provided only an outer face, a veneer, concealing a rubble fill within. As in pottery and monolithic sculpture, the technical work was carried out around the central element. In this case, the *pachilla* masonry was built around the *wanka*, functioning as a frame within the larger frame of the wall surface (Figure 7).

Such walls were durable. Some examples up to 15 m high are still in existence today. In several buildings at Yayno, masons constructed wall courses by standing large flat



Figure 6. 'Negativization' in stonecarving: (A) quadrangular slab depicting frontal anthropomorphic head with four zoomorphic appendages, 60 cm wide, Cabana; (B) quadrangular slab with 'whirling cross' design, 40 cm wide, Cabana; (C) horizontal slab depicting profile felines, Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz. © Photographs George F. Lau.

slabs on end to create an inner and outer face on top of a basal slab, laid horizontally, creating a U-shaped cross section for each course; the inside was then filled in with rubble and mortar.

In addition to its economy and mechanical properties, the masonry veneer reinforced Recuay's surface aesthetic. Effects were achieved through variegating the stonework. The most elaborate buildings feature courses of large boulders, of steadily diminishing size as the wall rises. Through slabs of different colours (red, yellow and greys) and a



Figure 7. West façade of compound c40, Yayno (4,150 m above sea level). High-status buildings, such as this residential compound, feature strong inward batter, wanka-pachilla stonework, and rows of large stones of diminishing size. The wall surfaces are now targets for graffiti and vandals. The measure stick, lower right corner, is 1 m tall. © Photograph George F. Lau.

considerable inward-leaning batter, the builders at Yayno heightened the buildings' visual effect. By destabilizing the surface pattern and perspective, the rows of smaller stone attenuate the wall even as the top appears to pull away from the viewer. The colours are due to weathering effects but also to stone selection (light granites contrasted against dark limestones with white quartz streaks).

The Recuay enhanced wall surfaces and contrasts through other means. Walls were sometimes covered over with plaster or white paint, forming a white background, occasionally for dark-coloured designs (Bennett, 1944: 64–7). Niches broke up wall surfaces and provided special spaces for storage. Also, sculptures were embedded as architectural members. Architectural ornament, carved from stone or moulded from clay stucco, was another form of veneering surfaces. Ceramic representations also indicate that geometric friezes and designs may have adorned wall surfaces (in stone, paint or clay), although little of this survives (Figure 6, B).

Some buildings have exterior stringcourses, a thin stone band projecting from the wall (Figure 8). They do not seem to have a practical function, however. Pottery representations also depict stringcourses, probably marking the transition between upper and lower floors, perhaps a vestigial reference to the butt-ends of wooden rafters. Capstones and roofstones, flat or inclined (to deflect rain), also break up the profile of wall surfaces.

In the majority of cases, the finest Recuay walls were overbuilt, if only for structural or defensive purposes. At Yayno and Pashash, the architects revelled in the materiality of



Figure 8. Exterior façades of funerary buildings atop the La Capilla area at Pashash. Note the stringcourse breaks up the upper wall profile. At other sites of the Recuay tradition, walls were faced with thin mud clay and then painted in white, red and black. © Photograph George F. Lau.

their impregnable, monumental walls, sloping batter and fine stonemasonry surfaces. Just as façades overwhelm with a monumental elegance, Recuay elites desired similar effects to be achieved through their attire.

Textiles

Of the general classes of Recuay material culture, textiles are the rarest and least documented, in spite of the advanced technology of known examples, as well as the importance of camelids for community economies (Lau, 2007). Of the few published examples, not many specimens have archaeological provenience. There are two main types: plain-weaves and tapestries (Garaventa, 1978; Manrique P., 1999; Porter, 1992). Cotton plain-weaves featured painted designs, while tapestries and plain-weaves of camelid fibre featured woven ones.

In the most elaborate tapestries, weavers used two-ply camelid fibre warps and interlocked wefts and a wide loom. Long rectangular widths would be sewn together, with a centreline seam. Other cloths were made by combining small panels. Recuay tapestries were probably the most technically advanced and labour-intensive of their time; their technology was later adopted by Wari elites (Rodman and Cassman, 1995: 34).

Recuay cloth fragments have been found mainly in the form of tunics. Smaller edged fragments may have been made for belts or headwraps. Designs were rendered mainly in

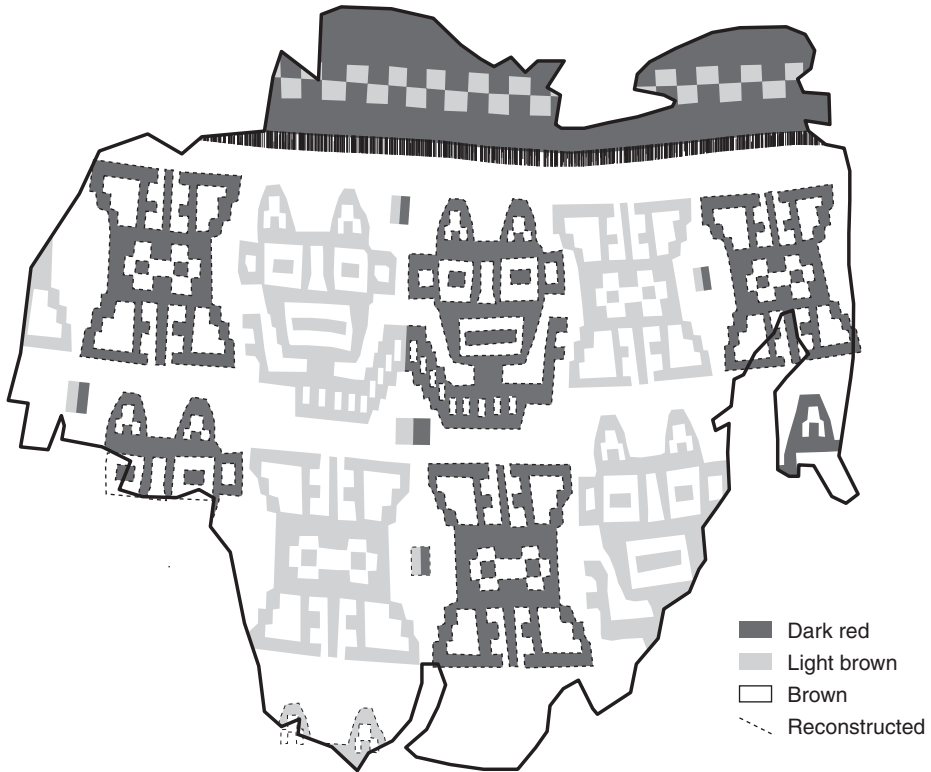


Figure 9. Reconstruction of Recuay textile, from the site of Aukispukio. The designs, showing a bicephalic figure alternating with a feline creature (split-represented), and colours are complementary. Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz. © George F. Lau.

camelid fibre colours (dark and light browns, creamy white) and in yellow, black and reds. They were paired or symmetrical, with alternating colours, or colour reversals (Figure 9). Frontal anthropomorphic heads, with four appendages, were typically the largest figures and occupied more central positions in the compositions. Other cloth designs include zoomorphic and mythical beings, and various interfigural ‘filler’ elements (Levillier, 1926: lám.A).

The importance of textiles is best expressed by the Recuay themselves, for they regularly depicted well-attired figures in their pottery. Both women and men had very characteristic forms of dress that served as outward signs of rank and person. For example, extravagant headdresses, tunics, trophy head ornaments and weapons marked warriorhood. The front sides of men’s tunics usually featured elaborate designs, presumably woven, such as the frontal head motif. The designs appeared on the central part of the shirt (pectoral) or along two vertical bands (one descending from each shoulder); sometimes, designs cover the entire tunic surface. Meanwhile, braided coiffures, chequered shirts, shawl pins and thin belts represented females, who often presented bundles or offerings of drink. Women also frequently had face paint on the lower jaw. Recuay attire

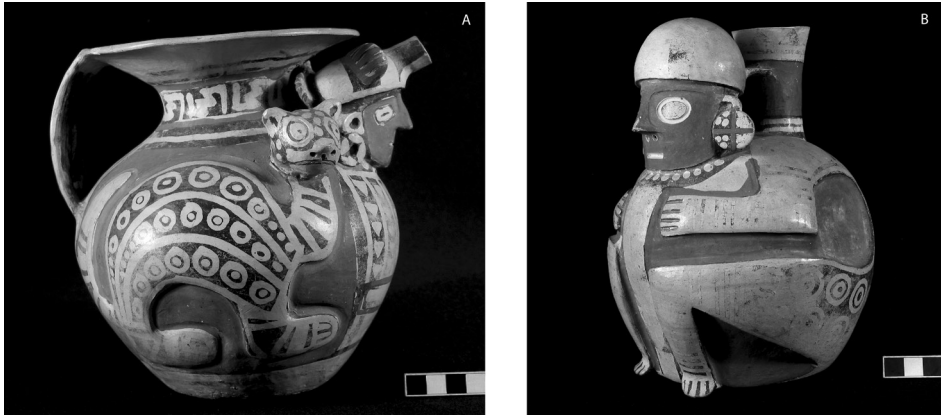


Figure 10. Polychrome effigy vessels from the subterranean tomb of Jancu, near Huaraz. Note the feline and human figures share similar feline-associated designs: spots, circle-and-dots and striped rings (around limbs). Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz. © Photographs George F. Lau.

and accessories denoted highly conventionalized gendered statuses and practices (Gero, 2001; Reichert, 1977).

It is worth noting that chiefly figures sometimes donned patterned surfaces found in feline representations. The designs include resist circle and dots on the upper legs and stripes/rings, probably referring to feline (*gato montés*) pelage markings. Feline–leader analogies through exterior surfaces are particularly obvious in two vessels from the Jancu grave lot (Figure 10), where they were used in conjunction as grave furniture. Thus the Recuay present cases where attire and body ornament concern the disclosure of a person’s ‘visible resources’ or ‘skin’ for social interaction (Strathern, 1979: 250; Turner, 1980) where coverings objectify the person.

Negativization: techniques of the surface

In stressing techniques that made objects special, the Recuay subscribed to an ancient philosophy of elaborating things. ‘Negativization’, in particular, involved creative approaches towards surfaces. First, it privileged the material and its outward appearances, especially colour and finish. Also, the desired image existed within a discernible, bounded unit (e.g. wall, textile panel) that framed or defined the surface. In several kinds of making, the emphasis was on creating design by removing material rather than making additions. This resulted in an image being formed from the original fabric or background. Finally, one senses a logic about the generative capacity of materials and techniques. The complementary interplay of figure–ground contrasts accentuated and, indeed, helped generate the designs.

Recuay culture clearly drew upon Andean technical styles and value systems. Unlike many early metallurgical traditions, which focused on hardness, efficiency or the durability of metalwork, what was precious about metals for many Andeans was their colour

(Helms, 1981; Lechtman, 1984). Metallurgy stressed the incorporation of a material throughout its physical structure, in spite of greater costs. For instance, metalsmiths knew about gilding by plating or thin leaf, which is more economical in terms of material. But they often preferred to alloy gold with copper metal, and then hammer and burnish the desired product (thin sheets) to enrich the gold and bring out its colour on the surface. Through this method, much metalwork sought to make gold's essence surficial *and* integral to the material's structure.

The process of 'surface enrichment' can be compared to Recuay negative painting and stone-carving because it achieves the desired result of revealing through removal. Parallels in metalwork, weaving and other types of making suggest there were cognate expressions of a cross-media style based on enriching surfaces – by perceiving and rendering design through background space. In particular, the figure(s) and ground work together: the ground is not empty, for it is constructed *in conjunction* with the figures. In textiles, the negativization was manifested in figure-ground reversals and complementary colour schemes on opposed panels and designs. It is not coincidental that the range of designs rendered in resist painting resembles very closely those found on textiles. The linear forms, figure-ground alternations and the framing of iconic designs through modular, panel-like fields on pottery may be reinforcing technical dispositions in weaving (also Makowski, 2004: 56).

But the same techniques distinguish a type of value system unique to Recuay. Whereas those that Lechtman (1984) describes stress the incorporation of an essence throughout the entire product's structure, Recuay techniques focused on the surficial. Outer faces were paramount. Although Recuay metallurgy used sheet-assembly techniques typical of the Central Andes, it also employed lost-wax casting and electrochemical plating, which are techniques more typical of the Northern Andes (e.g. Grieder, 1978; Scott, 1998). Cast objects entailed the production and use of moulds, which transferred to the product the mould's contours and impression (in reverse). Large, copper alloy garment pins were cast and then bathed in a coat of gold plating (Figure 11). Explicit emphasis on outer surfaces, over integrity, was also produced through stonemasonry veneers.

Owing to lack of preservation, it is easy to overlook other forms of production, such as basketry, bone carving (Grieder, 1978: 114–6) and the pyro-engraving of bottle gourds. There is little direct evidence for the latter in Recuay, but it was a common and ancient practice throughout the Andes (Jiménez Borja, 1948; Spahni, 1969). The early use of gourds is known in highland Ancash (Lynch, 1980) and pyro-engraving continues into present times. Of course, many pottery shapes in Recuay and other cultures were modelled on gourd shapes (Tello, 1929: 87; 1938: xxxii). Notably, gourd cups were among the preferred vessels for receiving *chicha* in ceremonial practices in colonial highland Ancash (e.g. Millones, 1979: 248). Ceramic bowls, often with negativized exteriors, filled this role for the Recuay.

Recuay negative painting shares similarities with pyro-engraved gourd surfaces. The technique has inherent tendencies for linearity, a binary colour scheme and low-relief designs on black backgrounds. For example, the Wilkawaín Negative style (Figure 3, N), used in Late Recuay times, shared coastal pyro-engraved gourd motifs (Bennett, 1944: Figure 8; Lau, 2005: Figure 4g; Tello, 1956: Figure 134). Resist styles and designs may have referenced, if not been inspired by, pyro-engraving techniques.



Figure 11. Gilded head of copper metal pin, lost-wax cast in the form of a *taruka* deer (*Hippocamelus antisensis*) recovered during excavations at Yayno. © Photograph George F. Lau.

Enhanced bodies, saturated settings

The intensive modification of exterior surfaces in Recuay culture was a strategic field for negotiating status and identity. The style's principal media (pots, buildings, sculptures, textiles) formed parts of political programmes, both modest and grandiose, of chiefs and their close relations. These media were crucial in two related domains of public display: funerary cults and feasting activities. Special, covered bodies served as both the backdrop and vital participants in these practices.

The objects marked by negativized surfaces can be considered extensions of chiefly persons. Surficial designs found on ceramic human figures were also common on other parts of pots and even other media. The correspondences are not applicable to all figures; women, for example, also wear elaborate attire but feature a more restrictive set of negative designs. Noble regalia were critical even in circumstances where it would have been unusual, if not very awkward in practice, e.g. in scenes of handling camelids or sexual intercourse. The textile is an object but so is the person wearing it: the dressing in fancy surfaces denotes a composed, carefully constructed entity.

Fine clothes, especially those worn in public, are vital because they literally cover people in meanings. This is particularly significant given cloth's role in ancestor cults, one of the principal settings for Recuay artworks. Layers of cloth were common as

offerings to mummy bundles, the cult objects of descent groups (e.g. Arriaga, 1968[1621]; Duviols, 2003). These textiles served to honour chiefs and ancestors and, as acts of familial care, sought to ensure fertility and well-being. The chiefly figures appear as powerful individuals because of their size and centrality, but also because their attire helps transform them into divine instantiations.

Recuay surfaces were also critical because they connected collaborative objects. Many important discussions have focused on iconographic meanings. Are figures shamans or gods? Are the animals real or mythical? Even if we were able to approach these questions convincingly, the objects and their images cannot be seen as stand-alone elements. Rather, the different media probably worked together, mutually referencing and enhancing other objects and spaces during special social occasions.

Where did these images circulate? Stone sculptures, although moveable, usually decorated special buildings, especially the walls of funerary buildings, open enclosures and high-status residences. Fine ceramics were much more portable and they are found especially in offering contexts, tombs and feasting venues, often with stone sculptures (Grieder, 1978; Lau, 2002; Tello, 1929). Fancy textiles adorned prominent live and dead persons, who moved around as the cynosures of public ceremony. Buildings, with elaborate interior and exterior faces, provided the backdrop for these activities.

The Recuay, it seems, saturated certain settings with special surfaces. In those sites where there has been systematic work (see Table 1), there is a convergence of high-status media in select areas. Those forms and spaces are almost invariably marked by negativized surfaces. Preservation of textiles is rare, but human figures most likely circulated, in live and in bundled modes, wearing fine garments.

These contexts, when conceptualized together, result in a series of nested surfaces or an ordered cluster of forms with negativized surfaces, which are themselves contained. The saturation of contexts was probably fundamental to how the various bodies *inside* were considered to have worked as effective objects (e.g. Walens, 1981). The containment of special items in special spaces essentially follows homologous dispositions about ancestral nurture and fertility in the Andes, such as a womb, nest of eggs, field of potatoes, or mausoleum of mummies. Recuay techniques hint at a generative scheme that articulates an inter-corporal domain, where bodies are foregrounded in relation to others, precisely through surfaces (in relation to others).

Chiefs as houses

The equivalencies made between different sorts of bodies are most explicit in pottery representations of architecture (e.g. Lapiner, 1976; Reichert, 1977). Different types of buildings are shown (enclosures, tombs), but most appear to be house representations. These were multi-storey buildings, of rectangular or circular plan, frequently with staircases, landings and interior courtyards. Varied in architectural function, they depict the small, insular worlds of Recuay collectivities.

The spaces formed settings for positioning human figures, where their roles and activities are actively constituted. They are usually presided over by a large chiefly figure. Attendant figures often bear cups or hold packages or bundles. Some vessels encase the torso and limbs with construction, exposing only the main figure's oversized head. The

Table 1. Summary of presence/absence of negativized media in different high-status Recuay archaeological contexts

| Site | Context | Negative ceramics | Wanka-pachilla walls | Wall features | Textiles | Cast metalwork | Other related |
|------------|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|----------|----------------|---|
| Aukispukio | Cliff tombs | X, also incised monochrome | X | | X | | Bundles; drum (leather skin); wood earspool |
| Chinchawas | Enclosure 2 | | X | Stone sculptures | | | Pins (hammered) |
| Jancu | Main chamber | X | X, whitewashed | Niches | | | Sarcophagi compartments; wanka tomb marker; headdress frontlet (hammered) |
| Pashash | Burial temple | X | X | Stone sculptures; stringcourses | | X | Relief figures on stone bowls |
| Yayno | Compound c40 | X | X | Niches | | X | |



Figure 12. Recuay human effigy jars: (A) vessel depicting figure and buildings. Gift of William C. and Carol W. Thibadeau 1988.12.5. Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University © Michael McKelvey; (B) vessel with figure within building (image courtesy of C. Donnan). Both vessels have spouts emerging from the headdress area of the main figure. The negative designs on the exterior walls are suitable for both building and person. Tunic fringes, frequently painted with triangles, are similar to projecting stringcourses (compare Figure 2).

polychrome and resist designs are reserved typically for exterior building façades. Depicting mythical beings and anthropomorphs, the designs have analogues in sculpture and painted architectural decoration. The exteriors are festooned with a profusion of banded and more geometric designs, as well as mouldings, friezes and stringcourses, which have some correspondence to known sites of Recuay and neighbouring cultures.

In addition to being the centre of action, the principal figure is sometimes represented as the building. His body is likened to the vessel and can assume architectural forms (Figure 12). In some cases, the figure is physically enveloped by the structure, filling it but also becoming it. The implication is that he not only is like or occupies a structure, but, in fact, is the structure. His face is the face of the house, his clothes substitute as the building's exterior, and his body implies *his* dwelling and social structure. Visually, this is reinforced through metonymic elements and proxies. Resist motifs are shared by the central figures and the buildings, in similar strategic places. The building's stringcourse and sloping projections refer to the tunic's flanged hem. Small birds perch calmly on headdresses as they do on rooftops. The figure's girth, denoting his vigour and generosity, matches the vessel's rotundity and a capacity to contain.

The vessels depict, but are also meant to foster, social interchanges. As serving vessels, they were designed for special beverages and libations, perhaps alcoholic maize

beer. The small vessels suggest moderate quantities of the liquid, probably for a select group. The physical action of pouring can be taken as ‘this well-appointed house provides drink’, but now one can also see how this toggles easily with ‘this well-appointed figure (of the house) provides drink’. Indeed, the spout often issues from the figure’s head or headdress (Figure 10, A; Figure 12) or from the vessel in his hands. By distributing something of themselves, these vessels were sites where corporate bodies were able to commingle and where there were transactions, fluid and figural, between the chiefly person, his line and his following.

Yet, in articulating chiefly sociality and generosity, one could argue that the most arresting dimension of the vessels, where the ‘action is’, is not in the activity of the interior figures, but in the layered surface decoration. It is instructive that negativized surfaces occur at the interfaces between inner and outer worlds, for the effigies centre on – indeed, are obsessed with – an interior domain. This resonates with many Amerindian worldviews that draw distinctions between the self-sufficiency of civilized beings, things and life within an ordered setting (e.g. house, lineage, community) and the uncharted anomie and ambiguous beings and resources outside (e.g. Descola, 2005; Viveiros de Castro, 1992).

Despite their technical sophistication, I would argue that the vessels were neither magical objects nor objects magically made (cf. Gell, 1992). Rather, they appear to have attracted significance through episodic use by people accustomed to their surfaces. There was a familiar, if occasional, intimacy between the objects/imagery and their ‘insider’ users/viewers. In an analysis of drinking objects among Quechua speakers, Allen (2002) observes: ‘The constant in these presentational forms is an underlying pattern that . . . expresses the idea of power bursting from a hidden interior in that the outside becomes the inside and the inside becomes the outside’ (p. 199). Interiors are associated with mythic histories and ancestry, and accessing the inside refers to physical action (e.g. entering), but also a qualitative change in consciousness, or intersubjectivity, shared by insiders (Allen, 2002: 194–5). The Recuay house effigies also insist on the familiar, redundant content of the objects.

Implications of negativization

Recuay artworks are early expressions of certain individuals assuming multiple corporeal statuses in the Andes. In one form, they are embodied through physical architecture; in another, it is through stone sculpture, mummy bundle or clay vessel. It relates to how Andean peoples began thinking about and construing their fleshly leaders as transcendent beings who continue to attend to their descendants in return for their devotion after biological death (the basic desire of ancestor cults). These objects figured prominently in the ritual domains of kin-based collectivities, actively commemorating their known deceased.

It is noteworthy that later Andean civilizations, namely the Inca and Chimú, designed elaborate constructions to house the royal estate and collectivity (kin, courts, servants) formed around a dead ruler (Moore, 2005; Ramírez, 1996). Façades covered with elaborate adobe friezes and ashlar masonry were vital in all of these projects because they constructed the social skin, that ‘frontier of the social self’ (Turner, 1980: 112). Originally employed to understand body ornament, the term also alludes to the communicativity of other surfaces, especially given the formal equivalencies attributed by the Recuay to special vessels, buildings and people.

The techniques of surface enhancement are mainly associated with elite items and spaces. Regrettably, the makers and organization of production are largely unknown due to lack of data. Large and small communities very probably made stone sculpture, due to the types of local stone used and considerable local stylistic variation (Schaedel, 1952). Given the insular purpose of ancestor sculptures, their production was probably the prerogative of the descent groups (Lau, 2006: 228–32), which adds further social relevance to the status of objects in style genealogies (Gell, 1998; Gosden, 2005). Archaeological research has examined how makers produce composite or multiple classes of objects (Shimada, 2007). Cross-crafting among Recuay groups may help to explain negativization on sculptures, textiles, architecture and gourds. However, sites of production for metalwork and kaolinite ceramics may have been more specialized and limited in distribution, due to the materials' technical demands and scarcity.

Of the many Andean cultures, Recuay was unique in the extent of its cross-media emphasis in negativization. It provides a series of criteria – multiple technical dispositions taken as components of a corporate style – for making comparisons to other cultures. Universes of techniques can be compared to help refine our knowledge about universes of finished outcomes and their formal relations (e.g. classifications). For example, the general lack of negativization in other regional styles underscores the boundaries between Recuay and most of its contemporaries: Moche, Cajamarca, Lima and, later, with Wari. Recuay might be the most similar to its coastal Gallinazo neighbours; manifestations of negativization exist in Gallinazo textiles, resist painting and patterned architectural surfaces (Bennett, 1950; Donnan, 1992). The comparability of techniques complements their similarities in iconography (Makowski and Rucabado Yong, 2000).

In general, Recuay negative painting is considered inert ornament, or is recognized mainly when discussing iconography or chronology. Scholars suggest, for example, that the technique may be derived from northern Andean styles (Kroeber, 1944: 108–10; Willey, 1948: 11–12). Kubler (1962: 245) also compared it to interior painted, geometric patterns found in pre-Hispanic Colombian tombs, noting the resemblances between the repetitive, 'cipher'-like, decoration while observing that resist designs make 'the ground visually more active than when the figure appears in dark upon light'.

Recuay objects were effective through touch and texture, intoxication and proxemics but, it appears, mainly through the eye. For many Amerindian societies, visual information can be conveyed and experienced differently through variant modes of seeing, intensified in public ritual or occasioned through royal gaze/witness (Carrasco, 1999: 129; Gow, 1999: 240; Houston et al., 2006: 173–5). In the ceramics, the scenes of interacting figures suggest an enhanced visual world (Figure 2). The position of stone sculptures on building entrances and enclosures also stresses the attention of the effigy figures as one moves through them (Figure 4). The saturation of negativized surfaces appears to have marked out, by visual means, the small orbits of chiefly elites.

Hohmann's (2003: 150) suggestion of a mythical 'universo en negativo' (negative universe) on pottery – a dark supernatural, watery world where Recuay divinities are said to reside – is noteworthy in this light. For me, the concept of a negative space is provocative not as a distinct world, *per se*, but as a field that mediates between special bodies and those external to or around them. The bodies, in their various forms, harbour the energizing qualities of chiefs or their progenitors, and are embodied through actions with suitably

surfaced objects and within suitably surfaced settings. Rather than a dark, nocturnal universe, negativization enables a dynamic surface meant to presence a special interior/body. The generative scheme mirrored the labour of negativizing: to form an image in relation to the background, enhance the interior vessel, and engage inner and outer worlds as complementary forms.

Finally, the analysis of enhanced, connected bodies informs topical debates regarding Amerindian ontologies. Descola's (2005: 176; 2006: 147–9) quadripartite taxonomy discusses how combinations of physicalities (e.g. body) and interiorities (e.g. soul, mind) characterize totemic, animic, analogic and naturalist societies. The Recuay case presents itself as analogic in that multiple essences, forms and substances separate entities in the world. In this heterogeneity, 'resemblance [through a logic such as negativization] is the only expected means to render this fragmented world intelligible and tolerable' (Descola, 2005: 147). The Recuay desire to render like surfaces on different materials highlights conformal, rather than necessarily isomorphic or consubstantial, bodies.

Conclusions

This study has reviewed technical procedures in ancient Peru. The comparison focused on the redundancy of forms and technical processes, and found an ancient cross-media disposition of making focused on the enhancement of object surfaces. I referred to this as *negativization*: the rendering and perception of image through its reverse or background.

Different media shared the technical style, helping to reveal an ancient philosophy on the nature and experience of material culture. This study finds that local systems of value crosscut materials and their specific properties with an insistence that relevant media conform. If Recuay objects were defined by their relation to other objects, the different media worked together to saturate social contexts associated with chiefly display: commensalism and ancestor veneration. The elaborate surfaces, combined with shared designs, helped to signify chiefly bodies and extend their associations to different forms. In the process, certain things were made more special than others and also worked together, in clusters, to reinforce social distinctions within a larger totality.

In archaeology, such cultural elaboration is usually theorized in terms of ostentation, energy expenditure and materialized ideology. Yet Recuay groups highlighted elaborate things not simply to signal wealth and access. The small worlds identified here helped to objectify the nurturing and transaction of familiar, but special, contents of key bodies (effigy vessels, sculptures, buildings, mummies, etc.). These might be considered ancestral flows, concentrated in chiefly persons and immanent across different corporeal forms sharing similar surfaces. The physical presencing of the past was particularly significant in Andean society because genealogy became increasingly a source of elite identity and empowerment.

This evaluation of Recuay techniques is neither meant to be definitive nor particularly technical, but to establish directions for future research. Space precludes a discussion of variability in negativization, across time or in non-elite contexts. Future research will need to consider its spatial distributions and should endeavour to detail how arrangements of objects and spaces worked in conjunction with specific imagery, rather than as isolated phenomena. In engaging the archaeological record, scholars are tasked with the challenge of making sense, out of static artefacts and fossilized contexts, of the culture

behind the object. The approach advocated here, the study of multiple media, helps inform the production logics and choices of Amerindian styles, and further illuminates the complex relations between things, making and people.

Acknowledgments

An earlier version of this study was delivered at a symposium, sponsored as part of the AHRC-funded 'Technologies of Enchantment' project (awarded to C. Gosden and D. Harrow), held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, November 2007. I am grateful to the organizer, Natasha Hutcheson, for inviting me to participate. Work at Yayno has been supported by National Geographic, the British Academy, the Heinz Family Foundation and the Sainsbury Research Unit. Various scholars have helped to shape ideas in this manuscript. I especially wish to thank Jeff Blomster, Aristóteles Barcelos Neto, Joanne Clarke, Mary Katherine Scott and the anonymous reviewers. Any errors of interpretation remain my own.

References

- Adams, Marie Jeanne (1973) 'Structural Aspects of a Village Art', *American Anthropologist* 75: 265–79.
- Allen, Catherine J. (2002) 'The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography', *Res* 42: 180–203.
- Arnold, Denise Y. (1997) 'Making Men in Her Own Image: Gender, Text and Textile in Qaqachaka', in Rosaleen Howard-Malverde (ed.) *Creating Context in Andean Cultures*, pp. 99–131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arriaga, Pedro J. de (1968 [1621]) *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Bennett, Wendell C. (1944) *The North Highlands of Peru: Excavations in the Callejón de Huaylas and at Chavín de Huántar*. New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 39(1).
- Bennett, Wendell C. (1950) *The Gallinazo Group, Viru Valley, Peru*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Publications in Anthropology 43.
- Boas, Franz (1955) *Primitive Art*. New York: Dover.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carrasco, David (1999) *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Cereceda, Veronica (1987) 'Aproximaciones a una estética andina: de la belleza al tinku', in J. Medina (ed.) *Tres reflexiones sobre el pensamiento andino*, pp. 133–231. La Paz: Hisbol.
- Cook, Noble David (1977) 'La visita de los Conchucos por Cristóbal Ponce de León, 1543', *Historia y Cultura* 10: 23–45.
- DeBoer, Warren R. (1990) 'Interaction, Imitation and Communication as Expressed in Style: The Ucayali Experience', in Margaret W. Conkey and Christine A. Hastorf (eds) *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, pp. 82–104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DeBoer, Warren R. (1991) 'The Decorative Burden: Design, Medium, and Change', in William Longacre (ed.) *Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology*, pp. 144–61. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Descola, Philippe (2005) *Par-delà nature et culture*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Descola, Philippe (2006) 'Beyond Nature and Culture', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 139: 137–55.

- Dietler, Michael and Herbich, Ingrid (1998) 'Habitus, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries', in Miriam Stark (ed.) *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, pp. 232–63. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Dobres, Marcia-Anne (2000) *Technology and Social Agency: Outlining a Practice Framework for Archaeology*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Donnan, Christopher B. (1992) *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Duviols, Pierre (2003) *Procesos y visitas de idolatrías: Cajatambo, siglo XVII*. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
- Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar (1978) *Huaraz: poder, sociedad y economía en los siglos XV y XVI – reflexiones en torno a las visitas de 1558, 1594 y 1712*. Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- Garaventa, Donna M. (1978) 'Peruvian Textiles: Textiles from the Lowie Museum of Anthropology and California Academy of Sciences', *Pacific Discovery* 31: 21–6.
- Gell, Alfred (1992) 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology', in Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton (eds) *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, pp. 40–67. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gell, Alfred (1993) *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gell, Alfred (1998) *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gero, Joan M. (2001) 'Field Knots and Ceramic Beaus: Interpreting Gender in the Peruvian Early Intermediate Period', in Cecelia Klein (ed.) *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, pp. 15–55. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Gosden, Chris (2005) 'What Do Objects Want?', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12: 193–211.
- Gow, Peter (1999) 'Piro Designs: Paintings as Meaningful Action in an Amazonian Lived World', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5: 229–46.
- Grieder, Terence (1978) *The Art and Archaeology of Pashash*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hanks, William F. (1989) 'Word and Image in Semiotic Perspective', in William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice (eds) *Word and Image in Maya Culture: Explorations in Language, Writing and Representation*, pp. 8–21. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Hardin, Kris L. (1993) *The Aesthetics of Action: Continuity and Change in a West African Town*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Helms, Mary W. (1981) 'Precious Metals and Politics: Style and Ideology in the Intermediate Area and Peru', *Journal of Latin American Lore* 7: 215–35.
- Helms, Mary W. (1993) *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hill, Erica (2000) 'The Embodied Sacrifice', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10: 317–26.
- Hohmann, Carolina (2003) 'El rostro circular frontal de boca dentada en la iconografía Recuay', *Arqueológicas* 26: 131–52.
- Houston, Stephen D., Stuart, David and Taube, Karl (2006) *The Memory of Bones: Body, Being and Experience among the Classic Maya*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ingold, Timothy (2000) 'On Weaving a Basket', in Timothy Ingold (ed.) *Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, pp. 339–48. London: Routledge.
- Ingold, Timothy (2007) 'Earth, Sky, Wind and Weather', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Special Issue: S19–S38.

- Jiménez Borja, Arturo (1948) 'Mate peruano', *Revista del Museo Nacional* 17: 34–73.
- Joyce, Rosemary A. (2001) *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Keane, Webb (2003) 'Semiotics and the Social Meaning of Material Things', *Language and Communication* 23: 409–25.
- Knappett, Carl (2006) 'Beyond Skin: Layering and Networking in Art and Archaeology', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16: 239–51.
- Kroeber, A.L. (1944) *Peruvian Archeology in 1942*. New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 4.
- Kroeber, A.L. (1947) 'Esthetic and Recreational Activities: Art', in Julian Steward (ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians, Volume 5: The Comparative Ethnology of South American Indians*, pp. 411–92. Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143.
- Kubler, George (1962) *Art and Architecture of Ancient America*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Küchler, Susanne and Were, Graeme (2005) 'Introduction', in Susanne Küchler and Graeme Were (eds) *The Art of Clothing: A Pacific Experience*, pp. ix–xxx. London: UCL Press.
- Lapiner, Alan C. (1976) *Pre-Columbian Art of South America*. New York: Abrams.
- Lau, George F. (2002) 'Feasting and Ancestor Veneration at Chinchawas, North Highlands of Ancash, Peru', *Latin American Antiquity* 13: 279–304.
- Lau, George F. (2005) 'Core-Periphery Relations in the Recuay Hinterlands: Economic Interaction at Chinchawas, Peru', *Antiquity* 79: 78–99.
- Lau, George F. (2006) 'Recuay Tradition Sculptures of Chinchawas, North Highlands of Ancash, Peru', *Zeitschrift für Archäologie Aussereuropäischer Kulturen* 1: 183–250.
- Lau, George F. (2007) 'Animal Resources and Recuay Cultural Transformations at Chinchawas (Ancash, Peru)', *Andean Past* 8: 449–76.
- Lechtman, Heather N. (1984) 'Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy', *Technology and Culture* 25: 1–36.
- Lemonnier, Pierre (1993) *Technological Choices: Transformation in Material Cultures since the Neolithic*. London: Routledge.
- Levillier, Roberto (1926) *Nueva crónica de la conquista del Tucumán, Tomo I (1542–1563)*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Colección de Publicaciones Históricas de la Biblioteca del Congreso Argentino.
- López Austin, Alfredo (1988) *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas* (Vols 1, 2). Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Lynch, Thomas F. (ed.) (1980). *Guitarrero Cave: Early Man in the Andes*. New York: Academic Press.
- Makowski, Krzysztof (2004) *Primeras civilizaciones (tomo IX)*. Lima: El Comercio Enciclopedia Temática del Perú.
- Makowski, Krzysztof and Rucabado Yong, Julio (2000) 'Hombres y deidades en la iconografía Recuay', in K. Makowski (ed.) *Los Dioses del Antiguo Peru*, pp. 199–235. Lima: Banco de Crédito.
- Manrique P., Elba (1999) 'Textilería Recuay', in Jose Antonio de Lavallo and Rosario de Lavallo de Cárdenas (eds) *Tejidos Milenarios del Peru*, pp. 251–8. Lima: AFP Integra.
- Miller, Christopher L. and Hamell, George R. (1986) 'A New Perspective on Indian–White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade', *Journal of American History* 73: 311–28.
- Millones, Luis (1979) 'Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra', *Ethnohistory* 26: 243–63.

- Moore, Jerry D. (2005) *Cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Andes: Archaeologies of Place*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Moseley, Michael E. (1992) *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Munn, Nancy D. (1986) *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Porter, Nancy K. (1992) 'A Recuay Style Painted Textile', *Textile Museum Journal* 31: 71–81.
- Protzen, Jean-Pierre (1992) *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ramírez, Susan E. (1996) *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth Century Peru*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Reichert, Raphael X. (1977) 'The Recuay Ceramic Style: A Reevaluation', PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Rodman, Amy Oakland and Cassman, Vicky (1995) 'Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs the Surface', *Art Journal* 54: 33–9.
- Rosman, Abraham and Rubel, Paula G. (1990) 'Structural Patterning in Kwakiutl Art and Ritual', *Man* 25: 620–39.
- Saunders, Nicholas J. (1999) 'Biographies of Brilliance: Pearls, Transformations of Matter and Being, c. AD 1492', *World Archaeology* 31: 243–57.
- Schaedel, Richard P. (1952) 'An Analysis of Central Andean Stone Sculpture', PhD dissertation, Yale University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Scott, David A. (1998) 'Technical Examination of Ancient South American Metals: Some Examples from Colombia, Peru and Argentina', *Boletín, Museo del Oro* 44: 79–105.
- Shimada, Izumi (1996) 'Sicán Metallurgy and Its Cross-Craft Relationships', *Boletín del Museo del Oro* 41: 27–61.
- Shimada, Izumi (ed.) (2007) *Craft Production in Complex Societies: Multicraft and Producer Perspectives*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Spahni, Jean-Christian (1969) *Los mates decorados del Peru*. Lima: Peruano-Suiza S.A.
- Stafford, Barbara (1999) *Visual Analogy: Consciousness as the Art of Collecting*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn (1979) 'The Self in Self-Decoration', *Oceania* 29: 241–57.
- Tello, Julio C. (1929) *Antiguo Perú: primera época*. Lima: Comisión Organizadora del Segundo Congreso de Turismo.
- Tello, Julio C. (1938) *Arte antiguo peruano*. Lima: Universidad Mayor Nacional de San Marcos.
- Tello, Julio C. (1956) *Arqueología del Valle de Casma: Culturas Chavín, Santa o Huaylas Yunga y Sub-Chimú*. Lima: Editorial San Marcos.
- Thomas, Nicholas (1991) *Entangled Objects*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tschauner, Hartmut (2003) 'Honco Pampa: arquitectura de élite del Horizonte Medio del Callejón de Huaylas', in Bebel Ibarra (ed.) *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, pp. 193–220. Lima: Instituto Cultural Runa.
- Turner, Terence (1980) 'The Social Skin', in Jeremy Chertas and Roger Lewin (eds) *Not Work Alone: A Cross-Cultural View of Activities Superfluous to Survival*, pp. 112–40. London: Temple Smith.
- Uceda Castillo, Santiago and Rengifo, Carlos E. (2006) 'La especialización del trabajo: teoría y arqueología. El caso de los orfebres Mochicas', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes andines* 35: 149–85.

- Urton, Gary (1997) *The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philosophy of Arithmetic*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Varón Gabai, Rafael (1980) *Curacas y encomenderos: acomodamiento nativo en Huaraz, siglos XVI – XVII*. Lima: P.L. Villanueva.
- Vaughn, Kevin J. (2006) ‘Craft Production, Exchange, and Political Power in the Pre-Incaic Andes’, *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14: 313–44.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo (1992) *From the Enemy’s Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Walens, Stanley (1981) *Feasting with Cannibals: An Essay on Kwakiutl Cosmology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wegner, Steven A. (1982) ‘Hacia una definición de la cultura Recuay’, *Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos Serie Investigaciones* 5: 1–8.
- Weismantel, Mary (2004) ‘Moche Sex Pots: Reproduction and Temporality in Ancient South America’, *American Anthropologist* 106: 495–505.
- Wiley, Gordon R. (1948) ‘A Functional Analysis of “Horizon Styles” in Peruvian Archaeology’, in Wendell C. Bennett (ed.) *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, pp. 8–15. Menasha: Society for American Archaeology Memoir 4.

Biographical note

George F. Lau is Lecturer at the Sainsbury Research Unit (University of East Anglia), and has researched highland Peru since 1995. His interests include pre-Columbian arts, religion, material culture and social complexity. Several books are in press, a site monograph (Yale Peabody Museum) and a survey of Recuay archaeology (University of Iowa).