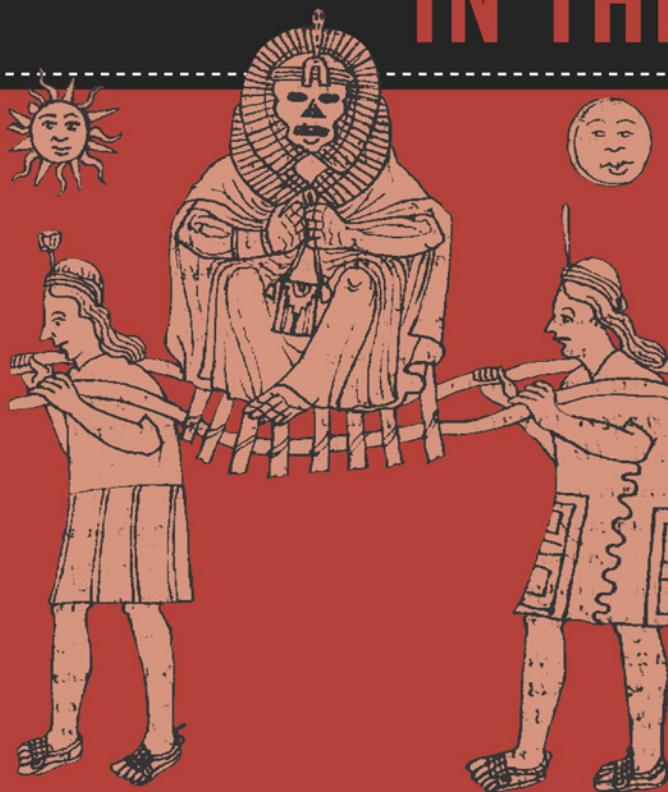


LIVING WITH THE DEAD IN THE ANDES



EDITED BY
IZUMI SHIMADA
AND
JAMES L. FITZSIMMONS

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Living with the Dead in the Andes

Introduction

IZUMI SHIMADA AND
JAMES L. FITZSIMMONS

Death is immutable, perturbs us to varying degrees, and triggers a wide variety of emotional, behavioral, organizational, ideological, and material responses and consequences at both individual and communal levels. Yet, death does not end or erase the emotional bonds or sense of indebtedness, memory, and other forms of interpersonal relationships established in life. As Hertz ([1907] 1960) pointed out over a century ago, a comprehensive understanding of death requires consideration of the corpse, soul, and mourners. In fact, lingering sentiment for and memory of the departed seems as universal as death itself. At the same time, diverse forms of and prolonged interaction between the dead and the living are often underwritten by economic, social, and political agendas beyond personal sentiments and memories (e.g., Goody 1962).

There are many ethnographic and historic studies documenting variability in conceptions and treatment of the dead, as well as in the persistence of living-dead interaction in different areas of the world (e.g., Ahern 1973; Ariès 1974; Bartel 1982; Bloch 1971; Bloch and Parry 1982; Fitzsimmons and Shimada 2011; Gluckman 1937; Goody 1962; Hertz [1907] 1960; Humphries and King 1981; Kroeber 1927; Lopatin 1960; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Newell 1976; Palgi and Abramovitch 1984; Ucko 1969; Warner 1959). This variability reflects, among other factors, diversity in age, gender, worldview, social status, identity, circumstance(s) of death, and broader social and historical contexts in which the living and dead interact. In this regard, examination of the conception and treatment of the dead and the living-dead relationship illuminates the underlying religious beliefs, worldviews, and economic, social, and even

political aspects of the individuals and the society involved. It is this wide spectrum of information embodied in the conception and treatment of the dead and the living-dead relationship that motivated us to organize a symposium entitled “Between the Dead and the Living: Cross-Disciplinary and Diachronic Visions in Latin America” at the seventieth annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Salt Lake City in 2005. This book and our earlier publication (Fitzsimmons and Shimada 2011) were outgrowths of this symposium, albeit with significantly expanded content organized into two separate volumes dedicated to case studies from Mesoamerica and the Andes, respectively. Together, these volumes demonstrate the significant advances made in our understanding of the subject at hand over the past forty years since the publication of *Death and the Afterlife in Pre-Columbian America: A Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, October 27th, 1973* (Benson 1975).

Aims and Organization

This book focuses on variability among expressions of the living-dead relationship in the Andes and, on a more general level, Andean concepts of the dead (including the ancestor), death, life, and to some extent, personhood and the body. We aim to

- 1) document variability in the treatment of the dead in material and symbolic terms (including political use of the dead) in both pre-Hispanic and historical eras;
- 2) define diverse conceptions of the dead (e.g., “bad” and “good” dead) and their symbolic transformation (e.g., venerated ancestors);
- 3) explore what underwrote persistent and varied living-dead relationships, including the specific functions and role(s) the dead may have played in the world of the living; and
- 4) showcase the different methodologies, perspectives, and approaches available for study of the subject at hand.

These interrelated aims pertain to such questions as how documented variability was linked to differences in age, gender, social status, and identity of individuals involved, as well as to the broader social and historical contexts in which the dead and the living interacted. Beyond the manifest functions and ostensible purposes of expressing lasting affection, respect, and veneration, what were the latent functions and deeper significance of living-dead interplay? These aims and questions, in turn, underwrite our broader goal of explaining and understanding documented variation

in the conception and treatment of the dead and living-dead interaction. Do they reflect stability/change and differences/similarities in worldview, sociopolitical organization, and/or dynamics of cultural contacts? Or do they validate the premise of *lo andino* or “Andean uniformitarianism” ([see below] Bennett 1948; cf. Isbell and Silverman 2006)?

Much as in our 2011 publication (Fitzsimmons and Shimada 2011), this volume as a whole offers original, data-rich case studies, as well as insightful, innovative methodologies, perspectives, and approaches to understanding the treatment of the dead and the living-dead relationship. In so doing, the volume provides fodder for a larger archaeology and anthropology of death. It presents a series of studies that can be compared with—and contrasted against—findings in other regional societies.

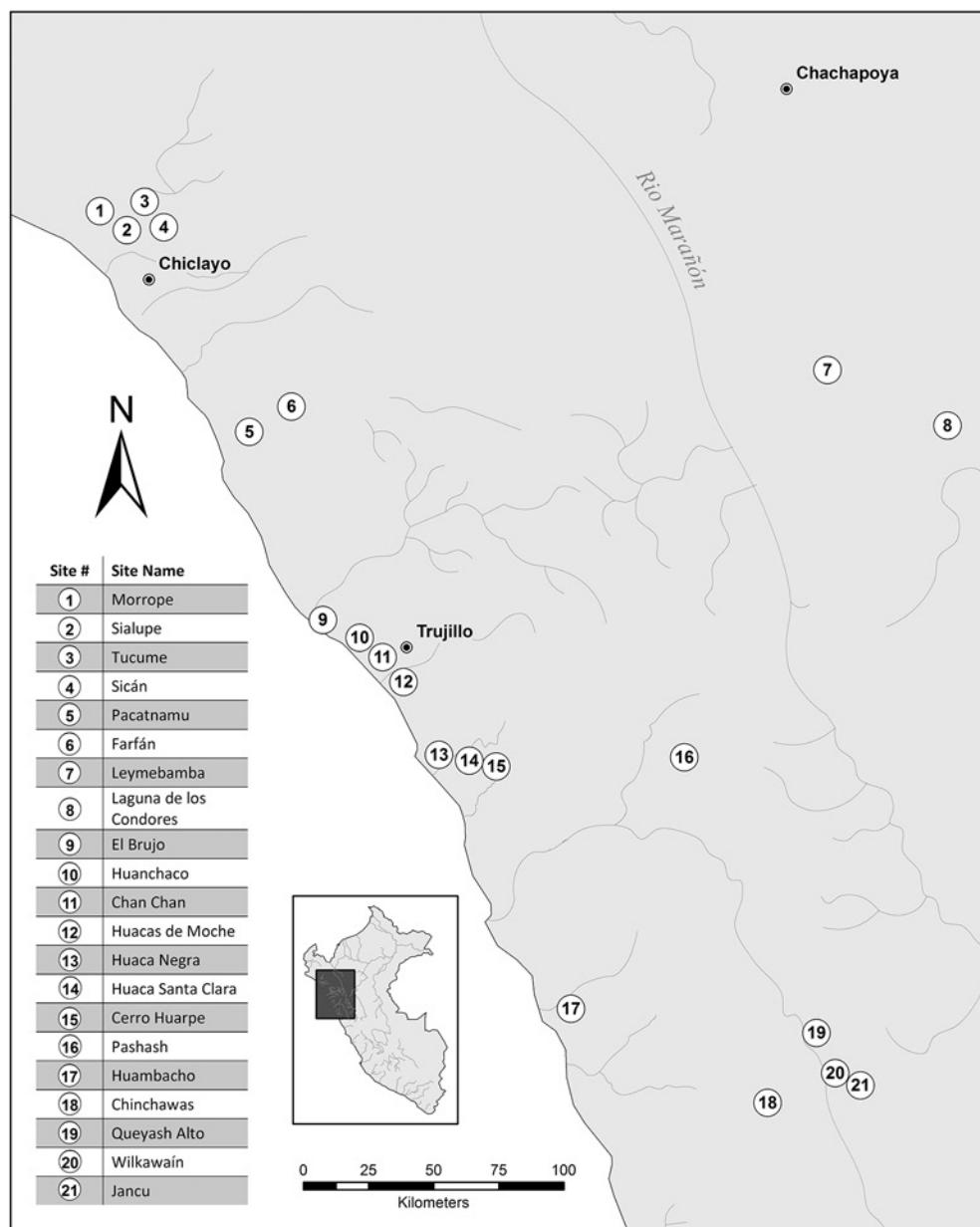
Reflecting the aims of the book, the nine constituent chapters are written from diverse perspectives and approaches by fourteen international authors. They bring to bear diverse but complementary perspectives and approaches that derive from archaeology, bioarchaeology, ethnohistory, history, art history, and ethnography. The book is organized chronologically from the earliest to latest within the two major geographical divisions of coast and highlands. The final chapter by ethnologist Frank Salomon serves as more than a commentary, as he identifies and discusses what may be pan-Andean concepts and practices found in other chapters.

Geographically, the book covers many of the major cultural-geographical regions of Peru, ranging from the *ceja de montaña* or *selva alta* (high jungle) of the Chachapoyas area, the intermontane basin of Callejón de Huáylas in the north highlands, and the south highlands near Cuzco, to the north and central coasts (figures I.1a, I.1b).

Chronologically, the constituent chapters span much of late Andean prehistory (i.e., Early Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon [figure I.2]) and the historical era, particularly the early Spanish Colonial era (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The absence of chapters dealing with earlier periods reflects the paucity of relevant studies, with some notable exceptions (see below). To minimize chronological confusion, we adopt Rowe-Menzel’s (1967) widely used periodization shown in figure I.2.

Relevant Information Sources and Methodological and Theoretical Developments: An Overview

Below is a brief overview of relevant data sources, as well as methodological and theoretical developments, that place the present volume in intellectual and historical context. This is followed by a discussion that highlights the research issues, approaches, and findings of each chapter and how they relate to the aims of the book.



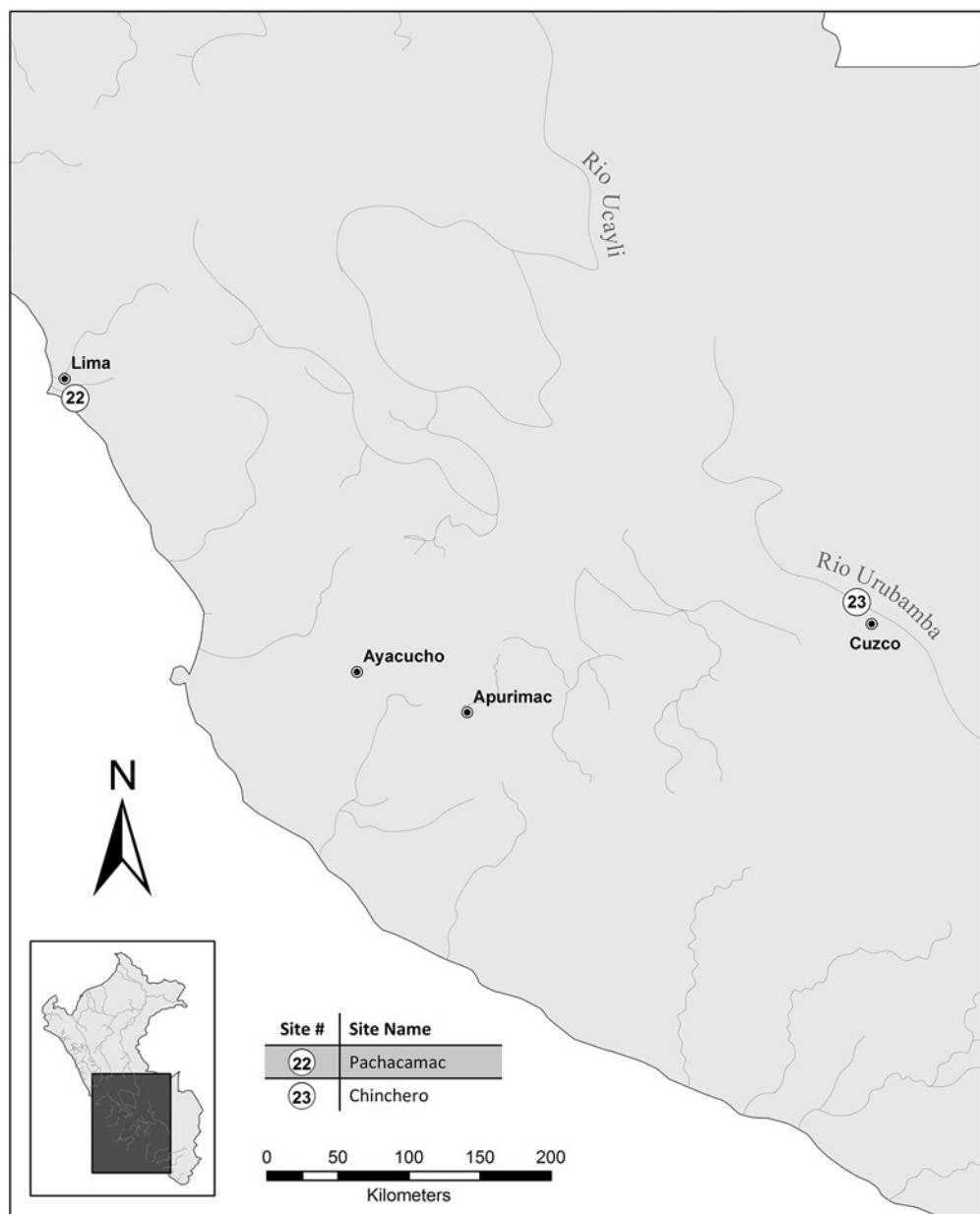


FIGURE 1.1B. Map showing the archaeological and ethnographic fieldwork sites in southern Peru mentioned in this book. Prepared by Kayeleigh Sharp.

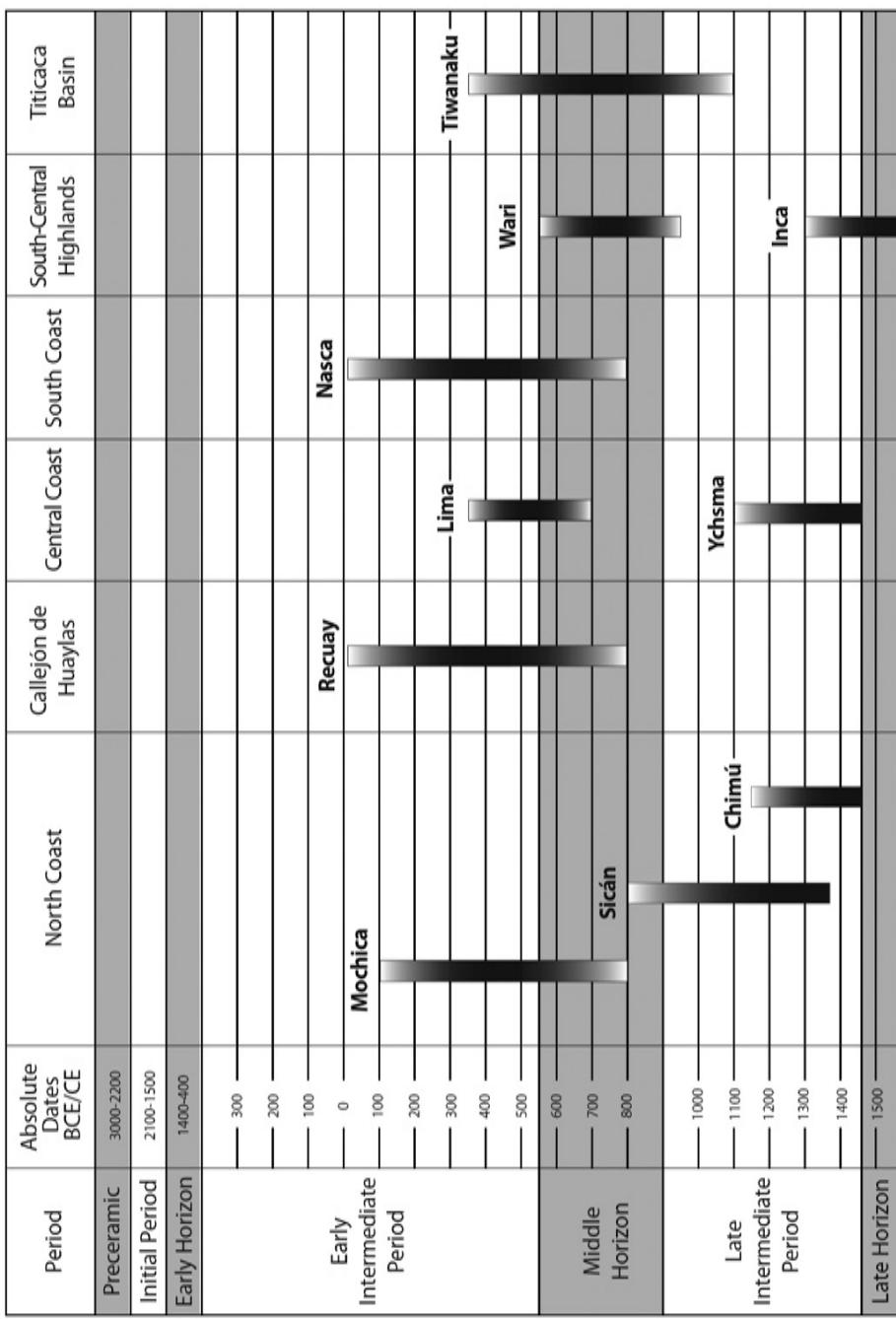


FIGURE 1.2. Chronology of major pre-Hispanic cultures of the Andes. Prepared by Kayeleigh Sharp.

Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Data and Perspectives

The significance of the living-dead relationship among Andean societies, and the diverse forms this relationship has taken, is well documented, particularly for the late pre-Hispanic era. This relationship was of particular concern to the Catholic Church, which engaged in concerted efforts during the Spanish colonial era to identify, locate, and eradicate what it deemed to be heretical beliefs and activities (e.g., Acosta [1590] 1987; Albornoz 1989 [1583–1584]; Arriaga 1999 [1621]; Ávila 1966 [1598]; Diaz de Betanzos [1551] 1996; Calancha [1638–1639] 1976; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1990). Certainly, there has been a considerable and continuing effort by ethnohistorians to locate, publish, and/or analyze records of anti-idolatory campaigns throughout the Andes (e.g., Duviols [1972] 1977, 2003; MacCormack 1991; Mills 1997; Millones and Kapsoli 2001; Salomon 1995; Taylor 2000).

Relevant documentary sources are quite diverse (e.g., Pillsbury 2008), for example, Juan Diaz de Betanzos ([1551] 1996), an early colonial Spanish writer considered to be one of the most reliable sources of information related to royal Inca (aka Inka) affairs, beliefs and rituals.¹ He presents us with a clear vision of the integral role and critical significance of the deceased Inca king (including his carefully preserved and mummified remains) in maintaining order and perpetuating the world in conjunction with the reigning king. Each Inca king assumed supernatural status after death and continued to be involved in world affairs as his descendant, the living king, sought his advice (through the medium of an oracle [see Gose 1996]). Diaz de Betanzos's writing also illuminates the responsibilities of the living king to venerate and care for his ancestral mummy. Ancestral mummies, the living king, and the *Inti* (or the sun, the Inca's principal deity), in essence, constituted a temporal continuum and the *axis mundi* (the connection between the earth and the supernatural world) unifying the worlds of deities, the living, and the dead.

The well-known drawing (figure I.3) by Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980) in his voluminous letter to the Spanish Crown effectively illustrates how deceased Inca kings and elites were cared for and venerated. The accompanying narrative tells us, for example, how during November, the month of the dead, the living removed the preserved corpses of their ancestors from their resting places, redressed them with fine clothes, offered food and drink, and danced and sang with them, parading around the streets. The significance of these ancestral mummies continued into the post-conquest era as royal Inca descendants claimed their legitimacy and power based on their connection with them. Recognizing that this practice and the Inca descendants could challenge his power and legitimacy, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1580) ordered Polo de Ondegardo ([1571]



FIGURE 1.3. Mummified Inca king being transported to a celebration. Poma 258v.

1990), lawyer and governor of Cuzco, to thoroughly search out and destroy all mummified kings (Bauer 2004; Bauer and Coello 2007). His effort represented a small part of a larger-scale effort to destroy pre-Hispanic ancestral mummies and to establish the Christian burial practices that spanned much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Other relevant colonial documentary sources are identified and critiqued in a number of readily accessible publications (e.g., Kaulicke 2003;

Pillsbury 2008; Salomon 1995, 1999). Decades of ethnohistoric analyses and, to a lesser extent, ethnographic and archaeological studies, have identified a number of basic concepts and rituals pertaining to the living-dead relationship that may have been long and widely shared over a large part of the Central Andes, but particularly in the highlands. For example, in contrast to modern Western conceptions, death was neither conceptually separated from life, nor viewed as an instantaneous event or permanent state. Thus, “[p]lants, animals, and people all pass from soft, juicy, unformed, and fast-changing life states (tender plants, babies) to dryer, harder, more lasting states (dry husks, trees, old people, and finally mummies),” and death was “in some ways coextensive with vitality itself” (Salomon 1995, 328). “Even those already enshrined and transformed into permanent ancestors [called *mallqui*] retained some of the powers of individual life and intermittently returned to individual functioning” (Salomon 1995, 329). Even today in the Andes, a recently deceased individual is often thought to walk among the living. Drawing heavily upon a Huarochirí manuscript (ca. AD 1600) that recorded the pre-Hispanic religious tradition of the central highland region (figure I.1b) in its original language (Quechua), Salomon (1995, 329; also see Salomon and Urioste 1991; Allen 1982, 1998, 2002) summarizes the widely held Andean conception of life and death as follows: “The simplest generalization about the theory of life and death compatible with consistent motifs in the [colonial] documents is that a human being consisted of perishable soft parts (softer in younger people); a durable skeleton and hide, which became the lasting person or mummy; and a volatile personal shade or spirit (called *anyma*), sometimes visualized as a flying insect, which departed from both soft and hard parts to return to the place of origin (*pacarina*) whence the person came.” Allen (2002, 43) refers to *anyma* as *alma*, Spanish word for soul or spiritual essence.

The above vision of the *anyma* was extrapolated to explain the possible significance of a row of what may be *Muscoid* puparia, rigid outer shells formed from the larval skin that cover fly pupae, painted on the jaw and the chest of realistic late Moche (ca. AD 600) effigies of sacrificial victims (figure I.4) excavated along with the dismembered remains of some seventy individuals in an enclosure at the back of Huaca de la Luna at the site of Moche; these puparia may be seen as graphic representations of the volatile *anymas* of the sacrificed individuals (Bourget 2001, 104–5). In fact, puparia have been documented inside pre-Hispanic funerary bundles and closely associated with human skeletal remains at different locations on the Peruvian coast, including those of late pre-Hispanic sacrificial victims uncovered at Pacatnamú (Faulkner 1986) and in the Huaca Loro West Tomb at Sicán (Shimada et al. 2004; also see chapters 3 and 7 in this volume). These lines of evidence lend credence to the idea that certain Andean ideas of life and death were widespread and persistent through time.



FIGURE 1.4. Unbaked clay effigies representing the bodies of naked, sacrificed males excavated at the Huaca de la Luna temple mound. Note the series of oval-shaped motifs on the jaws, necks and chests that are believed to represent muscoid fly pupae. Photo courtesy of Steve Bourget.

The reference to the *anyma* leaving the putrefying corpse as a fly to journey into the afterworld finds a close ethnographic parallel in the south highland region of Sonqo ([figure I.1b] Allen 2002, 46).² In Sonqo (Allen 2002, 44), “the word *alma* is used in at least three senses: 1) the bones or corpse of the dead; 2) a de[-]individualized spirit normally localized in the body; and 3) the individual’s personality, which continues to exist independently of the body after death.”

Allen (2002, 44 [also see Allen 1982, 1998]) reminds us of the incongruousness of imposing Western life-death and body-soul dichotomies on the Andes:

The soul’s nature and fate after death is a domain of belief in which Christian ideas are essentially compatible with indigenous Andean ones. . . . The essential incompatibility between Christianity and indigenous beliefs lie in the different understandings of the relationship between body and soul. The Andean worldview does not accommodate the Western dualism of body and soul; for Andeans, all matter is in some sense alive, and conversely, all life has a material base.

Allen's ethnography (see her chapter in this volume; see also Bastien 1978; Gose 1994; Harris 2000) is particularly pertinent to this volume as she details the diverse manners in which the living and the dead interact with each other and how the almas of the ancestral dead "continue to exist and to affect this living world *through indirect means*" (Allen 2002, 40 [emphasis added]). The alma can be mischievous, but their relationship seems to be basically *reciprocal*. For example, they can protect stored grains and intercede with deities on behalf of the living to ensure fertility of crops and herds but, at the same time, "curse the living if not helped along [its] route" of a hazardous journey (Salomon 1995, 331) to find its place of origin. The living need to care for and entertain them during this passage into the afterlife.

The reciprocal relationship between the living and the dead in the pre-Hispanic Andes has been most commonly couched within discussions of the ancestor cult and its broader significance (e.g., Cutright 2007; DeLeonardis and Lau 2004; Doyle 1988; Dulanto 2002; Hastorf 2003a, 2003b; Kaulicke 2000; Lau 2002, 2010, 2011), including affirmation of or negotiation with the existing sociopolitical order and identity. The ancestor cult as opposed to the cult of the dead commonly revolves around a specific, named dead parent who had achieved and/or had some exceptional deeds and/or qualities and "who has living descendants of a designated genealogical class representing his continued structural relevance" (Fortes 1965, 124; 1976, 4; Gluckman 1937; Goody 1962; Morris 1991; Newell 1976). An ancestor cult has a number of characteristics that could be archaeologically identified, including a specific site where prescribed rituals were performed, often by specialists. Ascription of the ancestor status transforms the significance of a given deceased from the matters focused on a small circle of immediate family to a much broader communal, socio-political sphere. Most authors in this volume who discuss the ancestor cult seem to assume such a notion.

Such a cult is commonly inferred on the basis of artistic representations of centrally placed ancestral figures (e.g., idols or mummy bundles [figure I.5]), remains of feasting, libation, and/or sacrificial offerings. In his discussion of a colonial era ancestor cult, Doyle (1988), for example, emphasizes the importance of offering and drinking, especially *aqha* (maize beer), and holding lengthy feasts.³ Documentary sources inform us that ancestors were a kind of living dead, who required sustenance. Offering *aqha* was thus seen as essential in rejuvenating or regenerating the dried and hardened ancestors. At the same time, the very act of feeding ancestors appears to have allowed a flow of energy and sustenance that opened channels of communication between the living and the dead, thereby affirming their reciprocal obligations and providing the living opportunities to solicit advice and other assistance from the dead.



FIGURE 1.5. Reconstructed Chimú model illustrating an inferred ancestral veneration rite within an elaborately decorated enclosure. One can see a row of three musicians, an ongoing “feast” (including a vessel that may have contained *aqha*), a central personage seated cross-legged on a folded bag, and two funerary bundles each wearing a mask. It is likely that the central seated figure represents the skeletonized (white bones) of a Chimú elite. This was excavated at Huaca de la Luna, Moche (50 cm long, 41 cm wide). Photo courtesy of Yutaka Yoshii.

Clearly, such relationships could not be taken for granted, and the living had to strive to maintain it by, at times, begging, praising, nudging, or even cajoling the ancestors’ help.

It is apparent from the preceding that inferences regarding many aspects of the ancestor cult and, more broadly, the living-dead relationship are guided heavily by ethnohistorical accounts of the Late Horizon (Incas and contemporaneous, provincial highland groups) colonial beliefs and practices, as well as—to a lesser extent—ethnographic data.

While these perspectives and information have clear value, there are a few major issues to consider. As Allen's Sonqo study highlights, many of the living-dead interactions are experiential and context specific. Further, the ancestral alma affects the living world through indirect means. Thus, it is challenging to fit together ethnographic data and insights with the materialist approach. One should also be well aware of the weaknesses and limitations of textual evidence, including that stemming from the prejudices and variability in perceptiveness, knowledge, and understanding of the informants, translators, and writers.

Lastly, heavy reliance on ethnohistorical and ethnographic data and perspectives often leads to uncritically assuming the validity of what has come to be called *lo andino*, which is the notion that basic beliefs and worldviews, ritual practices, and general organizational principles and institutions (e.g., dualities, reciprocity, persistence of alma) were widely shared and persisted largely unchanged over time in the Andes. While portions of this view may be valid, the identity of such beliefs, principles, or institutions, as well as their stability and spatio-temporal parameters, must be determined rather than assumed (Shimada 2003, 2012; also see comments by Salomon 1995); otherwise, the *lo andino* vision becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Additionally, we must confront the distinct possibility of what Kubler (1962, 1967, 1970) describes as the "disjuncture of form and meaning;" that is, a given continuity in the form of living-dead interaction or, for that matter, artifacts, words, or artistic representations, does not imply corresponding stability in their meaning and intention. Given that meaning is context specific, a particular meaning documented in the colonial or modern era for a given form cannot be readily assumed to be valid in spite of its similarity or isomorphism with an earlier form.

Archaeological and Bioarchaeological Data and Perspectives

Archaeological examination of the living-dead relationship, especially of that during the pre-Hispanic era, has been inextricably linked to mortuary archaeology. Although much of the early phase of Andean archaeology focused heavily on burial excavations, advancement in our knowledge and understanding of the interrelated subjects of death, the dead, and the living-dead interaction has come quite slowly.

Fundamentally, early excavations sought intact grave lots (those that had not been disturbed since the *primary interment*) containing well-preserved, whole artifacts (e.g., Tello 1959). Through his work at Pachacamac (figure I.6) and elsewhere, Max Uhle (1903, 1906, 1910, 1913a, 1913b [see also Menzel 1977; Rowe 1954]) established the undisturbed grave lot as the cornerstone of chronology building and stylistic identification in Andean archaeology. Intact grave lots allowed *presumed* synchronous



FIGURE 1.6. Funerary bundles excavated by Max Uhle at Pachacamac in 1897(?). Courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Negative G8-18588.

stylistic variability to be defined (Rowe 1962). The variability discerned in multiple grave lots from broader areas, in turn, formed the basis for identifying different styles (essentially equated with cultural identity) and their temporal-spatial parameters (see Shimada et al. 2010; Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011; Willey and Sabloff 1993). Subsequent generations of Peruvian and Peruvianist scholars, working on the coast during the first half of the twentieth century, followed Uhle's methods. Thus, excavation of undisturbed burials was established as a pervasive and persistent fixation in Andean archaeology, while issues surrounding living-dead interaction were rarely considered in depth or in an integrated manner.

The overriding interest in recovering grave goods during the early era unintentionally fostered uncritical examination of funerary contexts on the coast. Burial excavations were often entrusted to local workers, and archaeologists only examined and recorded the exposed burials. Thus, burials were assumed to have been intact unless there were obvious signs of postinterment disturbance. The possibility that the dead underwent a series of both natural and intentional modifications over considerable spans of time prior to and after interment was rarely considered, and pertinent evidence was not sought. As a result, pre-Hispanic funerary

contexts on the coast, usually buried underground, came to be widely regarded as permanently sealed encapsulating material variation that represented a brief period of time (Rowe 1962). That this perception persisted is evident in Isbell's (1997) otherwise stimulating discussion of the Andean mortuary practices. Isbell (1997, 143–44) claimed that the North and Central coasts' "huaca cemeteries" with bodies sealed in underground graves were "never intended to be opened" (see also Millaire [2004] and chapters 2 and 3 in this volume). Isbell contrasted them with the widespread highland practice of placing the dead in *above-ground*, open, artificial funerary structures (e.g., *chullpas*), natural caves, and rock shelters in the highlands with visual, if not actual, physical access to the dead (figures. I.7 and I.8; see also figure I.3 and chapters 5 and 6). Recent research on the coast (as well as a number of chapters in this volume) has shown that the *above suppositions are untenable* and that many corpses experienced various pre- and postprimary interment rituals. Such activities result in anything from subtle to readily apparent changes in the original funerary contexts including their corporeal and artifactual contents. Both on the coast and highlands, the dead led active postmortem social lives.

The object-centered approach that persisted until recent decades effectively marginalized associated human remains. During the first part of the twentieth century, archaeologists not only often lacked basic osteological knowledge but also frequently ignored human remains altogether—with the exception of the cranium. Time and effort invested in recording, recovery, and preservation of human remains were often inadequate and proportional to the quality and quantity of associated artifacts; those in funerary contexts with few or no artifacts were often left exposed to natural elements for prolonged periods. Relatively common "stick figure" graphic representations of excavated burials—perhaps revealing the excavator's indifference more than lack of artistic skill or poor state of preservation—exemplify the inadequacy in burial recording. Even when attention was given to human remains, recording was typically restricted to those variables relating to time, location, and form of interment (or other form of corpse disposal) and age, sex, and visible osteological abnormalities (including trauma). The disciplinary boundary between archaeology and physical anthropology, as well as the typological orientation of the former, contributed to this situation (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011). Funerary contexts that in reality represent only one stage of long-term natural, behavioral, and social processes were treated as the final stage of a simpler, short-term process largely dissociated from the ongoing living world. Too often, excavations of funerary contexts were conducted without properly contextualizing them through prior or concurrent studies of the broader population and society (i.e., local and regional social and historical contexts) and without the necessary expertise to cope with the complexity and

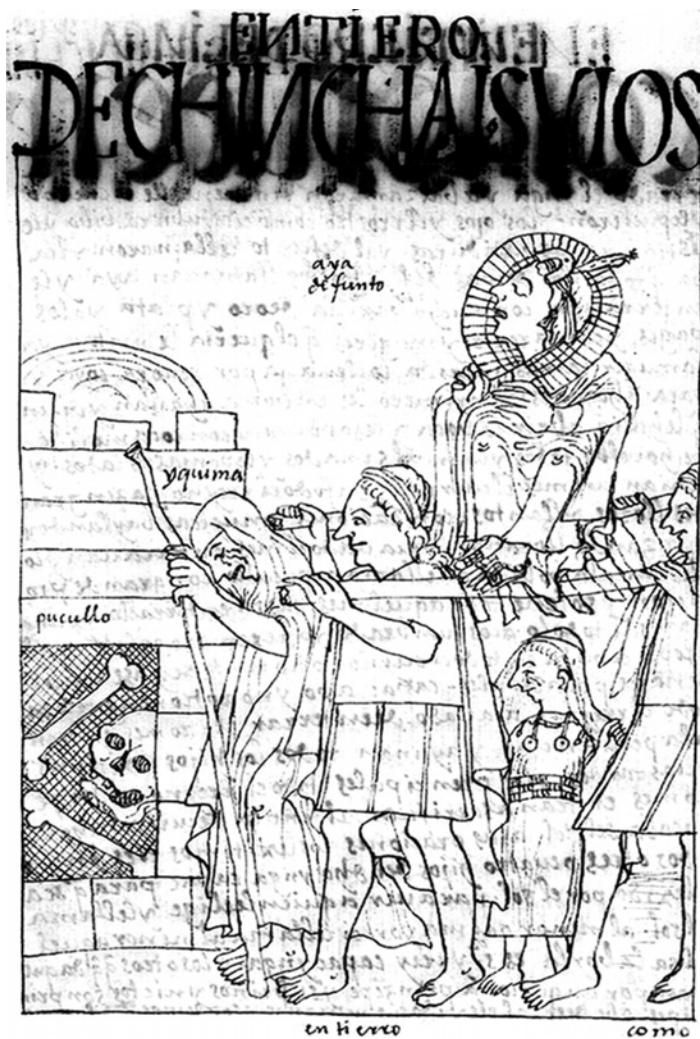


FIGURE 1.7. Burial in Chinchaysuyu, Guaman Poma 291v.

wealth of information contained in the contexts and associated processes (Buikstra 1977; Shimada et al. 2004).

In essence, the earlier approach hampered the development and adoption of a comprehensive vision of and an integrated approach to the interrelated subjects of death, the dead, the soul, and the living, as well as the living-dead relationship. The object and burial-centered approach and burial excavations without adequate local and regional level

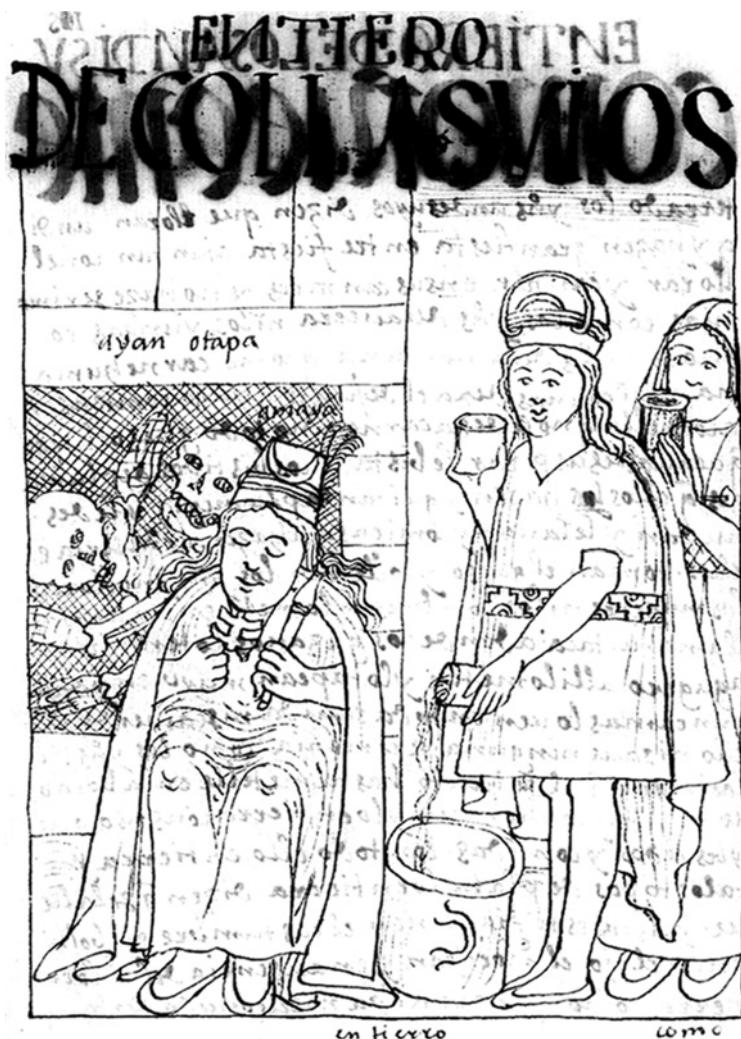


FIGURE 1.8. Burial in Collasuyu, Guaman Poma 295v.

contextualization, however, endure in spite of general recognition of the importance of contextualization today (Agarwal and Glencross 2011).

The archaeology of death came into its own with Saxe's dissertation (1970), Brown's (1972) publication of *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, and particularly Binford's (1972) programmatic statement. These works opened floodgates for social analyses of mortuary data with varying degrees of success (e.g., Brown 1981; Chapman,

Kinnes, and Randsborg 1981; Goldstein 1981; O'Shea 1984; Peebles and Kus 1977; Tainter 1978; cf. Braun 1981). Mortuary treatment was seen as a static representation of the social roles of the deceased created by mourners following prescribed societal rules and reliably correlated with the social complexity of the society. In reality, however, mortuary treatment often results from a dynamic construction by mourners who are influenced by grief, relationship to the deceased, identities of the deceased, and religious beliefs, among other factors; mortuary practices cannot be conceived simply as an acquiescent and reliable representation of the deceased or society.

Starting in the late 1970s, there were justifiable calls to broaden not only the temporal and spatial parameters of the archaeology of death, but also to encompass equally the living (including their abodes) and the dead, as well as corporeal and artifactual remains (e.g., Braun 1981, 1984; Goldstein 1981; Hodder 1980; Parker-Pearson 1982, 1993; Shanks and Tilley 1982). As Metcalf and Huntington (1991, 29) noted, this realization owed first to the belated translation into English and republication of the theoretical work of Robert Hertz ([1907] 1960) who established the tripartite model of mortuary process focusing on the interrelationship of corpse, soul, and mourners. It owed secondly to debate between what Brown (1995) characterized as representationist versus misrepresentationist (or processualist versus postprocessualist) visions of funerary analysis (see McHugh [1999] and Parker-Pearson [2000] for summary discussions of the debate) and broader appreciation of the symbolic and ideological dimensions of behaviors and material culture in general. During the 1990s, the notion of funerary context as a forum for examining the living-dead relationship became properly recognized. British scholars led the way in exploring the critical role that attitude, sentiment, gender, memory, and other factors and concerns, as well as agency of the living, may play in the treatment of the dead (e.g., Arnold 2002; Arnold and Wicker 2001; Cannon 2005; Chapman, Kinnes, and Randsborg 1981; Chesson 2001; Gillespie 2001; Hodder 1980, 1984; Pader 1982; Parker-Pearson 1982, 1993; Silverman and Small 2002; Tarlow 1999; Williams 2006; *inter alia*). Stimulated by these developments and concerns, the 1991 Dumbarton Oaks conference and the resultant publication (Dillehay 1995b), in particular, opened a new chapter on the living-dead relationship in the Andes and helped to replace the earlier static vision of the living-dead relationship with an appropriately long-term, complex, and dynamic perspective. In addition to issues surrounding mortuary variation and its social dimensions, the conference examined ritual feasting, cosmological mediation, pre- and postprimary interment corpse manipulations, and the role of ancestor cults and what they reveal about the Andean concept of death and the dead (Dillehay 1995a). It also helped to firmly establish the act of burial as

a part of a multifaceted, long-term ritual process in which social identity, history, and continuity are expressed, reinforced, and/or created.

A series of subsequent publications by Isbell (1997) and Kaulicke (1997, 2000) helped to further establish the living-dead relationship and its broader social, political, and ideological significance at the forefront of the Andean archaeology of death. While these publications as a whole have come to focus our attention on the role of the living in the mortuary process, we cannot ignore the wishes of the dead or the established religious rules and traditions that shaped or set the bounds of actual funerary performance. Ariès (1974), for example, describes the widespread practice of individuals prescribing their own funerary disposition during the Middle Ages in Europe. Along this vein, Klaus and Tam (chapter 7) discuss how funerary dispositions documented among early colonial burials in Mórrope were the result of compromise among Catholic doctrines, pre-Hispanic funerary conventions, and the wishes of the living.

Methodologically, however, the nested spatial locus of study, long-term historical perspective, and cross-contextual comparison (burial, ritual, and living contexts) for which new research foci and directions call have not yet been effectively implemented in the Andes, although Kaulicke (1997, 2000 [see also Shimada et al. 2010 and their chapter in this volume]) has long advocated such an approach. Rather than autonomous and localized, this approach implies that for the archaeology of death to be effective and anthropologically meaningful, it should be practiced within a long-term, regional, interdisciplinary study (see below; also Beck 1995; Buikstra 1977) with productive feedback and synergy between the study of mortuary and nonmortuary contexts.

Also important in bringing about the above conceptual and methodological changes has been increasing interdisciplinary collaboration in many, if not all, stages and facets of research in and out of the field. Interdisciplinary research—which at the least involved archaeologists and physical anthropologists—however, was quite rare in the Andes until the 1990s, in spite of Buikstra's (1977, 1991) long-standing advocacy for an integrated approach. This paucity reflected, to a large measure, the small number of national and foreign physical anthropologists working in the Andes until then (see Schaedel and Shimada 1982). Further, in spite of a long tradition of academic training in archaeology and “anthropology” (essentially social anthropology) at major universities in Peru, physical anthropology and bioarchaeology were not taught there in a concerted, regular manner until relatively recently (Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011).

A rapid increase in bioarchaeological projects and training in the Andean countries in the past decade is quickly rectifying the above situation. As this volume effectively illustrates in (chapters 4, 6, and 7; see also Knudson and Stojanowski 2009a), bioarchaeology has already contributed notably

not only to our efforts to illuminate the living-dead relationship, but also to the broader anthropological issues of gender, warfare, ethnic and community identity, and the relationship between biological and social identities (Knudson and Stojanowski 2008, 2009b; Rakita et al. 2005; Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011; Tung 2012; Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011).

Along with the expanding scope of bioarchaeology, another important recent development focuses on variable concepts of the body/corporeality and death. Relevant studies have examined anything from our varied senses, the significance of blood, and political and ritual use of the body to conceptions of the body and personhood (e.g., Blomster 2011; Hamilakis, Pluciennik, and Tarlow 2002; Meskell 1996; Montserrat 1998; Rautman 2000; Sofaer 2006). Various chapters of our volume also embrace concerns with the political use of the body, manipulations and removal of body parts, and holistic versus divisible visions of the body and personhood. They also illustrate how a “science-based” osteoarchaeological view of the body may be meaningfully integrated with a contrasting view of the body as a social construction (see Sofaer 2006).

Key Issues, Approaches, and Findings of the Chapters

Variability in the Conception and Treatment of the Dead and the Living-Dead Relationship

In data-rich chapter 3 Shimada et al. address the related questions of how far back in prehistory we can trace the living-dead relationship, what forms it took, and how its persistence and variability may be explained. As Cordy-Collins (2009, 185–86) notes, pre-Hispanic cases of postprimary interment alterations and curation of the dead did not receive much attention until Hecker and Hecker’s (1984, 1992a, 1992b) pioneering approach and systematic osteological examination of Mochica (aka Moche) burials began in the 1980s. Shimada and his colleagues present diverse lines of archaeological and bioarchaeological evidence garnered from long-term, interdisciplinary projects at the famed religious center of Pachacamac on the Central Coast, the Middle Sicán (aka Classic Lambayeque) civic-ceremonial center of Sicán, and the multicraft workshop of Huaca Sialupe on the North Coast (figures I.1a, I.2). Their study constitutes a fine example of contextualization of archaeological skeletal remains. They show that material traces of the living-dead relationship are found throughout much of the prehistory from perhaps as early as the Middle Preceramic, ca. 5000 BC, which is roughly concurrent with the onset of artificial mummification by the Chinchorros (Arriaza 1995; Arriaza et al. 2005; Arriaza and Standen 2008).⁴

Based on data culled from publications, Shimada et al. present a series of interregional and diachronic generalizations of living-dead interaction on the pre-Hispanic coast (also see Millaire 2002, 2004). They show that pre-Hispanic funerary processes and the associated living-dead relationship on the Central and North coasts were not only pervasive, complex, and often protracted (sometimes lasting for centuries), but they also often involved the opening and modification of original funerary contexts.

They recognize a wide range of treatments of the dead within three major phases (preprimary interment, postprimary interment, and secondary interment) that the dead may undergo in the funerary process, starting with curation/mummification of the corpse and delay in its primary interment. Within each phase, constituent subphases or rituals have neither pre-ordained sequences nor combinations. In effect, they test and refine the Hertzian three-phase model of mortuary practices (Hertz [1907] 1960) and complement Rakita and Buikstra's (2005, 99) proposed modification of the Hertzian model by considering mummification and cremation as "meaningful 'exceptions to the rule.'" In fact, we should keep in mind that, whether preparing one's own shroud or specifying how and where one is to be buried, funerary preparation often begins long before death (e.g., Ariès 1974; Weiss-Krejci 2011).

Findings from Pachacamac have a number of important theoretical implications. Their data derive from the excavation of a chamber tomb with many funerary bundles that seemed to have been placed in an orderly manner around the largest and most elaborate bundle (inferred social leader or "ancestor"). Among the salient findings are that usage of the tomb spanned over five centuries during which the bundle composition and placement were repeatedly altered, and that the interred individuals had distinct diets and geographical origins. Their findings *challenge* Saxe's often-cited Hypothesis 8 (Saxe 1970 [see also Goldstein 1981; Morris 1991]) that linked group identity (including the concept of ancestor cult) and claims to land/resources with formal, bounded cemeteries. While the spatial clustering of funerary bundles may reflect the sanctity of the burial ground, it cannot be readily assumed to represent shared biological or social identity and affinity. Instead, the Pachacamac data indicate the presumed sanctity of the interred dead was secondary to the wishes and actions of the living. They remind us that tombs are not always a secure resting place for the dead regardless of their status and bundle size *unless they are regularly claimed and cared for* by the living (see also chapter 2 by Weismantel; cf. Gillespie 2002). Individuals and groups of diverse origin competed for access to the highly valued sacred cemetery in front of the venerated Painted Temple (Shimada et al. 2010 [see also Cieza de León (1553) 1986a, (1533) 1986b; Cobo (1653) 1964; Estete (1533) 1987; Pizarro (1571) 1978]). While the location of sacred space may have remained stable, its use and significance

was quite fluid and socially contingent (cf. Silverman and Small 2002). Shimada and his colleagues also found much the same situation in their excavations in the adjacent plaza devoted to ritual performances and offerings. As seen in the case of the above funerary bundles, a special ritual structure did not guarantee security after death unless it was regularly cared for. Fading social memory, dwindling resources, and/or changing ideology and sociopolitical status may bring about such neglect.

In contrast, Middle Sicán (AD 900–1100; figures I.1a, I.2) mortuary practices at a cemetery of an inferred elite lineage that Shimada et al. describe affirm the basic soundness of Hypothesis 8. They document strong continuity in the forms and locations of living-dead interaction in addition to the homogenous style and composition of funerary objects and evidence of biological affinity. Forms of living-dead interaction include careful placement of burials around the edges of the central tomb, over the course of perhaps a century or more, and numerous episodes of extensive ritual fires (altogether spanning over 400 years) set atop the sealed cemetery and often including diverse offerings. As in the case of Pachcamac, periodic visitation, offerings, and veneration of the dead *occurred whether the living had direct access to the corpses or not*, although having visual access to the interment location seemed important.

In contrast to the above, for the north highland region of Callejón de Huaylás, Lau (chapter 5) argues “perhaps the most crucial kind of bodily engagement was visual, where one saw and was seen by the ancestors and by others.” These two divergent observations parallel the basic coast–highland distinction of underground versus above-ground disposition of the dead. On the coast, it would seem that visible engagement with the dead *was not as crucial or prolonged* as in the highlands and, in general, *deceased elites tended to be interred deeper than commoners*. Given that many of the Vicús and Middle Sicán elite shaft tombs reached fifteen or more meters below the modern surface (e.g., Disselhoff 1971; Shimada 1995; Shimada et al. 2004)—near or below the present water table—one wonders if the depth was intended to facilitate the journey to the underworld of the dead or return to the womb to be reborn.

Broadly, findings suggest that coastal conceptions of the afterworld and its access may well have diverged significantly from that of the highlands. They also suggest that living-dead interaction did not require corporeal remains of the dead and could take place at any time and in any space. Engagement could have been achieved by sensory stimuli, such as sight (e.g., temples or tomb markers), smell (e.g., incense), or sound (e.g., Mochica and Sicán rattles and conch trumpets). The Virú (aka Gallinazo) and Middle Sicán truncated pyramidal mounds associated with the interred dead that Millaire (chapter 1; see also below) and Shimada et al. discuss can be seen to have evoked the memory and sanctity of the ancestors.

Mochica curation of the skull and other select skeletal elements (hands, feet, and long bones) that Weismantel (chapter 2) discusses is yet another form of living-dead interplay. Disarticulation of the body before or after interment was both widespread and persistent on the pre-Hispanic north coast. She focuses on the pre-Hispanic north coast conceptions of the body and the most commonly disarticulated and used part, the head, primarily by means of a detailed examination of its diverse representations in Mochica ceramic art. She points out that the modern Western “abstract ‘notion’ of a whole person enclosed within one skin . . . is inappropriate” and that “the bodies themselves had long and complex social lives after death, during which some of them ceased to be ‘whole persons’ at all—and became merely heads.” She challenges us to ponder the significance of “what, in particular, was expressed by the presence of a head [by itself or as an addition to an interment of a complete corpse]” rather than “as a metonym for something [*pars pro toto*—the whole body or person of another individual] that is not there.”

A major observation that emerges out of her study that is echoed by various chapters in this book is the importance of viewing funerary context and process as dynamic or works in progress. This fluid conception likely reflects a similar conception of life—that life and death are two phases of a continuum (unlike the modern Western dichotomy). Thus, as Weismantel describes, “the [Mochica], living, recently dead, and long-dead, felt impelled to interact with one another—and not only as discrete individuals separated by time and corporeality.” In this regard, she feels the Mochica practice of removing and adding the head can be seen as a means of “construct[ing] their own social identity—whether in life or after it.” Echoing Marilyn Strathern’s (1988) characterization of the Melanesian concept of personhood as amalgams of relationships and substances, Weismantel proposes a stimulating vision of the Mochica’s personhood as “*partible rather than indivisible* [emphasis added].”

But why the preference for the head? Weismantel argues that the Mochica preferred “a corpse repeatedly handled, used, moved, and dismembered by descendants who treasured each part for its vital generative and social powers.” She concludes that “the head, with its rock-hard skull—most durable of bones—and its rapidly disintegrating face—the most memorable marker of identity—is a logical signifier of the legacy left by an individual’s presence in the world; in appropriating it for use, the kin group both acknowledged that enduring legacy and remade it into a collective, rather than an individual, possession.”

These views may be tested by ancient DNA and biodistance analyses of pertinent skeletal remains, together with close examination of their archaeological contexts. A broader key sociopolitical implication of her study—that kinship-based corporate groups formed the durable organizational

basis of the Mochica society—finds a good deal of support from archaeological (e.g., Shimada 2001), bioarchaeological (e.g., Klaus 2014; Klaus and Tam 2009; Shimada et al. 2008), and ethnohistorical (e.g., Netherly 1984, 1990; Ramírez 1981, 1996; Rostorowski 1961, 1975) studies, all of which point to their persistence well into the historic era.

Effectively complementing Weismantel's examination of Mochica personhood and corporeality is the contribution by Allen (chapter 8), who has devoted much of her career to illuminating and explicating Andean rationality and worldview. Her observations may confound the uninitiated, as many Western conceptual distinctions do not hold. Her approach is *emic* and ethnosemantic and contrasts with the strongly empirical character of other contributions in the book. Perhaps more than any other, however, her chapter offers an incisive and insightful look into Andean (i.e., both pre- and post-Inca) and Incaic conceptions of life, death, and the dead to a depth not (yet) accessible by archaeological means. Her field of inquiry is by no means restricted to the ethnographic present; for example, she poses a deceptively simple and specific question regarding the significance of a stylized “fern motif” (called *raki-raki* in Quechua) that commonly decorates the bodies of Inca *urpu*.⁵ The motif often flanks a vertical band filled with rhomboid motifs that are seen to represent the “origin cave, the sun, lakes, and eyes” and, by extension, the ideas of emergence and continuity (Allen in chapter 8). The term *raki-raki* also connotes the “separation that removes the integrity of what existed previously” and thus by implication loss and sadness as fern leaves separate in opposite directions from the stalk. Why then was the *urpu* that served as a readily recognizable visual symbol of the Inca power and largess (used to transport, store, and serve widely coveted maize beer in state-sponsored activities) decorated with the fern and rhomboid motifs?

Allen emphasizes that while *raki-raki* has specific denotations, it also embraces important *dyadic dimensions* of human endeavor and relationship. Thus, the concept of *raki* can be seen to relate to the concept of *yanatin* (paired as in the case of left and right hands or husband and wife) and the distinction and separation of *alma* and *animu* (from Spanish *animo*, spirit). The *alma* is found mainly in the bones and embodies a living person both in physical form and moral character, although it is, at the same time, uncontrollable. The *animu*, on the other hand, is in the moist flesh (that surrounds the bones) and imbues them with vitality and consciousness. They are complementary opposites that together form an integrated whole. In other words, at least in the south Peruvian highlands and the adjacent Bolivian highlands, Allen points out that a person is “a nexus of multiple and simultaneous dyadic relationships” and “life and death can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory, forming a cycle that constantly renews itself.” Thus death is seen as inevitable

and necessary for the regeneration of life. The death-fertility/regeneration pairing is widely found throughout the world (e.g., Bloch and Parry 1982). Against the background of this contextual knowledge of highland Andean rationality and worldview, Allen investigates the raki-raki on Inca urpu and concludes that the fern and rhomboid motifs express two related ideas that death is both irreparable separation and the basis of new life. The reader should carefully compare and contrast the pre-Inca north coast and later Inca and modern highland visions of personhood, life, and death that Weismantel and Allen present, respectively, not only for their similarities and differences, but also to consider the issue of *lo andino* raised earlier.

The contribution by Lau (chapter 5) effectively complements the two preceding chapters as he examines the living-dead relationship from a long-term (*longue durée*, see below) perspective in a region (Callejón de Huaylás/Ancash) that occupies an intermediate location between the north coast and south highlands. He adopts the methodological premise that a long-term perspective illuminates certain structures and long-lived dispositions that focus on single events, contexts, or cultures may not.

His study addresses the basic questions of why there was such emphasis on death rituals in pre-Hispanic Andean social life and how societies managed life through funerary practices. He identifies four “axes” of continuity and transformation: “1) the transitioning of people into person-objects; 2) mimesis and memory practice of cult forms; 3) experiential modes of engaging the dead; and 4) changing concepts of the body.” Lau describes diachronic changes in pre-Hispanic funerary practices in Ancash along these four axes.

In addition, Lau offers various observations that are worth considering. The inclusion in his study of both “human and non-human (objects, animals, or supernaturals), conceived of as stakeholders in the life-death process within a given collectivity” resonates well with Allen’s (1998) analysis of “Mind, Matter and Modes of Being in the Pre-Columbian Andes.” Many readers surely concur with his advocacy of considering variability, including accessibility, spacing, placement, and internal organization, in funerary structures (e.g., tombs and necropoli) to illuminate the complex histories and forms of local social organization, living-dead interactions, and ancestor cults. At the same time, as cautioned above in regard to findings from a major collective tomb with numerous funerary bundles at Pachacamac, a necropolis’s formation should not be readily assumed to reflect “a viable and enduring source community or communities” (Lau, chapter 5). As in the Pachacamac case, tomb contents and organization can change over time with one or more groups taking over burial places, particularly when such contexts are highly coveted as sacred and/or uncared for by the living. Although social leaders with resources

and institutional framework may expect to be venerated over many generations, social memory is neither invariable nor infallible.

Related to the preceding point is Lau's stimulating discussion of factors that shape funerary contexts over space and time. He reminds us that "one of the most important factors concerns the availability of locations, the places and landforms, deemed suitable for housing the dead." Case studies in this book show considerable variability in regard to the availability of suitable locations and determining factors. For the early colonial era, the native Mórrope people ([north coast of Peru] Klaus and Tam, chapter 7) may have preferred to be interred in the local chapel floor (if not Church-prescribed). On the other hand, for populations in the Callejón de Huaylas and Chachapoya regions (*ceja de montaña* in northeast Peru discussed by Buikstra and Nystrom [chapter 6]), caves and rockshelters that afforded security and good preservation for the corpse were favored. The latter example illustrates that a highly visible and symbolic nexus of the broader sociopolitical landscape and order was preferred for placing the dead. The intrusive and dominant Incas co-opted local Chachapoyan funerary locations and imposed their mortuary practices. Pachacamac, on the other hand, constituted an exception; this pre-Inca center exerted a powerful centripetal attraction to the living based on its widely appealing ideology centered on water, fertility, and regeneration, and on the prestige and sanctity gained from the centuries of its successful continuity as a religious center in spite of major environmental and political upheavals (Segura and Shimada 2010). Clearly, the privilege of being buried close to the venerated deity at Pachacamac overshadowed any concerns about the distance that separated the corpse's home and Pachacamac.

In contrast to the chapters discussed thus far, which have clear diachronic and/or regional or interregional scopes and aims, the contributions by Klaus and Tam (chapter 7) and Toyne (chapter 4) are largely focused on single sites and time periods. Being reliant on properly excavated human remains, bioarchaeological studies such as theirs commonly have a synchronous and site-specific character. As Toyne notes, "human sacrifices may occur in a separate ritual framework or as an integrated component of elaborate, multiphase, funerals of social elites" on the pre-Hispanic north coast. Such includes the large-scale killing of captured Mochica warriors at the Huaca de la Luna temple (e.g., Bourget 2001; Weismantel, this volume) and the interment of many young women to accompany the central personage of the large West Tomb at Huaca Loro at Sicán (Shimada et al. 2004). As such, careful examination of human sacrifices or ritualistic, intentional killing can serve as an effective avenue for shedding light on the complex relationship among the dead, supernatural beings, and the living. Following the classic formulation by Hubert and Mauss in their pioneering work, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function* ([1898] 1964),

human sacrifices in a ritual framework commonly are seen as a form of offering or a means to influence (to propitiate, expiate, or reciprocate) supernatural beings or forces. Does this conception apply to pre-Hispanic cases? Were there underlying political motivations as well? These are the questions that Toyne addresses.

In her contribution, Toyne explores roles played by human sacrifice through detailed documentation of repeated sacrificial performances conducted during the Chimú and Inca occupations (ca. AD 1350–1532) at the Temple of the Sacred Stone. The temple is within the imposing cluster of monumental mounds at Túcume (aka El Purgatorio) situated strategically at the juncture of the Lambayeque and La Leche valleys. The specific manners and contexts in which individuals were killed and manipulated there can vary a great deal and shed light on the ideological functions of the sacrificial act. Toyne discusses details of the unique pattern of perimortem treatment of human sacrifices and the key ritual space of the temple. Apparently, a select group of individuals performed the sacrifice of an estimated 117 individuals of diverse ages but skewed sex distribution. The victims died of exsanguination following slitting of the throat and were cut up perhaps to “symbolically destroy the individual and . . . their identity as well.” Yet, the sacrificed individuals were subsequently wrapped and interred. Toyne thus concludes “the evidence at Túcume presents a propitiatory ritual process [for agricultural fertility] that occurred on a regular basis under the control of a select group of elites.” At the same time, she reminds us that these offerings also “could be interpreted as connected to a socio-political agenda where control over death (through the selection of victims) was maintained.”

Overall, this chapter illustrates not only the informative capacity of bioarchaeology in conjunction with detailed taphonomy and contextual analysis, but also that the living-dead relationship should be *conceived as a triadic relationship composed of the living, the dead, and the supernatural*.

Klaus and Tam (chapter 7) present a thought-provoking chapter that is rich in data and methodologically perceptive. They provide theoretical comments that derive largely from their pioneering fieldwork, which constitutes the first bioarchaeological and archaeothanatological study of the transformative early colonial era in Peru. Their research aims first “to explore the evolution of indigenous mortuary ritual on the north coast of Peru into the colonial era and secondarily to question if and how traditions of living-dead interactions persisted into colonial times.” Thirdly they aim “to demonstrate the promise of an archaeothanatological approach [see below] to reconstruct living-dead interactions based on nuanced anatomical, spatial, and organizational study of skeletal remains within a grave.” Funerary contexts spanning from the sixteenth to eighteenth century inside the Chapel of San Pedro in Mórrope (totaling 322 burials), one

of the first outposts of Christianity in Lambayeque, are ideally suited for their research aims.

Their approach of “integrated burial analysis” centered on archaeo-thanatology can be summarized as a holistic documentation and analysis of the total funerary process, including the natural and cultural formation processes of the entire corpse (see below for details). This chapter represents their attempt to illustrate the productiveness of this approach for a “holistic reconstruction of life, death, and society in colonial Mórrope.” They meticulously document five forms of living-dead interactions that closely match those defined by Millaire (2004) and Shimada et al. (this volume). They illustrate in the form of an instructive working flowchart “a complex set of contingencies and possible outcomes for a dead body” resulting from taphonomic processes and pre-Hispanic–Catholic hybrid mortuary rituals.

As with other chapters, the authors face the most serious challenge in illuminating the meaning and intention underlying the specific forms of living-dead interactions they define. They are well aware of the difficulty and the issue of the “disjuncture of form and meaning” discussed earlier. They argue

there is a good chance that the deeply conserved patterns of ritual interactions over some 2,500 years were intimately intertwined to regionally pervasive and persistent meanings for which ritual form existed to transmit. While proximal situational meaning almost certainly changed within the colonial world, deeper connotations and even the reasons for interacting with the dead may have remained relatively stable within hybrid religious formations as in many places throughout the colonial Andes.

The above quotation brings us back to the critique of the *lo andino* premise presented above and later. Until the plausibility of this premise itself is better established, we continue to risk self-fulfilling prophecy. To their credit, however, the authors not only recognize but also document changing ritual practices and inferred beliefs that “reflect new ideas and meanings produced through the dialectical tensions of the colonial encounter in Mórrope.” At the same time, why certain practices and beliefs persisted unchanged while others changed or ceased to exist (e.g., ancestor veneration) are issues that await resolution.

The authors discuss much of their evidence of living-dead interactions in terms of specific bones and body parts. *If* the multiple and simultaneous dyadic relationships that Allen emphasizes hold for the pre-Hispanic north coast, would not the removal and addition of bones they (as well as Weismantel, Shimada et al., and others in this volume) discuss be better seen

in a “paired” manner? Klaus and Tam also see human bodies and bones as active agents; they argue that they “were not just an actively negotiated and appropriated locus of authority and control in Mórrope—they helped create it” and that enacting pre-Hispanic rituals may have served to preserve their native ethnic identity and solidarity during the rapidly changing colonial era. It is clear that the chapter will stimulate much discussion as to the potential that archaeothanatology holds in elucidating meanings and intentions embodied in funerary contexts and activities including the living-dead interactions.

Buikstra and Nystrom (chapter 6; also Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscatt 2010) have applied the notion of “dead body politics” that Verdery (1999) introduced in her study of political strategies and maneuvers utilized in post-socialist transformation in the former Soviet bloc. Dead body politics take advantage of the *symbolic efficacy of the materiality of human corpses* and associated items that can be displayed or be otherwise socially or politically manipulated for diverse ends over a long span of time. The body of the dead—whether a carefully prepared mummy, a clean skeleton, or a statue—serves as an active agency that helps to affirm or even create sociopolitical identity, legitimacy, and/or power, or alternatively, may be manipulated as a powerful symbol for varied political ends. Buikstra and Nystrom follow the latter thinking in discussing how the Inca, upon intruding into Chachapoya territory in the ceja de selva of the northeastern Peru (figure I.1a), appropriated the affiliated sacred burial locations and altered local mortuary practices to alter social memory and history to suit their own political needs. Certainly, Inca conquest and administration of provinces relied heavily on control and manipulation of ideological symbols and institutions, including reshaping of sacred landscapes and taking hostage *huacas* (sacred places and entities, such as venerated idols [see Schjellerup 2012 for the Chachapoyas region]). An astute observation by Silverblatt (1988, 84–85) that the politics of Inca conquest commonly entailed “battles over histories, over descent, and over [ancestors’] bodies,” anchors Buikstra and Nystrom’s study. Mindful of the problem of contextualization discussed earlier, Buikstra and Nystrom effectively marshal ample available ethnohistorical and archaeological data to elucidate the broader context of their case study. They also consider Hertz’s ([1907] 1960) concept of secondary burial and liminality from the perspective of well-preserved mummified ancestors of the Chachapoya from the Laguna de los Cóndores (figure I.9).

These well-preserved mummies await further attention so that their social status, ethnic identity, and kinship relationship can be established. While a recent mitochondrial DNA study (Shinoda 2012) has revealed a strong genetic similarity between Chachapoya-period individuals (Late Intermediate Period; see figure I.2) and modern inhabitants of the same



FIGURE 1.9. A well-preserved mummy visible through the window of a funerary stone tower in a rockshelter overlooking the Laguna de los Condores. Photo courtesy of Y. Yoshii.

region. Comparison with Inca-period mummified individuals cannot be made yet due to their small sample size.

What is quite evident is that elaborate methods for corpse preservation were introduced at the time of the Inca intrusion into the region and displaced the earlier Chachapoya preference for “hard dry bones” and secondary burials. Thus, Buikstra and Nystrom pose the key question: how can one account for this change in burial form? The question in turn directs them to consider Andean conceptions of the human body largely based on ethnographic and ethnohistorical information.

As we have seen, in reference to the chapters by Allen and Weismantel, such information points to the importance of an “embodied mind-mindful body integration.” Citing Salomon (1995), they argue that “[s]uch concepts of the human body, its integral place within Andean natural cycles, the significance of wholeness, the repugnance of putrid flesh, the dead body in a state of suspended animation awaiting an infusion of fluid to once again join the living, all help explain the In[c]a/Central Andean preoccupation with mummification and the wholeness of the deceased body.” The authors present a persuasive answer to the question posed: “the Inka [Inca] subordinated Chachapoya ancestorhood by providing hardened, mummified ancestors more durable than dry bones. The placement, display,

and manipulation of ancestors in highly visible locations and rituals are powerful means of establishing control over resources and thus, in one sense, the In[ca] battle over bodies was indeed about power and control." As Parker-Pearson (1993, 206) noted, "the role or influence of the dead is greater the more closely they are physically integrated within society."

There is one point worth noting in regard to the above discussion of the "Andean concept of the human body" and the view that there was a "general Andean distaste for interment keeping body whole and uncorrupted, even in death." Both are mainly informed by ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources from Peru's southern and adjacent Bolivian highlands. Although it may be tempting to generalize these concepts and views to the entire Andean region and prehistory, as seen in various chapters of this book, the pre-Hispanic coastal cases show that interment in the ground was the norm, questioning the validity of the above concept and view. Did highland and coastal populations prior to Inca or Wari expansions really share a concern with "keeping body whole and uncorrupted"? Was face-to-face interaction with the dead not important on the coast? Did underground interment embody the concept of returning to womb to be reborn as suggested earlier? Whatever the answers to these questions may be, the problematical nature of the *lo andino* premise is evident here.

Drawing inspiration from Bradley's (2002) *The Past in Prehistoric Societies* and, to a lesser extent, the cultural biography of object approach (e.g., Gosden and Marshall 1999), Millaire (chapter 1) presents a stimulating case study of the archaeologies of social memory. Millaire focuses on why old, abandoned sites, whether temples, funerary structures, or residential settlements, were selected for later ritual performances and what those choices inform us about the people who reused them. As Williams (2006, 3, 27) observes, death and burial provide an important context through which social memories and identities were expressed and actively reproduced, created, and transformed. The point of departure for Millaire's study is the Middle Horizon and post-Middle Horizon sacrifice of immature camelids (llamas and/or alpaca) in the Moche and Virú valleys. He argues, "Through the performance of rituals on ruined landscapes, coastal populations were not so much celebrating the past glory of specific adobe buildings, but grounded their reality into the past by reclaiming landscape that were by then imbued with a sense of ancestry and sanctity."

Camelid sacrifices on the north coast that were long associated with both funerary and nonfunerary contexts (Goepfert 2010, 2011, 2012) surged particularly in nonfunerary contexts of the Middle Horizon or later periods. Millaire sees cultural influences from the southern highlands and central coast reaching the north coast during the Middle Horizon, resulting in new or hybridized ritual practices, as Menzel (1977) insightfully alerted us long ago. Millaire describes some remarkable cases, including

those in which animals were forced to swallow *Spondylus* shell pieces and turquoise plaques before being killed.

Although the nature, timing, and cause-effect relationships of cultural and natural phenomena that underlay the Sturm und Drang of the Middle Horizon remain to be elucidated (see for example, Jennings 2010), the period witnessed reevaluation and transformation of an unprecedented range of existing local institutions, ideas, and cultural practices, as well as selective adoption of those of external origins. What Millaire offers in his chapter is an important clarification of how a fairly deserted landscape acquired new ritual and ideological significance with an imbued sense of ancestry and sanctity during the Middle Horizon. The lingering memory and prestige of abandoned civic and/or ceremonial buildings seem to have been restructured and/or reconceptualized as a form of “ancestor worship” with accompanying camelid sacrifices to address new social and ideological needs and orders. It is unclear whether the ritual performers actually knew of the original functions and significance of the buildings they chose. However, the very performance of the ritual sacrifices, a part of what Williams (2006) calls “technologies of remembrance,” would have constituted a powerful means for connecting and interacting with the past, particularly if the chosen site had been built by their ancestors. In other words, what matters is not so much what is remembered, but how people experience and re-create their social memories through ritual performances. Along with various other chapters of the book, his contribution highlights the *resilience as well as malleability of social memory as it is constantly reinterpreted*.

Diversity of Approaches

This book as a whole showcases the productiveness of diverse approaches to the living-dead relationship and related conceptual issues of life and death. The diversity reflects the multifaceted and ageless character of the issues. Most chapters can be characterized as either multi- or interdisciplinary in that varied lines of evidence and/or expertise and analytical perspectives have been brought to bear on the issues at hand. One matter that is not discussed is how to best utilize multiple lines of evidence. Some contributors chose to synthesize them to yield particular interpretations, but in doing so limited their ability to test their views. Others treated each line of evidence independently to check the reliability of each other. The former approach is more likely to face the problem of lo andino discussed earlier. What is clear, however, is that a comprehensive understanding of the main issues of the book requires properly contextualized, problem-oriented research, not just relegation to a sidebar within broader research.

Some approaches in this book have already been discussed, but a few more are worth mentioning. The longue durée approach that Lau has

adopted for his study of funerary and postmortem ritual activities in the Callejón de Huaylás is well suited for his broadly conceived regional, long-term historical analysis. It is not clear whether Lau's study was inspired by this perspective or simply a choice that was attendant to his research goals. The longue durée as described by Fernand Braudel (1980), perhaps its best-known proponent, is one of various "historical temporalities" that prioritizes long-term, large-scale historical relations and processes over short-term events. This approach is broadly conceived, flexible, and open-ended, as human actions are seen to be interrelated with multiple factors and processes of the broader world, such as climate, landscape, and technology. As Tomich (2008, 3) observes, "objects of inquiry are understood not as things with properties, but as ensembles of changing relations forming configurations that are constantly adapting to one another and to the world around them through definite historical processes." It is this relational, long-term, and multifactorial vision of history that is useful for our study of the living-dead relationship that shares a similar character. As Lau's study shows, the approach seems well suited to documenting the pervasiveness and persistence of certain beliefs and ritual practices. At the same time, detection of subtle and/or small incremental changes that over time affect important changes still requires local-level, microprocessual studies.

As passingly remarked earlier, a relatively new approach adopted by bioarchaeologists working in the Andes (see Klaus and Tam this volume; Davis 2010) is *anthropologie de terrain* or archaeoanthropology (Duday 2006, 2009). It involves highly detailed, microprocessual documentation and analysis of the transformation or taphonomy of the entire corpse (flesh and skeleton) and associated remains of funerary behaviors before, during, and after the interment. It is much more than a rigorous field method and, in conception, is akin to another French approach, the *chaîne opératoire* ([operational sequence], e.g., Edmonds 1990; Schlanger 1994; Sellet 1993), in having a dynamic and holistic vision of all the processes that shaped a given mortuary context and its changes over time. Thus, it has the potential of minimizing the impacts of differential preservation and allowing us to reconstruct funerary context and behavior and any natural and artificial postinterment modifications of the context in a way that has been rarely achieved earlier (see Duday and Guillon 2006). Minimally, it forces archaeologists to improve their field observation and recording so that rough sketches or what we have referred to above as the "stick-figure syndrome" would not be acceptable. At the same time, the value and potential of this methodology cannot be fulfilled without proper contextualization of a given funerary context by articulating it with bioarchaeological analysis and long-term, regional archaeological research.

Lastly, the approach taken by Allen is worth commenting on not because of its emic or ethnolinguistic character, but because it is built upon a good

understanding and knowledge of pertinent social and historical contexts. Whether emic or etic in character, an informative anthropological study should be properly contextualized. She was able to examine her research questions with a rich and detailed contextual understanding gained from a wide array of ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources combined with her own incisive observations. In contrast, archaeological and bioarchaeological studies of funerary contexts and associated human remains often struggle for proper and adequate contextualization, as their samples are limited in number, and uncertainties surround the question of their representativeness. Given these limitations, one must rein in an ever-present temptation to over-generalize one's findings. The contributions to this volume have done this well.

Conclusion

Some time ago, Parker-Pearson ([1993, 227]; also Braun 1981, 187; 1984) aptly observed, "the archaeology of mortuary practices is no longer confined to the bounds of the cemetery. It requires a study of the *changing relationships* that the living create with the dead in general, as much as those differences that are created between the dead" (emphasis added). Indeed, this book focuses on the material and symbolic expressions of the living-dead relationship in the Andes in particular and what they in turn inform us about broader concerns of life and death in general. It also confirms the need to establish a well-understood regional context for productive investigation into living-dead interaction as it is likely to occur both at and away from burial locations. The contributions in this volume together cover much of human existence—from the preceramic to the present—in what is now the modern nation of Peru. The book also takes advantage of the recent boom in mortuary archaeology (including a rapidly expanding number of social bioarchaeological studies) in the Andes where relatively well-preserved human remains are available for study. Methodologies and theoretical perspectives represented in the book are also appropriately diverse. They include explorations of the dead or selected parts of its skeleton as an active agency, the archaeology of memory, and anthropologie de terrain, dead-body politics, longue durée of funerary and postmortem ritual activities, and ethnosemantic-iconographic analysis of the living-dead relationship.

The complementary nature of these approaches and perspectives is clearly a major strength of the volume. They offer new knowledge and understanding of conceptions and treatments of the dead, as well as the practice of living-dead interaction that together force a major revision of existing theoretical and substantive views. The book clearly demonstrates

that periodic visitations and post-primary interment alterations of the corpses and accompanying objects was quite common, crosscutting social status differences both on the coast and in the highlands through time. The removal of certain skeletal elements (particularly crania) that has been widely documented on the coast may be seen as a way to deal with lack of direct access to the dead, who were buried deep underground. In fact, the concern with keeping the body whole and uncorrupted that was widespread in the late pre-Hispanic highlands appears not to hold on the coast. In general, the book defines factors that help to explain the regional and diachronic variability in living-dead interaction.

While the preceding may lead to an idea of “active or privileged social life of the dead,” the book also makes amply clear that their continuing role and status hinged on the memory and dedication of the living, that is, upon the viability of their reciprocal relationship. Memory is neither infallible nor everlasting, and dead who were not being actively cared for might be disinterred and tossed away, particularly where access to limited burial space was highly valued and competitive. In such cases, spatially clustered burials in a formally bounded cemetery do not necessarily correlate with their social and/or biological cohesion contra Saxe’s (1970) Hypothesis 8. Also, the widely variable span and form of corporeal curation (including mummification and the adoption of effigies to supplant actual corpses), documented both on the coast and in the highlands, also points to the need to refine or expand Hertz’s ([1907] 1960) three-phase model of mortuary practices.

The various relationships between the living and the dead reflect life and the broader physical, social, and symbolic worlds they occupy. It is hoped that this book will illuminate the broader Andean conceptions of death and life and, together with its sister publication on Mesoamerica, demonstrate the richness of this topic to scholars in both areas. In exploring the ideas and practices surrounding death we, in a sense, explore what it is to be human. In examining how these ideas manifested in the Andean world, we add to a growing body of literature on the anthropology and archaeology of death in world societies.

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Notes

1. He was married to the wife of the slain Inca king, Atahualpa.
2. This is in the form of a hummingbird instead of a fly. Also see the chapter by Elizabeth Baquedano in Fitzsimmons and Shimada (2011).
3. Also known as *chicha*, which is a more general term referring to a variety of fermented and nonfermented beverages.
4. They were sedentary fisher folk who inhabited over 600 km of the arid coast from Ilo, southern Peru, to Antofagasta, northern Chile (e.g., Arriaza [1995]; Arriaza et al. [2005]; Arriaza and Standen [2008]).
5. The term refers to large ceramic storage jars that resemble ancient Greek *aryballos* in having globular bodies and narrow, tall necks with flaring rims.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Sacred Character of Ruins on the Peruvian North Coast

JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLAIRE

Introduction

In his work dedicated to “the past in prehistoric societies,” Richard Bradley (2002) explored the way ancient populations interacted with vestiges from their past. Bradley focused on projects that may have been meant to influence the memories of later generations or simply to integrate those vestiges into the “present” discourse. From the outset, Bradley asked a fundamental question: “how could societies have remembered their origins and earlier histories in the absence of documentation?” One answer he offers is that “prehistoric groups maintained close links with the places where past events had happened and with forms of architecture and material culture that had been inherited from antiquity” (Bradley 2002, 8). In other words, the materiality of the vestiges from the past would have represented a powerful component of any society’s relation to ancient times—and more often than not, it was the only tangible clue to its existence.

This approach to the past in the past, which was based on earlier research (Bradley and Williams 1998), inspired the authors of a series of articles published as part of an edited volume dedicated to the “archaeologies of memory” (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003b). Introducing the volume, Ruth Van Dyke and Susan Alcock set the stage. They argue that “today it is the accepted business of the discipline of archaeology to interpret

human pasts, and in the process, to contribute to the construction of memory for contemporary societies," but as they also point out in the past "landscapes were occupied and reoccupied time and again. Rarely was this a meaningless or innocent reuse. Like us, past peoples observed and interpreted traces of more distant pasts to serve the needs and interests of their present lives" (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a, 1). Not surprisingly, several recent contributions to the study of past attitudes toward ancient sites, buildings, and so on have sought to illustrate how societies actively engaged in the construction of social memory to naturalize or legitimize authority or simply to support a sense of community identity.

This approach to the study of monuments' reuse is interesting for Andeanists because of the new perspectives it offers for understanding the motivations behind the reclaiming of specific settlements. In the highlands and along the coast, the reuse of funerary structures, old settlements, deserted buildings, and *huacas* (sacred places and entities) of all kinds was a very common phenomenon.¹ In this context, we are inevitably led to ask why these structures were selected and what those choices tell us about the people who revisited the sites. We ask ourselves if the choices were based on factual information regarding the original function of the buildings. For example, were cult specialists aware that a specific building was once a religious temple? Or could it be that the nature of the original occupation was less important than the very fact that they were bequests from the ancestors? In other words, was the choice instead motivated by a more general feeling of awe toward vestiges of the past; a sentiment of respect toward any kind of ruins?

Those questions are stimulating considering recent investigations in the Virú and Moche valleys, which led to the discovery of a series of rituals that involved the sacrifice of immature camelids and sometimes children. Interestingly, these sacrifices took place during the Middle Horizon and subsequent periods and were performed on top of settlements that had long been abandoned. In the following pages, these rituals will be described in enough details to show how they represent distinct expressions of a single category of ritual practice marked by an interest in vestiges of the past.

Indeed, these rituals appear to correspond to a new cultural practice that emerged after the fall of the regional polities of the Early Intermediate Period. The Middle Horizon was marked by a new receptiveness toward material culture and ideas from neighboring societies—as evidenced by changes in settlement patterns, material culture, and ritual activity.² I argue that part of this new hybrid syncretism involved the performance of llama sacrifices on abandoned settlements. I also contend that through the performance of rituals on ruined landscapes, coastal populations were not so much celebrating the past glory of specific adobe buildings but

grounding their reality into the past by reclaiming landscapes that were by then imbued with a sense of ancestry and sanctity.

The Ritual Use of Camelids

The economic importance of camelids in Early Intermediate Period societies has long been assumed based on their conspicuous presence in ceramic art (see Larco Hoyle [1938–1940] 2001), and it has since been established by archaeologists working along the North Coast of Peru (figure 1.1). In particular, their value as beasts of burden and as source of protein and fiber is well recognized (Bonavia 2008; Mengoni Goñalons 2008; Millaire 2008; Shimada 1994; Shimada and Shimada 1981; Topic, McGreevy, and Topic 1987; Vásquez and Rosales 1994).

The precise speciation of Early Intermediate Period camelids on the Peruvian north coast is a difficult task, partly because of the strong overlapping of morphological characteristics of the four species presently found in South America—llama (*Lama glama*), alpaca (*Lama paco*), guanaco (*Lama guanicöe*), and vicuña (*Lama vicugna*)—but also because of the existence of numerous hybrid species that exist today and that certainly existed in the past (see Bonavia 2008). An analysis of the animals' incisors usually allows discarding *Lama vicugna* as a possible candidate because the incisors of vicuñas have enamel on only the labial surface. *Lama guanicöe* also is an unlikely candidate, considering that the animals uncovered on the coast are usually covered with long hair ranging from gold to dark brown color and that guanacos typically present short, uniformly colored reddish brown hair. The two remaining species, the llama (*Lama glama*) and the alpaca (*Lama paco*), were domesticated early in prehistory in the Andean region (Bonavia 2008; Mengoni Goñalons 2008; Wheeler 1995). Alpacas are smaller and covered by a heavy pelage, the high quality of which is valued. Llamas are the largest species of South American camelid and were used until after the Conquest as beasts of burden. Their pelage is shorter, but today, as in prehistory, llamas provided an important supply of wool for the production of textiles. The camelids uncovered along the North Coast could be of either species or of a hybrid intergrade that has now disappeared. For convenience, these animals will simply be described as "llamas" until a finer understanding of South American camelids is reached.

Llamas also played an integral part in Early Intermediate mortuary practices; llama bones were the commonest offering in Moche graves (Millaire 2002). According to George Gumerman (1994, 400–401) and Christopher Donnan (1995, 147), these did not consist of food offerings, however, because of the small food value of the parts selected. That being



FIGURE 1.1. Map of the study region with settlements mentioned in the text.

said, the facts that llama bones were sometimes placed in gourd containers with other food offerings suggests that they were at least meant to be “symbolically eaten” by the deceased. Complete llamas were also found in some of the most elaborate graves uncovered at the sites of Sipán, Pacatnamú, San José de Moro, and Huaca de la Cruz—often decapitated and sometimes wrapped in large textiles.

Outside the mortuary domain, however, llamas apparently did not acquire the central ritual role they are attested to have played in Chimú and Inca times, as indicated by archaeological data and by written sources (Cieza de León [1553] 1984; Cobo [1653] 1943; Rowe 1946). Although human sacrifices were highly valued offerings in the centuries prior to the Spanish Conquest, llama sacrifices by throat slashing were apparently by far the commonest offerings. The sacrifice of llamas was associated with a wide range of ritual events in Inca society, including the veneration of the gods, the celebration of rites of passage, and the cult to the ancestors (figure 1.2).

On the Peruvian North Coast, Inca sacrificial practices involving humans and llamas were documented at the Temple of the Sacred Stone at Túcume in the La Leche Valley (Heyerdhal, Sandweiss, and Narváez Vargas 1995, 112–15; see also Toyne, this volume). This ceremonial building was built between the tenth and twelfth centuries of the present era, but it was reoccupied by the Incas, who maintained its ritual character. Rituals involved the offering of votive figurines and *Spondylus* shells (*Spondylus* sp.), and the burial of 11 humans and 31 llamas. Similarly, at the regional administrative center of Farfán, in the lower Jequetepeque Valley, llama sacrifices were documented during both the Inca and pre-Inca occupations, as evidenced by recent work conducted under the direction of Carol Mackey (Mackey 2006).

The central place of camelids in ritual practice was also documented on earlier Sicán (Shimada 1995; Shimada et al. 2004) and Chimú settlements. At Chan Chan, for example, extensive research conducted under the Chan Chan–Moche Valley Project revealed the importance of llama sacrifice in burial (Conrad 1982, 100, 103) and non-funerary contexts, as evidenced by the work of John Topic in the barrios of Chan Chan (Topic 1982). Prior to this time, however, only a few cases of rituals involving llamas had been reported. Those rituals date back to the Middle Horizon Period, a time associated with important cultural changes. As mentioned above, this period was marked by important influences from the highlands and from the central coast that were particularly visible in ceramic art and in ritual practices. As part of this syncretism, it appears that camelids acquired a special character in the eyes of cult specialists, rulers, and commoners, and they started to fulfill new functions within coastal religious liturgy.



FIGURE 1.2. Llama sacrifice depiction from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615/1616, 894).

Llama and Ruined Buildings

Recent excavations at the site of Huancaco and Huaca Santa Clara in the Virú Valley led to the discovery of rituals, which when compared to similar cases from the region appear to represent distinct expressions of a unique category of religious practices involving the sacrifice of immature llamas on abandoned settlements.

Huancaco

Fifteen sacrificed llamas were uncovered on top of the main platform at Huancaco in the lower Virú Valley. Five years of research at this site under the direction of Steve Bourget revealed that this monumental structure was a palace with large public rooms dedicated to feasting activities in the front and seemingly more private quarters toward the back. Radiocarbon dates (UGAMS-130, UGAMS-131) obtained from the terminal occupation layers range between AD 566 and 684,³ pointing to a foundation somewhere during the fifth or sixth century (Bourget 2010).

The ceramics associated with the last occupation levels at Huancaco are varied and in many respects are strikingly different from assemblages associated with Moche settlements. As such, it would appear that Huancaco represents a local cultural development grounded into the earlier Virú tradition. Once it was abandoned, the palace seems never to have been reoccupied but for a ritual that took place after the palace was abandoned, which involved the sacrifice of fifteen immature camelids—as evidenced by the stratigraphy and by a radiocarbon date. The llamas were found inside a series of shallow pits excavated through the floors of what used to be two adjacent rooms (A-20 and A-23). A cord that bound the legs of one animal was analyzed (UGAMS-129) and produced a date of 1151 ± 39 BP (cal AD 778–979), which falls into the Tomaval Period in the Virú chronology (Middle Horizon).

Nine llamas were buried alone, while six others were buried in pairs (figure 1.3). Most animals were buried in a coiled position, although two were on their belly. Some animals had their legs tied with cords at the time of interment. Interestingly, trapezoidal pieces of cut *Spondylus* shell and small rectangular turquoise plaques were found inside the thoracic cage of all undisturbed animals (figure 1.4). The artifacts were inside the animal's esophagus or stomach at the moment of death. Because of the absence of cut marks on the bones, it appears that the artifacts were either fed to the animals or were forced down their throats immediately before they were put to death. The quantity of objects found inside every llama varied; some were only provided with a pair of cut shells, while others had been "fed" up to six objects of both materials.

An osteological analysis revealed that all animals were immature at the time of death.⁴ Ten llamas were between 1 and 3 months old when they died, while four were between 5 and 6 months old. The last animal was slightly older: between 6 and 9 months old. The gestation period for *Llama glama* is known to be 11 months, with most births occurring during the winter months (June to September in the Southern Hemisphere). It could therefore be argued that the Huancaco llamas were all put to death during a single event that took place somewhere between the months of



FIGURE 1.3. Sacrificed llamas from Huancaco.



FIGURE 1.4. Turquoise and *Spondylus* shells plaques inside Llama 2 at Huancaco.

September and December (see also Donnan and Foote 1978). Contextual evidence from pits containing multiple animals hints at a more complex ritual sequence, however. In two pits the animal found at the bottom was put to death when it was only 3 months old, while the ones above were slightly older (between 4 and 6 months old). This could be evidence of an extended ritual process, performed during two successive events, or more likely the result of conscious choices made by the ritual attendants to bury the youngest animal at the bottom of the pit.

Huaca Santa Clara

While conducting fieldwork at the site of Huaca Santa Clara in the middle valley, we came across a similar ritual that was also performed centuries after the site had been abandoned. Santa Clara was a midsize administrative outpost that was part of the valley-wide Virú state system (Millaire 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Willey 1953) with its capital city located at the Gallinazo Group in the lower valley (Bennett 1950; Millaire and Eastaugh 2011).⁵ The site consists of a series of adobe platforms built on the flanks of a small hill that dominates the landscape (figure 1.5). It functioned as a local administrative center during the Early Intermediate Period, as evidenced by the overall design of the architectural complex and by the nature of the access patterns and the quality of the portable objects uncovered. The complex also featured an impressive system of storage facilities for food crops.

In circumstances that are still unclear, the local population abandoned the settlement sometime between ca. AD 600 and 800, and it was never reoccupied but for a ritual that involved the burial of a young girl wrapped inside a textile bundle and accompanied in death by five young retainers and twenty-eight sacrificed llamas (figure 1.6).⁶ The site stratigraphy and two radiocarbon dates confirmed that the ritual took place centuries after the site had been abandoned. The first sample (Beta-186962) was obtained from the textile bundle and produced a date of 780 +/- 60 BP (cal AD 1050–1383). The second sample (Beta-195616) came from the femur of one of the llamas (Llama 21) and produced a date of 980 +/- 40 BP (cal AD 991–1157).

In the bottom of the deepest pit, the skeleton of a young female (Burial 6), between 10 and 15 years old, was found (Boston 2007). She was buried in a seated position inside a small room that dated to the original occupation of the site. Her body had been naturally mummified as a result of the extremely arid climate in this part of the valley. She had been carefully wrapped inside two sleeveless shirts, one mantle, and one large shroud (Millaire and Surette 2011). Her head was also wrapped in a long shawl. The most interesting discovery was the presence of a long sling wrapped around her neck and subsequently used to tie the textile bundle. Although we first believed that the girl had been strangulated, there is no physical evidence



FIGURE 1.5. Aerial photograph of Huaca Santa Clara with location of ritual. (Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional, Lima)

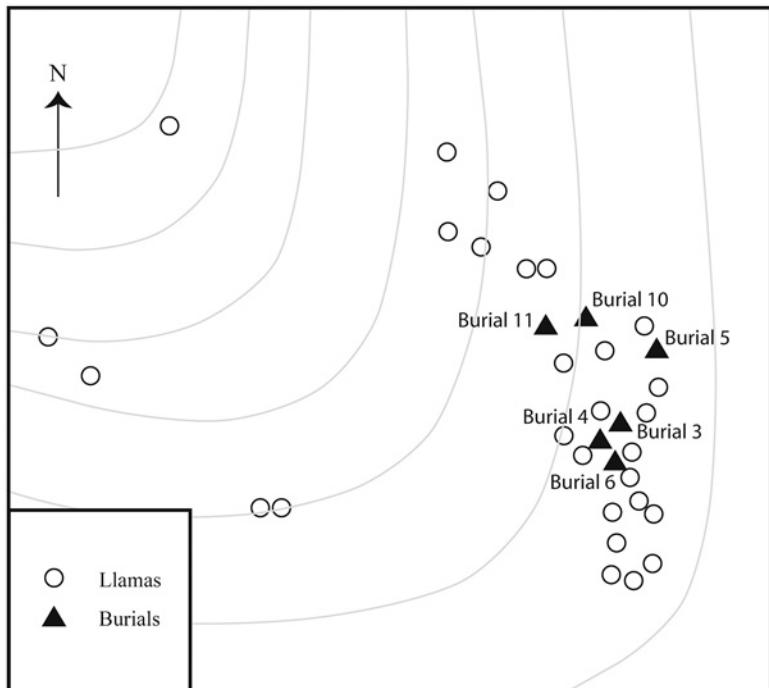


FIGURE 1.6. Location of human and llama remains at Huaca Santa Clara.

supporting this hypothesis. The mantle wrapped around her body was made of cotton threads dyed in seven distinct colors and woven into a striped fabric. The shroud consisted of a three-meter-long fabric—one extremity of which was decorated with a complex design. An immature llama was also buried inside the pit, as well as a simple gourd bowl.

The remains of five more young individuals were uncovered close by, inside shallower pits. The first (Burial 4) was a subadult between 13 and 14 years of age whose body was in a poor state of preservation due to its proximity to the surface. This body was buried in a flexed position on its right side (Boston 2007) next to an immature llama. The remains of a younger individual (4 years old) were found less than a meter away (Burial 3). This child was supine on top of an immature llama (also buried on its back). An analysis of the child's skeleton revealed that this person had been mutilated either prior or immediately after death, as cut marks were identified on the right ribs and on the sternum—a pattern strongly suggesting sacrifice through throat slashing (figure 1.7). Another supine child (9–10 years old) was found to the north (Burial 11), with the right hand placed above the head. The child was buried with at least three distinct plain weave textiles (Millaire and Surette 2011). The skeletons of two more children were found nearby. The body of one (7–8 years old) was on its left side (Burial 5) and next to an immature llama. The other (8–9 years old) was face down and associated with two plain weave textiles (Burial 10). Cut marks were found on the third, fourth, and fifth left-side ribs, and several marks were also found on the sternum. This suggests that at least two of the children buried in this sector were sacrificed during this ritual event.

During this ceremony, 28 llamas were sacrificed and buried next to the young individuals mentioned above, immediately above them, or within the immediate vicinity. The animals were in different positions; some were coiled, while others were on their back or belly. But a few were in contorted positions, suggesting that they had been thrown inside the pits rather than carefully positioned. The animals were probably put to death using a sharp instrument, as evidenced by cut marks on the ribs of at least two llamas (figure 1.8). They may have been tied prior to being splayed, as indicated by the presence of a cord coiled around the front and hind legs of at least one animal (Llama 19). All the llamas were extremely well preserved; in most cases, the skin, hair, and internal organs were still intact. In order to assess the age of each llama, the method described above was used (see Altamirano 1987; Vásquez and Rosales 1994). The results are interesting, as they indicate that here again only a precise segment of the llama population had been selected for this ritual. Twenty-one llamas were younger than 3 months old when they were put to death, while four others were between 3 and 6 months old. The three remaining llamas were immature, but it was impossible to assess their precise age at the time of death.



FIGURE 1.7. Cut marks on the fifth rib of Burial 3 at Huaca Santa Clara.

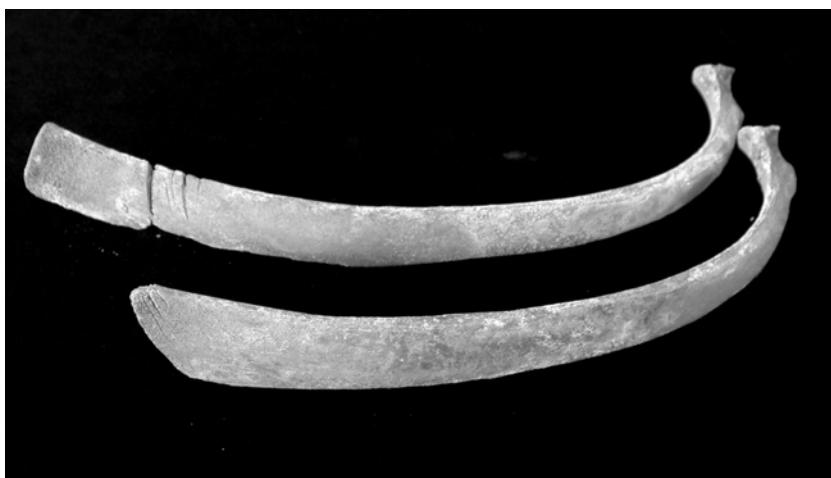


FIGURE 1.8. Cut marks on the ribs of Llama 20 at Huaca Santa Clara.

Huaca Negra

Rituals that involved the burial of camelids on abandoned settlements were also documented elsewhere in Virú and in neighboring valleys. At Huaca Negra, on the northern margin of the Virú Valley, William Strong and Clifford Evans (1952, 17–46) uncovered the remains of occupations dating back to the Cerro Prieto (Preceramic) and Guañape (Cupisnique) periods.⁷

Subsequent work by Gordon Willey revealed that the site had been reoccupied during the Tomaval (Middle Horizon) and La Plata (Late Intermediate) periods (Willey 1953, 294). During the excavation process, four sacrificed llamas were uncovered next to a Guañape Period structure, henceforth designated as the “Temple of the Llamas” (Strong and Evans 1952, 31–32).

Interestingly, stratigraphic evidence indicates that the llamas were deposited in this location long after the building fell out of use (Strong and Evans 1952, 31–32; cf. Donnan and Foote 1978, 407; Willey 1953, 56–57). The first llama was found inside a shallow pit excavated to the north of the Guañape Period stone structure (Strong and Evans 1952, 31–32). Its front and hind legs were tied with a rope, preserved thanks to the ideal conservation conditions at this site. No associated goods were found with the llama. It was small, and the incomplete ossification of the joints indicated that it was still immature. Unfortunately, no information on the dental development is available for the llamas uncovered at this site. Three more immature llamas were found in a pit located to the west of the stone building (Strong and Evans 1952, 32). As was the case with the first llama, the hair was still partially intact, and ropes used to tie the llamas were also preserved. In this case, the animals had been piled one on top of another, a pattern reminiscent of the Huancaco ritual. No associated goods were found with the llamas. According to Strong and Evans, “from the varying depths of the heads below the surface and the haphazard arrangement of the skeletons, it would appear that the animals had been thrown into the grave after sacrifice” (Strong and Evans 1952, 32). The absence of artifacts associated with those sacrificed llamas and the lack of radiocarbon dates makes it difficult to date the ritual. The fact that the llamas were buried in very shallow pits (respectively 45 and 40 cm below the present surface) and the exceptionally good state of preservation of the animal remains (see Strong and Evans 1952, Plate I c) suggest that the ritual took place at a relatively late date, however.

Cerro de Huarpe

Early in the twentieth century, Junius B. Bird uncovered a similar case of llama sacrifice inside a rockshelter located near Cerro de Huarpe on the southern margin of the Virú Valley.⁸ This rockshelter had an opening 5 m wide and a depth of 3.5 m (Willey 1953). Describing the site, Willey noted that the llamas were found on the floor of the cave and more llama burials were found “on the hill-slope immediately below the mouth of the cave” (Willey 1953, 319). Chimú-style pottery (La Plata) was found with the llamas. Interestingly, Willey notes that the site featured an earlier occupation below the cave mouth—a midden site dating to the Guañape (Early Horizon) Period (Willey 1953, 53, 319).

Although those early reports are not as detailed as the more recent finds, they suggest that rituals involving the sacrifice of young camelids on abandoned settlements were not uncommon in the Virú Valley. At least two similar cases were documented in the Moche Valley. At both sites, numerous burials of children and teenagers were found in association with immature llamas that were presumably sacrificed.

Cerro Blanco

At the turn of the twentieth century, Max Uhle explored a site situated on the summit of the Cerro Blanco in the Moche Valley (figure 1.9), some five hundred meters above sea level (Uhle 1899).⁹ There he discovered the remains of what he described as a temple in “collapsed condition” covered with painted friezes. On the summit, Uhle also uncovered textiles, wooden objects (some of which were decorated with feathers), metal fragments, seashells (nearly two thousand *Conus fergusoni* and *Spondylus* sp. shells), and human remains described indiscriminately as “graves” and as “sacrifices.” In 1994, Steve Bourget revisited the site to further document the nature of this occupation (Steve Bourget, pers. comm.). He found that the building Uhle had identified originally covered an area of about 1,500 m², and he confirmed that the summit was used for the burial of a large number of individuals at some point during the site’s history. Excavations also revealed that the majority of the seashells and artifacts that Uhle recovered were in fact disturbed funerary offerings. Bourget also uncovered a large number of human bones, all of which were of children



FIGURE 1.9. Cerro Blanco with Huacas de la Luna in the foreground.

and adolescents, on top and in the vicinity of the building, suggesting that the site was a form of specialized cemetery.

Near the southwestern façade of the building, Bourget also identified quantities of llama bones covered in sand. This deposit, which rested on the bedrock, covered an area of at least 30 m² and was between 50 and 80 cm thick. The bones were sun-bleached, indicating that the animals were left exposed to the elements for some time before they were covered by wind-blown sand. At one point in time, a coat of clay 2 cm thick, possibly from the melting of the adobe façade when the site was hit by heavy rains, sealed this deposit. Incidentally, two Early Chimú (Middle Horizon) sherds were uncovered underneath the clay cover. Ninety kilos of animal bones were brought back to the laboratory for analysis—a fraction of the whole deposit. A minimum number of 59 individuals were identified, 80% of which were less than 6 months old at the time of death (Vásquez and Rosales 1994).

Although the site was badly disturbed after Uhle's initial investigation, a clear picture emerges. This was a relatively large building that overlooked the vast Early Intermediate Period settlement of Huacas de Moche. At one point, a number of young individuals were buried in and around the platform together with a large number of (mainly) immature llamas.¹⁰

Huanchaco

During the 1970s, Christopher Donnan uncovered a series of child and llama interments at Huanchaco to the south of the colonial church (Donnan and Foote 1978, 399–408). Those interments, which dated to the Late Intermediate Period, were found inside shallow pits excavated through a sandy deposit that covered previously abandoned habitation architecture of unknown dates (Donnan and Foote 1978, 399).¹¹ The excavation revealed that some of the walls had been dismantled to make space for the humans and animals (Donnan and Foote 1978, figure 1, Burial 42). The remains were those of 17 children, each buried with 1 to 3 immature llamas. At least 7 more llama skeletons were identified in this sector (Donnan and Foote 1978, figure 1).

Most human skeletons were in a flexed position, although some were extended on the back or in ventral positions. An analysis revealed that they could accurately be placed within “a narrow preadolescent age grouping,” as they were all between 5 and 12 years of age at the time of death (Donnan and Foote 1978, 403). The results also suggested that a majority of females was present in the sample (Donnan and Foote 1978, 404). Those individuals showed no sign of pathology, although six presented cranial fractures that could possibly be related to premortem injuries (postmortem breakage of the skull is also possible). According to Donnan and Foote, the children could have been sacrificed together with the llamas (Donnan

and Foote 1978, 407), a hypothesis that seems to explain the absence of associated grave goods and the very narrow age range of both children and llamas uncovered. All the llamas showed severe premortem injuries, and several animals were tightly bound at the time of interment (Donnan and Foote 1978, 403). The animals were found on their sides or on their backs and were all between 3 and 6 months old when they were put to death (as indicated by the incomplete skeletal development of the llamas and by the formative dentition patterns).

Beyond the Virú-Moche Area

Cases of llama sacrifice associated with the reuse of abandoned settlements during the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate periods were also documented south of Virú. For example, David Chicoine recently uncovered immature llamas at the site of Huambacho in Nepeña (David Chicoine, pers. comm.). Two were found inside a small pit excavated through the floor of a large building, which dates to the Early Horizon and had been abandoned for some time before the ritual took place. Those sacrifices may be contemporaneous with a ceramic offering in a nearby room, which dates back to the Middle Horizon (Tanguche) or Late Intermediate period. Important comparative data also came from the work of Jonathan Kent and his team at the site of Santa Rita B in the Chao Valley (Gaither et al. 2008; Kent et al. 2009). This form of ritual practice may also have existed in the valleys north of Moche, as evidenced by the extensive work of Izumi Shimada and his colleagues in the Lambayeque region (Shimada et al. 2004).

A New Form of Ritual Practice

The rituals described above all took place after the disintegration of regionally focused polities that ruled the coast during the Early Intermediate Period. The earliest event documented so far took place at Huancaco and dates back to between AD 778 and 979. The Huaca Santa Clara ritual dated to between AD 991 and 1383, and the Huanchaco event took place between AD 1290 and 1450. No absolute dates were available for the other rituals described above, but they were all likely associated with the reoccupations of abandoned settlements during the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate periods.

The Middle Horizon was originally thought to represent a period of conquest by highland polities (Collier 1955, 136; Kroeber 1925, 208–9; Larco Hoyle 1948; Menzel 1964, 1977; Strong 1948; Uhle 1913; Willey 1953, 354, 420), or invasion or migration by highland populations (Schaedel 1951). According to James Ford, this period witnessed the most drastic shift

in ceramic traditions in the entire sequence in the Virú Valley, a break that would have resulted either from “extraordinary strong cultural influences” or more likely from “an actual change in population of the valley” (Ford 1949, 67). Today, the Middle Horizon is usually understood as a period of cultural influences from the southern highlands marked by important changes in North Coast settlement patterns (Castillo 2001, 2010; Moseley 1992; Topic 1991; Willey 1953, 235; Wilson 1988, 342) and burial patterns, as well as the introduction of burials in seated, flexed position (Donnan and Mackey 1978, 213; Millaire and Surette 2011). According to Luis Jaime Castillo, this period “marked the end of Moche influences and a synthesis of traits from Middle Horizon societies of the central coast” (Castillo 2001, 327). It signaled the beginning of a time of receptiveness toward ideas from beyond the North Coast—ideas that were marked by the importation of Wari or Wari-influenced ceramics and by the introduction of motifs of southern origin in local ceramic traditions and polychrome decorative techniques (Bawden 1996, 310–12; Castillo 2001; McClelland 1991).

But those material changes may also have signaled more profound transformations, the nature of which still largely eludes us. These may have included the introduction of new forms of government, social organization, and even new religious beliefs and associated liturgy. In this context, cult specialists likely crafted new, hybrid forms of ritual practice—rites that were grounded in local traditions, yet answered to the latest needs of coastal populations. In this regard, Izumi Shimada has argued that the Middle Horizon was “a period of transition during which institutionalized social forms, modes of thought, iconography, and so on were reassessed,” providing an impetus in shifting the existing religious ideology (Shimada 1981, 442). According to him, rather than simply rejecting the past and its physical remains, it is likely that the specialists of this transforming cult integrated vestiges from the past into the current liturgy. As such, Garth Bawden was probably right in pointing out that “the prestige of the old centers attracted the founders of the subsequent hybrid religion and led to their transformation into the physical foci for the new beliefs” (Bawden 1996, 321). This idea is particularly interesting considering the rituals mentioned above. The fact that those rituals involved the sacrifice of young llamas on deserted landscapes suggests a possible link between the ritual context and a form of renewed interest in vestiges of the past.

Landscape Imbued with a Sense of Ancestry and Sanctity

In all cases under study, sacrifices were performed on deserted landscapes that would have appeared much like how archaeological sites look

today—desolated hills where one sees here and there the vestiges of a platform, a sunken room, or crumbled walls. At Huancaco, Huaca Santa Clara, and Huanchaco, for example, sacrificed animals were buried inside shallow pits excavated without knowledge of the original architectural layout of the site. In some cases, the pits cut through floors or walls, suggesting that the digging was carried out randomly. Elsewhere, at Huaca Negra, Cerro de Huarpe, and Cerro Blanco, old structures may still have been visible, which may explain why the llamas were buried immediately outside the abandoned buildings. The deserted settlements selected for the performance of those events were varied, including hilltop sanctuaries, civic-ceremonial buildings, a coastal village, and even a rockshelter.

Recent research conducted at Huacas de Moche revealed that this settlement was indeed originally an important religious center that was used for the burial of important individuals and for the performance of dramatic rituals, including human sacrifices (Bourget 2001b; Uceda 2001). But other contexts mentioned above were apparently not originally devoted to ritual activity. For example, research at Huancaco has revealed that the main building was a palace whose function appears to have been associated with gatherings and feasting (Bourget 2010). Similarly, our excavations at Huaca Santa Clara indicate that this was not primarily a temple but an administrative outpost in the middle valley. Apart from a small number of relatively modest burials, no evidence of ritual activity was found at the site. The same could be said of the rituals documented at Huaca Negra, Cerro de Huarpe, Huanchaco, and Huambacho, which were all celebrated on settlements whose primary function was apparently nonreligious.

If originally the settlements where llama sacrifices took place were not former ceremonial centers, it raises the question as to why several centuries later they were reused as ritual grounds. Could it be that the ritual specialists were mistaken in thinking that there once stood large religious buildings? Lynn Meskell documented one such case of early “archaeological misinterpretation” at Deir el Medina in Egypt in which she describes how Romans traveling to Egypt tried to assimilate remains of the past by paying their obedience to the ruins they encountered or by selecting old buildings for funerary rituals (Meskell 2003). As she notes, however, although visitors probably experienced embodied responses to those ruins, they clearly had no real understanding of what functions the structures had served during the New Kingdom, a millennia earlier. In fact, excavations revealed that at least one Roman family confused the ruins of a household cellar with those of a holy ground and built a burial chamber within. Considering the expanses that this burial represented to the family, Meskell argues that “it is unlikely that those responsible for the burial actually recognized this as a non-sacred context” (Meskell

2003, 51). According to her, this simply “stresses that although the landscape was imbued with a sense of sanctity, the family members had no real knowledge as to why this was the case” (Meskell 2003, 52). She concludes that the meaning of ancient settlements and old structures usually changes fairly rapidly “within a somewhat static natural and material landscape and, as such, we cannot assume an implicit continuity on the basis of a similarity of forms” (Meskell 2003, 52).

Another possibility, of course, is that the original function of the sites where the sacrifices took place was not in itself that important. As such, their selection as ritual grounds by cult specialists could simply have been motivated by the fact that they had acquired the status of a sacred space in the eyes of the locals, because of their conspicuous presence in the landscape and obvious antiquity, and hence because of their direct association with the ancestors (see also Pauketat and Alt 2003; Prent 2003; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a). This is interesting considering what Susan Ramírez found in her study of sixteenth-century native perceptions of ancient settlements and ruined platform mounds (Ramírez 1996, 147). While discussing the locals’ perception of ancient structures among the Chimú, she described how houses or palaces could become temples or shrines after several generations of neglect if these were believed to have been built by great rulers (Ramírez 1996, 147). In this context, the sacred character of ruins was not the result of continuous usage as ritual grounds, but rather the fruit of continuously evolving interpretation regarding the nature of these structures.

It is probably in a similar context that the sites mentioned above were revisited for the performance of rituals which involved the sacrifices of immature llamas and sometimes children. Once the settlements were abandoned the structures most likely started to decay. Tales about those ruins would have been transmitted from generation to generation, a process that would inevitably have involved a certain amount of reinterpretation. In this context, former religious temples, but also any other vestiges from the past, could have acquired the status of a sacred landscape, justifying their assimilation into later liturgy through ritual performances.

What exactly those rituals meant to the locals is a matter of speculation, but the fact that cult specialists chose to perform ceremonies on former settlements suggest that they were trying to establish at least some form of connection with material vestiges from the past and those who had built, lived, and died in those settlements. As such, one could argue that the reuse of abandoned settlements was a form of ancestor worship.¹² By offering llamas to vestiges from the ancestral past, cult specialists could have fulfilled the needs of the local population, while acquiring some form of legitimacy in the eyes of the community (see Bawden 1996; Shimada 1981). This brings us back to one of the most important ideas that came

out of recent contributions to the study of the past in the past. As Bradley puts it, “beyond the limits of human memory any reuse of ancient material remains must have involved an act of interpretation” (Bradley 2003, 224). Applied to the contexts under scrutiny, one could argue that whoever reused those deserted settlements to perform ritual offerings inevitably had some ideas on the original function of those sites or their religious importance as bequests from the ancestors.

But the life history of these ruins did not end during the Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate periods. In each region, tales about archaeological ruins persisted in the local discourse, affected as it always had been by complex processes of transformation. In Virú, for example, a Catholic cemetery was washed out by a river flooding early in the twentieth century. To prevent further damages to the graves of their ancestors, the locals decided to move the cemetery to the northern flank of Huaca Santa Clara, where it still is today. While discussing with locals the choice of this hill for the cemetery, several people mentioned that it was the right thing to do since it was well known that the site once stood as a major pre-Hispanic burial ground—even though only a few graves were ever found at this site. Clearly, memories surrounding this ruined landscape are still actively being constructed by Viruñeros today and will no doubt continue to be reworked in the future.

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Notes

1. For discussions of grave reopening and reuse, see Isbell (1997), Hecker and Hecker (1992), Millaire (2004), and Shimada et al. (2004).

2. Along the Peruvian north coast, this period, which Larco Hoyle (1966) called Huari Norteño, corresponds to the Tanguche florescence in the Santa Valley (Wilson 1988), to the Tomaval Period in Virú (Bennett 1950; Collier 1955; Ford

and Willey 1949; Strong and Evans 1952; Willey 1953), to the Early Chimú phase in Moche (Donnan and Mackey 1978), to the Transitional Period in Chicama and Jequetepeque (Castillo 2001; Franco et al. 1999), and to the Early Sicán (Shimada 1994) or Early Lambayeque (Castillo 2001) phase in the Lambayeque region.

3. All calibrations in this paper were obtained using the IntCa109 curve (Reimer et al. 2009) processed with OxCal 4.1. Results presented correspond to a 2-Sigma calibration (95% probability).

4. To assess the age of each llama, a standard procedure based on the development of the lower mandibles was used (see Altamirano 1987; Vásquez and Rosales 1994). When the lower mandible was missing, the size of the scapulae was used to determine the relative age of the llamas.

5. The term “Virú” refers to the state-organized society that developed in the Virú Valley during the Early Intermediate Period. First described by Rafael Larco Hoyle (1945), this society was later referred to using the problematic term “Gallinazo” (see Millaire 2009).

6. Six radiocarbon dates were obtained from the Virú occupation levels. The youngest sample analyzed (Beta-186965) came from a cane coffin fragment and produced a date of 1330 +/- 60 BP. (cal AD 567–809).

7. The site is also known as Huaca Prieta de Guañape, V-71 (Willey 1953).

8. This site bears the number V-313 (Willey 1953).

9. This site is also known as Site H (Kroeber 1925).

10. Uhle also documented an important Middle Horizon reoccupation on the front terrace of Huaca del Sol (Menzell 1977, 37–41). This site is also known as Site A (Kroeber 1925). In this location, Uhle found loose soil filled with scattered remains of human and animal bones (probably camelids) and parts of complete vessels and musical instruments. According to Uhle, these objects had been broken as part of a major ritual.

11. Organic material associated with one of the burials was analyzed (using the standard radiometric method) and produced a date of 545 +/- 65 BP (cal AD 1290–1450) (Christopher Donnan, pers. comm.).

12. For a discussion of a children sacrifice ritual at Huaca de la Luna and its close tie with ancestor worship in Moche society, see Bourget (2001a).

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CHAPTER TWO

Many Heads Are Better Than One

*Mortuary Practice and Ceramic Art
in Moche Society*

MARY WEISMANTEL

Moving Bodies

Our vision of death during the Moche Period on the North Coast of Peru (figure 2.1) is dominated by two riveting images of archaeological discovery. The first is a picture of funerary pomp at its most lavish: spectacular burials found at sites, such as Sipán and San José de Moro, where the dead were placed inside coffins, covered in layers of finely worked precious materials, surrounded by offerings, and buried in tombs (figure 2.2).¹

The second is the gruesome sacrificial scene discovered atop the Huaca de la Luna at the site of Moche, in which the mutilated and dismembered bodies of dozens of men were left scattered in the mud of an open courtyard, exposed to the elements, and intermixed with sherds from unfired ceramic effigies (Bourget 1997, 2001).

In the first of these, we see the dead honored and laid to rest. In the second, they appear dishonored and disgraced, stripped of their individuality, and even of their bodily integrity. Central to this contrast is the difference between wholeness and fragmentation. In one scenario, the intact body

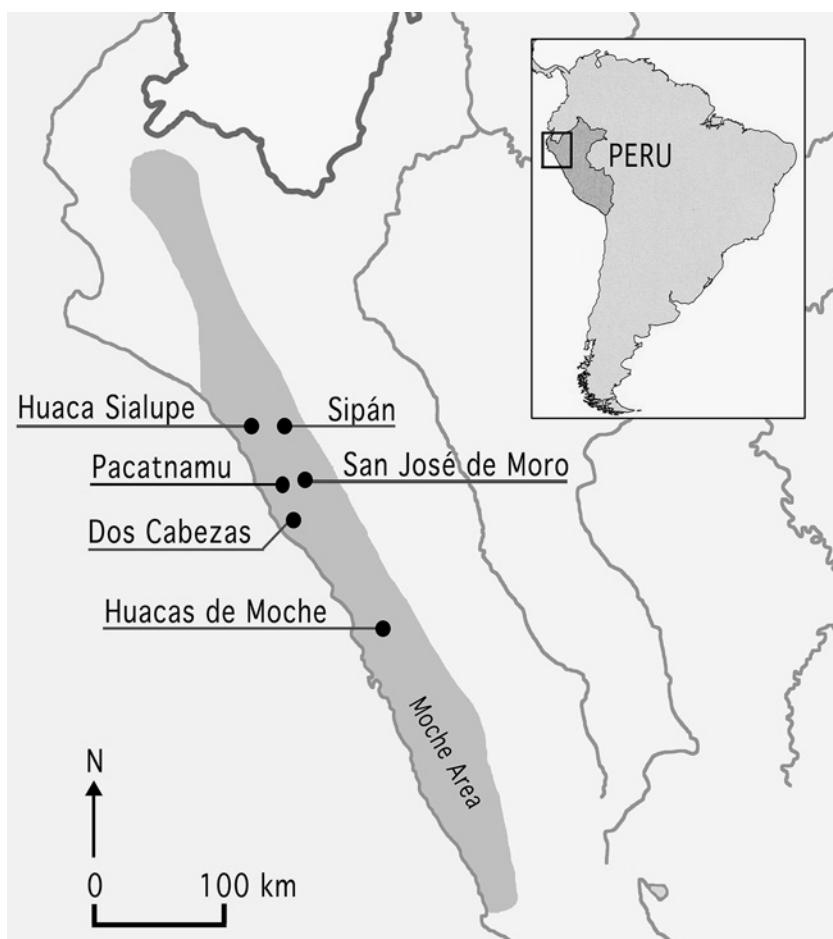


FIGURE 2.1. Map of the Moche area. Designed by Maxwell Allison, 2014. Used with permission.

is carefully dressed, adorned, and placed entire in its coffin; in the other, the disarticulated limbs of several different bodies are deliberately torn apart and then recombined, sometimes randomly, sometimes in seemingly macabre patterns. Even the artifacts express this distinction in that the smashed ceramic effigies are mixed with the mud and gore in Plaza 3A at Moche, versus the whole vessels placed carefully in niches surrounding the central coffin at a burial at Sipán.²

These are very different forms of death, but if we look at other bodies found in the pre-Columbian North Coast, the apparent distinction between



FIGURE 2.2. Burial 2 at Sipán. From Alva and Donnan (1993, figure 164). Used with permission.

wholeness and fragmentation disappears. For it was not only sacrificial victims whose bodies were subjected to disarticulation. A growing body of evidence demonstrates that human remains within elite tombs, too, were frequently subjected to a diverse set of activities, including curation, delayed primary burial, and post-interment alterations that involved the removal or addition of whole or partial human bodies (Hecker and Hecker

1992; Jones 1997; Millaire 2002a, 2000b; Shimada and Hagen 2005; Shimada et al. this volume). Some tombs appear to have been constructed so as to facilitate reentry, and people may have used canes to mark entrances (Millaire 2002a; Shimada et al. this volume). One especially salient practice is the removal or addition of select human bones, notably the head, as well as the long bones, feet, and hands. There are headless bodies within tombs, as well as headless heads in locations including tombs, niches within elite residences, and rooms within temples (Cordy-Collins 2001b, 28–29; Shimada et al. this volume, table 3.3; Verano 1997; Verano et al. 1999). In short, rather than a final resting place where bodies remained intact and undisturbed until the arrival of modern looters, North Coast houses of the dead were locations in which the living periodically—perhaps even regularly—interacted with the physical remains of their predecessors.

Although this picture of North Coast funerary practices comes as something of a surprise, much of the evidence has been there all along. The reappraisal depends as much upon reanalysis of data compiled from earlier excavations, beginning with those of Uhle (1912, 1915), Larco Hoyle (1938, 1939), and Ubelohde-Doering (1951), as it does on new research (Millaire 2002a, 2002b; Shimada and Klaus 2005; Shimada et al. this volume). Earlier publications by Alva (1994), Cordy-Collins (2001b), Hecker and Hecker (1992), and Verano (1997), among others, all contribute to what now seems an overwhelming body of evidence, which begs for new interpretations of the North Coast relationship between the living and the dead.

My focus in this chapter is on the mortuary treatment of the body part most often chosen for disarticulation and reuse: the head. The analysis that follows is based primarily upon Moche ceramic art. The fine Moche ceramics that are found today in museum collections were originally deposited in tombs and are often effigies of other tomb offerings. They thus provide a rich corpus of symbolic material that is directly relevant to mortuary practice and that, together with other forms of evidence, provide a source for new hypotheses that can be brought to bear on the taphonomic data. I am particularly interested in using this evidence to uncover Moche attitudes toward the body—especially the attitudes of the elite males who were most often depicted on fine ceramics and whose military, political, and ritual activities must have played an important part in Moche public life. I argue that taken together, the taphonomic, archaeological, and symbolic evidence about the social history of the elite male body can provide indirect but potentially revealing insights into the cultural and political structures of Moche society—and perhaps even into the vexed question of the Moche state.

Before turning to the heads themselves, let us first briefly consider some of the implications of the rather active lives of the bodies found (or not found) within Moche tombs. These mobile corpses and their wandering parts challenge preconceived notions about the North Coast, overturn

assumptions about regional relationships within western South America, and pose compelling theoretical questions about the meaning of mortuary practice.

The North Coast: Rethinking the Burial Theme

This new picture of mortuary practice offers fresh interpretive possibilities for Moche scholars. Consider, for example, the classic work of Moche scholarship: Donnan and McClelland's (1979) analysis of six vessels covered with strikingly similar fineline paintings of a complex composition referred to by the authors as the "burial theme." In that article, the authors labeled depictions of female bodies exposed to carnivorous birds as scenes of "sacrifice" ([figure 2.3a] Donnan and McClelland 1979, 9; Hill 1998, 2000). This was a reasonable assumption at the time, but it is open to reevaluation now that the archaeological record indicates that in some cases bodies so treated were eventually buried with honor. The original interpretation relied upon the opposition between entombed and mutilated bodies discussed above. The large central image of a corpse being lowered into a shaft tomb and the smaller peripheral image of a naked body attacked by vultures were taken to represent two different individuals meeting very different fates (figure 2.3b). To explain the contrast between the two dead bodies, Donnan and McClelland (1979, 11–12) turned to an ethnohistoric tale involving a dead lord and a female curer sentenced to death for her failure to heal her patient—a plausible but unproven suggestion.

We might now consider an alternative reading in which both figures represent the same corpse. The scene of the exposed body might illustrate an event previous to the interment, in which the body that is to be buried in the shaft tomb is first exposed to the elements and carrion birds for defleshing. Several lines of evidence support this interpretation. The first is taphonomic data from actual burials. According to John Verano, at least some of the bodies buried in shaft tombs were no longer fully articulated, which indicates that they had previously been subjected to processes that removed soft tissues such as exposure to the open air for an extended period (Verano 1997, 2001; see also Jones 1997 for evidence of similar treatment of bodies from the Huaca de la Luna at Moche, and Shimada et al. this volume, table 3.3).

The second line of evidence comes from Moche artistic convention, as defined by Donnan and McClelland (1979, 11). On Moche fineline pots, the same figure is often depicted at different points on the same vessel as part of a sequence of scenes that compose a coherent narrative. The Burial Theme pots have exactly this kind of format, with zones separated by double lines demarcating separate scenes. Two well-known figures in

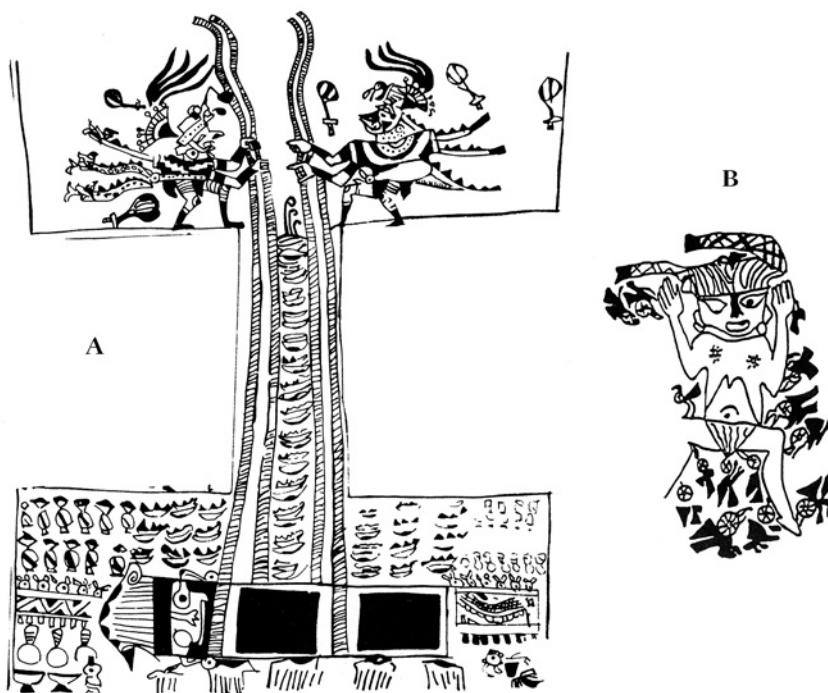


FIGURE 2.3. Comparison of faces from Moche “burial scene” fineline ceramics: A) face of the body in the casket being lowered into a shaft tomb [from Hill 2000, 233]; B) similar face on a body labeled a “sacrifice” in Donnan and McClelland (1979, 9, figure 13). Used with permission.

Moche iconography, referred to as “Wrinkle-Face” and “Iguana,” reappear repeatedly within these zones and involved in different activities. This makes it less likely that the central “sacrifice scene” introduces an entirely new figure who does not appear elsewhere on the vessel. If, instead, this figure was the same one who appears in the conch transfer and burial scenes, the narrative composition would have more integrity.

The final line of evidence is the iconography itself. Similarity in the depiction of the face suggests that the naked female exposed to vultures and the corpse lowered into the shaft tomb may be the same individual. On the ceramic illustrated in Donnan and McClelland’s (1979) figures 1, 2, and 13, the corpse has one open eye with a visible pupil, while the other is blank or closed.³ On three of the other five bottles, as illustrated in Donnan and McClelland’s figures 6, 7, 10, and 11, the eyes of the naked female are similarly depicted (see also Hill 2000, figure 5).⁴ This adds to the possibility that they are the same figure in that the body of

the deceased elite female (whether a historical or supernatural character) undergoes a series of mortuary treatments culminating in insertion into the shaft tomb surrounded by offerings.

The evidence is far from watertight. Donnan and MacClelland (1979), as well as Hill (2000), offer other interpretations. And the representation of the genitals of the naked figure as under attack by the birds is reminiscent of the very common depiction of exposed male genitals threatened with mutilation on Moche prisoner vessels. Nevertheless, this brief example shows the potential for accumulated new and reinterpreted taphonomic and mortuary data from elite tombs on the North Coast to bring new perspectives to our interpretations of Moche art—not only to the analysis of burial imagery, but also, as I suggest below, of the well-known portrait heads.

Western South America: The “Huaca Burial”

This new body of evidence also challenges previous notions of regional differences within western South America. Practices involving bodily dismemberment, isolated head burials, and the reentering of tombs have long been associated with the South Coast (for example, DeLeonardis and Lau 2004, 100; Proulx 2001; Silverman and Proulx 2002, 228–37; Williams, Forgery, and Klarich 2001) and are also known for the Central coast (see for example Segura, Shimada, and Matsumoto [2006] and the discussion of Pachacamac, Shimada et al. this volume). As Shimada and Hagen (2005) and Millaire (2002a, 388) have pointed out, this new data about the North Coast changes our ideas about regional variation; in particular, it requires a reassessment of Isbell's proposed dichotomy between Andean societies with “open sepulcher burials” and those with closed “*huaca* (sacred places and entities) cemeteries.”

In his 1997 book *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments*, Isbell used existing information to characterize Moche mortuary practice as “burial in underground tombs that were never intended to be reopened” (1997, 144). This description enabled him to use Moche as his defining example of a huaca cemetery culture, in contrast to “*ayllu* societies,” where interactions with the remains of the dead were an important part of political culture. The new evidence suggests that this contrast is not as stark as proposed, although some aspects of Isbell's larger argument are not affected.

The greater clarity now emerging as to what North Coast people actually did with their dead will eventually contribute to a more nuanced definition of both North Coast and “Andean” cultures and so to a better understanding of regional variation within the larger Andean region. More interesting are the implications that these mortuary practices might have

for understanding sociopolitical differences, whether between the South Coast and North Coast, or those that Isbell imputes to the huaca burial/open sepulcher distinction.

Scholarly consensus about the political economy of Moche society has changed repeatedly in recent decades in response to a wealth of new archaeological data about the Early Intermediate Period. In 2002, Brian Billman could write with assurance that Moche was “one of the earliest regional states to emerge in the Andean region . . . a highly centralized, hierarchically organized political system in which leaders exercised considerable economic, military, and ideological power . . . directed the construction of massive pyramids, led . . . conquest[s] . . . and organized the production of unprecedented amounts of finely crafted gold objects, pottery, and textiles” (Billman 2002, 371).

Isbell relates this centralized, hierarchical state to the treatment of “high-status bodies [that] were never intended to be removed from their tombs or to ever be viewed or touched again” (Isbell 1997, 145–46). This conjuncture, he argues, indicates that Moche was a “class-based” rather than “kin-based” society, in contrast to adjacent highland groups that must have felt threatened by the expansive Moche state (*ibid.*, 293–97). These highlanders would then have defended their less centralized political organization through a funerary system in which the “objectification of the kin group” in the form of the mummified body of apical ancestors created a “kin idiom” (*ibid.*, 297).

The attempt to relate burial practices to social formation is an interesting one, but neither North Coast burial practices nor the Moche state look quite like they did in 1997. As can be seen from the evidence presented in this volume, North Coast elites utilized a long-standing tradition of mortuary practices that conform neither to those of a “closed huaca” or an “open sepulcher” society. Conceptions of Moche as a political entity have also shifted. In 2011, Claude Chapdelaine summed up the new consensus as follows: “the recognition of Moche as the first state in South America is still valid, but its monolithic character is rejected in favor of several autonomous polities” (Chapdelaine 2011, 1910). As archaeologists grapple with this interesting new period in Moche studies, Isbell’s neat thesis gets converted into an open question: what can we say about the relationship between the state, kin, class, and the treatment of the dead in this rapidly changing society?

Death and Theory

The theoretical question of why North Coast mortuary practice took the form it did, and how these practices relate to other aspects of social and

cultural life, as well as to economic and political domains, is a thorny one. Questions about how to interpret the treatment of the dead have vexed anthropologists since the discipline's inception, especially compelling for archaeologists, for whom mortuary remains are often among the richest source of data available.

The classic formulation of the problem is that of Hertz (1960), who, following his mentor Emile Durkheim, directed our attention away from the grief of individuals toward the breach that death makes in the social fabric. For Hertz, funerary rites serve to mend this tear; they act first to dissolve the relationship of the dead to the living and then to reconstitute the web of social relations within the community of the living, absent their newly missing member.

Hertz's fundamental precept that mortuary practices provide a window onto relationships within a community remains a crucial starting point for analysis. And for highly stratified societies, such as those of the North Coast, his observation that the deaths of the powerful are more important—and potentially more dangerous—than those of ordinary people, and therefore occasion vastly more complex funerary rites, likewise remains salient. As Hertz observed, “the death of a stranger, a slave, or a child will go almost unnoticed; it will arouse no emotion, occasion no ritual” (1960, 76); so, too, the burials of the Moche poor are simple and informal with little evidence of secondary events.

In the decades since, scholars have continued to build on Hertz's work (for example Huntington and Metcalf 1979), but with several new emphases. Especially important have been calls for a perspective on mortuary practices that is more open-ended, dynamic, and interactive than the static functionalist models prevalent in the early and mid-twentieth century. A sophisticated example of these trends is Julian Thomas's reanalysis of changes in mortuary practices during the British Neolithic (Thomas 2000), which builds upon earlier work by Barrett (1988, 1990, 1991, 1994). One new emphasis is to see mortuary rituals not as simple reflections of existing social relations but rather as constitutive of them (Bloch and Parry 1982, 6). Summarizing Barrett, Thomas says that “mortuary rituals are, in the first instance, neither a passive reflection of ethnic affiliation nor a means of representing the relative prestige of the deceased. Rather, they constitute one element of a suite of practices through which the social is continually brought into being” (2000, 655). In Andean studies, Isbell's argument, in which the ayllu and its particular form of ancestor worship crystallizes as a response to the threat of absorption by the state, demonstrates this more dynamic form of analysis. Thomas further asks that we see the dead body as more than a passive material object to be manipulated by the living; he argues instead for an interpretation that considers not only relations among the living but also between the living

and the dead. Unlike Hertz, who assumed that death excludes a person from the social world to which they previously belonged, Thomas points out that the dead “may not always be extrinsic to a community, and their physical remains may not always constitute inert symbols. If we think of the dead as being an integral part of the social field, their ‘participation’ in mortuary ritual may have a formative role to play in the construction of identities of the living” (2000, 655).

This insight seems especially apropos in the Andes where the active presence of the dead in everyday life has been so extensively documented, especially for the Inka. In this volume, Lau, Shimada et al., Millaire, and this essay extend our knowledge of the life of the dead back to earlier periods, and beyond the Inka heartland into other regions, such as the North and Central Coasts of Peru.

Finally, and especially relevant for my purposes, Thomas argues that analysis should focus not only on the places where mortuary rituals take place and how these sites shape the interactions of mourners with one another and with the dead, but also on the body itself. Thomas, like South Americanists, is confronted with mortuary remains that have been subjected to various forms of disinterment and reinterment, dismemberment, and other forms of secondary and postmortem practices; in response, quoting Marilyn Strathern (1988), he warns us that ancient bodies cannot be

straightforwardly equated with ‘individuals’ in the contemporary sense. . . . The notion of a person as a whole and sovereign being . . . enclosed within one skin. . . . is a curiously modern Western one. . . . Archaeology, as a practice of modernity, materializes ancient bodies through a medico-scientific mode of understanding . . . quite remote from the ways in which those bodies have been lived. (Thomas 2000, 657–58)

This warning is especially apropos as we begin to consider the bodies of the ancient North Coast; for here, it is not only the abstract “notion” of a whole person enclosed within one skin that is inappropriate. The bodies themselves had long and complex social lives after death, during which some of them ceased to be “whole persons” at all—and became merely heads.

Moving Heads

One of the most common and most striking patterns to emerge from North Coast mortuary data is the separation of the head from the body. The extremities—hands, feet, and long bones—sometimes received similar attention, but the head is the body part that was most frequently selected

to assume a new social life after death. According to recent summaries by Jean-François Millaire (2002a, 2002b) and Shimada and Klaus (2005), available archaeological data includes evidence of all of the following forms of postmortem practices involving the head:

- Heads were moved but not removed at Huaca Loro, where the heads of at least two elite Sicán burials were severed from the body and rotated in various directions, but stayed with their bodies.
- Heads were removed at dozens of sites from many different time periods, ranging from Cupisnique to Chimú. Archaeological excavations from the 1950s to the 1990s report missing mandibles;⁵ at Huacas de Moche, a high-status individual was found with skull and clavicles removed; at Pacatnamu, many tombs were reported to have missing bones, especially skulls. At Huaca Sialupe (Middle Sicán), the skull and feet were removed from a juvenile burial—a rare example of a non-elite burial subjected to such treatment.

And what happened to those heads?

- Heads were added to graves at the site of Moche, according to evidence from at least ten different excavations conducted by Max Uhle, Julio C. Tello, Hecker and Hecker, and more recently Claude Chapdelaine. These finds echo discoveries elsewhere on the North Coast, such as that of Ravines (1982, 135 in Shimada and Klaus 2005), who reported finding a burial in the Jequetepeque Valley that included two extra crania and a Cupisnique-style bottle.
- Heads were utilized outside of burial contexts, most notably the eighteen heads found in a long, narrow chamber within a small temple at Dos Cabezas in 1994 (Cordy-Collins 2001, 28), and the two heads discovered within a niche in a residential sector of the site of Moche, discovered in 1996 (Verano et al. 1999).

Hecker and Hecker (1992, 45, cited in Millaire 2002) have suggested that these heads be seen as *pars pro toto* for the entire body and person of another individual (see also Shimada et al. this volume). This is a logical assumption, and it is useful when thinking about cases where the head of a predeceased individual, presumably a relative or ancestor, is removed from an earlier tomb and placed into a more recent one. But such a broad concept invites us to ignore, rather than to analyze, the material evidence itself. Before assuming that something found in the grave matters only as a metonym for something that is *not* there, we should look first at what *is* there: not a whole body, but a head. Any body part could serve to represent an absent whole; it is worth investigating what, in particular, is expressed

by the presence of a head. Ethnographic, ethnohistoric, archaeological, and iconographic data overwhelmingly point to the special significance of this part of the body throughout western South America. One of the strongest lines of evidence are the ubiquitous depictions of “decapitators,” that is, figures holding a trophy head in one hand and a *tumi* knife (a blade used for ritual sacrifice) in the other (Cordy-Collins 1992, 2001b) that clearly speaks to a long-standing, deep-seated fascination with the theme of the severed head.

The evidence of the severed heads themselves, within tombs or elsewhere, can be supplemented by consideration of ceramic effigies, which provide a rich source of information on how the Moche perceived and understood the human body. The Moche, like many preindustrial societies, made much of the metaphorical relationship between the human body and ceramic vessels, a symbolic association that offers an especially promising direction for scholarly inquiry (Weismantel 2004, 2009, 2011). The smashed figurines intermixed with broken human remains in Plaza 3A of the Huaca de la Luna are one especially vivid example of this close parallel between flesh and clay. Another are the painted scenes on other, unprovenienced pots, in which ceramic vessels with ropes around their necks are lined up alongside, or in place of, human captives as sacrificial offerings (for example Cordy-Collins 2001a, figure 3.8).

If pots often represent whole bodies, they frequently represent heads. The most obvious evidence for this is the ubiquitous human head effigies referred to as “portrait pots”; these are the best known of all Moche ceramic art (Donnan 2004). Further evidence comes from mortuary contexts where ceramic vessels served as substitutes for human heads. In a few cases, ceramic effigies replace actual heads in the arrangement of the corpse, such as the headless Gallinazo body reported by Donnan and Mackey (1978 cited in Shimada and Klaus 2005), in which a “faceneck jar” takes the place of the missing head.⁶ Even where the corpse retains its own head, we have seen that additional human crania are often left within tombs as offerings.

This practice gives a new meaning to the “portrait vessels,” which were also funerary offerings. Rather than pars par toto for an important individual, like a European portrait or bust, these may be literal representations of decapitated heads. Donnan’s (2004, 10) exhaustive study of Moche portraits is based on a sample of nine hundred such ceramic heads, all of which are believed to have come from tombs; this gives some indication of the frequency with which such heads accompanied the dead.

There were other heads in tombs too: the decapitated heads of sacrificed llamas, which were placed in tombs either separately or together with the body or other body parts, such as the feet. Human heads, effigies of human heads, and llama heads seem to occupy similar symbolic positions within

the tomb (see also Millaire in this volume for the interchangeability of llama and human sacrifices). A curious contradiction hovers around the heads found in tombs, whether real or ceramic. The act of decapitation is an act of violence, yet the evidence overwhelmingly suggests that in most cases, the removal or addition of heads was an act of reverence or devotion committed by kin. Similarly, the portrait pots portray—and apparently celebrate or laud—powerful men, yet Donnan (2004, 113–39) argues that the same individuals appear on other ceramics as captives, naked and stripped of their rank. And in addition to their “portraits” of the head of the living, Moche ceramic artists created equally evocative effigies of defleshed skulls (Verano 2001, figure 8.5).

The key to this conundrum may lie in a closer reading of the ceramics, which upon careful examination reveal a rather surprising conceptualization of the head—one that in some respects is quite unlike our own. Like the treatment of the body after death, the representation of the head in Moche art is powerfully ambiguous, suggesting a potential for both aggression and vulnerability.

Closed Heads

At first sight, representations of the head in Moche ceramic art underline its power. The head is phallic in ancient South American art as in mythologies elsewhere; this symbolism is most clearly seen in effigy vessels that simultaneously take the form of both a head and a penis.⁷ Furthermore, the constituent parts of the head, especially the tongue and hair, exude force. They appear as active, even aggressive appendages, like a penis or a finger. Their motile quality brings to mind earlier Chavín and Paracas art, where these extensions from the head are depicted as fanged snakes.

Mouths, Lips, and Tongues

Tongues are surprisingly evident and active. Sometimes their activities are sexual, as when a skeletonized male inserts his tongue into the mouth of a fleshed woman, who holds his penis in her hand. More ambiguous activity occurs between two curious half-vegetable, half-human figures with partly merged bodies. Their large conjoined tongues engage in what looks like a particularly aggressive form of French kissing but may be something else entirely.⁸ More ominous are the tongues that emerge from the mouths of animals, such as felines or bats, as a prelude to devouring a hapless victim.⁹ In Moche art, animals that hold humans captive do not threaten them with bodily harm by baring their teeth at them but instead lick them ominously with large tongues. These frightening tongues are

strikingly reminiscent of the contemporaneous South Coast iconographic theme of “tasting.”

The mouth, then, can be a site of aggression, in which what is internal to the body extends out into the world, even into other bodies. One example of this is the frequent depiction of the whistling mouth—an action that does not open the mouth so much as turn it into an aggressive body part that pushes sound and air out. In Moche ceramic art, it is often death figures who whistle, their lips pursed into a hard, conical tube that transforms the mouth from a penetrable aperture *into* the head into an active member that projects out *from* it (see for example Bourget 2001, figures 5.8, 5.9).

As an orifice, the mouth is also potentially a site of vulnerability. This is its most familiar representation in the modern capitalist art that bombards us through advertising. The female mouth as an icon of receptivity, two soft, slightly parted lips that invite penetration. Not so the Moche mouth; it either threatens to penetrate others or else remains sealed, defying penetration. Depictions of the mouth emphasize closure and control. Conventional Moche portrayal of the powerful human, male or female, shows the lips held tightly closed, as can be seen in Moche portraiture, or in the faces of individuals engaged in sexual activity. Modern observers often comment with surprise on the “unsmiling” expressions on the faces of Moche sexual actors; I suggest that this “grim” appearance is a result of those firmly sealed mouths—the opposite of Western portrayals of sex, in which the open mouth indexes arousal. The Moche emphasis on the tightly closed mouth suggests an anxiety about a site perceived as vulnerable. This is not surprising if we look at the few depictions of mouths wide open, which include such uninviting examples as the severed heads being pecked at by birds (Berrin 1997, figure 152; Verano et al. 1999, figure 11bF). For men, and especially for warriors, the hazards of opening one’s mouth could be grave indeed.¹⁰

Hair

The imagery of hair in pre-Columbian art is a topic deserving study in its own right. For the Moche, it seems that hair represented the condensed energy of the head, flowing out from it in a voluptuous expression of vitality and, perhaps, fertility. As seen in the representations of women during sexual activity, their loosened hair often falls over the edge of the ceramic—the only element to exceed the frame of the composition.¹¹ This flow of hair is connected to the flow of water as in the often-reproduced image of an Ai Aipe-faced figure who bends over to let his hair flow into a basin or the flowing hair of the figure at the top of the “Mountain Sacrifice” scene.¹² But as with the mouth and tongue, depictions of the hair demonstrate an apparent ambivalence, even a fear, about this flow of

power. Deities and women allow their hair to flow freely, but human men hide and confine their hair with cloths, wraps, ties, and headdresses.¹³ For military men, hair was clearly a point of vulnerability. In battle scenes, warriors seize their enemies by the hair, and unbound hair is the sign of the defeated and humiliated warrior. The loving attention that artists pay to the knots that hold headdresses and turbans in place may express a sense of security that covering and binding the hair provided Moche males.

And no wonder, for the loosened hair of the defeated warrior appears to have been a prelude to the flow of sacrificial blood. Moche military and sacrificial iconography repeatedly shows a sequence of events in which the male head is made to leak. It loses its vitality through the unconstrained hair, through the bloody nose, and through the eyes, which are liable to be attacked or plucked out. The ultimate flow is that of the slashed throat.

Another line of suggestive evidence comes from the highlands, where the parallel of the head and the vessel takes on an especially grisly narrative form when victorious warriors are said to make drinking cups out of the heads of their enemies. This trope can be found in early Spanish tales of Atahuallpa (Cummins 2002, 90), in *Guaman Poma de Aylala* 9[1615] 1980), and even in historical accounts of nineteenth-century indigenous rebels drinking *chicha* (a fermented maize beverage) from skulls (Becker 2008, 62). There are a few elusive suggestions of similar connections in Moche. Verano et al. (1999, 61) offer the possibility that the two skulls found in a residential niche at Huacas de Moche may have been prepared to hold liquid. Two ceramics in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago include a small goblet in the form of a human head (1981-14-127), and an extraordinary painting of a bird of prey drinking out of a goblet with a human face on it (1958-637).¹⁴

The head, then, may become a leaky container oozing its life force or an open vessel for those who would drink its blood. But the head of the living elite person is quite different. It is depicted as a concentrated and controlled site of power, carefully contained, with its boundaries and orifices sealed. It is capable of penetration and emission, but holds itself invulnerable. This aggressive but fearful representation expresses an awareness of the omnipresent danger that one's head could be violently pierced, cut, and separated from the body, all its energies and life forces drained out and consumed by others—a possibility repeatedly displayed in works of art, and presumably in ritual as well.

Open Heads

This reading brings us back again to our initial contradiction, for it is not only prisoners who end up losing their heads. The respected dead and even

the beloved ancestors also found themselves headless, their crania moved or removed by their descendants. This violation of bodily integrity would seem to run counter to the Moche sensibility described above, in which the boundaries of the head are so carefully guarded and only disrupted through acts of aggression between enemies.

But this conundrum disappears if we shift our attention from the death of an individual to the life of the corporate kin group, whose members define themselves through descent from shared ancestors. Discussion of elite tombs in the archaeological literature has tended to focus on the central individual found there—Alva and Donnan’s (1993) “Lord of Sipán,” or Castillo Butters’s “Priestess”—but elite tombs usually contain more than one individual, and indeed may have more than a dozen bodies. Whereas some of these are retainers, others are not; the rankings and relationships between them are complex and almost certainly indicate kinship (see Millaire 2004 for detailed discussions). We even misread decontextualized ceramics in museums and laboratories by reading them individually; they too were originally placed in tombs in multiples, not singly. According to the taphonomic and archaeological evidence, it is often the case that the bodies found in these tombs had died at different times and were assembled together at particular times, perhaps long after death, to assert specific relationships among the people and things placed there. These assemblages were sometimes works in progress, with corpses and parts of corpses added and subtracted, and whole tombs emptied in order to reassemble their inhabitants—or parts of them—in new designs (see Shimada et al. this volume). Contrary to Isbell (1997), elite tombs on the North Coast provide strong evidence of the importance of the corporate kin group as the seat of collective social, political, and cultural power—and of the tomb as a carefully maintained site where this power was collected, curated, and displayed.

Every living elite individual would fully expect to become part of this collectivity upon death and for their corpse to become part of these ongoing processes of rearrangement and realignment. Therefore, if one kept one’s head whole and intact during life, it was not in hopes that it would remain so afterward. The Moche, living, recently dead, and long-dead, felt impelled to interact with one another—and not only as discrete individuals separated by time and corporeality. One example is the woman buried in a tomb constructed from her female predecessor’s tomb and interred together with fragments of the earlier woman’s body, including her skull. Another is the child buried with an adult male but also with a female predecessor’s head, and near her headless body. And the elite family who kept two crania in a niche in their home is just one more. In each of these cases, the remains of the dead were incorporated into the social identity of their descendants—whether in life or after it. During life, each of these

individuals would have known—perhaps even hoped—that their own head might meet such a fate.

Putting together what we know about these practices with the evidence from Moche art, we might think of life and death as two processes arranged in mirror image: first, a life spent accumulating power and vitality over the years, and then, after death, the gradual dissemination of this accumulated corporeal and spiritual wealth to one's descendants during the much-anticipated period after life, in which one hoped to become a powerful and honored ancestor or at least a respected member of the ancestral group. This evidence indicates that the Moche, like other Native American and/or premodern peoples, saw themselves as partible rather than indivisible and inhabiting a body in which material, physiological, social, economic, and political forces condensed over a time and remained as resources available to the living after death through access to their bodies. Julian Thomas summarizes recent anthropological thinking on the relationship between body and self in non-Western societies as follows: “ethnographers have shown that persons can be understood as amalgams of relationships and substances (Strathern 1988, 526), or as temporary aggregations of materials which are disaggregated at death (Bloch 1982, 225), or as partible combinations of body parts, or as entities linked by flows of energy and bodily fluids (Bushy 1997, 269)” (Thomas 2000, 658).

The removals and additions of bodies and heads from Moche tombs violate Western sensibility, but become comprehensible within Marilyn Strathern's (1988) Melanesian-derived concept of the “dividual,” which posits human beings who are internally composed of multiple social selves and whose external relations open out into multiple ties of reciprocity and shared identity with others, especially kin. Catherine Allen's (1988) ethnographic discussion of twentieth-century highland Peru expresses similar concepts in an Andean mode; building from this, as well as other ethnographic evidence and data from Moche, we can begin to build a model for the Native South American conceptualization of the body—with regional variations.

What, then, does this tell us about the accumulation of heads? There is another context beside the tomb in which we find the Moche with more than one head; men wore head rings featuring prominently displayed animal or bird heads (see figure 2.4 and Donnan 2004, 59–63). In appropriating and displaying the head of an animal, the owner of a headdress signifies, captures, or appropriates some of the physical and spiritual characteristics of that creature for his own. This symbolism illuminates what happens when a person acquires additional human heads. Even without specific knowledge of Moche religious thought we can assume that to have possession of a body part, which is not merely an appendage but the seat of hearing, speech, and sight, and of life and breath, is to appropriate for

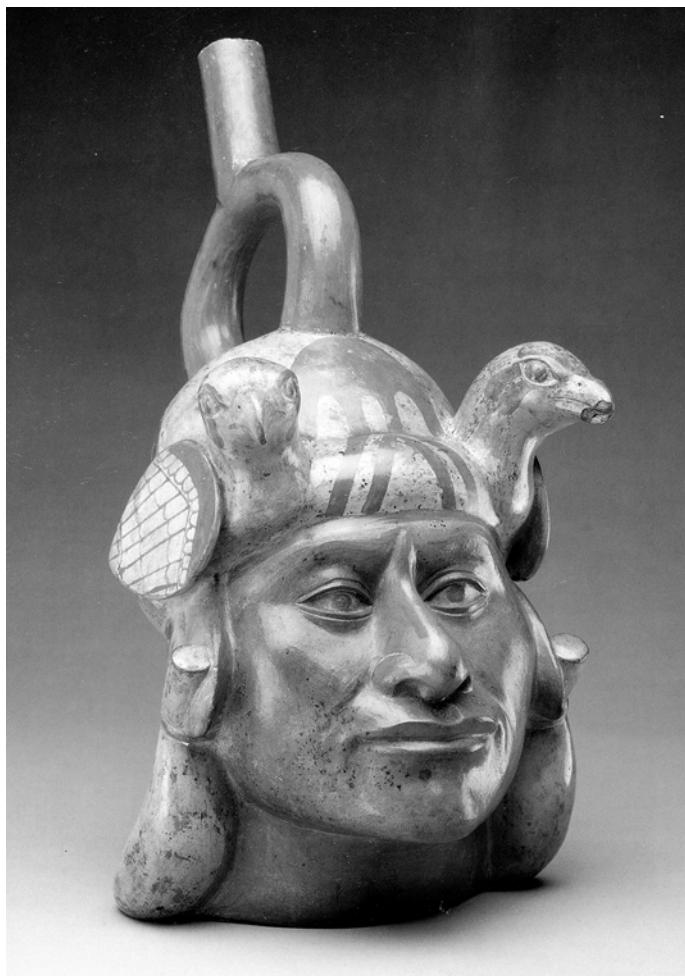


FIGURE 2.4. Moche portrait pot. From Benson (1991, figure 1).
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oneself something of the original owner's spirit, life force, accumulated social persona, or personal powers.

This form of appropriation is possible whether the other person is friend or foe. Indeed, the notion of a person who incorporates others by possessing their heads calls to mind ethnographic data about the taking of heads in the tropical forest. Michael Harner (1973), in his classic ethnography from Northwest Amazonia, explains that the successful taker of a head acquires additional souls, which makes him more invulnerable to attack.

The killer first captures the primary, *arutam* soul, which dwells within his own body; he must also capture a second, more malevolent *muisak* soul, which will be housed—and imprisoned—within the victim's head.

My point is not that the Moche believed in arutams and muisaks; there is no direct ethnographic analogy to be made here. Although trophy heads are known historically and ethnographically from Amazonia, and trophy head symbolism is ubiquitous in Early Intermediate South America, cultural variation in both times and places is too great to allow one-to-one comparisons of belief and practice. Instead, we must look for larger, underlying metaphysical systems that generate diverse but interrelated cultural phenomena. What the Shuar head-taking complex illustrates is a way of thinking in which, rather than a unique individual composed of a whole body containing a single soul, bodies and souls are multiples, composed of detachable parts with unique powers and characteristics, and constantly engaged in interactions that are both spiritual and corporeal.

The Moche representation of the head made it into more than the unique expression of an individual's character and personality; it was also a vehicle for such interactions. In our society, we think of the features of the face primarily as the expressive means through which we communicate with one another in a fairly abstract fashion, through a symbolic code in which upturned lips signify happiness, and a wrinkled brow expresses worry. Moche artists, in contrast, portray the features as agents of a far more material kind of exchange; they emit or absorb vital substances such as fluids and air to and from other bodies. The features may be active organs (lips that whistle, tongues that lick) or vulnerable orifices (the eyes, so prone to be plucked out by vultures, and the nose that can be made to bleed).

With this summary understanding of the head, we are now ready to answer our first question: what is like and unlike in Moche treatment of the beloved dead and the sacrificed captive? The treatment given to sacrificial victims, we can see now, was not designed to contrast with the treatment given to the honored dead so much as to perform a cruel and savage mockery of it. The intent was more than symbolic dishonor; it also benefited the victors at the expense of the vanquished. In defeat, the carefully accumulated vital forces of one's own body, intended to go to one's own kin for their use, instead are violently appropriated by one's enemies. It is they, and not one's own descendants, who will consume and benefit from the precious substances of a body that belongs not only to the individual but to his entire group, living, dead, and not yet born.

Here, too, Amazonian ethnography and ethnohistory provides instructive models, for the same societies that practiced endocannibalism—the loving ingestion of their own relatives—also practiced exocannibalism—the violent and debasing consumption of defeated enemies (Conklin 2001).

The latter was understood as an act of aggression not only against the dead man—what we might understand as a desecration of the corpse—but also as an act of robbery, a theft of vital forces and of accumulated social and spiritual capital that belonged, by right, to the dead man's kin.

We can also hazard the beginnings of an answer to the more difficult questions posed by Isbell: first, about the specific relationship between kin and class on the North Coast in the Early Intermediate, and second, more generally about the relationship between mortuary practice and sociopolitical structure. On the North Coast, the close and frequent interactions between the living and the dead, taking place in and around tombs, temples, and elite residences, indicates that the extraordinary degree of social inequality indicated by Moche burials did not lead to the abandonment of kinship as a form of social organization; indeed, the reverse may have been the case. Rather than an impersonal class-based society in which kin no longer mattered, as Isbell suggested, Moche—like the Inka, like other complex societies of the Americas, and like most premodern states—was a society in which economic class was organized through kin. Control over resources, especially the all-important irrigation canals, rested in the hands of descent groups, which made claims to an embodied connection to previous generations intensely important. The culturally specific patterns of mortuary practice, which clearly differs from that of the Inka panaka, pose questions that remain to be elucidated. But it is clear that for the Moche, the living, the recently dead, and the long-dead shared social identities and material interests that impelled them to interact with one another—not only because they shared a class identity, but because that class identity was articulated through shared kinship, materialized in the remains of the dead.

In such a cultural context, a single body placed in a coffin and left intact for eternity would be cause for sadness. It signifies the sterile death of a forgotten and unimportant individual who had nothing of value to offer his or her kin. Far happier would be the thought of a corpse repeatedly handled, used, moved, and dismembered by descendants who treasured each part for its vital generative and social powers; this would be life after death indeed. The head, with its rock-hard skull, most durable of bones, and its rapidly disintegrating face—the most memorable marker of identity—is a logical signifier of the legacy left by an individual's presence in the world. In appropriating it for use, the kin group both acknowledged that enduring legacy and remade it into a collective, rather than an individual, possession. And if such heads were happy, happiest of all would be the corporate kin groups powerful enough to possess not only their own beloved dead, but the bits and pieces of other bodies as well, seized and forced against their will to feed the growth of their enemies. For this is a society in which, beyond a doubt, many heads were better than one.

Notes

1. For Sipán, see Alva and Donnan (1993); for San José de Moro, see Donnan and Castillo (1992).

2. A related opposition involves nakedness and clothing. The broken effigies are in the form of nude male bodies—a convention of Moche art, where the humiliated war prisoner is shown stripped of his regalia and with his genitalia humiliatingly exposed. In contrast, the entombed body at Sipán is provided with an excess of bodily coverings; it is weighted down with pectorals, earrings, and other finery piled up in multiples.

3. Hill (1998, 532) suggests that the body may be wearing a mask, and notes that the Sipán finds include masks with the left eye missing.

4. The face is the only part of the body that can be compared, since the corpse is otherwise wrapped in a mat or other covering. The similarity is not conclusive evidence that the two figures are the same; other Moche dead individuals are shown with similar configurations of the eyes (see note 1). However, it does seem to indicate that the exposed female body is dead, rather than alive and being tortured, a conclusion also supported by the fact that vultures are carrion birds who do not normally attack the living.

5. The special status of the mandible in Moche art, iconography, and mortuary practice is a fascinating topic that I cannot address here.

6. On the South Coast, Christina Conlee (2005) recently reported a similar find at the site of La Tiza.

7. An example can be found in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago (catalog number 1981-14-75).

8. There are numerous examples; one can be found at the Art Institute of Chicago, catalog number 1955-236. In all the examples that I have seen, the two figures have some of the characteristics of squashes [cucurbits]; it is possible that the thick tubular shape linking the two mouths is not a tongue at all but the vine linking two fruits. However, this reading would not preclude it also representing the tongues of the two heads, in their human manifestation. Such dual representations (bird/squash, deity/manioc tuber, etc.) are common in Moche art.

9. An example can be found in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago (catalog number 1984-60-13).

10. Monkeys and fellators are two rare examples of individuals shown with open mouths; monkey imagery still awaits analysis, but the figure of the fellator may be one of vulnerability and penetration, possibly involuntary. Note the contrast in hair and costume between the fellator, who often has loose, unbound hair and a simple shift, and the figure being fellated—who does not expose his hair and may wear elaborate regalia, keep his mouth tightly shut, and hold his hand in a clenched fist. Although it has been assumed that the image of the seated figure being fellated by a kneeling figure represents heterosexual activity, it could also represent a humiliation inflicted upon a prisoner.

11. An example can be found in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (catalog number 100139).
12. An example can be found in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago (catalog number 1981-14-172).
13. For a detailed discussion of men's wrapping of the head, see Donnan (2004, 43–75).
14. A face which, notably, has the one-eye-open one-eye-shut motif found in the Burial Theme pots discussed above.

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CHAPTER THREE

Living with the Dead

Conception and Treatment of the Dead on the Peruvian Coast

IZUMI SHIMADA, HAAGEN D. KLAUS,
RAFAEL A. SEGURA, AND GO MATSUMOTO

Introduction

Ethnographic and ethnohistoric data clearly show that the living-dead relationship in the immediate pre-Hispanic and historic eras in the Andes was active and persistent long after corpse disposal (see chapters in this volume by Allen, Buikstra and Nystrom, Klaus and Tam, and Salomon; see also Allen 2002; Dillehay 1995; Doyle 1988; Isbell 1997; Millones and Kapsoli 2001; Rozas and Calderón 2001; Salomon 1995). Spanish writers, Arriaga ([1621] 1999) and Ávila ([1598] 1996), who documented anti-idolatory campaigns ([e.g., Cajatambo in the Callejón de Huáylas] Duviols 1977, 1986, 2003), and Quechua folklore from Huarochirí ([near the headwaters of the Chilca and Mala valleys southeast of Lima] Salomon and Urioste 1991; Taylor 1987), respectively, recorded diverse conceptions, dispositions, and enduring care of the dead and their veneration, as well as pertinent beliefs and rituals. Other writers such as Diaz de Betanzos ([1551] 1987), Cieza ([1554] 1984), Cobo [1653] 1964), and Guaman Poma de Aylala ([1615] 1980) also offer valuable information on the subject.

With the notable exceptions of Juan Diaz de Betanzos and the Huarochirí account, the bulk of pertinent information, however, was not only derived from the highlands (particularly the south highlands of Peru and adjacent circum-Titicaca region of Bolivia), but was written from the biased, *etic* perspective of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European Catholics and generally offers limited descriptive details. In addition, the efficacy of direct-historical and analogical approaches is limited to contexts with well-established historical and social continuity. These approaches are also insensitive to the disjunction between form and meaning (see Kubler 1962, 1967, 1970; also Shimada and Fitzsimmons in this volume). Different performers may modify rituals to suit their own agenda and/or circumstance, while symbolic significance of rituals may remain unchanged or vice versa. At the same time, archaeology and the rapidly expanding fields of archaeometry and bioarchaeology are positioned to complement these approaches and written data.

How far back in the pre-Hispanic era, then, can we trace the dialogue between the living and the dead? What form did such interaction take in concrete, material terms? How can we explain its persistence and variability? The last relates to the fundamental question of the significance of the dead (including venerated ancestors) in minds and lives of Andean people. This chapter aims to answer these questions using primarily archaeological and bioarchaeological data recovered from our fieldwork at the preeminent religious centers of 1) Pachacamac at the mouth of the Lurín Valley on the Central Coast and 2) Sicán in the middle La Leche Valley on the North Coast, and the rural multicraft workshop at 3) Huaca Sialupe in the lower La Leche Valley.

The basic approach of our study is cross-contextual (diverse contexts at multiple sites within a region), diachronic, and multidisciplinary in character (i.e., Buikstra 1977, 1991; Shimada 2011; Shimada et al. 2004, 2010). While our attention is largely focused on localized funerary contexts (e.g., discrete burials that contain complete or incomplete skeletons, and cemeteries), we also examine, to the extent possible, their broader regional contexts where burial preparations, feastings, offerings, remembrance, worship, and/or other related activities occurred over a span of time. Death entails both biological and social transformation; we need to examine the coping mechanisms of the survivors and consequences to their daily existence. Similarly, we must consider the qualitative and quantitative aspects of these activities—ranging from selection and disposition to style and iconographic content of associated artifacts and organic remains—from multiple analytical perspectives.

Following a brief description of the archaeological contexts that provided the bulk of data for our study, we consider the evidence for the varied forms of living-dead interaction (and to a lesser extent, living-living

relationships) discerned in the case studies. Pertinent comparative data from elsewhere on the Peruvian coast are examined to establish the general applicability in time and space of the features and patterns discerned in our study. We conclude with a discussion of possible explanations for their variability and social and ideological significance, as well as theoretical implications of key findings.

Archaeological Contexts of the Case Studies

Pachacamac

The complex and extensive site (core area of ca. 2.5 km² and the estimated total area of over 5 km²; figure 3.1) of Pachacamac on the Central Coast of Peru has been considered the preeminent religious-pilgrimage center of pre-Hispanic Peru since Spanish colonial days. The fame and power of its oracle and temples, and the myths pertaining to its dualistic tellurian, underground, patron deity, Ychsma (renamed Pachacamac by the intrusive Incas [Rostworowski 1999, 9]), have been described by colonial writers and modern scholars (e.g., Calancha [1638] 1976; Cieza [1554] 1984; Cobo [1653] 1964; Dulanto 2001; Duvíols 1967, 1983; Estete [1534] 1985; Gisbert 1990; Pizarro [1533] 1920; Rostworowski 1973, 1992, 1999; Zuidema 2002). Estete ([1534] 1985, 137) noted that many pilgrims from far and wide in the Inca Empire came to pay their respects, consult, and/or make offerings—waiting and fasting for as long as a year—to the powerful oracle at the Pachacamac Temple (today called the Painted Temple). The temple is in the innermost, sacred precinct (i.e., Sector I; figure 3.1), and Cieza ([1553] 1984, 213) and Gasca ([1553] 1976, 53f) speak of this sanctuary surrounded by shelters for pilgrims and tombs of noblemen and priests who would bring rich offerings and wished to be buried close to the deity they worshipped.

The site grew in size and complexity starting perhaps in the Middle Lima Period (ca. AD 400–500) up to about the time of the Spanish arrival. At least three Lima temple mounds surrounded by contemporaneous cemeteries along the southern and western peripheries of the site overlooked the Lurín River, Pacific, offshore islands, and Urpi Kocha (Duck's Lagoon). Their presence in these locations suggests that the long-standing religious significance of the site was established early on, if not from its founding, and related to the veneration of water, as well as maintenance and renewal of life (Segura and Shimada 2010; Shimada, Segura, and Winsborough 2012; Shimada et al. 2004; cf. Eeckhout and Owens 2008). Max Uhle (1903, 12), who conducted fieldwork at the site 1896–1897, estimated that there were between 60,000 and 80,000 graves at Pachacamac, with

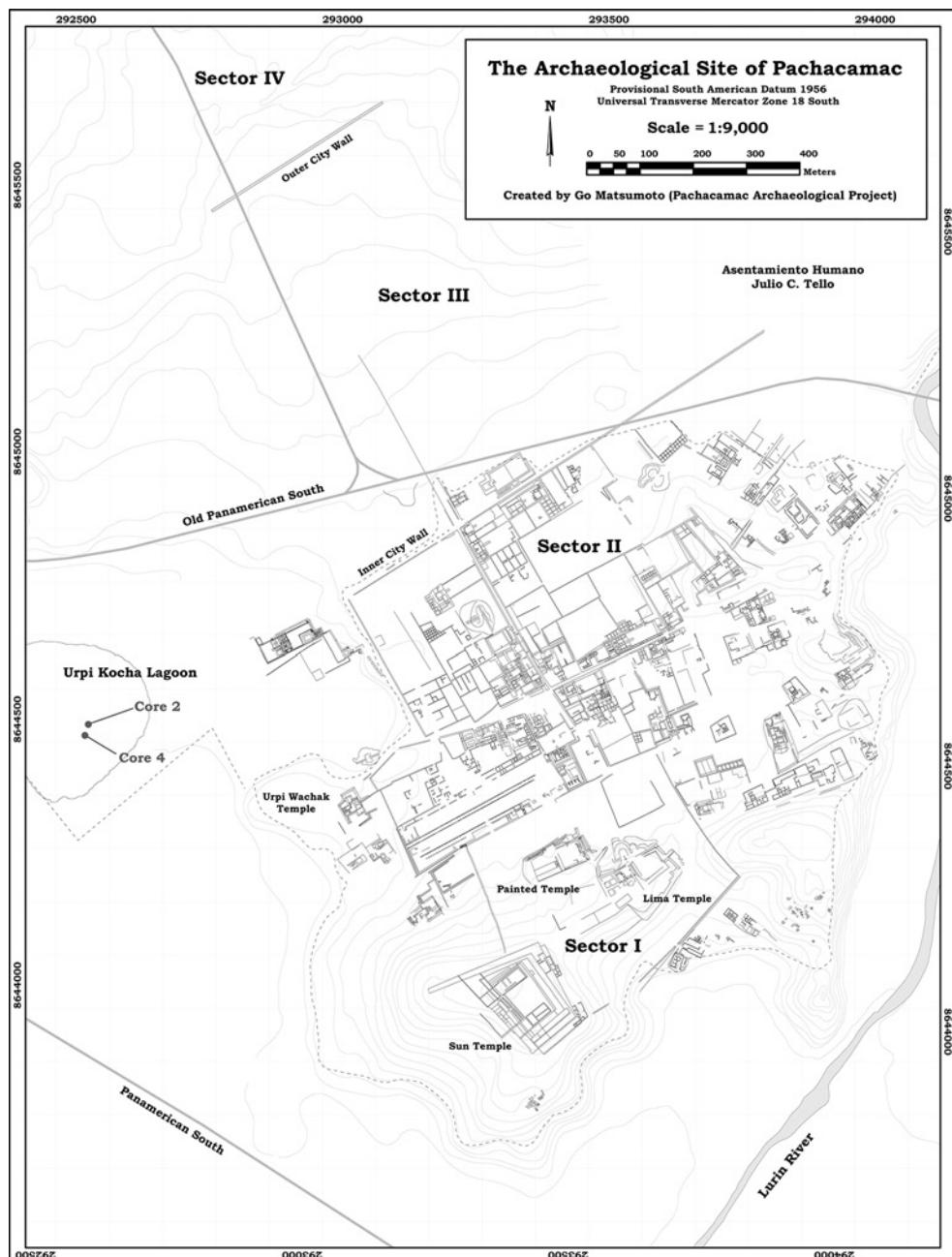


FIGURE 3.1. Site of Pachacamac. Prepared by Go Matsumoto.



FIGURE 3.2. Painted Temple (aka Pachacamac) and the “Uhle Cemetery” at its north base. Photo by I. Shimada.

the largest concentration found in the southern periphery, the “oldest section” of the site. His landmark report (Uhle 1903), however, focused on graves excavated in the cemetery (called the “Uhle Cemetery”) around the western and northern bases of the Painted Temple (figure 3.2), their chronological placement, and the historical connections of cultures represented by associated grave goods.

In spite of over 450 years of looting (Rostworowski 1999; Segura, Shimada, and Matsumoto 2006), 2005 excavations by the Pachacamac Archaeological Project revealed intact and partially looted burials that offered an excellent opportunity to illuminate the identity, mortuary practices, and nature of dead-living and living-living interaction among individuals of diverse social and geographical backgrounds (Segura, Shimada, and Matsumoto 2006; Shimada et al. 2010). Additionally, the project documented an extensive area adjacent to the Uhle Cemetery that served as the setting for intensive, seasonal offering activities, at least during the Late Intermediate Period (Ychsma occupation ca. 1100–1450 CE) (Shimada et al. 2010).

Sicán

The core of the site of Sicán (ca. 3.5 km² [figure 3.3]) has an L-shaped configuration (ca. 2.0 km NS and 2.5 km E–W) defined by six coterminous, monumental, multilevel platform mounds (Cavallaro and Shimada

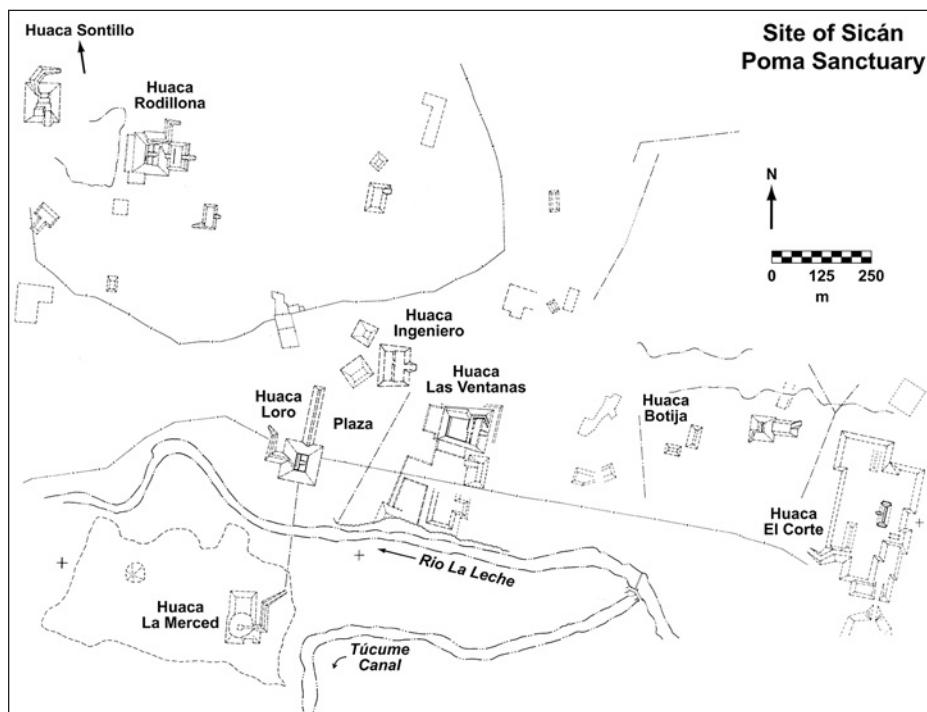


FIGURE 3.3. Site of Sicán. Prepared by I. Shimada.

1988; Shimada 1997) that are surrounded by smaller auxiliary mounds, cemeteries, workshops, and other structures. At the center of the E–W axis is a cluster of unusual conical rocky outcrops that had been partially modified, suggesting its special religious importance (Shimada 2007). At the juncture of the N–S and the E–W axes of the site is the Great Plaza measuring ca. 500 m N–S and 250 m E–W, which was bordered by some of the aforementioned mounds.

Excavations and ground penetrating radar (GPR) surveys (1990–2008) suggest that each mound overlaid or was surrounded by the planned cemetery of a distinct elite lineage. Each also served as a formidable setting for worshipping the Sicán deity, the principal deity of the Middle Sicán religion, and deceased leaders buried below, as well as a highly visible and imposing symbol of the power, importance, and permanence of each lineage ([figure 3.4] Shimada et al. 2004; Shimada and Samillán 2014).

Sicán was far from a vacant ceremonial center; rather, it was most likely the setting for diverse and intense activities akin to those that would have been seen in an urban center (Matsumoto and Shimada 2011; Shimada

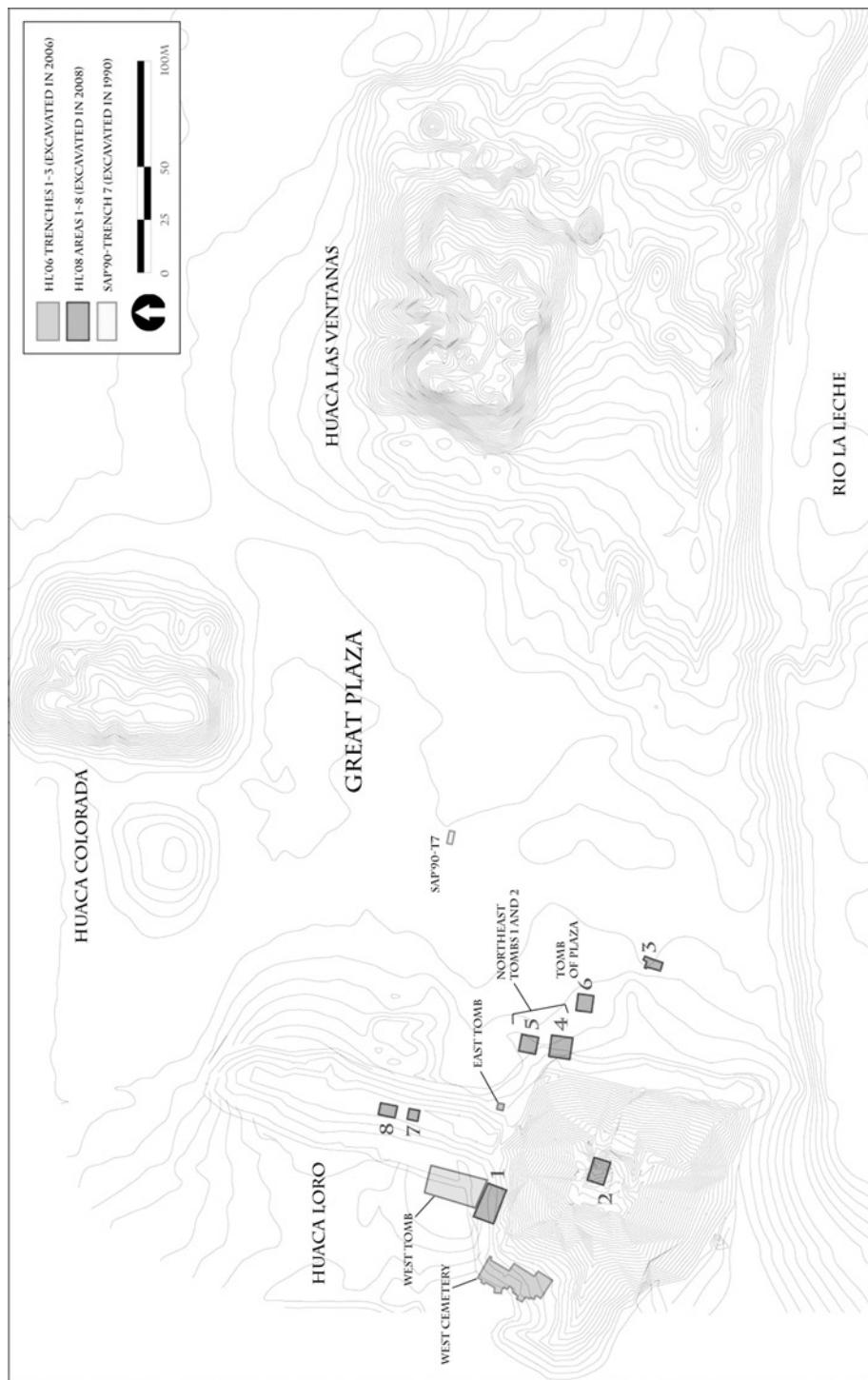


FIGURE 3·4. The Huaca Loro temple mound and associated elite shaft tombs. Map courtesy of L. Caceres with modifications made by Go Matsumoto.

2006). In addition to ritual performances at the aforementioned temples, the site probably witnessed intermittent preparation of numerous elite tombs. The scale and complexity of the elite tombs documented, for example, at Huaca Loro are quite telling in regard to on- and off-site material and labor investments and preparation. The Huaca Loro East Tomb measured 3 m² and 11 m deep and contained 1.2 tons of diverse, sumptuous grave goods of local and exotic origin along with four individuals who accompanied a central personage. The West Tomb was symmetrically placed across the N–S central axis of this mound and measured 10 × 6 m and 15 m deep. It contained 23 individuals (all but one were relatively young females) who were bipartitioned along ethnic and kinship lines and placed symmetrically on the northern and the southern sides of the central personage (Shimada 1995; Shimada, Gordus, and Griffin 2000). The neighboring Huaca Las Ventanas temple was similarly accompanied by many large and elaborate elite tombs (Elera 2014a; Pedersen 1976; Shimada 1995).

Although these impressive elite tombs may capture our attention, the site was by no means an exclusive burial ground for social elites (Shimada 2006, 2007). Fifteen “commoner” and “subcommoner” burials with complete or incomplete skeletons have been excavated thus far (table 3.1). A wide range of remains unearthed within the Great Plaza suggest that this area was a setting for diverse public activities, including repairs, remodeling, construction of new buildings, or large-scale food preparation, perhaps for feasting associated with funerals and provisioning of laborers (Carlos Elera, pers. comm. 2012; Matsumoto and Shimada 2011; Shimada 2006, 2007). Additionally, two large precious metal and arsenical copper workshops appear to have produced both funerary and nonfunerary paraphernalia. These workshops and two elite residential sectors would have required continuous labor and logistical support.

In spite of the labor demands described above, we located no extensive residential sectors at Sicán. What we have, however, are 1) a series of contemporaneous settlements that are largely residential in character encircling Sicán just 0.5–2.0 km beyond its outer edges, and 2) a pre-existing organizational framework for mobilizing labor and materials. In respect to the latter, what Cavallaro and Shimada (1988) and Shimada (1997) refer to as the “sponsor model” of monumental mound construction not only existed by early Middle Sicán times (ca. AD 900–950), but it also provided a well-established system that efficiently could have mustered and managed the labor and materials required by the aforementioned activities at Sicán.

Huaca Sialupe

The third context for our study is the rural Middle Sicán multicraft workshop and associated cemetery at Huaca Sialupe built on a cluster

TABLE 3.1. Model of Middle Sicán social differentiation based on access to different metals. Prepared by I. Shimada.

	<i>First Tier: High Elite Males</i>	<i>First Tier: High Elite Females</i>	<i>Second Tier: Low Elite Males</i>	<i>Second Tier: Low Elite Females</i>	<i>Third Tier: Commoners</i>	<i>Fourth Tier: Low Status Commoners; Captives?</i>
GRAVE GOODS						
High-karat gold alloy objects	◆	◆				
High-silver-copper alloy objects	◆	◆				
Low-karat gold (<i>tumbaga</i>) and/or gilt copper objects	◆	◆	◆	◆		
Silver-gilt copper objects		◆		◆		
Cinnabar paint	◆	◆	◆	◆		
Semi-precious stone beads	◆	◆				
Amber	◆			◆		
Shell beads	◆	◆	◆	◆		
<i>Spondylus princeps</i>	◆	◆	◆	◆		
<i>Conus fergusoni</i>	◆	◆				
Double-spout bottles	◆	◆	◆	◆		
Single-spout bottles	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Copper-arsenic objects	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Utilitarian plain and <i>paleteada</i> pottery			◆	◆	◆	◆
Ochre paint			◆	◆	◆	◆
BURIAL POSITION						
Seated	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Extended			◆	◆	◆	◆
Flexed					◆	◆

of stabilized dunes, some 23.0 km southwest of Sicán (figure 3.5). The inferred nearby residential sectors have not been excavated. The surrounding area would have had limited agricultural potential due to the interrelated problems of a limited and unreliable water supply stemming from its location near the lower end of the La Leche and Motupe rivers. Other contributing factors include poor drainage due to coastal uplift, and attendant formation and movement of sand dunes, all of which resulted in saline soil and thick, extensive clay deposits (Shimada 1981; Shimada and Wagner 2007). These environmental conditions coupled with the nearby presence of the local Middle Sicán ceremonial-civic center of Huaca Pared-Uriarte probably account for the workshop location and products.

The workshop concurrently produced mold-made, decorated bottles, jars, and other relatively small ceramic vessels of both Middle Sicán and Mochicoid styles and, to a lesser extent, small copper-arsenic ("arsenical bronze") implements (e.g., needles and spoons) and gold alloy ornaments (Shimada and Wagner 2001, 2007; Taylor 2002). In addition, detailed archaeometric analysis has shown that at least some of the grey and black vessels that accompanied the women buried in the aforementioned Huaca Loro West Tomb were most likely produced at this workshop (Shimada and Wagner 2001, 2007; Shimada et al. 2003, 2004).

This site is of interest in this chapter for two reasons: 1) the presence of a small, contemporaneous cemetery contiguous to the workshop and 2) the inferred Mochica (aka Moche or Muchik) ethnicity of the interred individuals. Mortuary practices and grave goods observed in 15 excavated burials strongly suggest that local artisans were co-opted by the Middle Sicán state for the latter's productive needs but retained their traditional mortuary customs (Klaus 2003, 2014; Klaus and Shimada 2003; Shimada and Wagner 2007). Together, these three divergent case studies provide an excellent basis for an in-depth, cross-contextual, and diachronic examination of the pre-Hispanic living-dead relationships on the Peruvian coast.

Archaeological Indications of Living-Dead Interaction

Pre-Primary Interment Activities

Here we are concerned with treatment of the individual from death (defined as the perceived termination of vital functions) until interment or other formal disposition of the corpse, as well as other related activities up to that point in time (e.g., sorrow, remembrance, vigil, and purification).

At the same time, not all cultures bury their dead, opting instead for cremation, conservation (mummification), or exposure to natural processes. Nor were all deceased individuals buried even among cultures that

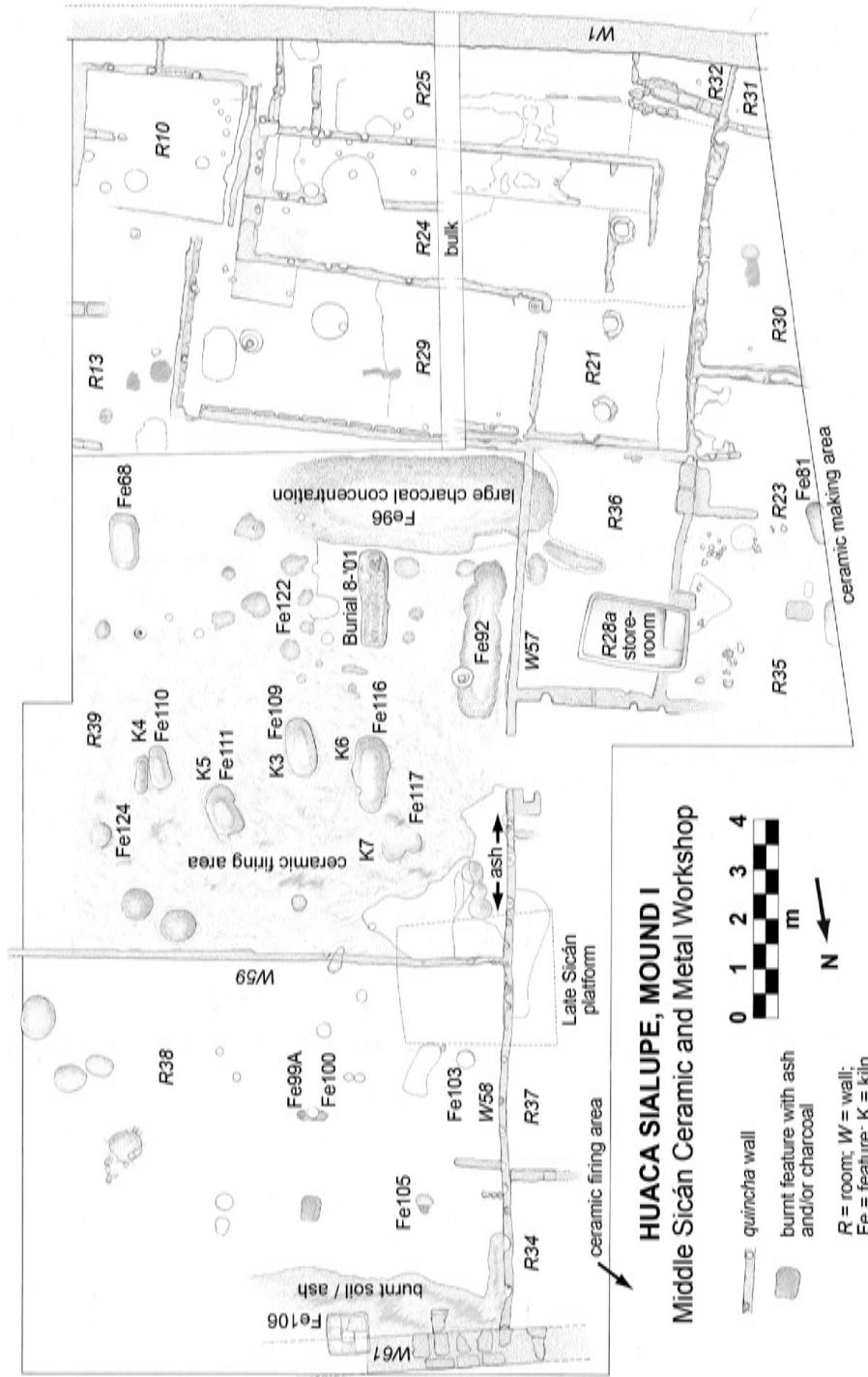


FIGURE 3-5. The excavated ceramic workshop area at Mount I, Huaca Sialupe. Map prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán, published by University of Arizona Press (Skibo et al. 2007) and used with permission.

practiced interment. Mochica fineline depictions of the “burial theme” (Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1979; cf. Hill 2003) include an open-eyed, naked splayed individual who is presumably dead, having been eaten by vultures and perhaps intentionally exposed. The mutilated bodies of over 70 males documented at Plaza 3A of the Huaca de la Luna temple at Moche were also left exposed until mud from torrential ENSO/ El Niño rains and subsequent aeolian sand covered them (Bourget 2001a, 2001b; Bourget and Newman 1998). These cases of disposal by exposure, however, appear to have been quite rare. Traditions of intentional cremation in pre-Hispanic Peru have not been convincingly demonstrated (cf. Brooks et al. 2008; Lechtman and Moseley 1975).

PRE-PRIMARY INTERMENT CURATION. In contrast, our case studies suggest that curation and delayed primary burial were relatively common on the pre-Hispanic Peruvian coast, particularly for deceased elite. Curation refers to temporary or permanent conservation of the unburied dead. The corpse may be defleshed or left to naturally putrefy or desiccate prior to burial. The Huaca Loro East and West tombs at Sicán furnish instructive cases of pre-interment rituals and curation.

In the West Tomb (figure 3.6), three of the 21 individuals buried in the Antechamber were missing some terminal phalanges and were accompanied by broken and fragmentary ceramic vessels (Shimada et al. 2004). In addition, various bones were disarticulated to a degree difficult to account for by taphonomy, such as in the case of Burial 7 (figure 3.7). Further, empty maggot cases in direct association with these bodies allow us to estimate the amount of time between death and interment. According to Faulkner (1986, 146), sarcosaprophagous flies are among the first insects to arrive at an available body during the initial stages of decay and putrefaction, and their maggots feed on moist parts for about 2–3 weeks before metamorphosing into flies, leaving behind their empty pupa cases. Also, based on our excavation experience at the West Tomb in 1995–1996, we estimate the sheer task of digging it alone would have taken 25 workers at least several weeks to complete. Additional time would have been required to prepare and fill wall niches and both the Antechamber and Central Chamber. Preparation would have included bidding farewell to the deceased, carefully arranging numerous offerings (e.g., large, framed painted cloths on the floor and walls), and distributing the 24 accompanying deceased (see below). It would have also involved construction of the roof over the Central Chamber, followed by cautious, slow backfilling so as not to disturb or damage the tomb contents. These are *only some* of the more readily recognizable steps that constituted a carefully orchestrated, complex, and prolonged funerary process (see Cervantes 2010).

The time lapse between the death of the principal personage and the completion of his tomb was most likely utilized to prepare his corpse for

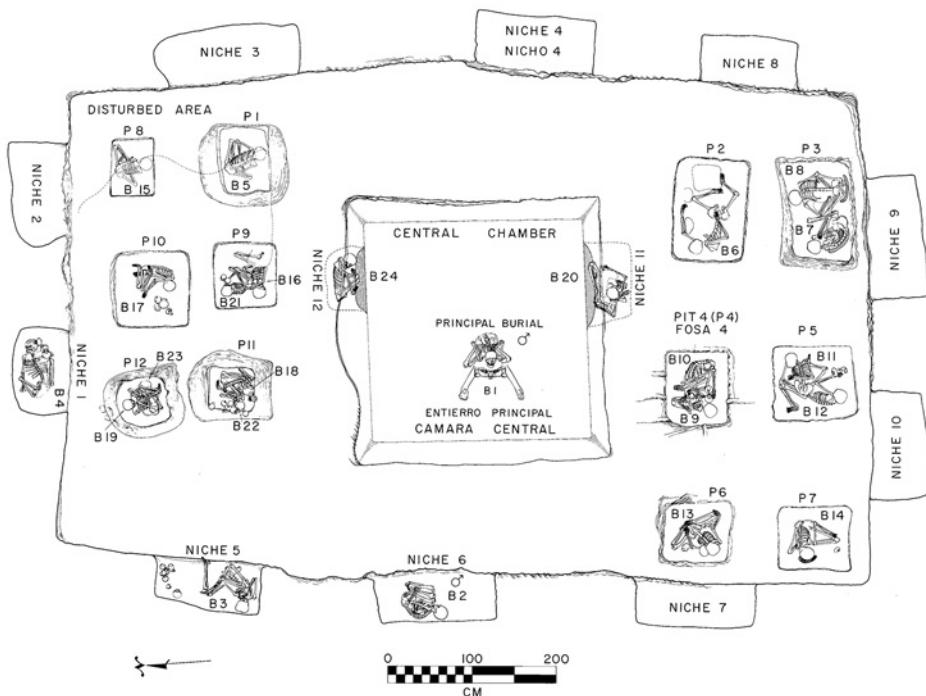
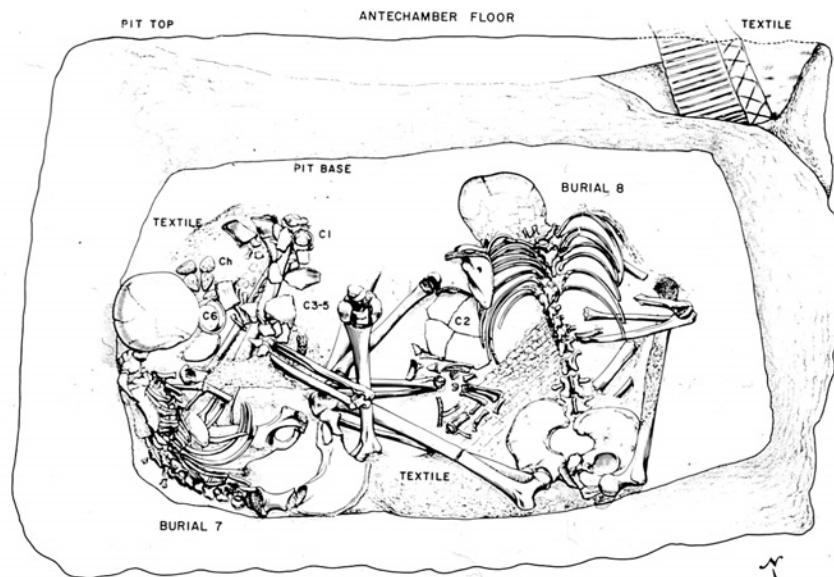


FIGURE 3.6. Distribution of 24 individuals in the Antechamber and the Central Chamber of the Huaca Loro West Tomb. Prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán.



BURIALS 7 AND 8
PIT 3, ANTECHAMBER
HUACA LORO T-2-'95
"WEST TOMB"
ENTIERROS 7 Y 8
FOSA 3, ANTECAMARA
HUACA LORO T-2-'95
"TUMBA OESTE"

FIGURE 3.7. Burials 7 and 8 in the Antechamber of the Huaca Loro West Tomb. Note the disintegrated condition of Burial 7. Prepared by I. Shimada.

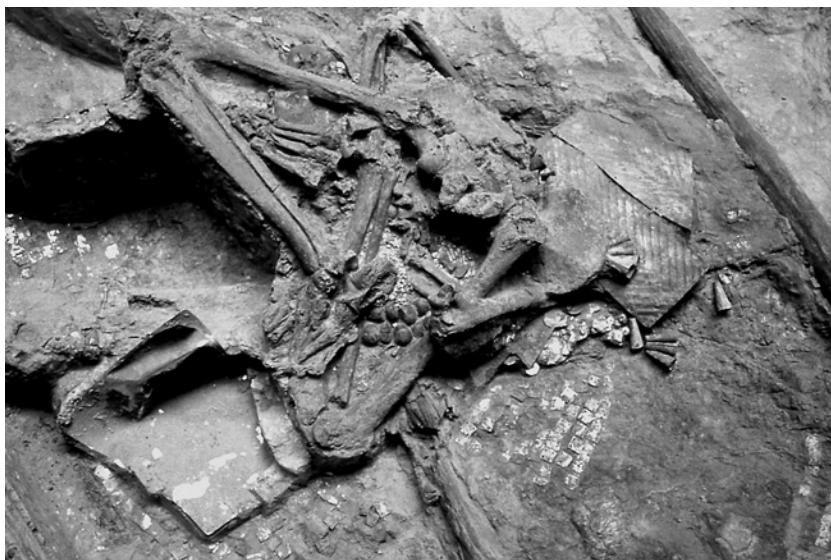


FIGURE 3.8. Inverted, cross-legged and cinnabar paint–covered skeleton of the principal personage placed at the center of the burial chamber of the Huaca Loro East Tomb. To the right of his hip lies a gold hip cover. Photo by I. Shimada.

interment. There are no recognizable traces of intentional defleshing. We suspect the corpse was left either to naturally putrefy and deflesh, and was subsequently cleaned and dried. Conversely, it could have been mummified first and then carefully defleshed. It was critical that ligaments were retained, to assure the skeleton remained articulated in a seated and cross-legged position. Only then the corpse could be cinnabar-painted (bright red mercuric sulfide, HgS), have ornaments (e.g., pectorals and nose clip) placed, and wrapped. When the principal personage was finally positioned at the center of his burial chamber, his mask, headdress, and a pair of false arm-gloves were placed on his wrapped face, head, and flanks of the funerary bundle, respectively.

The corpse of the East Tomb principal personage most likely underwent much the same pre-primary interment process as that of the West Tomb. In the former, however, the funerary bundle containing the cinnabar-painted skeleton in seated, cross-legged position was placed *inverted* at the center of the burial chamber floor so as to serve as the focus of an elaborate choreography believed to represent his rebirth ([figures 3.8, 3.9] Shimada 1995; Shimada et al. 2004). Nearby, the skeletons of two adult women were carefully positioned so as to simulate an inferred birth



FIGURE 3.9. Artistic reconstruction (“exploded view”) of the contents and organization of the East Tomb. Prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán.

giver and attendant midwife (figures 3.9, 3.10). The head of the principal personage had been detached from the body and rotated 180 degrees so that it was right side up and facing west (figure 3.9). It seems that the head was detached at the time the funerary bundle was prepared. There was no evidence of cut marks to sever the muscles of the neck, and his C1 vertebra (atlas) was missing. Although it is not clear at what specific point

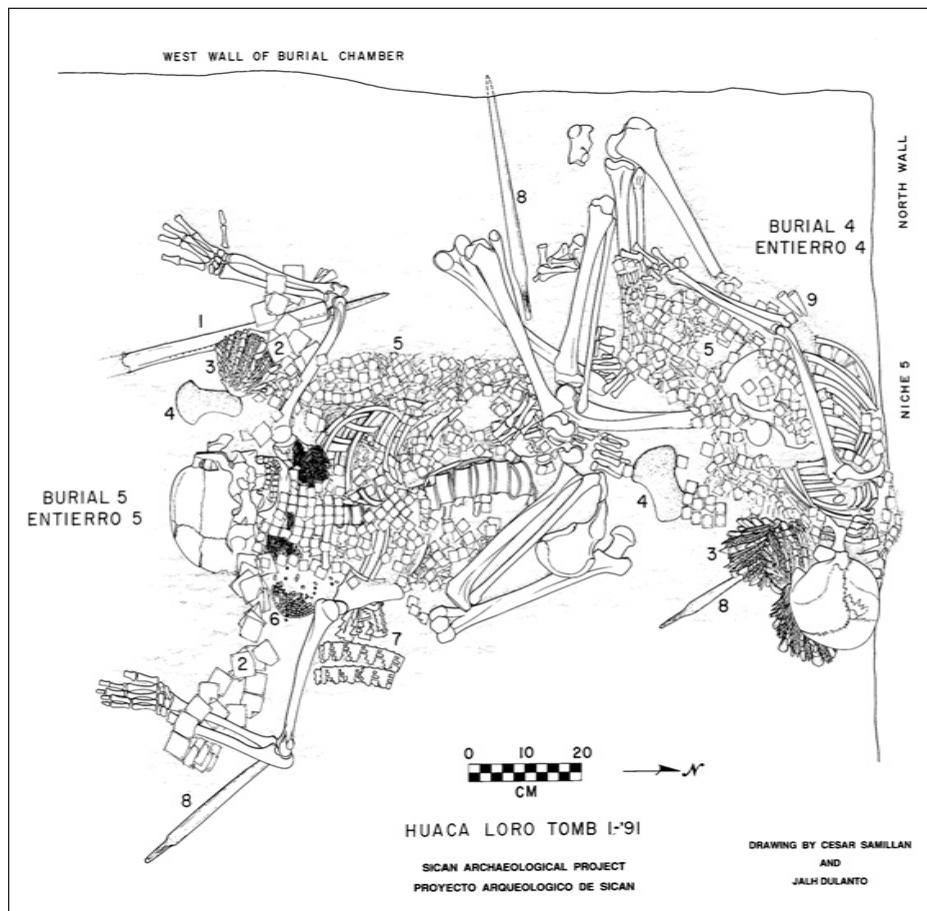


FIGURE 3.10. Two female skeletons (Burials 4 and 5) at the northwest corner of the East Tomb that had been carefully arranged to assume the positions of birth giver and attendant midwife. Prepared by J. Dulanto and I. Shimada.

in time it was performed, the head was thoroughly painted with cinnabar. Commoner burials, in contrast, usually show ochre paint (hematite or reddish iron oxide, essentially Fe_2O_3) on the forehead or much of the face.

The intact condition of the personage's body ornaments and status symbols, including four layers of semiprecious stone bead pectorals and a gold *tumi* (knife with a crescent-shaped blade and a rectangular handle) next to his left hand also suggests that the body was tightly wrapped in shrouds (not preserved) at the time of interment, if not during the preceding curation. We cannot specify the duration or location of curation of the above elites

and their companions. The radiocarbon dating and ceramic seriation are not precise enough for this purpose. Based on our estimates of the time required to prepare elite shaft tombs, we suggest a minimum of two to three months, which would have been long enough in the arid North Coast for a corpse to naturally mummify and be subsequently cinnabar painted and wrapped. Our excavations and GPR surveys have shown that the Huaca Loro temple mound and its basal terraces lie over a number of tombs (figure 3.4). We thus suggest that curated corpses of deceased Middle Sicán elites, pertaining to a single lineage, were interred in a systematic manner at the times of the original erection of the mound and the two major subsequent expansions. There is the possibility that at least some of these tombs were dedicatory sacrifices. The contents and dispositions of the tombs excavated thus far below the basal terraces of the principal mound and the auxiliary North Platform, however, do not support this idea. In contrast, inherited dental trait analysis (Corruccini and Shimada 2002; Shimada et al. 2004) suggests that the similarly aged (ca. 40–45 years) principal personages of the East and West tombs appear to have been separated by a generation but were closely related biologically to each other, perhaps an uncle and a nephew. The West Tomb personage had a serious (stabbing?) wound on his right hip (Farnum 2002; Shimada et al. 2004). Although the wound was well along in the process of healing, an injury of this kind probably elevated morbidity and was a possible contributing factor to his death. The East Tomb man showed no trauma that would account for his death.

PRE-PRIMARY INTERMENT RITUALS. Among the hundreds of goods that encircled the principal personage of the West Tomb (figure 3.11) were a cluster of at least 111 crude, unfired, miniature globular vessels (known locally and inappropriately as *crisoles* [crucibles for melting metals] see Cervantes [2010] and Cervantes et al. [2011]) and a pile of surplus clay mixture left after making them by hand (Shimada et al. 2004). An additional dozen or so of them had disintegrated on the floor. Although similar in overall dimension and shape, they nonetheless exhibit a good deal of variation, including in the depth and size of finger impressions found on them.

While we rarely find material evidence of those who attended funerals, we speculate that most, if not all, of these miniatures were made expediently and individually *in situ*, perhaps by each funeral attendee as a personal and final offering to the principal personage before the Central Chamber was sealed (Shimada et al. 2004; also see Cervantes 2010; Cervantes, Wagner, and Perry 2014; Costin 1999). A minimum of some 120 attendees for the interment of a Middle Sicán elite seems quite plausible.

Independent support for the above interpretation comes from a recent multidisciplinary study of over 1,200 similar, handmade miniature vessels deposited in another elaborate Middle Sicán tomb excavated in 2006 in the Huaca Loro West Cemetery ([figure 3.12] Cervantes 2010; Cervantes,



FIGURE 3.11. The central personage and associated grave goods on the floor of the Central Chamber of the Huaca Loro West Tomb. The miniature vessel cluster and clay pile are found near the east edge of the chamber. Prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán.

Wagner, and Perry 2011; 2014). Soil samples taken from the interior bottoms of some of these vessels contained fragmented starch grains of maize (cf. *Zea mays*), unidentified tubers, and ají pepper (cf. *Capsicum*), the presence of which suggest that these vessels once contained drink (probably *chicha* or maize beer) and/or a stew-like food. Overall, the poor technical and stylistic quality of these vessels and variability in vessel shape, size, texture, and firing condition and history (as documented by Mössbauer spectroscopic analysis), together with generally poor firing quality, point to

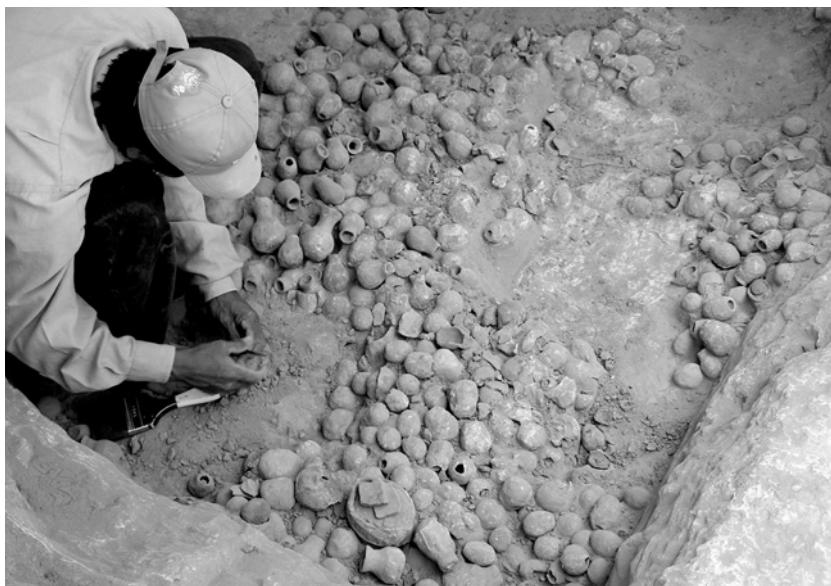


FIGURE 3.12. Miniature vessels in the northern end of Tomb 2 in the Huaca Loro West Cemetery. They were deposited over a span of time that is estimated to have been ca. 50 to 100 years. Photo by I. Shimada.

hasty manufacture and unsystematic and makeshift firing (if any at all) by diverse individuals. Cervantes (2010; Cervantes, Wagner, and Perry 2011, 2014) suggests, many, if not all, of these miniature vessels were likely to have been made rapidly and close in time and space to the funeral by each attendee (or on their behalf) for one-time use. Additionally, based on the fact that these miniature vessels approximated the forms of full-size vessels used in food and chicha preparation, storage, and transport (i.e., jars, ollas [globular vessels with short necks and wide mouths commonly used in cooking] and urns [traditionally called *porrones* or *botijas*]), Cervantes argues that the miniatures as a group symbolized a communal feast. What would have mattered most, then, was the *actual performance of the ritual offering* by funeral participants that fulfilled their sentimental needs and expressed their social identity and unity between the living and the dead.

Post-Interment Activities: Signs of Enduring Living-Dead Relationship

Archaeological contribution to the documentation and elucidation of the living-dead interaction is most notable in regard to post-primary interment

activities. The best-documented cases of intentional alteration of burials come from Huaca Sialupe and Pachacamac. At least four different alteration patterns have been discerned at these sites. One or more selected elements from a given skeleton may be: 1) removed permanently; 2) removed, rearranged, and placed back in the same funerary context; 3) removed and reburied (i.e., secondary burial); or 4) added to another skeleton/burial. The first and the last may be two stages of a single ritual process. In cases where the entire skeleton is bundled, the whole bundle may be relocated. Another form of post-interment activity that has been documented in a Late Mochica context at the site of Huaca Soledad (Shimada 1994, 241–42; see below) is shifting (pushing aside) of whole skeleton(s) already in a burial chamber, apparently to make a room for placement of one or more later skeletons (e.g., family graves).

ALTERATIONS OF THE CORPSE, ASSOCIATED BUNDLES, AND TOMBS. Our 2005 excavation (7 × 5.5 m) in the Uhle Cemetery, in front of the Painted Temple at Pachacamac, reached ca. 3 m below surface and yielded 52 funerary bundles of varying completeness, size, form, style, state of preservation, and date, ranging from Middle Lima, ca. AD 350–500, to Ychsma-Inca in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries ([figure 3.13; table 3.2] Shimada et al. 2010; Takigami et al. 2014;).^{1,2} Thirty-four of bundles were found tightly packed and stacked in two tiers within an oval chamber tomb (called Tomb 1-2) measuring 2.25 m wide, over 3.27 m long (the east end is not yet defined), and ca. 1.53 m deep (figures 3.14, 3.15). The tomb appears to have been built sometime around AD 1000–1100 by first digging a large pit into unconsolidated, sandy matrix that contained at least four Middle Lima and late Provincial Wari graves, followed by construction of retention walls using adobes and locally quarried limestone blocks.³ Finally, a roof made of superimposed layers of *totora* (*Schoenoplectus californicus* ssp.)—a type of bulrush sedge—leaves and supported by 12 *lúcuma* beams (*Pouteria lucuma*) covered the tomb. The east end of the roof was apparently destroyed sometime during the Inca domination of the site (ca. AD 1460–1533) when stone fill containing numerous sherds, human bones, and other remains from decayed or disturbed funerary bundles was dumped into the tomb to cover a cluster of at least eight bundles that had been unceremoniously tossed in earlier.

There was a clean, open area near the east end of the tomb, as if it was being saved for placement of additional bundles or to allow easy access to the tomb. The top of the roof and the inferred entry were only 15–20 cm or less below original pre-Hispanic ground surface, suggesting it was visible and readily accessible during centuries of its use. The depth of the original surface coincides with the top of a vertical wooden post planted near the southern wall of the tomb. The presence of the well-preserved burrowing owl pellets full of fur, tiny bone fragments, and numerous rodent carcasses



FIGURE 3.13. A panoramic view of the 2005 excavation at the Uhle Cemetery in front of the Pachacamac Temple. Tomb 1-2 is seen on the right side. Photo by I. Shimada.

in the interstices of funerary bundles also suggests that the tomb entrance was relatively close to the ground surface and accessible. A cluster of looted tombs of the same time period (ca. AD 1000–1400) in the nearby Pilgrims' Plaza in 2004 also had roofs only 10–15 cm below the modern ground surface.

The funerary bundles in the lower level of Tomb 1-2 had been tightly packed in a roughly concentric manner around the largest and the most elaborate bundle, Bundle B (figure 3.16), and set in the southwest corner of the tomb, the farthest point away from the inferred entry near the east end of the tomb. Logically, then, the principal bundle would have been the oldest and first placed in the tomb. Additionally, in terms of conventional stylistic dating, its cinnabar-painted and feather-decorated, wooden false head should pertain to the terminal Middle Horizon, ca. AD 900–1000.⁴ Curiously, however, the principal bundle—at least its outer layers—was perhaps the best preserved of all bundles in the tomb.

This anachronistic situation begs an explanation. One possibility is that, given its apparent high status, it was well cared for after original

TABLE 3.2. AMS dates of samples taken from the funerary bundles in Tomb 1, Max Uhle Cemetery in front of the Painted Temple, Pachacamac. Prepared by I. Shimada and R. Segura.

Funerary Bundle	Sample Identity	Laboratory Identification Number	¹⁴ C Date (BP)	Calibrated Date (2 sigma) OxCal 4.1 IntCa109
A	Cotton fill under the first cloth layer	MTC-11004	454 ± 99	Cal AD 1299–1370 Cal AD 1380–1647
B	First to fourth cloth layers	Average of four assays*	652 ± 25	Cal AD 1282–1321 Cal AD 1350–1392
D	Plant fiber cord under the first cloth layer	MTC-12547	386 ± 51	Cal AD 1437–1636
E	First cloth layer	MTC-12545	664 ± 49	Cal AD 1269–1400
F	Exterior plant fiber netting	MTC-12548	387 ± 54	Cal AD 1436–1637
J	Cloth	MTC-13177	541 ± 67	Cal AD 1287–1454
K	Cotton fill	MTC-11005	533 ± 29	Cal AD 1320–1351 Cal AD 1390–1439
L	Plant fiber cord	MTC-12549	570 ± 46	Cal AD 1297–1431
O	Third cloth layer	MTC-11006	579 ± 30	Cal AD 1300–1369 Cal AD 1381–1419
P	Plant fiber cord	MTC-12550	546 ± 52	Cal AD 1299–1370 Cal AD 1380–1444
Q	First cloth layer	MTC-11787	896 ± 53	Cal AD 1024–1225
R	Third cloth layer	MTC-11007	725 ± 29	Cal AD 1225–1299 Cal AD 1371–1379
T	Plant fiber cord	MTC-12551	779 ± 52	Cal AD 1155–1299 Cal AD 1371–1379
U	Third cloth layer	MTC-11008	570 ± 28	Cal AD 1306–1364 Cal AD 1385–1422
V	Third cloth layer	MTC-11009	517 ± 27	Cal AD 1328–1341 Cal AD 1395–1443
W	Cloth	MTC-11788	915 ± 55	Cal AD 1019–1221
X	Plant fill	MTC-12552	544 ± 44	Cal AD 1304–1365 Cal AD 1384–1441
Y	Cloth	MTC-11010	801 ± 27	Cal AD 1185–1274
Z	First cloth layer	MTC-11011	598 ± 27	Cal AD 1298–1370 Cal AD 1379–1408
AA	Plant fiber cord	MTC-12553	534 ± 50	Cal AD 1302–1367 Cal AD 1382–1447
E Intrusive	Second cloth layer	MTC-11789	744 ± 53	Cal AD 1176–1310 Cal AD 1360–1387

* Beta-244629, 760±140 BP; Beta-244628, 690±40 BP; MTC-12440, 574±29 BP; MTC-12546, 699±47 BP

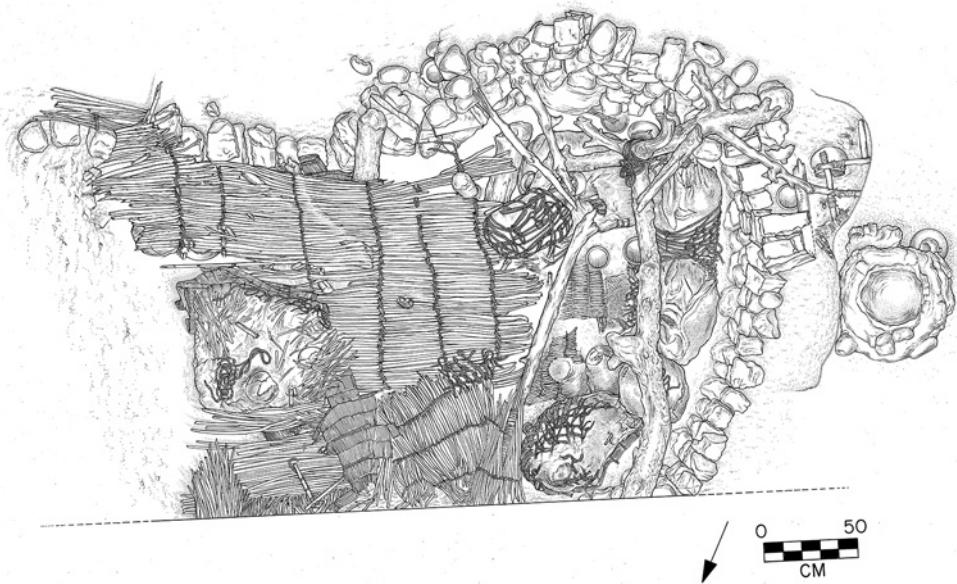


FIGURE 3.14. Bundles in the upper level of Tomb 1-2. Note that woven mats separated them from those in the lower level. The inferred recipient for offerings (see text) is found just west of Tomb 1-2. Prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán.

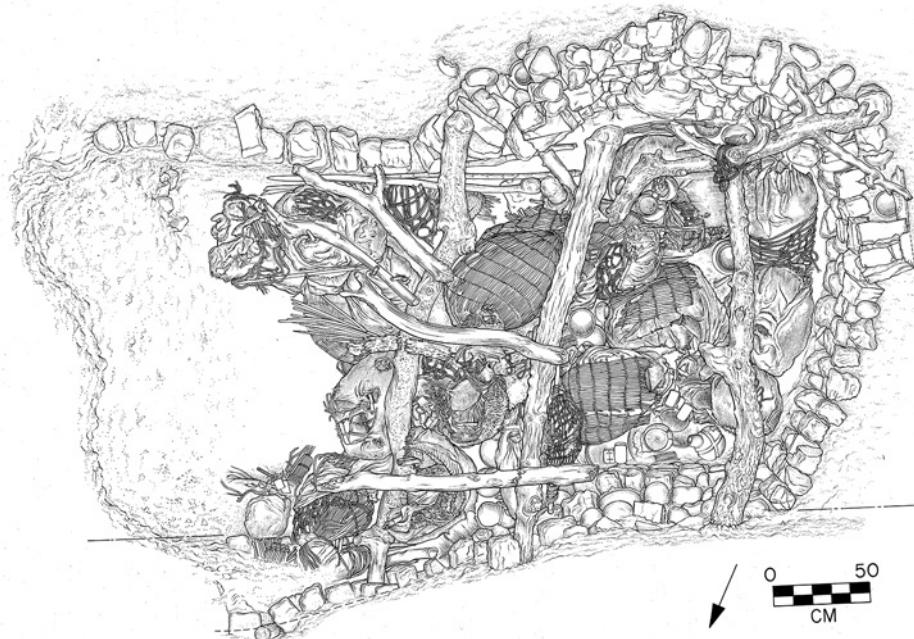


FIGURE 3.15. Bundles in the lower level of Tomb 1-2. The largest funerary bundle is situated at the southwest corner of the tomb. Note the empty space toward the east end of the tomb. Prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán.

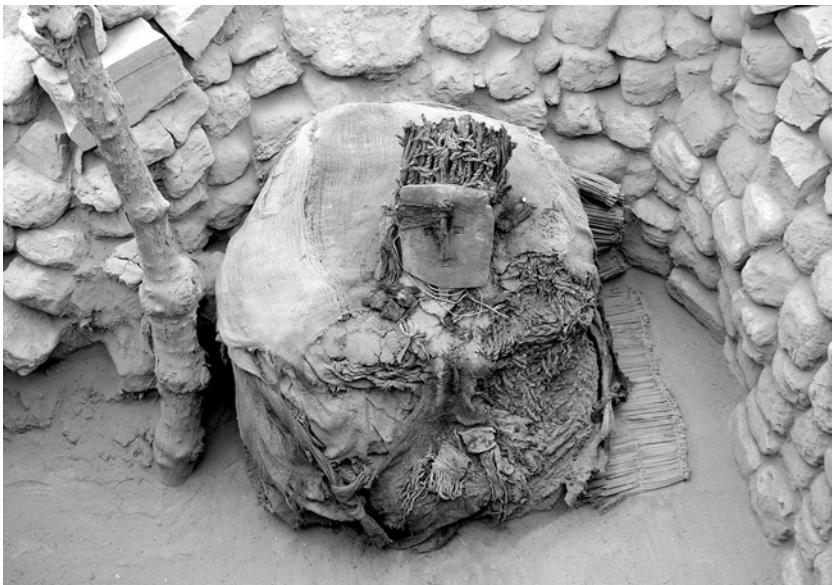


FIGURE 3.16. The largest, most elaborate, and best-preserved funerary bundle of Tomb 1 with cinnabar-painted, wooden false head. Photo by I. Shimada.

placement in the tomb, with its wrappings occasionally replaced, as Dwyer and Dwyer (1975) have noted for well-preserved Paracas Necropolis bundles. Another possibility is that the bundle was taken “hostage” or relocated (i.e., “hidden”) to avoid being taken or destroyed. Narváez (1995, 186) explains the large, elaborate, empty tomb at Túcume (at the juncture of the La Leche and Lambayeque valleys) as a result of “huaca (sacred places and entities) hostage” taking; the elite personage of the tomb had been taken to Cuzco as part of the Inca imperial policy of relocating the venerated ancestors’ (mummies) of conquered populations. The proximity of Tomb 1-2 to the sacred Painted Temple and the internal organization of bundles, however, weaken this explanation in our case.

Alternatively, the bundle could have been moved from its original burial location (within this tomb or cemetery, or even farther afield) to be placed with descendants or associates and the bundle renewed in the process (Takigami et al. 2014). This possibility is supported by funerary bundle relocations that we documented within the Uhle Cemetery. Near Tomb 1-2, we found circular or oval patches (figure 3.17), roughly 30–45 cm across, of grey-colored, decomposed cotton cloth (that could be easily mis-identified as ash) containing cotton bolls, woven junco (*Scirpus limensis*, a type of rush) sack fragments—similarly decomposing—lúcuma leaves,

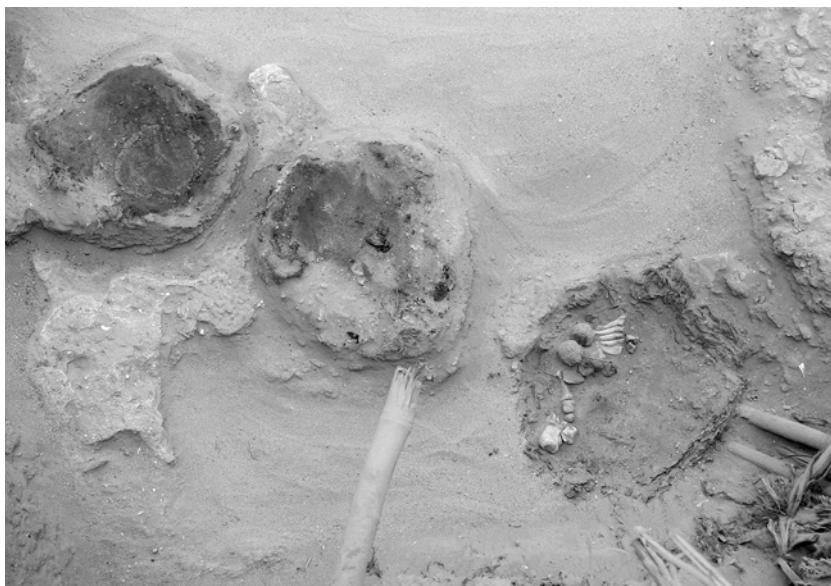


FIGURE 3.17. Partial remains of funerary bundles that had been removed prehistorically from the Uhle Cemetery. Photo by I. Shimada.

loose maize kernels, human phalanges, shallow, circular gourd basins, and/or ceramic vessels. In addition, there was a pair of small holes (ca. 2 cm in diameter) in the ground left behind by two posts that were planted on each side of the flexed body in the bundle.⁵

These are telltale signs left behind of decomposing funerary bundles that had been removed. The putrefaction of the flexed cadavers wrapped in these bundles that were kept in a vertical position by the aforementioned posts resulted in accumulation of organic fluids at the bundle base. The accumulated fluids, in turn, promoted bacterial growth and other natural processes that eventually decomposed the bundle base, allowing the contents, such as cotton-boll fill and human phalanges, to fall out and be left behind when the bundles were relocated. The relatively poor condition of the bundles reflects the considerable amount of time that had passed since their interment, yet their removal was not occasioned by placement of later bundles or construction of tombs at the same locations.

A possible answer to the question of the destination and function of relocated bundles comes from Bundle A inside Tomb 3 ([figure 3.18] Middle Ychsma, ca. AD 1250–1350) in the Uhle Cemetery, which contained three individuals within a single junco sack: an adult female on the left side, an adult male in his own bundle on the right, and between them, an



FIGURE 3.18. Bundle A of Tomb 3 in the Uhle Cemetery that contained three individuals who may have died at three distinct times. Photo by I. Shimada.

infant carefully wrapped in fine cloth. It appears that the bundled remains of the man, who died earlier, were brought from elsewhere to join the other two, perhaps his wife and child.

Elsewhere in the cemetery adjacent to the Huaca Sialupe workshop in the lower La Leche Valley, we also found several features that appeared to be burial pits that contained only decomposed shrouds and/or minuscule bone fragments. In one pit, only a single human distal thumb phalange was



FIGURE 3.19. Burial 01-1 from the Huaca Sialupe cemetery showing the complete disarticulation of the skeleton and fragmentation of grave goods. Photo by I. Shimada.

found (Klaus 2003). We argue that these pits were the locations of primary burials exhumed for re-interment elsewhere, perhaps within the site. Given that the Huaca Sialupe cemetery is relatively small in extent (30 × 20 m) and adjacent to the workshop, the documented post-interment alterations there are likely to have been made by local artisans and their families.

Burial 1-1 (figure 3.19) from the Huaca Sialupe cemetery, probably a male between 30 and 50 years old, is identified as a secondary burial based on the complete disarticulation and fragmentary grave goods commingled with the skeleton (Klaus 2003). Further, this burial pit showed no later intrusions. These observations suggest that this burial was either exhumed from another location and re-interred or allowed to naturally mummify in a protected setting before burial. After the body was deposited, a large, heavy adobe block was placed gently atop the bones and a small fire was lit.

Another clear case of a Middle Sicán secondary burial is Burial 15, Trench 3, Huaca Loro West cemetery, that consists of a commingled cranium and selection of mainly long and large bones, together with two ceramic vessels, crammed into a small, shallow pit (ca. 62 × 50 cm and 35 cm deep). The fact that this pit was dug within the large burial chamber of Tomb 2 and overlain by a large painted cloth that covered much of the west half of the tomb suggests the individual in the pit had some special

relationship with the principal personage of the tomb and was specifically relocated to accompany that personage. Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) analysis, however, did not show any maternal lineage between them (Ken-ichi Shinoda 2008, pers. comm.).

In addition to the bundle relocations discussed above, our excavation in the Uhle Cemetery at Pachacamac documented the removal and addition of selected skeletal elements. For example, the upper front portion of one bundle in Tomb 1-2 had been cut through the outer junco sacks and inner cotton cloth wrappings to remove just the head. Two other bundles in the tomb were also missing heads from otherwise complete and articulated skeletons, although we did not recognize any clear signs of intentional opening. The former may have occurred long after the bundle was set inside the tomb, while the latter may well represent reburial of bundles that were rewrapped after the head was removed. Considering that intentional cutting of textiles is very rare in Andean prehistory, this example of full skull removal must have been motivated by extraordinary circumstances.

Burials at the Huaca Sialupe cemetery also provide clear cases of post-interment removal. A juvenile burial '99-3 was opened some time after the body had skeletonized, and the skull and feet were removed. The lack of disturbance to adjacent bones, particularly the vertebral column, indicates no connective tissue remained at the time. Visual inspection and light microscopy revealed no cut marks; the child had not been decapitated before burial (Klaus 2003; Klaus and Shimada n.d.).

Removal and rearrangement is seen in Burials '99-1 (figure 3.20) and '01-8, both from Huaca Sialupe. In each case, the grave was opened and parts of the skeleton were removed and then returned in general anatomical position. Burial '99-1's head was atop the shoulders but set face down, and the femur reversed and upside down. The thoracic region of Burial '01-8 (figure 3.21) was disturbed, possibly by the addition of an intrusive grave good after burial. The right humerus was replaced in almost proper anatomical position, but with several paired left and right ribs on the respective sides of the humerus. While these burials may well represent interment of the deceased after curation, we did not observe any disturbances, loss of extremities, and/or pupa casings. Further, outlines of intrusions into original burial pits were clearly observed.

POSTINTERMENT OFFERINGS AND RITUALS AT PACHACAMAC. Wherever the bundles removed from the Uhle Cemetery at Pachacamac were destined to go, given their poor preservation, it is likely that they were first rewrapped and/or encased in a new mesh-sack to avoid further disintegration. Results of our excavations (2003–2005) in the extensive area buried by the Inca Pilgrims' Plaza just north of the Uhle Cemetery raise an interesting possibility in this regard. This area was the setting of intense but short-term, seasonal (at the onset of spring) ritual activities centered on numerous



FIGURE 3.20. Burial '99-1 from Mound I, Huaca Sialupe, that clearly displays post-interment removal and rearrangement of skeletal elements. Photo by I. Shimada.

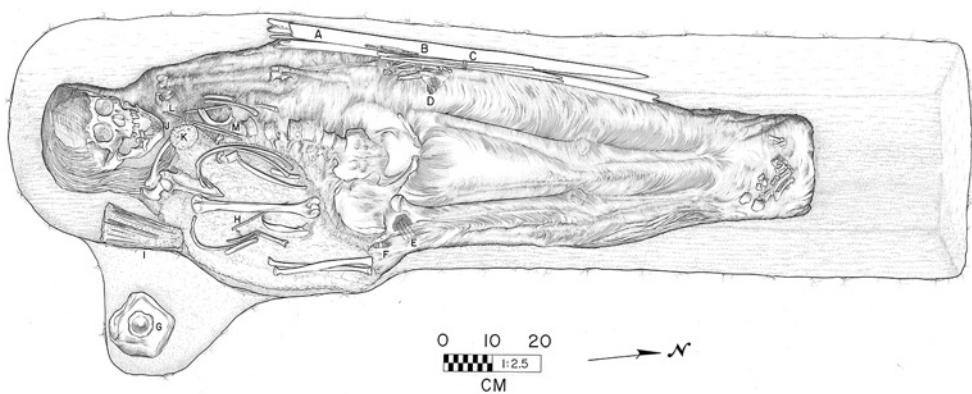


FIGURE 3.21. Burial '01-8 from Mound I, Huaca Sialupe, that also exhibits various post-interment alterations of skeletal elements and grave goods. Prepared by I. Shimada and C. Samillán.

small rectangular, circular, and oval sunken enclosures commonly about 1.2–1.5 m across or to a side and variously built of stone, adobe, or both ([figure 3.22] Shimada, Segura, and Rostworowski 2005; Shimada et al. 2005, 2006, 2010). Some were nearly intact, with an elaborate roof, and housed a wooden implement.⁶ Other well-preserved enclosures had one or more carefully placed *cántaros* (relatively large, short-necked jar with globular or oblong body) with offerings placed inside and/or just outside the vessel (figure 3.23). Often, later intrusive enclosures damaged or nearly obliterated earlier ones. At the same time, in a few cases, a series of these enclosures of nearly the same size, shape, and construction material and style were either built one right over the other or abutting onto the first enclosure, a pattern that suggests the same groups continued to utilize the same ritual spaces and perform the same rituals.

What is notable is that, although they have much smaller dimensions, these enclosures buried under the Pilgrims' Plaza resemble tomb structures in the nearby Uhle Cemetery in form, spatial distribution, construction techniques, and materials. We suggest that these *enclosures* represented the *surrogate tombs* of deceased ancestors and kin for those who did not have direct access to the enclosed, hallowed ground of Uhle Cemetery. People would have come at the onset of each spring to make offerings, renew their spiritual bond with the former, and pray for a bountiful harvest



FIGURE 3.22. Examples of sunken enclosures documented in T-9-'05 below the Incaic Pilgrims' Plaza. Photo by I. Shimada.

CANTARO BURIAL / OFFERING
Feature 43, Trench 1-'03, Plaza de los Perigrinos
Pachacamac

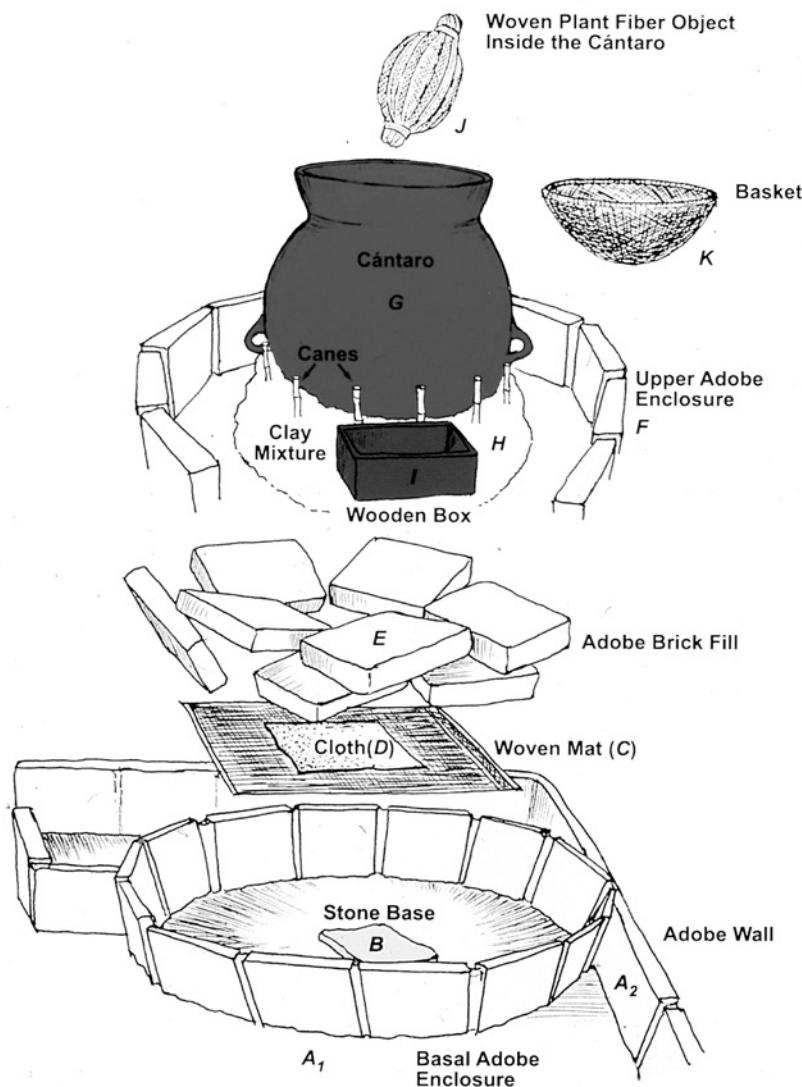


FIGURE 3.23. Feature 43 that consists of a large, well-preserved *cántaro* with offerings placed in its interior and around its exterior. Note how the vessel was carefully placed at the center of the adobe enclosure. Prepared by I. Shimada and S. Mueller.

in the coming year (Shimada et al. 2010). In fact, cántaros that were carefully centered in enclosures, received offerings, and at times decorated with dried sedge leafs around their necks appeared to have served as the surrogates of funerary bundles of inferred ancestors and kin (Shimada, Segura, and Rostworowski 2005; Shimada et al. 2005). It appears that, as Arriaga ([1621]1999) and Ávila ([1598]1996) documented in the Colonial era, interaction with the dead was frequently conducted with their surrogates. We further suggest that the enclosures were used to prepare, repair, and/or temporarily store funerary bundles before they were initially placed or returned to their tombs within the Uhle Cemetery. We suspect that relatively large, concave bivalve shells (*Concholepas concholepas*) containing cinnabar paint (see Petersen 1970, figure 7, 144, for a photo of an example of the same shell with cinnabar paint from Ica), hammerstones and an anvil for metalworking, and wooden needles and yarns found near the enclosures (Shimada et al. 2005) were used for the above purposes.

There are other indications of post-interment offerings. Directly associated with the chamber tomb and nearby funerary bundles we excavated at the Uhle Cemetery were two similar structures that we infer to have served as receptacles for food offerings or libations for the dead. The structures in question consists of two parts (upper left corner of figure 3.13): (1) a circular concave basin with smooth interior composed of at least four superimposed clay linings built (2) atop a cylindrical support built of large cobbles and adobe fragments set in clay mortar. Both basins were likely to have been visible, given that their tops were very close to or even slightly above the original pre-Hispanic ground surface. An example of post-interment libations documented at Huaca Loro, Sicán, is discussed later.

POST-INTERMENT FIRES. Another widely practiced post-interment ritual consists of setting fires. Fire played a critical role in pre-Hispanic Andean religious rituals at least from the Late Preceramic Period, ca. 3000–1500 BCE. Two examples are the Altar of the Sacred Fire within the Amphitheater Temple at Caral on the north-central coast of Peru (Shady and López 2003) and the enclosed temples of the Mito Religious Tradition that covered much of the northern and central highlands of Peru (e.g., Bonnier 1997; Grieder and Bueno 1985).

In the Lambayeque region, the final act of the large-scale ritualized entombment of the Early Horizon Temple of the Columns at Huaca Lucía with over 7 m of pure clean sand was to set fires in regularly spaced, clay-lined braziers over the buried temple (Shimada 1986; Shimada, Elera, and Shimada 1982). In the Lambayeque region, this tradition of ritual temple entombment and associated fires continued into the Late Horizon (Shimada 1986). At Mound II of Huaca Soledad in the middle La Leche Valley, thrice a new temple was built immediately above an entombed one. Each entombment ended with a series of small bonfires set atop the fill.

This persistent ritual tradition finds a parallel in the practice of setting a small fire next to many Cupisnique burials of the first millennia BCE in the same region. This practice in a modified form continued into the period spanning ca. 1000 to 1500 CE. At Sicán, we documented numerous cases of intentional fires set atop sealed burials (Matsumoto 2014; Shimada and Matsumoto 2011). For example, a layer of carbonized twigs and ash was found atop five superimposed burials placed in sterile sand at the east base of the central ramp of the Huaca Las Ventanas temple mound dating to ca. 1000 CE. First, each burial was placed perpendicular on top of the preceding within a short span of time in a planned manner. Then, the whole area was covered with *poña*, burned, and finally buried by the thick fill of the ramp. *Poña* is a local term for fallen dry leaves and twigs that accumulate at the bases of algarrobo trees (*Prosopis pallida*) that abound at the site. One-time fires of greater intensity and extent were documented at the western base of Huaca Lercanlech (aka Rodillona), the largest truncated pyramidal temple mound at Sicán (ca. 100 × 100 m at the base and ca. 40 m in height). Two trenches dug in 2001 to test GPR detection of two inferred deep shaft-tombs near the southeastern corner of the mound each revealed a rectangular sunken area. Each area was covered with a thick layer of whitish ash, which in turn lay over an intensely fire-reddened and hardened clay layer ca. 1.5 to 2.0 m below the surface. The fired clay layers, we believe, sealed the mouths of the shaft-tombs.

The same association of a ritual fire, sacrificial activities, and the closure of a tomb was documented during the 2006 excavation of Tomb 1 at the West Cemetery of the nearby major temple mound of Huaca Loro. This shaft-tomb (measuring 3.5 × 3.3 m and 5 m in depth) contained an adult female elite in a seated, cross-legged position and her adult female companion. The closure of her tomb was marked by the setting of a small fire and placement of an infant burial, both atop the sealed shaft mouth, and the nearby sacrifice of at least two adult individuals (one with severed head) whose sprawled bodies were evidently left exposed until covered by a flood deposit (figure 3.24).

The setting of a fire atop Tomb 1 may have marked the transition of an elite woman from the liminal to postliminal phase (Hertz [1907] 1960), just as fire transmutes solids into gases, heat, and light. Fire setting, however, was widely practiced over centuries and may connote a broader interest in the renewal of life and persistent importance of ancestors. At Huaca Loro, we documented a succession of fires (figure 3.25) set upon each of 20 freshly laid alluvial sediments—literally while the soil was still damp as attested to by the casts of foot and fire-induced cracks we found. Examination of carbonized materials indicates the fuel used for these fires was predominantly *poña*. The intensity of the fires varied, but the reddish heat-discolored surfaces were traced over much of the area surrounding



FIGURE 3.24. One of the two inferred sacrificed adults left exposed until covered by a flood deposit just south of the mouth of Tomb 1 at the West Cemetery of Huaco Loro. Photo by I. Shimada.

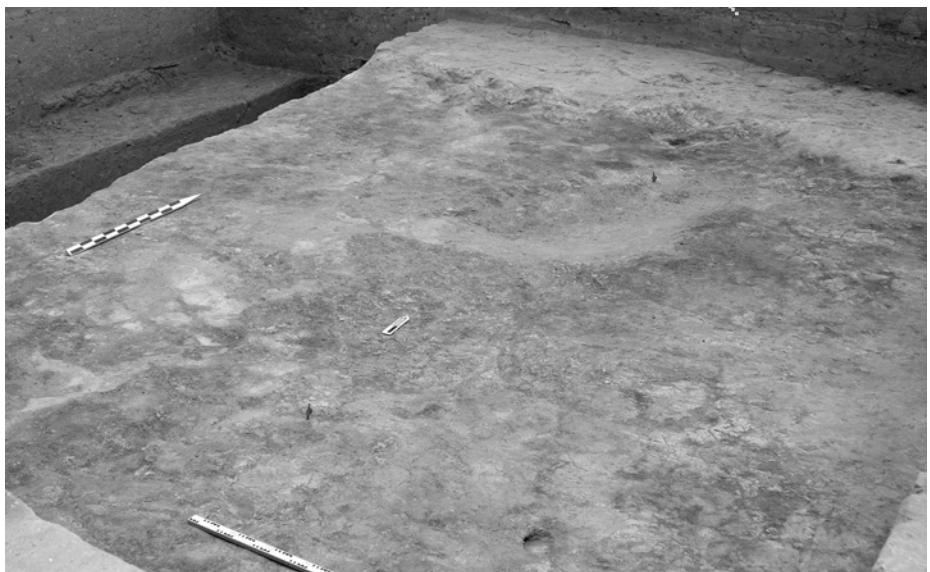


FIGURE 3.25. Intensely burnt occupational surface overlying the mouth of the inferred Northwest Tomb (Excavation Area 4-'08) at the Huaca Loro temple mound. Photo by I. Shimada.

the base of the Huaca Loro mound and 50 m eastward into the adjacent Great Plaza. Associated ceramics suggest these fires span from the early Middle Sicán, ca. AD 1000, to Chimú-Inca, ca. AD 1460–1532. Deposits of ash by the gravesides of a handful of early colonial burials in Mórrope suggest the fire-setting practice made it into the early historic era before being terminated (Klaus 2008, 430).

Scattered across the extensive burnt surface around the Huaca Loro mound were a number of firepits and buried ollas and jars as offerings. Many of these firepits contained carefully selected algarrobo fruit (sweet bean pods), maize kernels, ears, and stalks, and in a few cases, burnt cloth (figure 3.26). It is notable that these firepits and buried vessels at various depths were spatially clustered around the tops of the two largest elite tombs we excavated in the West Cemetery, Tombs 1 and 2.

The persistent living-dead symbolic connection involving elaborate rituals is particularly evident in regard to Tomb 2, which contained the disturbed remains of a juvenile accompanied by an adult female. The placement of a secondary burial within this tomb was described earlier. An estimated one hundred years after the primary interment (based on Cleland and Shimada's 1992 Sicán bottle seriation), the tomb was opened (probably resulting in the observed damage to the juvenile skeleton), and



FIGURE 3.26. One of many fire pits (containing charred maize ears and stalks) scattered across the extensive burnt surface overlying the West Cemetery of the Huaca Loro temple mound. Photo by I. Shimada.



FIGURE 3.27. A well-preserved puma (*Felis concolor*) mandible found on the burnt surface above the West Cemetery of Huaca Loro. Photo by I. Shimada.

diverse, sumptuary grave goods were placed inside (Cervantes 2010; Cervantes, Wagner, and Perry 2011, 2014). A fire ritual conducted sometime in the fifteenth century (based on the presence of Sicán-Chimú ceramics) in the area above this tomb was accompanied by the offering of a puma (*Felis concolor*). A large portion of a disarticulated puma skeleton was found approximately 1 m below the modern surface directly associated with a sloping burnt surface (figure 3.27). A few of its bones had been partially burnt. Although the specifics of what was done with the puma remain unclear, its rarity in archaeological context attests to the special symbolic significance of fire rituals.

A string of at least three Chimú/Chimú-Inca ceramic vessels (late fifteenth century?) provide a critical clue to the significance of these fires. The vessels were carefully buried at the very mouth of a small erosion gulley near the base of the steep north face of the Huaca Loro temple mound where water from rare rains would have cascaded down (figure 3.28). They were placed there before rains, and soon after water laid a fresh surface on the mound base, poña was placed and burnt.

The unique placement of the vessels and broader context suggest that the offerings relate to a symbolic appreciation for not only life-giving water, but also (and perhaps more importantly) mediation by ancestors enshrined



FIGURE 3.28. Ceramic jars placed where water from rare rains would have cascaded down along the north face of the Huaca Loro temple mound. Photo by I. Shimada.

in and beneath the temple. It is apparent that the mound, in spite of its burnt and eroded state, retained its sacred significance for nearly five hundred years after its abandonment (see Millaire in this volume).

We end our discussion of post-interment dead-living interaction by noting the case of an elaborate Middle Sicán burial ([figure 3.29] HL-08-AE-1-Burial 3) near the northwest corner of the Huaca Loro temple mound that preserved a slightly curved and tapering cylindrical shaft ca. 90 cm in height (ca. 25 and 15 cm in diameter at the top and bottom, respectively) that connected the surface of a ledge (cut some 10 cm into the ground at the south end of the grave pit) and the top of the cranium of a juvenile skeleton in extended position. That it served as an open conduit for some time between the deceased in the grave and the world of the living is suggested by its distinctly loose fill and the presence of multiple, thin superimposed layers of clayey soil lining its bottom. We infer that liquids—perhaps libations and/or rainwater—passed through it various times, reminding us of the Inca *ushnu* (a sacred space [platform] with a hole into the body of the earth into which libations were poured).⁷

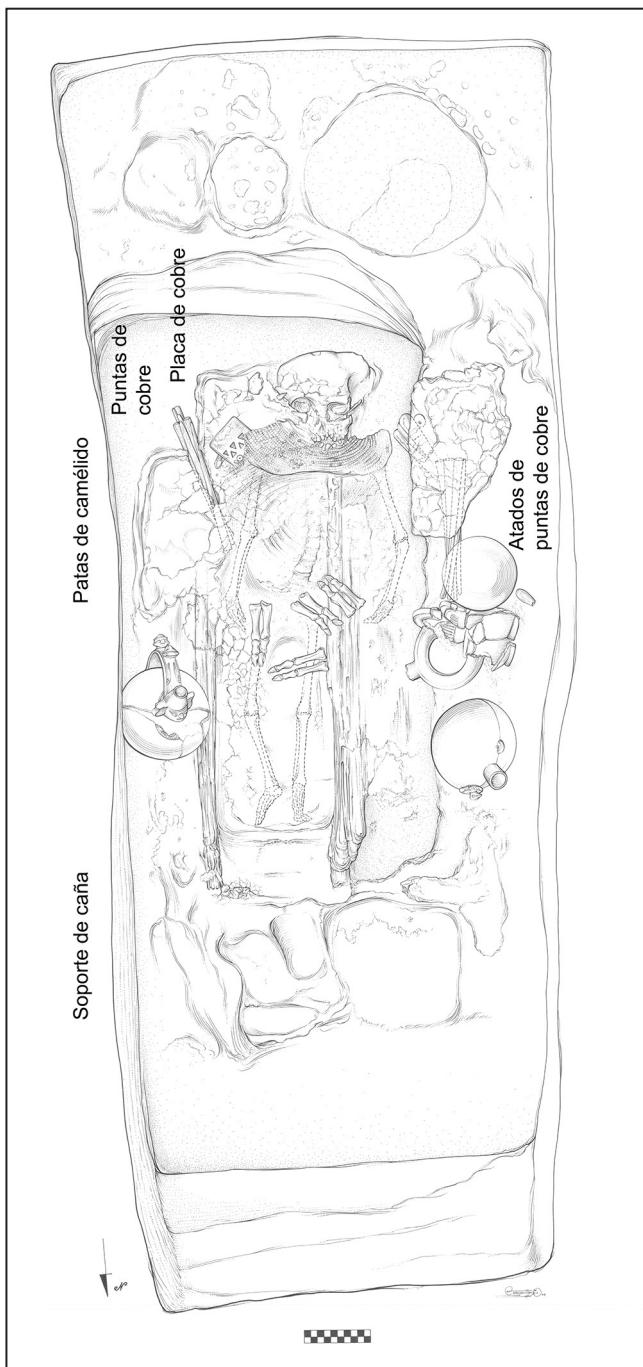


FIGURE 3:29. Illustration of Burial 3 in its funerary structure. The cylindrical shaft that connected the surface and the cranium is at the south end of the structure. Drawing by C. Samillán.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Persistence, Spread, and Variability of Postmortem Care and Post-Primary Interment Modifications

Since the pioneering documentation of a variety of postmortem care and alterations of skeletons and grave goods at the site of Pacatnamú (at the mouth of the Jequetepeque Valley on the North Coast) by Hecker and Hecker (1992a, 1992b), an increasing number of similar cases have been recorded at sites in various areas of Peru, particularly on the coast (e.g., Cordy-Collins 2009; DeLeonardis 2000; Franco, Gálvez, and Vásquez 1998; Isbell 2004; Klaus 2003; Klaus and Shimada n.d.; Millaire 2002, 2004; Nelson 1998; Nelson and Castillo 1999; Shimada et al. 2004; Tung 2003). Together with these cases, our study clearly shows that postmortem care and post-primary interment modifications were quite diverse, persistent, and pervasive, and not aberrant and/or transient customs (see tables 3.3 and 3.4). Based on removal of selected skeletal elements, particularly the cranium (see chapter 2 by Weismantel) and, to a lesser extent, long limb bones, pre-interment curation of the corpse can be traced back to the Cupisnique in the late Initial Period and early Early Horizon, ca. 1200–700 BC, if not considerably earlier (Klaus and Shimada n.d.).

It appears that many pre-Inca elite burials on the North and Central coasts (and also found on the South Coast) were physically or visually accessible to the living to care for and/or modify. Funerary bundle treatments at Pachacamac and the numerous episodes of ritual fires and offerings at Huaca Loro indicate that physical and spiritual access to the deceased, respectively, lasted up to 500 years. The idea that the North Coast burials were sealed permanently “never intended be opened,” what Isbell (1997, 143–44) termed the *huaca cemetery model* of burial, is not tenable.

The above conclusion, together with a clear coastal preference for underground burial (for contrast to underground disposition, see chapters 5 by Lau and 6 by Buikstra and Nystrom in this volume), indicates that the living-dead interaction was predicated neither on physical integrity or wholeness nor on direct or prolonged access to the dead. Interaction was not prevented by removal, loss, addition of skeletal elements or even major damage (as in the case of the Huaca Loro West Cemetery, Tomb 2, principal individual) to the skeleton. Interaction including ritual performances, such as libation or setting fires, occurred *in spite of* physical separation from the dead and suggests its basic priority was to establish or reaffirm emotional and symbolic bonds with the dead.

At the same time, this limited visible and physical access to the skeletal remains of the dead may help to explain the documented retention of some of their bones and even the curious presence of inferred funerary

TABLE 3-3. Archaeologically documented cases of modified skeletal remains on the north coast. Prepared by H. Klaus.

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Rossen and Dillehay 2001	Middle Preceramic / Upper Nanchoc region, upper Zaña Valley	Multiple deposits of human remains; numbers not given	Evidence of careful breakage, cutting, crushing, and burning of bones followed by careful deposition of many skeletal elements, including long bones	Authors consider preferential ritual cannibalism (and possible attendant mortuary ritual) of males reflecting a type of garden magic
Pozorski and Pozorski 1979	Early Formative Period/Pampa, Gramalote, Moche Valley	Numbers not given	Entire skeleton disturbed; possible secondary burial bundle	Long bones and vertebrae wrapped in several layers of textiles placed in a refuse pit within a residential context
Larco Hoyle 1941	Cupisnique/Necropolis de Barbacoa, Chicama Valley	Tomb 19, Tomb 28	Tomb 19: entire skeleton disturbed, missing mandible; Tomb 28: missing skull	Tomb 19 appears as a partial secondary burial; grave goods intact in Tomb 28
Ravines 1982	Cupisnique / Montegrande, Jequetepeque Valley	Burial 1c, Burial 1d	Burial 1c: postcranial skeleton absent; Burial 1d: most of postcranial skeleton absent	In both cases, focus on the head is apparent, perhaps as a secondary burial or offering
Elera 1998	Early Classic Cupisnique/Puémape, Jequetepeque Valley	Burials XCVII, CXI, XXIV, CXIV	Alterations range from removal of most of the postcranial skeleton to completely disturbed partial skeletons	In at least two cases (Burials XCVII, XCIV), the skull was left relatively intact while the skeleton was altered/removed
Elera 1998	Salinar/Puémape, Jequetepeque Valley	Burial LXVIII	Missing skull	Originally interpreted as possible decapitation
Domnan and Mackey 1978	Gallinazo/Cerro Blanco, Zone H, Moche Valley	Burial H-8000, -H5	Missing skull and cervical vertebrae	Faceneck jar positioned in area of missing head (as a proxy or stand-in?)
Strong and Evans 1952	Gallinazo/V-59, Virú Valley	Burials 4 and 5	Each burial missing mandible, other skeletal elements disturbed	Both cases demonstrate mandible removal

TABLE 3-3. *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Huchet and Greenberg 2010	Moche I/Huaca de la Luna, Uhle Platform, Moche Valley	Tomb 45	Skeleton associated with nearly 200 puparia of <i>Calliphoridae</i> and other necrophagous and related insects	Unambiguous case of prolonged primary burial
Franco et al. 1998, 2001	Moche II-II/Huaca el Brujo, Chicama Valley	Tomb 1A, 2	Skeleton of previous occupant nearly completely removed	Unambiguous case of so-called "tomb renovation" and manipulation of previous occupants
Verano 1997	Moche III/Sipán Tomb 1	Skeletons 3, 4, 7	Skeletal elements shifted far from anatomical position	Example of prolonged primary burials and curation of tomb retainers
Hecker and Hecker 1983, 1992	Moche III-IV/ Pacatnamú, Jequetepeque Valley	Burials (Grab); A, CI, EI, IV, 12H, 8-2, 26-1; Tombs: DIV, DV, LII; Tombs: Grab A, EI1, M, XI, MXII, M-IV22-24	Among these skeletons (n = 6), isolated crania and missing elements observed, including headless skeletons	In Tomb DIV and LII, isolated skull placed inside cane coffin (ritual offering?)
Nelson 1998; del Carpio 2008	Middle Moche (III-IV)/San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley	Burials M-U312, -U313, -U320, -U321, -U407, -U725, -U821	Disturbed elements range from forearm to most of the skeleton; missing elements include skulls, long bones, and hand and foot phalanges	Unambiguous and extensive evidence of prolonged primary burials and possible removal of bones before interment in cane coffins and funerary bundles; these burials are just a representative sample of a larger corpus of funerary contexts; for additional contexts, see the various field season reports available at: http://sanjosedemoro.pucp.edu.pe
Domnan 2007	Early Middle Moche/ Huaca Dos Cabezas, Jequetepeque Valley	Tomb A	Secondary burial of the presumptive original occupant	Reburial of the individual's skeleton was nearly complete; extensive disarticulation noted, but at least one hand and foot appear articulated; only the right radius was missing

continued

TABLE 3.3. *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Domnan 2007	Early Middle Moche / Huaca Dos Caberas, Jequetepeque Valley	Tomb B	Placed on roof of tomb was one individual exhibiting extensive disarticulation of the thoracic region, in addition to a cluster of disarticulated human long bones and a human crania; the tomb itself appears to have been open-access and emptied in antiquity	A spectrum of activities are present in this setting, including prolonged primary burial, secondary burial, and an emptied burial chamber
Uceda 1997	Moche III/IV/Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley	Tomb V	Highly scattered and disarticulated human skeletal material	At least 10 individuals represented; exhumation and replacement of bones likely
Domnan and Mackey 1978	Moche IV/Huaca del Sol and Huanchaco, Moche Valley	Burials H8000, -B13, B-17, B-47, F-19, PV-24-4, Grave 69 (Huanchaco Zone B)	Disturbed elements include upper bodies and missing heads and appendages, extra hands and incomplete skeleton associated with Burial 69 at Huanchaco	Wide range of alterations inferred from drawings including prolonged primary burial to secondary accession of body parts; Burial 69 may represent a sacrificial context
Tufinio, 2004, 2006, 2008a,b	Moche III/IV/Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley	Tombs 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 43, 44	Skeletons missing skulls and various long bones; empty tombs; reburial of crania and long bones on 2B 36	These are consistently referred to as "looted," but without describing stratigraphy, this interpretation is hard to evaluate. Further, the reburial of entire bones, complete grave goods, replacement of bricks and log roof coverings atop a few tombs, and other details are <i>wholly</i> inconsistent with known looting behaviors; we would suggest some or most of these contexts were likely altered in antiquity

TABLE 3.3. *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Gutiérrez 2008; Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2006, 2008a, b, 2013	Moche III/IV/Uhle Platform, Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley	Tomb 1, 2, 4, 5, 7A, 7B, 8, 9A, 9B, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18A, 18B, 20, 24, 26	Possible/probable tomb opening and partial or near-complete removal of the tomb occupant; extensive grave lots often intact and <i>in situ</i> ; apparent secondary burial of human remains in Tomb 1	Although the authors note they cannot rule out modern looting in Tombs 12–14, the focus on removal of human remains coupled with pristine and “untouched” nature of the grave lots is once again wholly inconsistent with known looting behaviors; many appear to have been opened during rain events much like the case documented at Huaca Cao Viejo by Franco, Gálvez, and Vásquez 1998
Bernier 2006; Chappelaine 2001; Chappelaine, Bernier, and Pimentel 2004; Renfigo and Rojas 2013; Tello 2013; Tello et al. 2004; Tello and Delabarre 2008	Moche IV/Urban zone at Moche, Moche Valley	Conjunto Arquitectónico (CA) 25 Tomb 25-1; CA 26 Tomb 26-1, 26-5; CA 27 Tomb 7; CA 35 Tombs 5, 6, 7, 8, 10; CA 37 Tomb 5	Multiple cases of disarticulated skeletons, and opened funerary contexts, and missing bones (notably, skulls and various long bones); cluster of disarticulated human bones (inferred as offerings) adjacent to the tomb in Ambiente 26-5	Grave goods and remainder of skeletons undisturbed; the most complex setting was Conjunto Arquitectónico 35. Tombs 5–8 that involved complex mortuary manipulations of various individuals
Nelson 1998	Middle and Late Moche (Moche V)/ José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley	Burials M-U403, U409a, -U409b -U725, -U821	Disturbance ranging from subtle shifting to major displacement of bones; missing elements mostly arms and legs	Evidence of prolonged primary burial and removal of skeletal elements paralleling earlier Middle Moche period at this site

continued

TABLE 3.3. *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Castillo 2011	Late Moche (Moche V)/San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley	M-U1525	One of several Late Moche Priestess tombs, including two significantly disarticulated retainers and other human bones on the floor of the tomb	Prolonged primary burial and secondary burial of disarticulated human long bones paralleling cases documented in the earlier Middle Moche period at this site
Shimada 1994	Moche V/Huaca Soledad, La Leche Valley	Burials 1 and 2	The skeleton of Burial 1 pushed to side to make room for Burial 2 whose head was pushed off the body	The belowground adobe burial chamber was open for pedestrian access with a well-worn threshold
Donnan and Cock 1997	Late Moche (Moche V)/Pacatnamú, Jequetepeque Valley	Burials 1, 6, 7, 23, 25, 36, 38, 41, 43, 46, 49, 54, 55, 58, 59, 65, 67, 75, 82, 83	Among these individuals (n=20), wide range of disturbed elements are noted as well as missing skulls, mandibles, ribs, long bones, and entire bodies	Included are several cases of probable prolonged primary burial; other altered and disturbed burials may be present but are difficult to interpret from the published illustrations
Nelson 1998	Immediately Post-Moche/San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley	Burials M-U314a, -U314b, U314c, -U403	Disturbance ranging from subtle shifting to major displacement of bones; wider range of missing elements from Moche V	Evidence of prolonged primary burial and removal of skeletal elements paralleling the Late Moche period contexts at this site
Rucabado 2008	Early Transitional Period/San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley	M-U615	Approx. 58 individuals, many disturbed when pushed to the side to make room for new interments during subsequent multiple tomb renovations	Remarkable open, collective tomb, designated an “elite” context based on grave good quality, quantity, and diversity
Franco and Gálvez 2005	Transitional Period/ Huaca el Brujo Complex, Chicama Valley	“Chamber 1 Tomb, South of Huaca Cortada”	Another “renovated” or re-used tomb, containing the scattered and incomplete remains of three adults and seven children	Depositional context suggestive of the tomb occupants as secondary burial in the re-opened tomb
Franco and Gálvez 2005	Transitional Period/ Huaca el Brujo Complex, Chicama Valley	Field number not given; Huaca Cao Viejo “Caso 4”	Possible prolonged primary burial	Atypical evidence used to infer prolonged primary burial and pre-interment exposure (i.e., fallen tree leafs inside the unopened mummy bundle)

TABLE 3-3. *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Castillo 2011	Late Transitional Period/San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley	M-1221	“Tomb of the Shamans,” containing five disarticulated crania included with the principal personage(s) of the tomb	Prolonged primary burial and manipulation of bodies in this high-status funerary context
Shimada et al. 2004	Middle Sicán/Huaca Loro East and West Tombs, La Leche Valley	Principal personage of the East Tomb; various retainers in the West Tomb	Head of the East Tomb principal personage was manipulated into an anatomically impossible position probably as a desecrated corpse; disarticulation of various West Tomb retainers, some associated with fly puparia	Clear evidence of prolonged burial and probably curation of high-status individuals and their companions in these settings
Elera 2014	Late Middle Sicán/Matrix 101, Grand Plaza of Sicán, La Leche Valley	Mass human sacrifice context	Skeletal remains of 100+ individuals disturbed in two large-scale reopenings of the sacrificial pit; various skeletons <i>in situ</i> but missing skulls; disturbed bones within the matrix include a pile of 47 crania and, nearby, a cluster of hundreds of long bones	No cut marks present, indicating all disturbed bones were produced via postmortem manipulation. Explicit and intentional skull and long bone sorting is especially evident
Fernandez 1997	Middle Sicán: Illimo, La Leche Valley	Burials 5, 9, 13, 15, 23, 25, 26, 28, 35	A wide range of alterations noted, ranging from half-skeletons to missing appendages to missing skulls and isolated skulls	Illimo was likely a major secondary political center and nearby satellite to the Sicán capital
Klaus 2003	Middle Sicán/Huaca Sialupe, La Leche Valley	Burials 99-1,2,3; 01-1,6,7,8,10	A spectrum of alterations, spanning grave opening, alteration, bone removal, and secondary burials	The cemetery attached to this workshop also contained a number of features that appeared as emptied grave pits, suggestive of additional activities involving exhumation

continued

TABLE 3.3, *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/Interpretations
Fernández 2010	Middle Sicán/La Pava, La Leche Valley	Burial 6	Grave pit containing only fragments of skeletal remains; ceramic grave goods undisturbed	Highly probable case of exhumation
Guffroy, Higueras, and Galdos 1989	Provincial Middle Sicán/Cerro Ñañañique, Piura Valley	Burials E4, E5, E6, E7, E9, E11, E12, E14, containing individuals #e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, n, p, q, r, s, t, u, and z	Alterations among these 16 skeletons include isolated skulls, a headless skeleton, missing long bones, and extensively disturbed skeletons (probably secondary burials)	While bordering distinct Ecuadorian cultures, burial patterns and material culture show strong consistency and connection to northern North Coast traditions
Gaither et al. 2009	Provincial Transitional Period (ca. A.D. 1050–1280)/ Santa Rita B, Chao Valley	Burials 5, 9, 10	Various incomplete and missing bones characterized by postmortem removal	Repetitive focus and ritual attention placed on heads and long bones
Fernández 2010	Chimú/La Pava, La Leche Valley	Burials 14, 15, 32	Burial 14 is a very anomalous context involving perimortem burning of the upper half of the body, with lower half missing; Burials 15 and 32 involve removal of multiple skeletal elements	Unclear if postdepositional intrusion occurred in Burial 14; skull and long bones removed from Burial 15, and near-total exhumation of bones (but not grave goods) in Burial 32
Rodríguez 1995	Chimú/La Caleta de San José, Lambayeque Valley	Burials 1, 16, 20, 23, 25, 26	At least one burial shows signs of significant shifting; others missing skulls and long bones	Community of inferred rural fishers; dead buried in traditional extended position
Martínez 2011	Chimú/Jotoro, La Leche Valley	Burial O1M1-E3, O4M2-E5, O4M2-E5A	Secondary burials and one partial exhumation	Altered funerary contexts relatively rare at this site
Wester 1996	Chimú/Úcupe, Zaña Valley	Burials 8, 17, 19, 25, and Unit MZ 16 Burial 2	Missing skulls and whole skeletons, altered limbs, and disarticulated partial skeletons noted	Úcupe is an inferred Late Sicán site co-opted by the Chimú administration; burials are inferred as high-status

TABLE 3.3. *continued*

Source	Cultural Period/ Site, Valley	Burial(s)	Altered or Missing Elements	Comments/ Interpretations
Zavalta 2012	Chimú/ Huaca del Sol Platform 1, Moche Valley	Tombs 5, 7, 8; Capa 2	All secondary burials; large block placed atop the remains in Tomb 5 (compare with Huaca Sialupe Burial 01-1); cranium removed from Tomb 8	Intrusive Chimú period burials; multiple disarticulated bones within Capa 2; author interprets these as carefully interred ritual offerings of human remains
Domnan and Mackey 1978	Early, Middle, and Late Chimú/ Huacas at Moche, Chan Chan, and Caballo Muerto	Burials H8000, B-9, B-22, B-45, B-46, B-55, H75U, and C19	At least one secondary burial is apparent; missing skulls and additional mandibles in Burials C119 and C110	Highly consistent pattern of removal of skull without disturbing postcranial skeleton and grave lot
Martínez 2011	Inca/ Jotoro, La Leche Valley	Burial O1M1-E9	Probable secondary burial	Burial bundle accompanied by ceramic and copper grave goods
Sandweiss 1996	Inca/ Túcume, La Leche Valley	Sector V, "The Empty Tomb"	Unoccupied high-status tomb	Interpreted as an example of "huaca hostage," where the elite personage of the tomb had been disinterred and taken presumably to Cuzco as part of the Inca imperial policy of relocating venerated ancestor mummies of subjugated populations
Wester et al. 2010	Inca/ Huaca de los Sacrificios, Lambayeque Valley	Burials 4, 5, 6, 8	Secondary burial of disarticulated long bones and incomplete skeletons	Postdepositional alterations of a group of sacrifice victims buried in a shaft atop the huaca
Mackey 2010	Inca/ Farfán, Jequetepeque Valley	Multiple funerary contexts; burial numbers not given	Skeletons of 19 individuals described as secondary burials	Some individuals represented by only a few disarticulated skeletal elements, while others involved near-complete re-interment of entire skeletons

NOTE: Entries in the table are arranged chronologically. While the age and sex of disturbed skeletons are sometimes listed, we do not include demographic data here. Often, it is not made explicit how age or sex was assigned or the criteria or methods employed (e.g., "gendered" grave goods, skeletal morphology, or skeletal age indicators), making comparability of observations between samples difficult.

TABLE 3.4. Variability in treatment of the dead and the living-dead relationship documented in this study

I. Pre-Primary Interment Activities

- A. Curation/mummification of the corpse beyond putrefaction (for deceased elites)
 - B. Corpse preparation including defleshing and cinnabar paint application on parts of or the entire skeleton for elites; ochre paint application on the forehead or face in the case of commoners
 - C. Funerary bundle preparation
 - D. Food offering, feasting, etc.
-

II. Post-Interment Offerings and Rituals

- A. Periodic visitation and associated rituals
 - 1. Associated feasting, libations, and/or food offerings
 - 2. Setting ritual fires
- B. Construction of surrogate tombs and/or funerary bundles
 - 1. Construction of and periodic maintenance on subterranean chambers
 - 2. Use of *cantares* as surrogates for deceased ancestors or their funerary bundles
- C. Alterations of the Corpse, Associated Bundles, and Tombs
 - 1. One or more selected elements removed permanently
 - 2. One or more selected elements removed and rearranged (in the same funerary context)
 - 3. One or more selected elements removed and reburied (secondary burial) in a primary context
 - 4. One or more selected elements removed and added to another skeleton/burial
 - 5. One or more corpses added to an existing grave/tomb together with new grave goods, resulting in damage to and/or a shift in location of existing skeleton(s) and grave goods
 - 6. One or more distinct burials placed adjacent to existing burials or tombs
 - 7. Re-wrapping or repair of funerary bundles
 - 8. Removal and discard of funerary bundles
 - 9. Relocation of funerary bundles

vessels (e.g., black Middle Sicán single-spout bottles that may represent masked funerary bundles [Elera 2006, 2009]) in residential contexts [i.e., removed from funerary contexts?]). The same may also explain the use of cántaros and roofed subterranean chambers at Pachacamac for ritual offerings as accessible surrogates for funerary bundles and tombs. These surrogate forms that were perhaps perceived to embody the *anima* or life force (see Allen in Chapter 8) of the deceased appear to have been used widely for the living-dead interaction in the absence of physical remains of the deceased. This line of thinking may further account for the importance of murals and other representations of elaborately attired personages and funerary bundles (e.g., for those at Huaca Loro, Ucupe, and Huaca Pintada [Illimo], see Alva and Alva [1984], Florian [1951]; see also figure I.5 in the introduction of this volume).

It appears that on the coast death was regarded as attainment of a different state of social being, and disposition of the resultant corpse by underground burial was necessary for its further transformation. In this sense, the seemingly unnecessarily deep Middle Sicán shaft-tombs of Sicán elites (15 m or deeper) may well have been intended to facilitate the journey to the underworld of the dead or return to the womb for rebirth (see chapters 5 by Lau and 6 by Buikstra and Nystrom in this volume).

The variability in the age, location, and state of preservation of bundles at Pachacamac illuminated differences in the persistence and extent of their postinterment care. As detailed elsewhere (Shimada et al. 2010), a battery of archaeometric analysis (including AMS dating), stable isotope (C, N, O, and Sr), mtDNA, neutron activation, and Mössbauer spectroscopy has shown that Tomb 1-2 at Pachacamac contained funerary bundles of unrelated individuals of different generations, age, and sex with at least three distinct diets and geographical and/or social/ethnic origins. Their placements within the tomb and associated radiocarbon dates (table 3.2) do not reveal any apparent spatial patterns; rather, they suggest shuffling of extant bundles when new ones were introduced (Takigami et al. 2014). The tomb as a whole was a “work in progress.”

Nearby funerary contexts were left ignored or were encroached upon by intrusive burials. In fact, the high density of burials and their divergent states of preservation in the excavated area suggested that, if they were not regularly cared for, their locations could be usurped. Telltale signs of bundle removal or relocation and jumbled bundle contents in the cemetery matrix suggest that the mere physical presence of a funerary bundle did not assure its continuing use-right of the sacred plot it occupied. Clearly, there was a strong competition for access to the inferred “high premium” burial ground close to the venerated Painted Temple. A similar competition for access is exactly what we documented in the adjacent Pilgrims’ Plaza (Shimada, Segura, and Rostworowski 2005; Shimada et al.

2006). Clearly, the sanctity and usufruct of existing burials was respected as long as they remained in the consciousness of the living descendants and associates and were accordingly cared for. Not only is human memory fallible, resources, priorities, and social positions can change, affecting sentiment, as well as ritual obligations and performance.

In essence, our findings from Pachacamac challenge the premise commonly made regarding the social and biological affinity of burials that are found together within a formal, enclosed cemetery. Saxe's often cited (1970) *Hypothesis 8* and its later modification by Goldstein (1981; also see Morris 1991) illuminated the important role of the placement of the dead in landscape in legitimizing the claims of its associated social group to control critical resources, such as a prime agricultural land or a water source. The hypothesis assumed that the deceased interred in the associated cemetery shared a common social identity and memory. However, coexisting skeletons or funerary bundles at prestigious religious centers where access to sacred burial ground was very much in demand, whether or not physically clustered or arranged in an orderly manner, cannot be readily assumed to embody a shared social identity and memory and/or biological affinity without appropriate analysis.

At the same time, it is worthwhile considering the possibility that Tomb 1-2 housed the deceased members of a highland population that inhabited different production zones at different altitudes *a la* the verticality model (Murra 1975). Ethnohistorical evidence, including widely known pre-Hispanic Quechua folklore recorded in the Huarochirí region near the headwaters of the Lurín Valley, alludes to close religious and sociopolitical connections between that region and the site of Pachacamac, as well as coastward intrusion and occupation by the central highland Yáuro ethnic group prior to the arrival of the Inca (Rostworowski 1978, 1992; Salomon and Urioste 1991; Taylor 1987).

Marking Burial Locations

We have presented lines of evidence that the exact locations of many elite burials were clearly marked and readily recognizable, attesting to a widespread practice of periodic visitation. Burial 3, excavated in 2008, at Huaca Loro and Tomb 1-2 at Pachacamac highlighted this point. Another good example comes from a clustered group of some dozen Moche V (ca. AD 600–700) subterranean adobe burial chambers at Huaca Soledad in the middle La Leche Valley. Each had a small C-shaped (ca. 70 cm in diameter), above-ground adobe enclosure that protected the entrance (with a removable cover) at the top of a short stairway that led to a relatively spacious, subterranean, rectangular chamber (ca. 1.5 × 1.8 m, its floor ca. 2 m below surface). The adobe of the stairway and the threshold



FIGURE 3.30. Moche V adobe burial chamber in the Huaca Soledad cemetery. It contained two skeletons that had been pushed to the side, presumably to create space for another skeleton to be placed. The threshold of the chamber entrance had worn down. Photo by I. Shimada.

of the chamber entrance below were both well-worn, evidence of a history of pedestrian access (Shimada 1994, 241). In the chamber (Figure 3.30), the skeleton of the original burial had been disarticulated when it was pushed aside to make room for additional future burials, suggesting that it represented a family grave. At San José de Moro in the lower Jequetepeque Valley, Castillo (2001, 327) documented a similar situation for a Transitional Period (ca. 800–900 CE) chamber tomb. The cluster of the similar chamber graves at Huaca Soledad together may have served households pertaining to a single lineage.

At Huaca Loro, deceased high-status elites were assured of continuing visibility and veneration. The Huaca Loro mound in effect served as a lasting and imposing tombstone. Its walled-in temple atop the mound served as a dignified, exclusive setting for worshipping the deceased buried below. It had a multitiered terrace complex and enclosing walls decorated with polychrome images and was accessible only by a narrow zigzag ramp. Although the temple friezes are poorly preserved, we suspect they depicted deceased ancestors who were believed to have acquired supernatural status (shown with wings and talons; figure 3.31).

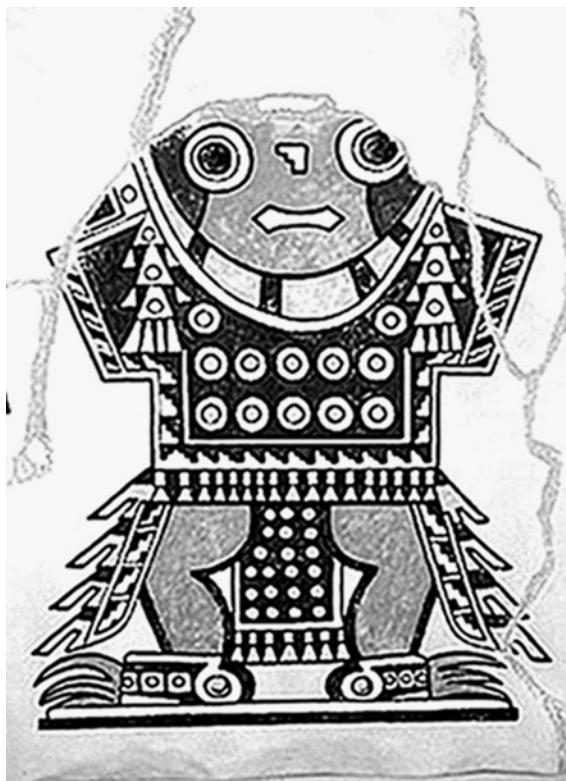


FIGURE 3.31. Polychrome frieze showing the supernatural Sicán deity that decorated the interior of the Huaca Loro temple. Prepared by C. Samillán.

The early Moche and Chimú royal burial platforms at Huaca Rajada ([Sipán] Alva and Donnan 1993) and Chan Chan (Conrad 1974, 1982) on the North Coast were all highly visible settings that assured continuing veneration of the deceased elites (see Metcalf and Huntington [1991] for similar cases elsewhere in the world). A good South Coast example is the altar within an enclosure that was built above an elaborate shaft-tomb with roofed burial chamber at the Nasca site of La Muña in the Palpa Valley (Reindel and Isla 2006).

Two cases of late Moche IV exhumation of Moche III elite corpses (G243, Tomb 1B and G245, Tomb 2) at the Huaca Cao Viejo mound at the mouth of the Chicama Valley (Franco, Gálvez, and Vásquez 1998) provide additional insights into the importance of continuing access to the dead. In both cases, the corpse of the principal personage was removed

shortly before the onset of torrential rains associated with a major ENSO/El Niño event. In the latter, the tomb roof was reconstructed following the intrusion, and a 4.74-m-long bamboo (*Guadua angustifolia*) pole was placed upright in the tomb shaft, perhaps to mark the tomb location.

The timing of the above relocation vis-à-vis the impending ENSO/El Niño event matches that of the large-scale human sacrifice documented at Plaza 3A of the Huaca de la Luna temple in the Moche Valley (Bourget 2001a, b). This alignment raises the possibility that the venerated ancestors were called upon to cope with the imminent climatic threat and/or to protect them from potential damages. We do not know, however, the final disposition of the relocated corpses.

Explaining the Diversity and Persistence of Postmortem Care and Post-Primary Interment Interaction

Can we explain the diversity, wide distribution, and persistence of postmortem care and alterations we have documented? What about post-interment rituals such as periodic fires? Based on internal analysis of available archaeological and osteological data together with ethnohistorical and ethnographic information all from the Andes, we offer various interpretations for future exploration.

One plausible explanation for delayed primary interment is based on late pre-Hispanic Quechua folklore from Huarochirí that was recorded in the sixteenth century. It describes how the *anima* or life force of the deceased transmigrates from the decaying corpse in the form of flies to enter the world of the dead. Thus, Salomon and Urioste (1991, 131) suggested that delayed interment would allow maggots to infest the body and facilitate the liberation of the *anima*. Various scholars, including Benson (1972, 83), Hocquenghem (1981; 1987, 93–99), and others (Bourget 2001a, 105; Franco, Gálvez, and Vásquez 1998, 16) have interpreted the row of d-shaped objects drawn by Moche artists on the lower jaws of sacrificial victims (on ceramics and unfired clay figures) as pupae. Beliefs that the liberated spiritual essence animates other flying creatures, such as butterflies and hummingbirds, continue to persist in the Andean highlands (e.g., Allen 2002, 43).

Millaire (2002, 173) offers other contributing or causal factors for delayed burial, including the desire to conform to a “specific calendar for performance of funerary rituals,” as Hocquenghem (1981, 1987) has argued, and the need to transport the deceased from the site of death to that of burial. For elite burials in deep Middle Sicán shaft-tombs as deep as 15 m below surface, a certain delay was inevitable due to the sheer physical task of preparing the elaborate tomb structure—including the risk of encountering groundwater and assembling diverse grave goods and

funeral attendees. Intentional or not, this delay of a month or more would have allowed the arid coastal climate to naturally mummify the corpse for additional treatment and interment. Most likely, a permutation of these and the other material and nonmaterial considerations identified above dictated the timing of and duration of delay in interment.

For post-interment alterations, there are also various plausible explanations. For example, Hecker and Hecker (1992b, 45) see the use of extracted human bones and funerary goods as grave offerings as a reflection of the belief that the *anima* needs a medium that serves as an indispensable guide for its safe journey from the world of the living to that of the dead and beyond.

Hill (2003) also argues the use of properly or specially prepared human bones for their inherent spiritual power. Though Hecker and Hecker (1992a, 1992b) do not specify, could the nature and source of danger during the inferred journey be hostile *animas* that have not successfully made their transition to a new status or journey to another world? Concepts of “good” and “bad” death and the attendant promise and loss of regeneration, respectively, are found in various parts of the world (e.g., Bloch and Parry 1982, 15–18). Andean ethnohistorical documents and modern ethnographies show widespread and persistent beliefs in *condenados* or bad dead. For example, for the people of Sonqo in the Peruvian highlands near Cuzco, an individual who has committed some sin, such as adultery, cannot “enter a new mode of existence” after death (Allen 2002, 44). He or she becomes a *kukuchi* (damned soul) and remains in a repulsive, foul-smelling, rotting state condemned to wander and haunt its own community driven by insatiable cannibalistic hunger (Allen 2002, 44–45).

The good dead, on the other hand, are individuals whose bodies have gone through proper separation of flesh from bone after death (Allen 2002, 45). Their bones have protective and living power, in *sensu* sexual potency, and “are the source of health and fertility of the livestock, the crops, and the family members themselves” (Allen 2002, 41–42, 45). There are in fact historical and ethnographic customs reported for the Ecuadorian and Peruvian highlands of keeping the skulls of deceased relatives inside the house to protect it (including stored items) (Allen 1988, 59, 2002, 41, chapter 8 in this volume; Weismantel 2004, pers. comm.; also chapter 2 in this volume).

As Bloch and Parry (1982, 18–21) note, throughout the world, notions of fertility and sexuality are an integral part of mortuary rituals. In the Andes, the concept of fertility often takes on the form of vegetal metaphor (Allen 1982, 2002; Duviols 1977, 1986; Hocquenghem 1987; Proulx 2006; Salomon 1995). Thus, the removal and/or replacement of body parts (especially heads) with plant remains seen at many sites on the North Coast and in other parts of the Andes (e.g., Conlee 2007) may have been likened to hard,

dried seeds or tubers and symbolized an attempt to sow or reproduce life. The ideas of clean bones removed from burials providing protective power and serving as the source of new life are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Our literature review indicates that the skull, arm, foot, and hand are most commonly removed and/or replaced ([figure 3.32 and table 3.5] also see DeLeonardis 2000, figure 19, 381; Verano 1995, 200–203). The skull is by far the most often affected on the North and South coasts, as well as at Pachacamac. The depictions of inferred pupae of sarcosaprophagous flies on the chins of sacrificed victims may mean that the pre-Hispanic coastal populations shared the modern Aymara notion of the head as the point of entry and exit for the life force (Bastien 1978, 47; see chapter 2 by Weismantel in this volume). Mustering iconographic, bioarchaeological, and contextual data, Hill (2006, 91) argues that, in the Moche culture on the North Coast, “human skulls were collected and curated by female ritual specialists for use as offerings in . . . rituals of ancestor veneration.” Further, Hill (2006, 96) believes that the head was a “cathected object” that was “imbued with a powerful and efficacious spiritual essence.”

At the same time, the head is by no means the only body part that received special attention. For example, at Pacatnamú, a right arm removed from a Moche burial was replaced with an artificial limb (Hecker and Hecker 1992a). While we still do not understand why some body parts were preferentially removed and/or replaced, in the case of Moche burials, an elite man raising his forearm with the hand in a half fist (Donnan 1978, 151–55) clearly held a special symbolic significance, perhaps a fecund penis and thus life force. Besides body parts, there are a good number of documented cases of intentionally placed sherds or incomplete vessels, either synchronic or anachronistic to the rest of the grave lots (see Hecker and Hecker 1984; 1992a, 48–50; also Franco et al. 1998, 15).

Regardless of the explanation, post-interment removal and/or addition of bones, as well as fragmentary artifacts, point to a few similar or related underlying concepts, such as the “divisible body” or “partible self” (as opposed to the intact complete body; see chapters 2 by Weismantel and 8 by Allen, respectively). Another is the notion of *pars pro toto* that embody the part-whole relationship—that parts, though physically detached from the rest, are imbued with the same essence of life or power and symbolic value as the whole wherever they may occur. In effect, these concepts connote the enduring and pervasive quality of life and inseparability of the living and the dead.

The symbolic significance of ritual fires remains an enigma. In the context of the repeated temple entombments recorded at Huaca Soledad, fire as a highly visible transformative process appears to have symbolized the closure of the freshly buried temple and, simultaneously, the opportunity to build a new temple. It can be seen as an illustration of the often-heard

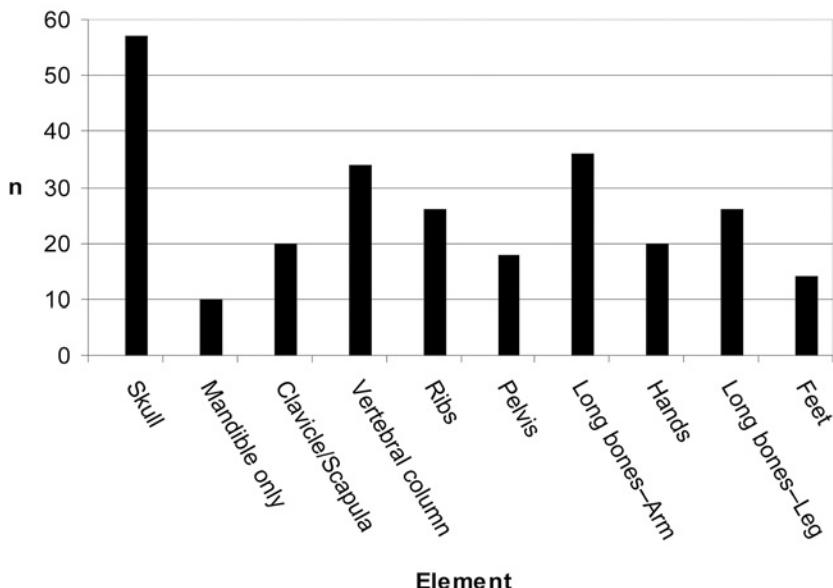


FIGURE 3.32. Graph showing the frequency of skeletal elements disturbed, altered, or missing documented on the North Coast. Prepared by H. Klaus.

TABLE 3.5. Skeletal segments disturbed, altered, or missing. Prepared by H. Klaus.

	<i>n</i>	SOURCE: Based on burial drawings and descriptions taken from Chapdelaine 2001; Donnan and Mackey 1978; Donnan and Cock 1997; Elera 1998; Fernández 1997; Franco et al. 2001; Guffroy et al. 1989; Hecker and Hecker 1992b; Klaus 2003; Larco Hoyle 1941; Nelson 1998; Ravines 1982; Rodriguez 1995; Strong and Evans 1952; and Wester 1996.
Skull	57	NOTE: Skeletal elements were scored as either disturbed, altered, or missing by evaluating published descriptions and burial drawings. These <i>do not include the more ambiguous cases</i> where evaluation was difficult, or cases where taphonomic factors led to skeletal disruption (such as shifting bones in primary burials). Table 3.1 has already demonstrated clearly that the skulls are given the most frequent attention, almost 60 percent more frequent than the next most common element (upper extremity long bones). The high frequency of vertebral column alterations often involved disruption of the cervical spine caused by removal of the skull. An emphasis on long bones is also noted.
Mandible only	10	
Clavicle/Scapula	20	
Vertebral column	34	
Ribs	26	
Pelvis	18	
Long bones-Arm	36	
Hands	20	
Long bones-Leg	26	
Feet	14	

adage that death begets life. Setting of fires near or atop interred human remains may have marked a similar transformation—attainment of a new state of being (spiritual form) for the deceased or initiation of the soul's or life essence's journey into the nether world as expressed. An example is the pre-Inca legend of Naymlap as a journey across the sea and the flight of a bird (Cabello [1586] 1951). At the same time, the association of a fire-setting ritual with a notable alluvial event documented at Huaca Loro suggests that renewal of life may have been its most important symbolic significance for the Sicán and their descendants. It remains to be seen if fire setting was widely practiced outside of the Lambayeque region as a key component of funerary rites (including temple entombment) (Shimada 1986; Shimada and Matsumoto 2011).

Methodological Implications of the Present Study

An important methodological ramification from our study is the *need for more diachronic and cross-contextual studies of pre-Hispanic living-dead interaction*. As Whitley ([2002, 122–23] see also Braun 1984) reminds us, “rites of burial and rites of “ancestor worship” are ritually and often spatially distinct.” Accordingly, the scope of our investigation *should encompass nested contexts*, that is, not only burial grounds, but also other contexts where feasts, veneration, offerings and other ritual activities related to the dead may have taken place at different times (Shimada et al. 2007; Matsumoto and Shimada 2011). Our excavations at the Pilgrims’ Plaza in front of the Uhle Cemetery in Pachacamac and the Great Plaza adjoining the Huaca Loro temple mound in Sicán, in fact, exemplified this thinking. As discussed above, the former revealed a long and complex history of rituals and inferred care and veneration of the ancestors. The latter documented distinct areas of large-scale food preparation and consumption, as well as a precious metal workshop and tools (e.g., sewing needles) and residues (e.g., cinnabar paint and a modified *Conus fergusoni* shell) that together suggest preparation and/or repair of funerary bundles over a considerable span of time.

Lastly, this chapter illustrates the need for and productivity of an interdisciplinary approach to arguably the most information-rich funerary and related ritual contexts. Minimally, on-site archaeologist–physical anthropologist collaboration is needed if we are to maximize their information potential.

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Notes

1. With three clear exceptions, the adult bundles were prepared in a similar manner starting with a tightly flexed body (Takigami et al. 2014, 326–30). Cotton bolls and, in some cases, bundled fishing nets were used as soft fill, particularly around the neck. Typically, finely woven and often decorated cloth wrapped the head like a turban, and small personal items and ornaments were placed next to the wrapped head. A wooden pole or cane was placed vertically on either side of the flexed body to maintain its rigidity and keep it upright. Each of the bundles in the chamber tomb we excavated had a pair of symmetrically opposing vertical poles. In some cases, the pointed distal ends of these supports were planted in the sandy floor of the tomb. A saucer-like cut gourd (ca. 20–25 cm in diameter and 3–4 cm in depth) was placed under the hips. Then, one or two cloth bags covered the body and was sewn to conform to body shape. The bundle was then tied with junco ropes to make it more compact and rigid. The resultant bundle was placed inside an open-weave junco sack, which was in some cases tied with ropes. Larger bundles had an additional open-weave junco sack and/or a coarse-weave, cotton, exterior bag. In the case of the principal bundle of the Tomb 1-2, a wooden false head was inserted into its apex, while other bundles had "heads" consisting of cloth bags filled with straw anchored to an interior junco sack or cloth bag.

2. Ychsma was a Late Intermediate Period regional chiefdom that flourished on the Central Coast of Peru, especially in the Rimac and Lurín valleys.

3. This is based on the oldest AMS date for dated bundles in the tomb (Takigami et al. 2014).
4. See Kauffmann (1994) and Kaulicke (1997) for questionable dating of similar funerary bundles excavated at Ancón,
5. We suspect the practice of placing a pair of symmetrically opposing vertical poles on the sides of the funerary bundle is unique to Ychsma funerary bundles (Segura, Shimada, and Matsumoto 2006).
6. Diáz and Vallejo (2005) report a similar case at nearby Armatambo, which they interpret as the ritual burial of a sacred implement.
7. Although not yet empirically substantiated, old-time looters in Batán Grande interviewed by Shimada claim that some Middle Sicán elite shaft-tombs at Sicán had a vertical metal tube (commonly of a precious metal) that connected the ground and the mouth of the principal individual in the burial chamber below. This assertion brings up the distinct possibility that elite dead were periodically given libations, which gives credence to the notion of pre-Inca ushnus (Cieza [1554] 1995, 165–66; Zuidema 1977/8; cf. Franco, Gálvez, and Vásquez 1998, 17).

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CHAPTER FOUR

Ritual Violence and Human Offerings at the Temple of the Sacred Stone, Túcume, Peru

J. MARLA TOYNE

Introduction

In the Andean world, mortuary practices reflect a dynamic relationship between the living, the dead, and the supernatural. Human sacrifice played a special role in pre-Hispanic ritual traditions. On the North Coast of Peru, archaeological, iconographic, and physical evidence demonstrate similarities and differences in sacrifice traditions across the region and time periods. The features of ritual death may be distinguished from traditional funeral practices based on contextual and skeletal features. In this chapter, I discuss the unique pattern of perimortem treatment of human sacrifices at the Templo de la Piedra Sagrada ([TPS] Temple of the Sacred Stone), Túcume, where repeated offerings of human lives likely occurred within a prescribed ceremonial calendar. The evidence presents a ritual context unlike any other in the Andes in which sacrificial death was an important socially and symbolically controlled action experienced on a regular basis.

Human Sacrifice and Mortuary Behavior in the Andes

Human sacrifice shifts the discussion from mortuary rituals that deal with “normal” deaths within a society to death that occurs in a separate

ritual framework within which individuals are intentionally killed. While human and/or nonhuman sacrifices often form an integrated component of multiphase mortuary rituals ([particularly of social elites], e.g., Shimada et al. 2004), the remains of these intentionally killed individuals are treated differently even though the rites performed in both cases may be understood as fulfilling similar ideological functions. Bloch and Parry (1982) argued that burial practices are societies' attempts to gain power over the unpredictability of death. To control death is to control life, and "death is consequently transformed into a process which is essential for the continuation of life" in both a symbolic and social sense (Bloch and Parry 1982, 10). Since funeral rituals are performed by the living, they function as a means of maintaining or re-creating social order and, in fact, play a significant role in furthering political and social power (see Lau, this volume). Human sacrifice also reflects this goal of making death predictable by placing control in human hands (Leinhardt 1961; Green 2001).

Typical burials in ancient Andean coastal societies follow funerary traditions where individuals were interred within mortuary structures or cemeteries, and grave offerings accompanying the dead ranged in number and quality reflecting aspects of the deceased's social personae (cf. Saxe 1970; Binford 1971). When burials deviate from these traditional patterns, sacrifice is often inferred even though other situations may be responsible, such as executions or perceived deviancy (Shay 1985; Weiss-Krejci 2008). To create stronger interpretations and avoid misclassifying contexts, the correlates suggested by Duncan (2005) and the application of a contextual approach can distinguish between venerated sacrifices and acts of violation, such as murder or massacres. However, more rigorous criteria are needed to support the identification of human sacrifice and associated rituals in pre-Hispanic contexts, including association with ritual/sacred space, depositional histories reflecting symbolic manipulation of human remains, and finally, patterned perimortem injuries consistent with violent death (Kennedy 1994; Tiesler and Cucina 2007; Verano 2001).

The definition of sacrifice is itself complicated (Dumas-Champion 1987), and many acts have been described as sacrifice. Defined from the Latin, *sacre facer* means "to make sacred" or "to consecrate" (Bell 1997; Hubert and Mauss [1898] 1964). Valeri (1985, 37), for example, defines sacrifice as "any ritual action that includes the consecration of an "offering" to a deity and that the offering is made of "one or more individuals belonging to a species with symbolic values exploited in the course of the ritual." For most, sacrifice necessitates a relationship with the supernatural and a collective experience in order to have cultural meaning. Thus sacrificial offerings are made as a means of communicating with supernatural forces in attempts to influence them (Hubert and Mauss [1898] 1964). Anthropologists often do not identify human sacrifice as a single event but as complex social action: a ritual that is part of a series of

symbolic activities that need to be interpreted as a whole (Turner 1977; Valeri 1985). Moreover, these rituals are based on a significant repetition of practice in order to achieve efficacy and create meaning through the engagement of memory and shared experience (Hastorf 2007).

Bloch (1992) suggests there is a necessary degree of violence involved when the oblation (offering) is immolated (sacrificed). He argues that the violence in sacrifice is the price of the exchange between humans and the divine—a reciprocal act where something must be given up in order to receive the benefits. With human sacrifice, human life is given up—or more importantly, taken. Early work by Hubert and Mauss ([1898] 1964) suggests the motivations behind human sacrifice could be divided into sacrifices of expiation (to turn away guilt, appease anger, and make things normal again) and sacrifices of propitiation (to avert potential disorder or ask for the realization of a goal). In other words, sacrifices had the objective of either maintaining social order or changing social order through supernatural intervention. Swenson (2003), for example, suggests that in the Andes violent death represented “life given” in order to get “life back” in the form of agricultural production, human reproduction, and cosmological order. In a cyclical or type of reciprocal relationship, life and death are balanced (see Lau, this volume).

In the Andes, many researchers argue that human sacrifice and ritual violence fulfills both religious and political functions (Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Ramírez 2005). Ceruti (2001), for example, explains Inca (1470–1532 CE) human sacrifices on mountain summits in terms of the theory of social conflict. She argues the ritual of human sacrifice, while still serving a religious function, plays an important role in Inca conquest and domination, as well as in local resistance strategies. Additionally, Moche IV and V fineline painted ceramics (ca. 500–750 CE) depict the cups of human sacrificial blood being presented to elaborately dressed individuals on elevated platforms. This demonstrates only certain individuals had the right or privilege to accept the sacrificial blood, and perhaps were the ones demanding it (Arsenault 2001). Sacrifice functioned to consolidate power and strengthen the prestige and privilege of the ruling elite. Those in charge of the rites decided when, where, and who were to be sacrificed.

Human sacrifice was a widespread practice in the Andes with a long history, especially based on evidence from the northern coast of Peru (Benson and Cook 2001). In recent years, archaeologists have discovered numerous sites with atypical burial contexts and skeletons with evidence of violent trauma (Blom and Janusek 2004; Bourget 2001; Hamilton 2005; Klaus, Centurion, and Curo 2010; Verano 1995; 2001; 2008). While some similarities exist, most exhibit unique features at each location, which suggests that while rituals of human sacrifice were widespread, treatment of the victims varied with distinct regional patterns in how victims were selected and the manner of their deaths.

While frequently mentioned in the early historical chronicles (e.g., Cieza de León [1553] 1984; Cobo [1653] 1990), human sacrifice during Inca times was not necessarily a commonplace occurrence, but was linked to unplanned events (e.g., death of the Inca ruler), while large-scale animal sacrifice was tied to specific monthly occurrences. Even considering the randomness of archaeological preservation and discovery, there have only been 18 high-altitude child sacrifices discovered to date, yet they constitute the bulk of ethnohistoric descriptions (Besom 2009; Ceruti 2001; Reinhard 2005). Sources argue that these young individuals, selected for beauty and physical perfection, were highly honored in death as messengers to the gods and gifted with valuable offerings when placed in tombs on sacred peaks (Cobo [1653] 1990). In contrast to these contexts, the sacrifices at the earlier coastal Pyramids of Moche (100–850 CE) involved young adult males, who were likely captured from armed conflicts and whose bodies were mutilated in complex ways (Verano 2001, 2005). Verano (2005) argues the intentional postmortem exposure of their dismembered and defleshed bodies dramatically violated typical Moche burial practices and provides an important signal about their social status (or lack thereof) and the nature of their deaths.

Mortuary and biological (osteological) features allow us to identify contexts of possible human sacrifice (Duday 2006; Eeckhout and Owens 2008; Gaither et al. 2008; Verano 2001). The significance of these burial contexts is that death did not occur naturally but was the result of an intentional act of homicide within a prescribed ritual ceremony. The specific patterning and symbolic transformation of the body demonstrates how the human body changed as part of those rituals, but the most important part was the reconfiguration from living to dead. While death occurs all the time, randomly, naturally, and occasionally intentionally (e.g., homicide, warfare, executions, etc.), ritual death is a controlled, decisive act in which one group or individual selects and offers the life of another. Thus, dead bodies are created and manipulated in specific ways according to the needs of a particular group. This is the ultimate living-dead relationship in which death is imposed upon the living.

The remainder of this chapter presents a detailed examination of the burial record at the TPS and identifies a specific, repeated pattern of perimortem and postmortem activities of human sacrifice at this location. These features allow us to elucidate the timing and pattern of ritual death and explore the social and symbolic significance of these ritual deaths.

Templo de la Piedra Sagrada, Túcume

Túcume is a multicomponent archaeological site located in the northern coastal region of Peru near the juncture of the La Leche and Lambayeque

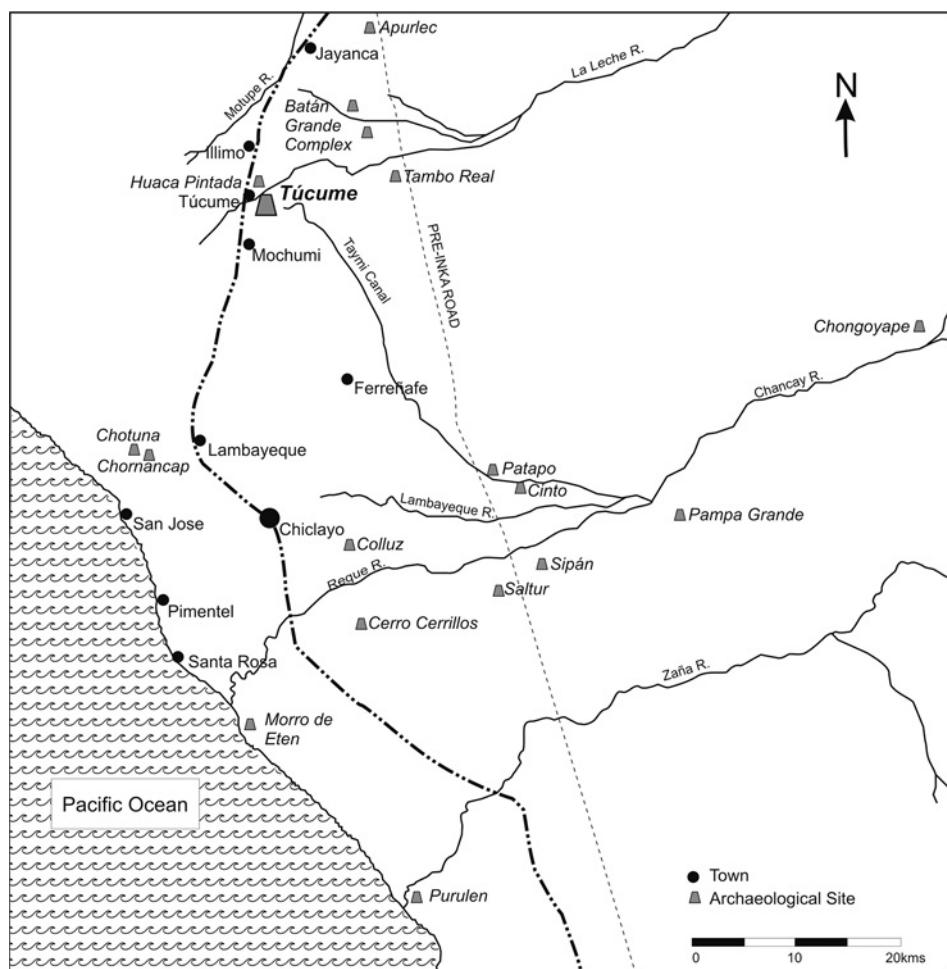


FIGURE 4.1. Map of the Lambayeque region showing the location of Túcume. Map by J. M. Toyne.

valleys (figure 4.1). During the late 1980s, the Túcume Research Project began the first detailed exploration of the site's cultural occupations and function of the ceremonial core. The site's chronology reflects three major occupations beginning with the Middle to Late Lambayeque (aka Middle to Late Sicán, ca. 900–1350 CE) followed by a Chimú occupation (1350–1470 CE) and finally by Inca conquest (1470–1532 CE) (Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez 1995). Monumental architecture with elite residences and temples surrounding the natural rock outcrop of Cerro

La Raya support the interpretation of this site as an important regional administrative and religious center throughout this history.

To the east of Túcume's largest platform mound, Huaca Larga, TPS is a small temple structure and plaza enclosed by walls that demarcate an important pre-Hispanic walkway and entrance to the complex. Excavations revealed a large, vertically implanted, stone monolith located in the center of the building (8×7.5 m) with small altars and caches of metal miniature offerings located at the base of the stone. The large, uncut rock (possibly a *huanca* or sacred stone), estimated to weigh as much as a ton, was erected during the earliest occupation of the site and construction of the temple, ca. 900–1000 CE (figures 4.2 and 4.3).

Previous excavations (Narváez 1995b) identified the presence of five occupational floors in the TPS structure that reflected different reconstruction phases during its use. Thick layers of rain-washed sediment on top of each occupational floor suggests that repeated episodes of heavy rainfall acted as a catalyst for rebuilding or remodeling the temple. The temple chronology, based on radiocarbon dates, is identical to the site-wide chronology (see above), but there are three clear remodeling events during the Chimú occupation. The final abandonment of the temple and site, likely during the early historic period, resulted in the walls being knocked over, the central chamber filled in, and the entire structure set on fire.

The diminutive size of the TPS seems disproportionate next to the mammoth Huaca Larga, yet it continued to be used as an important ritual space. As Huaca Larga attained its monumental proportions through multiple expansions over the span of its use, so too was the temple structure modified over time. The stone was initially framed by a back wall but was later enclosed by surrounding walls and benches creating a small, intimate space inside during Chimú times ([figure 4.3] Narváez 1995b). Andean archaeologists suggest plazas were usually spaces for public ceremonies, and interior shrines and temples atop platform mounds were restricted to nobility, priests/priestesses, and objects of veneration (e.g., MacCormack 1991; Moore 1996). Since neither the temple nor the patio in front are very large, this ritual space was likely to have been reserved for only a small, select group of individuals and for specific ritual purposes different from the nearby temple on top of the Huaca Larga. The elevated monumental platforms functioned to isolate exclusive elite rituals, and plazas of the ceremonial core would have been used to create and maintain legitimization and power of the rulers of Túcume through public mass rituals (Moore 1996). The small structure and fairly restricted patio around the sacred stone appears functionally different.

The monolithic rock is believed to be symbolically significant as a miniature of the Cerro La Raya behind it and of the greater Andean mountains to the east (Narváez 1995b; Sillar 1994). The chroniclers noted that the

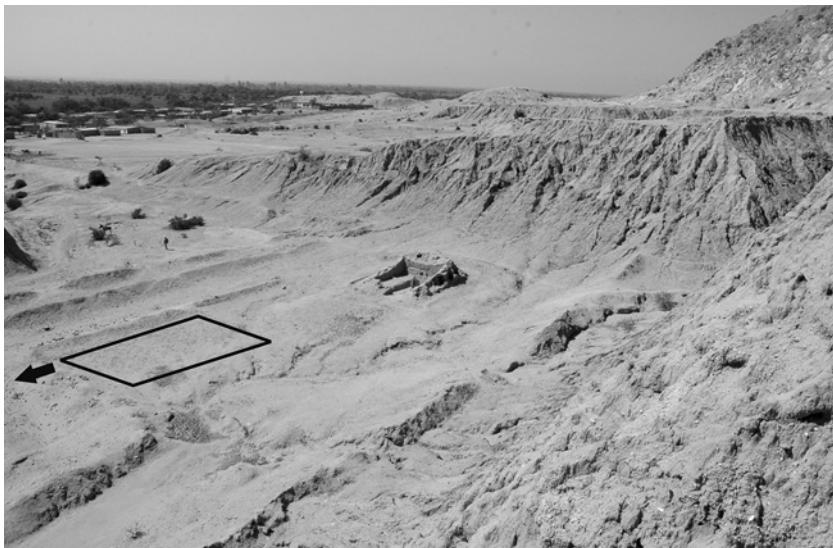


FIGURE 4.2. TPS with area of excavations (approximately 10×10 m) north of the temple entrance.

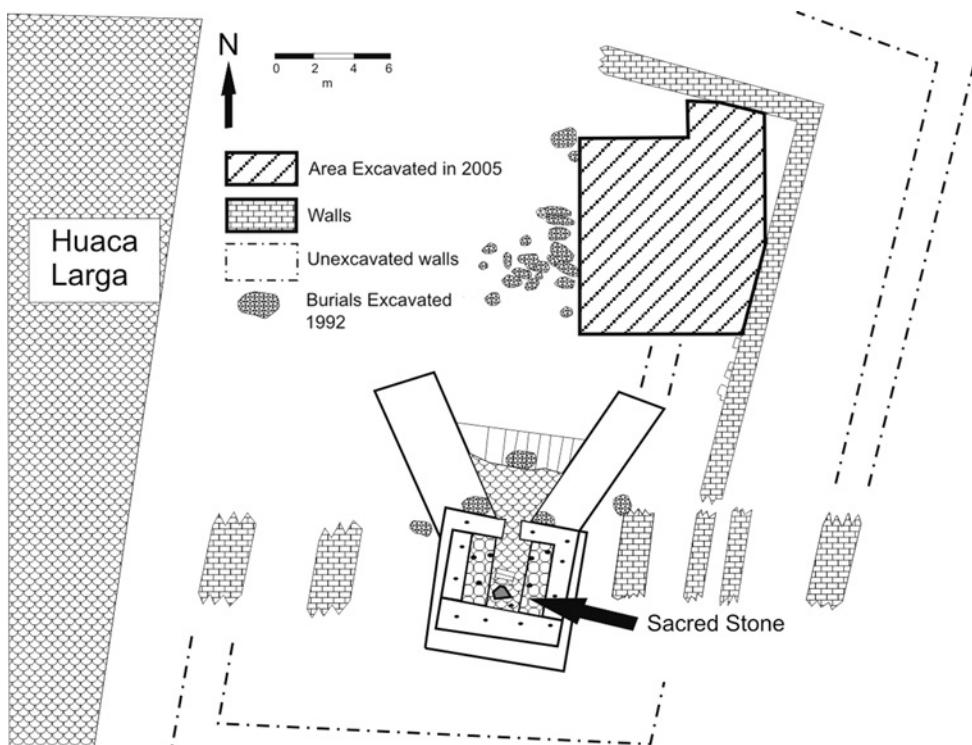


FIGURE 4.3. Plan schematic of TPS and surrounding architecture (after Narváez Vargas 1995b, 102, figure 70).

Inca peoples held certain rocks and stones as huancas, and there are also several pre-Inca temples on the coast that also contained large unmodified stones or natural rock outcropping in ritual spaces, including Huaca Carquín, Huaca Bacín de Oro, and Huaca de la Luna (Narváez 1995b; Uceda 1999). This tradition of huancas extends back to Preceramic and Initial Period sites on the coast, though human remains are not always found nearby.

Ritual Violence at the Templo de la Piedra Sagrada

Objectives and Methods

Previous excavations uncovered a small number of burials with evidence of cut marks and mortuary treatment that was distinct from other cemetery burials at Túcume (Narváez 1995a). Excavations in 2005 aimed to explore the distribution and configuration of human and animal sacrifices in the patio in front of TPS, as well as to identify the specific patterns of mortuary treatment and frequency of ritual events (Toyne 2008). Osteological analysis, based on systematic observational methods (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994), was used to construct a biological profile of the victims that included age, sex, and evidence of pathological patterns. These data were then utilized to address questions of individual identity and to reconstruct the peri- and postmortem activities associated with these sacrificial deaths.

Results

Evidence of at least 117 humans and 87 camelids were recovered from the small plaza area located just north of the entrance to the temple (figure 4.4). Generally there was an absence of cultural materials or refuse on occupational surfaces supporting the use of this area for sacred activities rather than for domestic use or craft production. No mortuary artifacts were directly associated with individual burials, as is typically found in contemporary cemeteries at the site, which in addition to their location clearly identifies these burials as aberrant from the local funerary tradition. The first part of this section describes the significant features of the burial context before presenting the skeletal data of the human remains.

Since this paper focuses on the impact of human ritual death, I will only briefly mention the camelid remains, which were found in a similar pattern intermixed with the humans near the temple. Almost all the camelid remains were juvenile individuals, and in eight cases there was evidence of sharp force trauma consistent with slitting the animals' throats. There was no evidence that they were butchered for food. Rather, they were interred

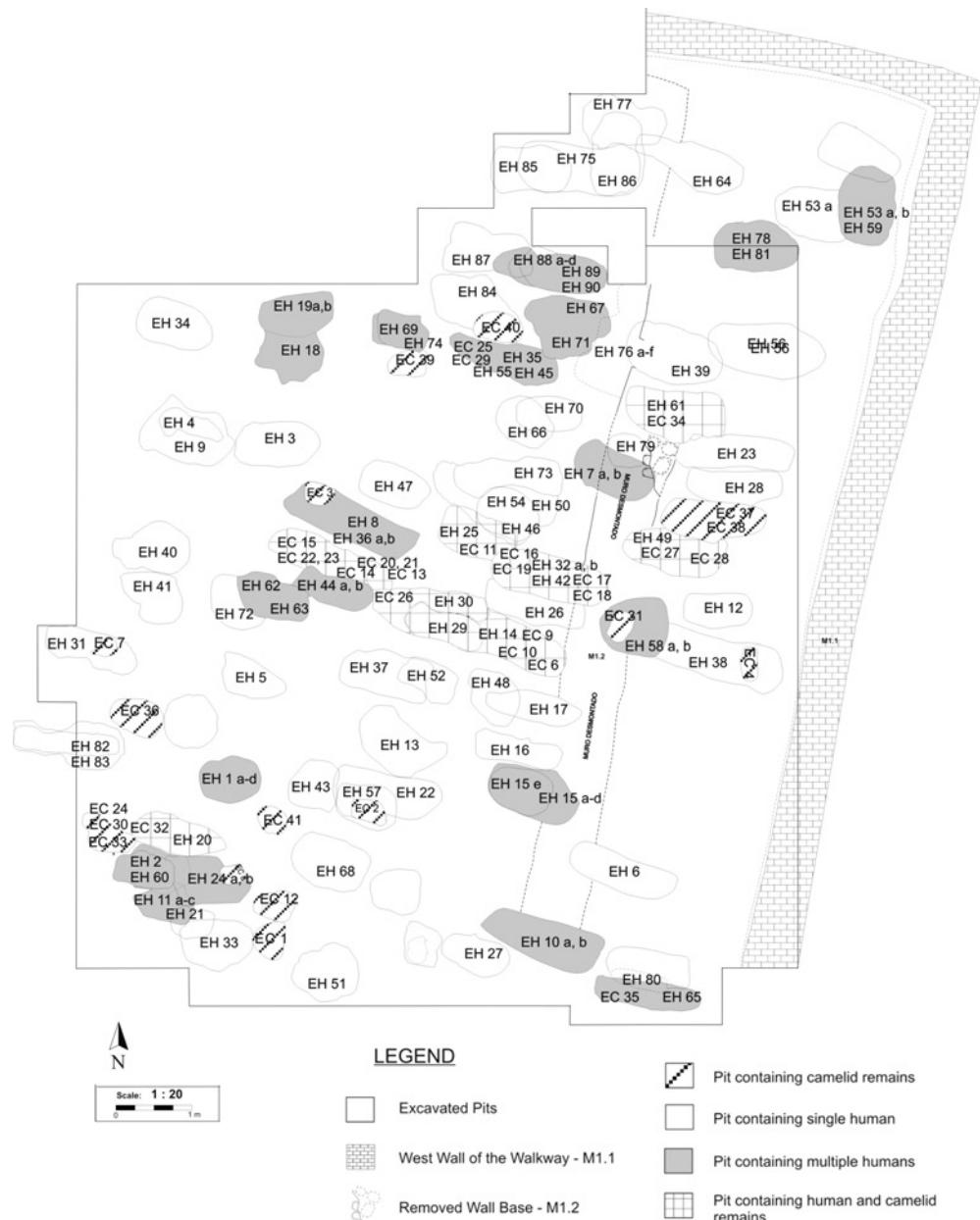


FIGURE 4.4. Plan drawing of the excavation area at TPS showing the locations of different types of pits with different contents.

intact, either tightly flexed or extended on one side. It appears that they were offered in a similar fashion as the humans, sometimes alone in the burial pit, sometimes in pairs, or alongside a human. This would suggest these animals may have had a ritual value comparable to that of the humans, being accorded similar treatment and perhaps serving as substitutes when humans were not available.

Burial Pits

For the most part, the creation of the burials and their contents demonstrate a consistent pattern. Skeletal remains of children and adult males were found mostly in separate burial pits, which were shallow, prepared depressions in the floor of the temple plaza. Almost all the pits and supine bodies within them were orientated with the head to the east and feet to the west with only two exceptions. Pits were generally oblong, oval, or circular shaped, and proportional to a single human adult placed either in a fully extended supine position or legs flexed and crossed, with the body extended on its back (table 4.1). When pits were smaller, they often contained the remains of a human child or tightly flexed juvenile camelid. This suggests that each pit's size was dictated by the spatial requirements of the specific offering. There was no statistically significant relationship among any of the burial variables (including age or sex), except between burial position and pit dimensions as expected. This suggests pit size determined placement of the limbs and/or the pit was dug based on knowledge of whom (adult/subadult) was to be sacrificed and interred. One individual in particular had his lower legs broken during the burial process in order to make him "fit" into his burial pit.

The majority of the interments were primary ($n = 85$), and most of these individuals were isolated ($n = 66$) and undisturbed ($n = 41$). In a number of cases, however, graves contained the remains of more than one individual, whether human or camelid. While many pits were clearly defined, there was also a great deal of overlap causing disturbance, as well as reuse of the same pit over time (figure 4.4). The taphonomic importance of this is discussed below (Duday 2006).

Although the pits were spread across the plaza, there appears to be a concentration in a row aligned with a wall that was erected during the Middle Chimú occupation (ST-3). It is in this middle area of the patio where the greatest amount of pit overlap and reuse occurred. It appears that this wall was disassembled during the Late Chimú reconstruction (ST-2), expanding the plaza space available, and additional burials (mostly single-use pits) were placed in this eastern portion.

The plaza area contained five occupational floors following the stratigraphy of the temple construction. Many of the burials were cut into the upper

TABLE 4.1. Distribution of burial characteristics separated by age groups

		Subadults (n=48)	Adults (n=69)
Sex estimate	Indeterminate	43	7
	Male	5	62
Age estimate	5–9 yrs	12	0
	10–18 yrs	35	2
	19–34 yrs	0	49
	34–44 yrs	0	16
	44–60 yrs	0	0
	Indeterminate	1	2
Burial pits	Circle	4	5
	Oval	21	41
	Oblong	17	18
	Irregular	6	5
Burial position	Body and limbs extended	18	9
	Flexed	8	13
	Body extended, flexed legs	11	25
	Unknown/Disturbed	11	22
Occupational floor	Post-Inca sediments	1	2
	Inca—ST 1	20	24
	Late Chimú—ST 2	2	3
	Middle Chimú—ST 3	0	0
	Early Chimú—ST 4	0	0
	Lambayeque—ST 5	0	0
	Unknown/Disturbed	25	40
Cut-mark patterning (Sacrificial activity)	No cuts	3	3
	Throat	4	2
	Chest	2	7
	Decapitation	1	6
	Throat/Decapitation	5	2
	Throat/Chest opening	10	6
	Chest/Decapitation	8	9
	Throat/Chest/Decapitation	11	20
	No bones for observation	4	14

two floors, which corresponds with the Late Chimú and Inca occupations (table 4.1). Pronounced surface erosion reduced those occupational floors in the western section of the patio, making it difficult to assign many pits to a specific cultural occupation earlier than the ST-3 Chimú.

Taphonomy of the Human Skeletal Remains

Generally, the individuals interred within pits were represented by well-preserved, mostly complete, articulated skeletons. This supports the idea that this was a primary deposition site that was only modified through subsequent burial activity (Duday 2006). Individuals were wrapped in a simple cotton shroud prior to being placed within a pit. There was no clear evidence of carnivore damage or weathering to suggest a lengthy period of exposure, and the few entomological remains that were present—scorpions, beetles, and fly pupa casings—suggest that corpses were promptly wrapped after death, likely allowing flies to lay only a few eggs prior to burial (Faulkner 1986). The shallow nature of the burials may have allowed later burrowing insects access to the corpses.

In incidences where pits cross-cut each other, some skeletal elements were slightly disarticulated, and in some cases, bones were completely displaced. Based on the movement, or lack of movement, of the remaining elements *in situ*, it is evident that these “disturbed” individuals were in advanced stages of decomposition when the pit was cut into. They were completely skeletonized with either the organic support structures (ligaments, muscles, flesh, etc.) no longer present or dry, fragile, or insufficiently intact to maintain articulation between bones. The bones that remained *in situ* were not displaced or damaged in any way to suggest that force or instrumentation was required to disarticulate the body. In some cases, where pits were reopened to inter a new offering, only a single skeletal element was displaced or larger skeletal units were removed without disturbing the articulation of the rest of the individual (figures 4.5a and 4.5b). In other cases, the entire body was disassembled and then relocated back into the original pit as part of the covering fill placed atop the newly interred corpse. The cloth wrapping may have disintegrated or was removed, allowing easy disarticulation. This pattern of disturbance resulted in several concentrations of disarticulated bone accumulations on and between floor surfaces that appear to represent attempts to clean up or clear the area of these remains (figure 4.6). Secondary handling of skeletal remains appears to have been a part of many ancient Andean societies’ mortuary traditions (Millaire 2004; Nelson 1998; Salomon 1995; Shimada et al. in this volume), suggesting that it was not seen as a polluting act. At TPS, it appears that disturbed remains were not left on the surface

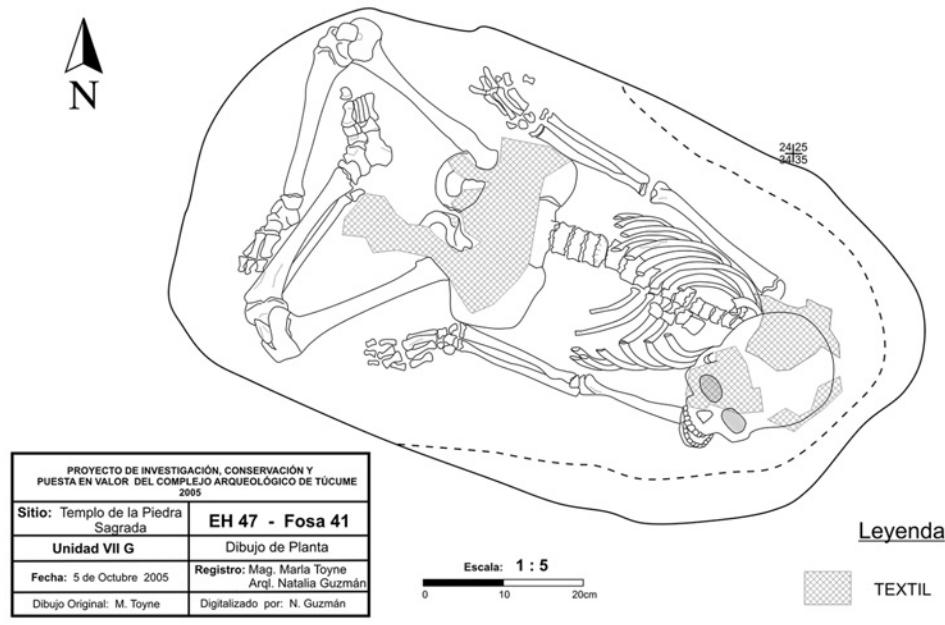


FIGURE 4.5A. Illustration of burial pit 41, Entierro 47, with complete undisturbed skeletal remains in a semiflexed burial position.

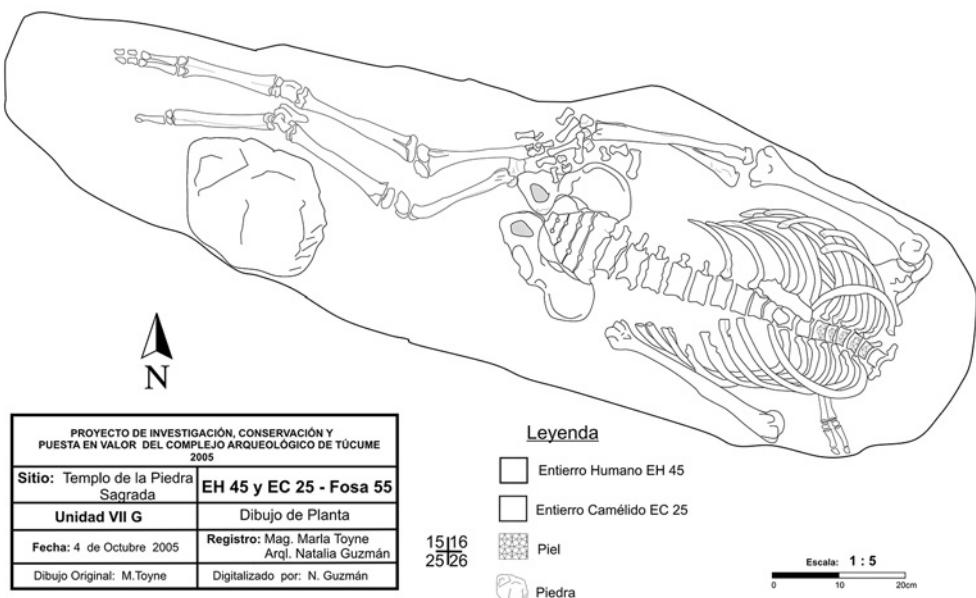


FIGURE 4.5B. Illustration of burial pit 55, Entierro 45; extended body position but human individual had both legs, left forearm, and skull removed. Only the articulated lower limbs of the juvenile camelid (EC25) were present.



FIGURE 4.6. Photo of Burial Pit 13 with disarticulated remains and collection of crania.

exposed. Nor were specific skeletal elements (i.e., heads/skulls) collected for other ritual uses.

Based on the degree of preservation and disturbance, the overall pattern suggests that the burials did not all occur at the same time as a mass offering but rather that they represent the accumulation of single offerings over an extended period of time. The complex stratigraphy associated with burial pits F73a, F73b, F78a, and F78b situated in a small central area of the patio provides an example of the frequency of grave cross-cutting activity and the pattern of burial superposition. In this small area alone there were at least eight episodes of burial and reburial. These data suggest that the postmortem interval between placement of one individual and the next was sufficient to allow for skeletonization of the body. In this arid desert environment, the timeline suggested by Galloway and colleagues (1989, figure 1) and Nelson (1998) may be useful. They proposed that exposed remains could skeletonize in a timeframe of approximately two to nine months. However, depending on different soil conditions or humidity changes, this interval could increase to a number of years if the remains were completely buried. While generally a dry, desert-like region of Peru, periodic rains cause fluctuations in ground moisture that can increase the rate of decomposition of soft tissues through rainwater filtration or elevation of the water table.

Modern experimental estimates of postmortem interval at Túcume were proposed based on the examination of the corpses of two Peruvian hairless dogs that had been buried at the site recently. One adult dog was buried approximately 50 cm below the surface for nine months, and the other was interred in a similar fashion for five months. The first dog was almost completely skeletonized with very little dried soft tissue adhering. The joints were still held together by dry, brittle cartilage that could be easily separated. The second dog was still moderately fleshed and slightly odorous. However, it required little effort to disarticulate a hind limb. Although the dogs were smaller and have less body mass than humans, studies have shown that larger body size increases the rate of decomposition in buried remains (Hewadikaram and Goff 1991; Rodriguez and Bass 1985). These animal remains were buried during a time in which there was no rain to accelerate decomposition. This observational evidence suggests that decomposition and skeletonization could take place within a timeframe spanning from as little as five months to a year, perhaps shorter for larger human remains. With these supplementary inferences, it can be hypothesized that burials in front of the TPS were being made with regular frequency, perhaps as often as every couple of months.

Osteological Analysis of Perimortem Manipulation

The demographic profile of the estimated 117 individuals from the TPS included a fairly broad range of ages (from 5 to around 45 years), but a limited sex distribution (all adults were males) (table 4.1). The majority of the adults were within the young adult age category between 19 to 34 years of age (40.9%), but surprisingly there was almost an equal number of subadults under 18 years of age (42.7%). Considering the skewed sample, with no infants, older individuals, or females, this context does not reflect a normal, attritional cemetery sample. While the sex of the subadults cannot be determined from skeletal remains alone, the sex bias of the adults and similar treatment suggests that the children were likely males as well. Furthermore, not only does the demography indicate a narrowly selected group, but detailed analysis of skeletal morphology revealed a specific patterning of perimortem sharp force trauma consistent with a violent death (Toyne 2011). While there was some variation in the location and number of cuts, almost all individuals were subject to some form of perimortem trauma that left distinctive patterns on their bones. Ninety-four percent of the individuals demonstrated cut marks across the bones of the upper chest and throat that were made at or around the time of death, as there is no evidence of vital bone response or healing. All the cut marks were fine incisions consistent with a metal instrument being dragged perpendicular

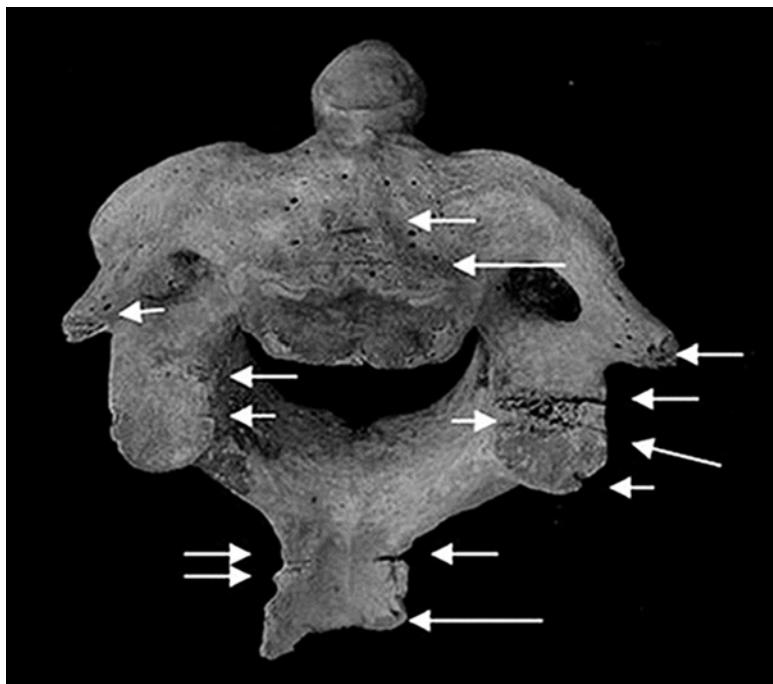


FIGURE 4.7. Photo of EH64F68 (cervical vertebra) from an inferior angle demonstrating cuts across the inferior apophyseal joints and spinous process consistent with severing the neck.

to the surface of the bone (figure 4.7). Cuts were identified on the anterior surfaces of the cervical vertebrae and first thoracic, both first ribs, medial aspects of both clavicles, and the manubrium portion of the sternum. The distribution and angle of the incisions were consistent with osteological “signatures” of three types of cutting activities in which a sharp object struck the bone after having passed through the overlying soft tissue structures, including slicing through the base of the throat, cutting open the chest cavity, and bisecting the head from the neck (figure 4.8).

There was some individual variation in the distribution of the cut marks (Toyne 2011). Of the individuals with evidence of cuts ($n = 93$) only a few individuals demonstrated just one activity ($n = 22$); many included variations of two activities (throat/chest, $n = 16$; throat/decapitation, $n = 7$; chest/decapitation, $n = 17$), but the most frequent pattern was all three activities ($n = 31$). Adults and subadults were treated in a similar manner with comparable frequencies of throat cutting, chest opening, and decapitation. It appears that slightly more adults than subadults were mutilated

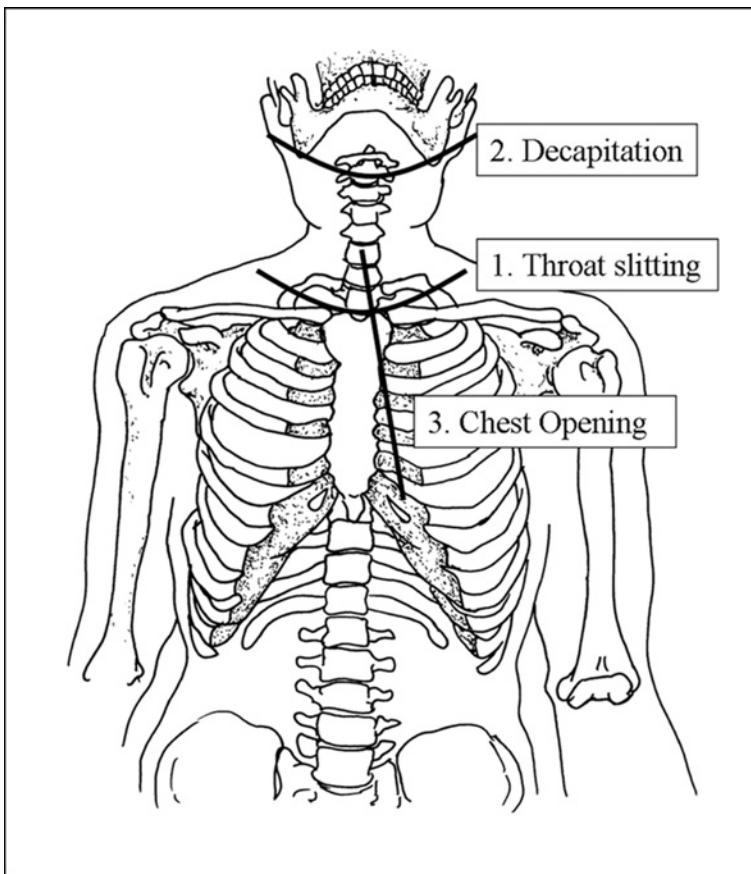


FIGURE 4.8. Illustration of location of cut marks on the skeleton identifying the three ritual activities.

in all three ways (38.5% to 25.6%), but this age difference is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.613$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.106$). Only 6 individuals (3 adults and 3 subadults) did not have skeletal evidence of perimortem trauma, but there was no distinction in their mortuary treatment compared to cut individuals. It must be acknowledged that it is possible to fatally cut an individual's throat without striking the bones underneath and, therefore, that the absence of cut marks cannot be taken as direct evidence of a different perimortem treatment.

For individuals with multiple types of perimortem trauma, determining the exact ritual sequence is difficult, but considering the tissues damaged, we can infer a possible order. Table 4.2 presents all the possible sequences.

TABLE 4.2. Summary of possible ritual activity sequences of the TPS perimortem trauma

	<i>Option A</i>	<i>Option B</i>	<i>Option C</i>	<i>Option D</i>	<i>Option E</i>	<i>Option F</i>
1st Activity	Throat cut	Throat cut	Chest opened	Decapitated	Decapitated	Chest opened
2nd Activity	Chest opened	Decapitated	Throat cut	Throat cut	Chest opened	Decapitated
3rd Activity	Decapitated	Chest opened	Decapitated	Chest opened	Throat cut	Throat cut
Interpretation =	Most likely	Possible?	Possible?	Unlikely	Unlikely	Unlikely

Generally, if spilling or collecting blood in a receptacle for further ritual was the most important activity, then it would have been performed on the living victim, as depicted in Moche iconography (Bourget and Newman 1998). However, if removing the heart still beating was significant, as is suggested by ethnohistoric and ethnographic studies (Miller 1977; Nachtigall 1975), then perhaps the chest was opened first, followed by cutting the throat, and finally decapitation (Option C). Option A appears to be the most parsimonious explanation for the succession of events if blood flow was important and Option C—chest, throat, decapitation—if extracting the beating heart was the goal. These leave the severing of the head from the body as likely the final activity performed. There may have been variation based on the ritual or particular occasion, though the uniformity of the mortuary context suggests that there was minimal deviation in the routine involved and that each activity was symbolically important. Of significance is the continued mutilation of the corpse once the individual was already dead or dying, which again highlights the importance of each ritual activity.

Regular Sacrificial Offerings

The skeletal remains interred in front of the TPS represent a large collection of individual human sacrifices. Based on the cut-mark patterns on the bones, we can infer that the cause of death was exsanguination (following the slitting of the throat). The systematic ritual cutting of their bodies served likely to collect blood, access their vital organs (likely the heart), and finally, symbolically destroy the individual and perhaps their identity.

as well. This pattern was repeated for almost every individual regardless of age, which is a pattern suggesting the victims shared a common characteristic perhaps based on gender, social status, or some other aspect of their identity. Considering the number of human offerings and the taphonomic features of the burial context, these rituals were performed in a consistent way over a number of years. In fact, based on the shortest estimated time interval between offerings, it is quite possible that these rites may have occurred as frequently as every couple months and, consequently, that many of these acts were authored by the same individual or group. If we can assume that the Chimú initiated this practice (based on the presence of human burials located in ST-2), and they arrived in the area around 1350 CE, then these rituals could reflect at maximum ~180 years of sacrificial episodes, if at least one human sacrifice took place per year. If we include the camelids as similar offerings then this would suggest almost two sacrificial events per year.

The TPS is a small ritual structure containing benches, altars, and a large “sacred” stone within its walls that do not allow much interior space for people to congregate. Moreover, the plaza area in front of the temple, where the remains were found, is perhaps some 20 m² and not a spacious enclosure to hold a large audience. Therefore it seems likely that the sacrificial rites were performed by a select group of individuals and not for a large public audience. It has been suggested that the TPS was a space used by elites based on the artifactual evidence of miniature offerings of metal objects shaped as objects of power (Narváez 1995b). While it is possible that individuals were killed elsewhere and their remains translocated to the temple for burial, either by those responsible for the sacrifice or others who wanted to ensure burial at that location, it seems most likely that the sacrifice took place in direct association with the temple itself. Moreover, if they were buried by family members, why were they not given a more typical burial including specific body position, grave goods, adornments, or a burial location associated with other related individuals to signify cultural affiliation as found within other cemetery areas at Túcume? The mortuary treatment at the temple denies them a traditional burial, signifying perhaps that they were no longer considered human or individuals with a specific cultural identity, but through their ritual death and manipulation became objectified as an offering and therefore buried as offerings, the same as the llamas, or the same as other sacred objects. Through their deaths they were transformed into sacred objects, and since their deaths were not part of the natural cosmological order, but a different ceremonial act, their remains were not treated as “ancestors” but as offerings.

If sacrifices were a means of communicating with supernatural forces, where something of value must be given up in order to receive benefits in return, the evidence at Túcume is consistent with a propitiatory ritual

process that occurred on a regular basis under the control of a select group of elites. These offerings were not only of religious significance for ritual petitions but also could be interpreted as connected to a socio-political agenda where control over death (through the selection of victims) was maintained. These human sacrifices appear to have begun during the Chimú occupation and continued with little change throughout the Inca period. This pattern supports the different imperial strategies used by the Chimú and Inca for incorporating Túcume into their empires, whereby the Chimú initiated new sacrificial offerings (humans) and the Inca allowed this ritual practice to continue (Rowe 1982; Shimada 2000; Tschauner 2006). This suggests that these sacrifices served important basic community social and ritual needs but had little impact on larger political or economic structures such that would require specific Inca control.

Earlier Moche sacrifices are proposed to have occurred during times of crisis, such as major ENSO/El Niño events, which could have created significant economic and social disruption. Some of the sacrificial victims in Plaza 3A of the Huaca de la Luna appear to have been killed during episodes of heavy rainfall, their bodies being embedded in a layer of heavy rain-washed sediment (Bourget and Milliare 2000). However, there appear to be multiple deposits of remains, and not all share this taphonomic feature—a difference suggesting sacrifices were also made during non-ENSO/El Niño conditions. Additionally, investigations in the nearby Plaza 3C, which also contains a long-term accumulation of sacrifices, did not demonstrate a similar relationship with massive rainfall events (Verano 2005). While the timing of the Moche sacrifices is not clear, the evidence at Túcume suggests that these offerings consisted of the ritual death of a single individual, were performed frequently and regularly, and involved complex manipulation of the human body.

Beyond major situations of crisis, such as environmental and other repercussions of ENSO/El Niño events, we can consider periods during the year when cyclical or annual events and activities motivated individuals to engage in communication with supernaturals as a means of gaining benefits or control over unpredictable outcomes, such as those associated with the sowing and/or harvesting of crops. For example, some ethnographic studies of death in the Andean region suggest that, in the face of the arbitrary timing of death, annual ceremonies (e.g., November 1, Feast of All Saints) create a means by which communities can tame death by engaging in collective ritual experiences (Harris 1982; Schaedel 1989; Velasquez 2001). With the cyclical nature of a regularly performed ritual, death is actively used as something capable of fostering community integration, as well as maintaining a controlled connection between the living and the dead. Brüning, at the turn of the last century in the Lambayeque, observed the ethnic Muchik practice of visiting and staying overnight in

the cemetery. “Visiting” with the ancestors is a practice that appears to be a pre-Hispanic tradition syncretized with Christian elements (Schaedel 1989). Moreover, All Saints festivities occur just prior to spring sowing and planting, and consequently are also linked to renewal and fertility. If agricultural fertility was a focus of sacrificial rites, such as those performed at TPS, then they would have occurred every six months or so. An early Spanish observer, however, documented a more frequent offering cycle. As secretary to the conquistador Francisco Pizarro himself, Francisco de Xérez reports,

they have other filthy things in the way of sacrifices and mosques,¹ which they hold in veneration, and they offer up to them the best of all that they have. *Each month* they sacrifice their own children, and *with the blood they anoint the faces of the idols*, and the doors of the mosques. They do this on the sepulchers of the dead, and the victims who are sacrificed, go willingly to their deaths, laughing, dancing, and singing. After they have drunk well, they themselves ask that their heads may be cut off. They also sacrifice sheep.² (Xérez [1534]1872, 34 [my translation, emphasis added])

This quote, describing observations of indigenous practices near Motux (likely a misnomer for Motupe), a town located some 48 km north of Túcume, documents monthly sacrifices involving blood offering and decapitation, both features consistent with the TPS remains. While we know the Inca measured the yearly time in months, it is unclear if the Chimú followed the same system and therefore may have sacrificed according to a similar calendrical cycle. There may have been other more frequently occurring rites that required this similar pattern of human sacrifices, such as those related to divination or oracular practices unique to events at the temple and Túcume. Additionally, this ethnohistoric report implies that community members willingly participated in these rites (specifically men and children) and demonstrates that the offering of human lives and sharing of blood with the already-dead was an important part of their belief system. Their ritual deaths were a necessary sacrifice for social existence. However tantalizing this quote, and for all the culturally biased misconceptions it contains, it suggests that offerings were made only because of the sacred nature of the temple. Perhaps we are mistaken in searching for more specific proximate reasons for offering humans lives.

Conclusions

This paper explored the mortuary evidence of human sacrifice at Túcume. The contextual data and skeletal biology of the TPS paint a picture of

regular sacrificial offerings of human and nonhuman (camelid) remains. The complex superposition of burial pits and the remains within demonstrate that the sequencing of ritual events occurred on a fairly regular basis but allowed enough time for previous offerings to desiccate and/or skeletonize. Pit overlap may have resulted from floor remodeling that erased previous pit apertures, and pit reuse may have been due to ease of re-access. The remodeling process even involved the dismantling of a wall in order to create more space in the plaza for additional burials, which clearly occurred during the later occupational sequences (Toyne 2008). It is difficult to say whether there was an intensification of offerings over time since the relative chronology of the more western-located burials is poorly known.

This ritual tradition of killing individual humans (and camelids) as sacrificial offerings on a regular basis was likely only experienced directly by priests or elite members of Túcume. However, if these victims were selected from members of the community, then there may have been broader awareness of the symbolic importance and/or function of these rites. These bloody acts in which men and children were killed and dismembered, although violent, served the important function of ensuring the continued life of the community, fostering integration and strong links between the living and the dead, perhaps using death to create life.

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Notes

1. Xérez refers to all the ancient temples as “mosques” according to Sir Clements R. Markham, editor and translator of Xérez’s report.

2. Many of the chroniclers refer to the native llamas and alpacas as “sheep,” as they were similarly domesticated for their wool.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Dead and the *Longue Durée* in Peru's North Highlands

GEORGE F. LAU

Their greatest abuse is to disinter the dead and remove their bodies to their machays, or burial places of their ancestors in their fields. . . . On being asked why they do this, they say that this is *cuyaspa*, for the love they bear them. They say that the dead lying in the church are in great torment and bound to the earth, whereas in the fields, because they are in the open air and not buried, they have more rest.

—*Father Pablo José de Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*

Across Peru, the thousands of decaying ruins of funerary buildings and graves are among the most tangible testaments of ancient Andeans' attentive engagement with their landscape. While study of these contexts elucidates local patterns and chronologies, they can also inform understandings about the general human need to reckon death. Tracking death practices over the *longue durée* illuminates Andean solutions to this human process. In considering this volume's theme, it is useful to ask the basic question: what are death rituals for? Why was there such cultural effort in this dimension of pre-Hispanic Andean social life? By engaging this question, we can more fully contextualize the fragmentary record of ancient living-dead interaction.

It is worth returning to the influential volume *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (Bloch and Parry 1982), which helps to provide some

groundwork for approaching the question of “why,” while leaving the “how” to analyses of individual cases around the world. For these editors, death rituals are about managing life, a finite sort of resource. “In most cases what would seem to be revitalized in funerary practices is that resource which is *culturally conceived* to be the most essential to the reproduction of the social order . . . death is a source of life” (Bloch and Parry 1982, 7–8). In other words, they advocate a decidedly functional perspective; death practices are carried out to ensure the continued well-being of the collectivity, what they call the “regeneration of life.”

There is no prescription for what the focus of life-giving energies might be. Frequently, it manifests as agricultural fertility in crops or abundance in game or herd animals, or it is located in blood, water, or the fecundity of people. Nor is there a precise formula for how to harness, mediate, or enrich the resource.

Following earlier comparative studies, namely by Hertz, Van Gennep, and Turner, scholars note that for many societies burial is not an instantaneous event. Rather it concerns an extended process of practices and transitions, both for the corpse, as well as the collectivity. In this process, “death and reproduction are intimately related” (Bloch and Parry 1982, 9; see also Duviviers 1979, 20–22; Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 93ff). Death-related practices, including the objects and places that mediate death and people, frequently involve procreative and cyclical growth symbolism; this is not least because every meaningful death obliges social relations to be refreshed and for society itself to re-form.

How societies managed life through death practices is the focus of this essay. I extend the definition of society to concern all social beings, human and nonhuman (objects, animals, supernaturals), conceived of as stakeholders in the life-death process within a given collectivity (Descola 2006, 147). The dead are a special type of social being who take presence and assume importance at certain times and contexts. Their humanity may be lost, but their sociality need not be extinguished. Rather, their potency resides precisely in their alterity in social life (Helms 1998). As we will see through archaeological examples and historical evidence, summarized below in the Proliferation of Simulacra section, many Andean groups privileged a ritual scheme and process that sought to renew the physical manifestation of the corpse and the social body.

The colonial persecution of Andean “idolatry” (see epigraph above) could not comprehend, or conceded only its pretense, that native Andean cosmology struggled to conceive of social life without the dead. At once the origin, organizing principle, and most potent vitalizing agents for the living, the dead actively engaged various levels of community life.

This study examines death through a longue durée perspective, which follows the premise that it is through an extended time scale that certain

structures and long-lived dispositions become evident.¹ The emphasis is on Andean developments gleaned from examination of long-term, diachronic processes, rather than single events, contexts, or cultures—while acknowledging individual comparisons, especially with historical times, are unavoidable. Beside the interventions of major socio-religious expansions (i.e., Wari and Inka), four axes are especially important for tracking patterns over the longue durée: 1) the transitioning of people into person-objects; 2) mimesis and memory practice of cult forms; 3) experiential modes of engaging the dead; and 4) concepts of the enduring body. Concern with fertility and regeneration characterized each axis and was basic to shaping mortuary practices and beliefs in ancient Ancash. This chapter's observations illuminate points that steer further research.

Death in the Andes: Antecedents and Sources

Since the coming of the Spaniards, the description of death ritual, burial, and cosmology in the Andes has been extraordinarily rich (e.g., Arriaga [1621] 1968, 1999; Cobo [1653] 1990; Guaman Poma de Ayala [1615] 1980). Ethnographic studies, especially, stress the general logic that death forms a source of life and fertility (e.g., Allen 1988, 94; Bastien 1978, 186; Gose 1994, 130; Harris 1982; Paerregaard 1987, 34–35; Salomon 1995; Spalding 1984, 71). Such work often observes the special relationships and practices that connect people and land in overall social reproduction. Ancestors are crucial in this respect.² They are agents of fertility and land, with whom the living enter into a covenant of reciprocity—each side animating and giving vitality to the other.

Andean death practices have also seen significant archaeological study. Although other studies have covered this topic in detail elsewhere (see Dillehay 1995; Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 1998; Rowe 1995; Shimada and Fitzsimmons this volume), several general points are warranted here. First, given the richness and preservation of burial traditions in the Andes, there has been significant emphasis on pattern recognition and culture history. There are fewer studies comparing traditions or identifying patterns over a long time span. Studies have also focused on the imagery of objects associated with burials and the distinct value systems of the culture in question (e.g., Moche, Inka). Finally, archaeologists have placed great emphasis on the sociopolitical implications of funerary practices, especially evidence (e.g., monuments, luxury items, and artworks) that help chart the rise and strategies of complex societies.

A different trajectory of mortuary research examines the documentary sources regarding burial practices in Peru's highlands. These focus less on social differentiation, indexed by material remains, than on comparisons

made possible by texts written about indigenous religious practices during the colonial period (e.g., Isbell 1997; Lau 2008; Ramos 2010; Salomon 1995). Important descriptions derive from eyewitnesses accounts of the Inka empire and changes to Andean society after its fall. These provide crucial information regarding the traditions and cosmologies of the Inka heartland, as well as other Central Andean regions.

Valuable sources also emerged out of anti-idolatry campaigns to extirpate native religious practices, especially for postconquest highland groups in the archbishopric of Lima (Doyle 1988; Duviols 2003; Mills 1997; Polia 1999; Salomon and Urioste 1991).³ While interviewing practitioners and destroying cult objects and places, church inspectors documented oral traditions, as well as invaluable details about local ceremonial practices and their organization. The texts provide an unparalleled glimpse at the material richness of the cults, in particular the spaces and items in action. Also, the detailed registers of “idolaters” allow reconstruction of local genealogies and histories (Masferrer Kan 1984; Zuidema 1973, 1978). Finally, the native testimonies often discussed the rationale of the cults—albeit conveyed through Spanish and Church optics.

In great part, the idolatries efforts condemned the devotion Andeans showed to the bodies of the dead. The theft of Indian interments from Christian cemeteries was particularly anathema to officials—an affront to but also a blunt sign of the failure of Christianization efforts (see epigraph above). They decried the corpse-obsessed practices as the most critical impediments to successful conversion (Cobo [1653] 1990, 39; Doyle 1988, 5). What Gose (2008, 139) has called the “struggle over burial” was really a struggle over bodies. At the heart of the furor were polarized philosophies about the nature and proper handling of expired bodies. For the Spanish, they were polluting corpses and false idols. Their souls could be destined for salvation, but the physical remains were meant to stay in the ground, be left alone, and decompose.

For native Andeans, however, the bodies were physical instantiations of key, powerful beings who were sources of life. First and foremost, they were progenitors of the group. Cobo ([1653] 1990, 42) noted that “the dead were worshiped only by those who were descended from them in a direct line. . . . They worshiped all those who had been the cause of their being, and they used the following reasoning. If it were not for that person, I would not have been born.” They were also accountable for the cultigens, *conopas* (cult objects) or the technological achievement (e.g., making of canals, terraces, and fields) responsible for local productive fertility. Finally, the esteemed dead ensured the well-being of the collective and allowed one’s progeny to multiply (Arriaga [1621] 1968; Cobo [1653] 1990; Doyle 1988; Duviols 2003). As the first (prototype) in a series, ancestors and ancestral objects were seen to have been especially potent

vehicles for vitality (Lau 2008; Salomon 1991, 2004). These sentiments fueled Andean groups—ancient and modern—to venerate their deceased.

Form and Diachronic Change in Ancash Funerary Practices

The following synopsis concerns the archaeology of the highlands of Ancash Department (figure 5.1), an area of northern Peru with distinct regional developments embedded within the larger Central Andean “co-tradition” (Bennett 1948). Both the start and end points of the coverage are expedient choices. The start begins around the time of Christ, mainly because burial practices before are poorly known (see Grieder et al. 1988). The end period is around the eighteenth century, when the use of collective tombs for ancestor cults diminished. As exhaustive detail is unnecessary here (Gamboa 2009; Herrera, Orsini, and Lane 2006; Ibarra 2003a; Lau 2000, 2011), I highlight specific cases as part of broader developments over the longue durée (figure 5.2).

Early Horizon and Huarás Patterns

Very little information exists regarding Early Horizon (first millennium BC) funerary practices in highland Ancash. There are very few well-recorded Early Horizon tombs and burial contexts, even at well-studied sites (e.g., Huarcoto, Chavín de Huántar, or Pojoc). Neighboring areas, however, saw the development of practices involving impressive high-status burials associated with monumental architecture (Kato 1993; Onuki 1997). At Kuntur Wasi, in Cajamarca Department to the north, a number of the flexed interments were of older men with stunning offerings of ceramics and personal adornments. The interments, all in stone-lined chambers, appear to have been of occupants of a “patio-platform complex,” probably priestly elites in charge of the ceremonial center, ca. 800–500 BC (Onuki 1997, 113–14).

For later periods in Ancash, there is greater information regarding common burials. Dating to the Huarás Period, ca. 200 BC–AD 200, the burials were in modest constructions associated with a white-on-red pottery style (Lau 2004).⁴ Small interment chambers, most no more than a meter wide, exploited natural cavities in outcrops and under boulders (Bennett 1944; Matsumoto 2006; Ponte 2001). Large stones often formed the roof, and sometimes low walls were built to make small individual chambers or to even out the chamber. The burials might have a few ceramic offerings located alongside the flexed body. There are also Huarás interments, perhaps human offerings, located at shrine sites (Ponte 2009). To date, very high-status burials are not known.

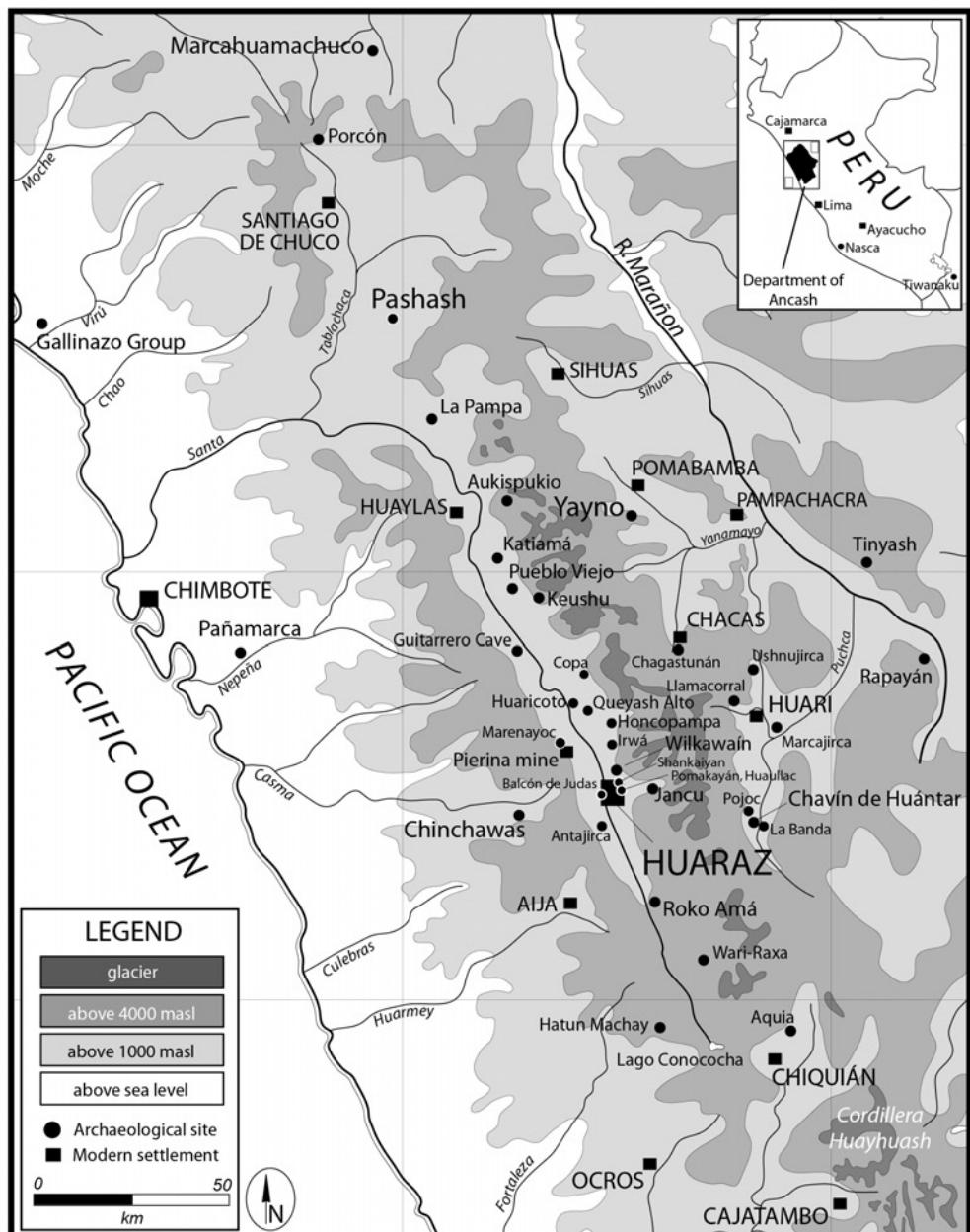
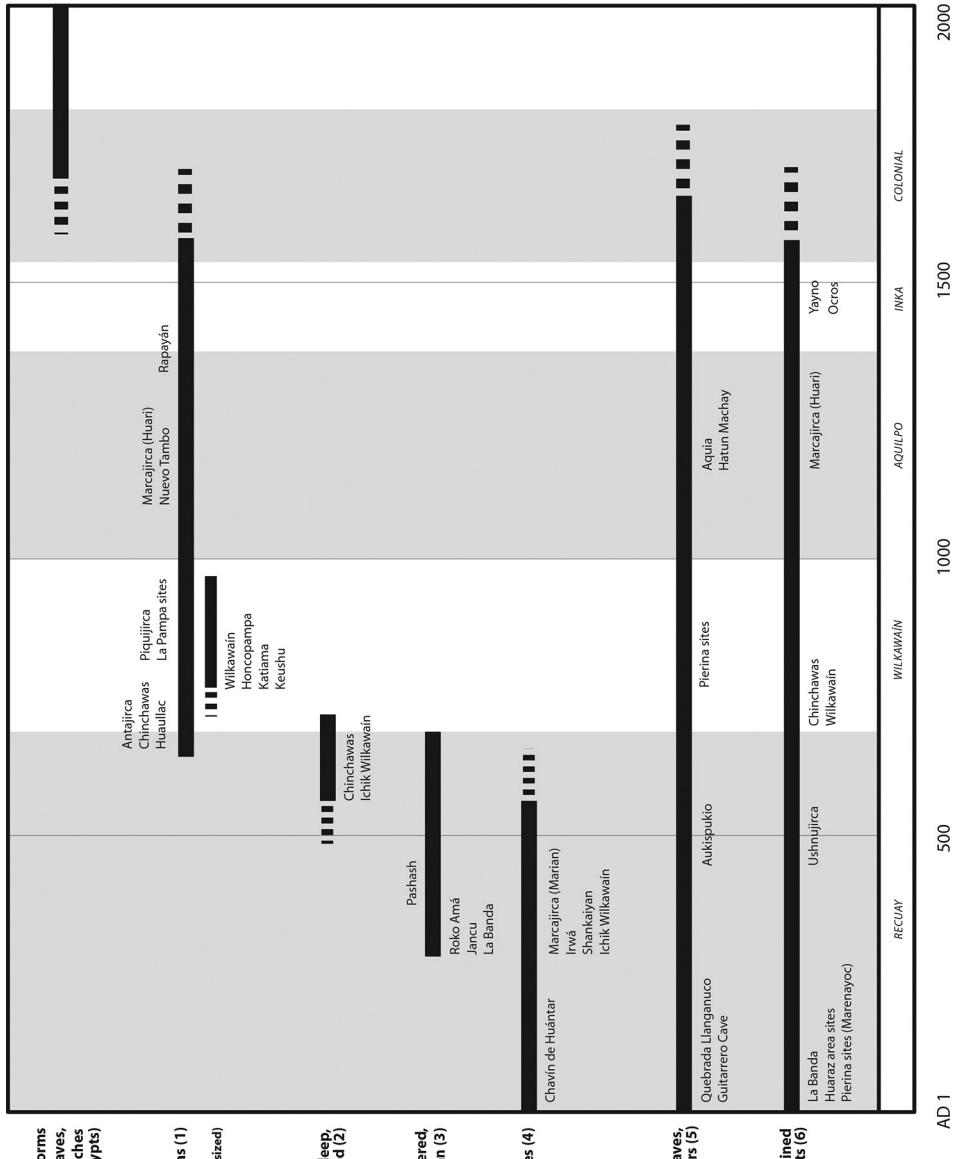


FIGURE 5.1. Map of the region and archaeological sites mentioned in the text.

FIGURE 5.2. Chart locating principal burial forms and sites in Ancash over time. Some forms are more diagnostic of time period and culture than others. References keyed to the chart follow. 1) Bennett (1944); Herrera (2005); Ibarra (2003b, 2009); Lau (2002, 2010a); Mantha (2009); Paredes (2005); Paredes, Quintana, and Linares (2001); Ponte (2001); Soto (2003); Terada (1979); Tschauner (2003); Wegner (2007); Zaki (1978, 1987). 2) Bennett (1944); Diessl (2004); Lau (2010a). 3) Bennett (1944); Diessl (2004); Gamboa (2009, 2010); Crieder (1978); Mejía Xesspe (1948); Orsini (2007); Ponte (2001); Tello (1929); Wegner (1988). 4) Bennett (1944); Lau (2011); Ponte R. (2001); Wegner (1988). 5) Lynch (1980); Matsumoto (2006); Ponte R. (2004, 2008); Wegner (2001). 6) Bennett (1944); Burger (1978); Ibarra (2009); Lau (2010a); Lumbreiras (1974, 1977); Ponte (2004, 2008, 2009); Tello (1960).



Huarás Period interments often reused older spaces. At Chavín de Huántar, Huarás people buried their dead into the sides of the main temple, as well as in common dwellings in parts of the monumental sector. Although there must have been some recognition of the antiquity of the ruins, the interventions were not so much reverential, as much as expedient treatments. The burials were of local inhabitants who may have resided at the Chavín site not long after its abandonment (Lumbreras 1974, 50–51); some cists were located underneath house floors and between walls, suggesting perhaps an ongoing relationship between the living and the deceased. Huarás patterns—fairly small subterranean graves, burials under large rocks, expedient reuse of older constructions, and proximity to residential settlements—characterized basic funerary treatments in Ancash into the colonial period.

Recuay Patterns

A greater range of forms, sizes, and quality characterized burial constructions of the Recuay Period, AD 200–600. Most appear to have been subterranean or at least partly underground (figure 5.2). Compared to earlier Huarás contexts, Recuay groups expended much more effort on their tombs and associated funerary practices. There is also much greater evidence for intentional reuse and periodic visitation of burial sites than before (DeLeonardis and Lau 2004).

Basic subterranean tombs often had a single main chamber with a small entry space (e.g., Bennett 1944; Lau 2010a, 118–20; Ponte 2001, 228–29). The main chambers can be round or rectangular in shape. Some forms with cylindrical or polygon-sided shafts are also known (e.g., Orsini 2007, 88). In general, the larger, wealthier Recuay tombs were multichambered and had fancy stonemasonry, large stone jambs/lintels, and niches. Larger than cist-tombs and given their capacity to accommodate more than one body, they were very likely the mausolea of extended families or kin groups.

Roko Amá, in the town of Katak, was among the largest Recuay burial complexes. Its extensive plundering in the late nineteenth century resulted in the type collection for the Recuay pottery style (Bennett 1944, 64; Tello 1929, 40). The site consists of an extensive series of multichambered tombs, many located underneath the modern cemetery; various related structures run along the ridge to the east. The tombs had short passageways that linked to rooms with small cellular compartments. Large roof slabs covered the spaces (figure 5.3). The full extent of the site is unknown, but Julio C. Tello's inspection (1929, 41) tallied nearly 150 separate tomb chambers alone (see also Mejía Xesspe 1948).

In the Huaraz area, north of Katak in the same valley (Callejón de Huaylas), Bennett (1944) recorded a wide variety of burial constructions.



FIGURE 5.3. Large stone roof slabs covering subterranean chamber tomb at Roko Amá. An extensive network of tombs housed the interments and funerary ceramics that defined the Recuay style. The use of large slabs as roof stones as well as supporting wall elements was common in the burial structures of ancient Ancash.

These included cist, unlined tombs, box-tombs, and tombs under rocks; most of the fine Recuay materials came from subterranean galleries. The galleries performed as burial spaces, as well as passageways to burial chambers. Various sites in the region have these forms (figure 5.2). The galleries can measure some 3 to 20 m long, and about a meter high and narrower in width. Even old subterranean galleries were sometimes reused as spaces for the dead. Skeletal materials and associated Recuay artifacts were found in the Rocas Gallery (César Aguirre, pers. comm.),⁵ below the rectangular plaza at Chavín de Huántar (see also Bennett 1944, 78, 90; Lumbrales 1974, 50–51; Tello 1960, 124).

Directly opposite the main plaza of Chavín de Huántar, on the eastern “La Banda” side of the Río Mosna, salvage excavations uncovered intact Recuay Period tombs intrusive into Early Horizon deposits (Gamboa 2010). A series of cists and chambers were built into a wide burial platform, which contained Recuay figurative ceramics and evidence of previous manipulation of the corpses. The most elaborate tomb (Tumba 8) was dedicated to an adult male and female pair (secondary burials) and



FIGURE 5.4. Modeled Recuay vessel with festive scene of dancing women around large, male figure with headdress, from burial platform at La Banda, Chavín de Huántar. The representation probably shows the veneration of a chiefly ancestor. Faded resist black designs are still visible that show wavy hair of female figures and the triangle designs on the projecting edge of the vessel shoulder. Courtesy of Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz.

contained 18 ceramic vessels; one shows a multifigure scene of embracing women around a central male lord (figure 5.4). In addition, two primary burials were flexed in pit graves (Gamboa 2009, 47). The tombs produced at least 17 individuals: 13 adults and 4 subadults (under 16 years old); of the group, there were 6 males, 3 females, and 8 with indeterminate sex. Most offerings were fairly modest: bone tools, lithic points, groundstone objects, and some copper metal items. The burial platform served a number of extended families or kin groups over a period of time (Gamboa 2010).

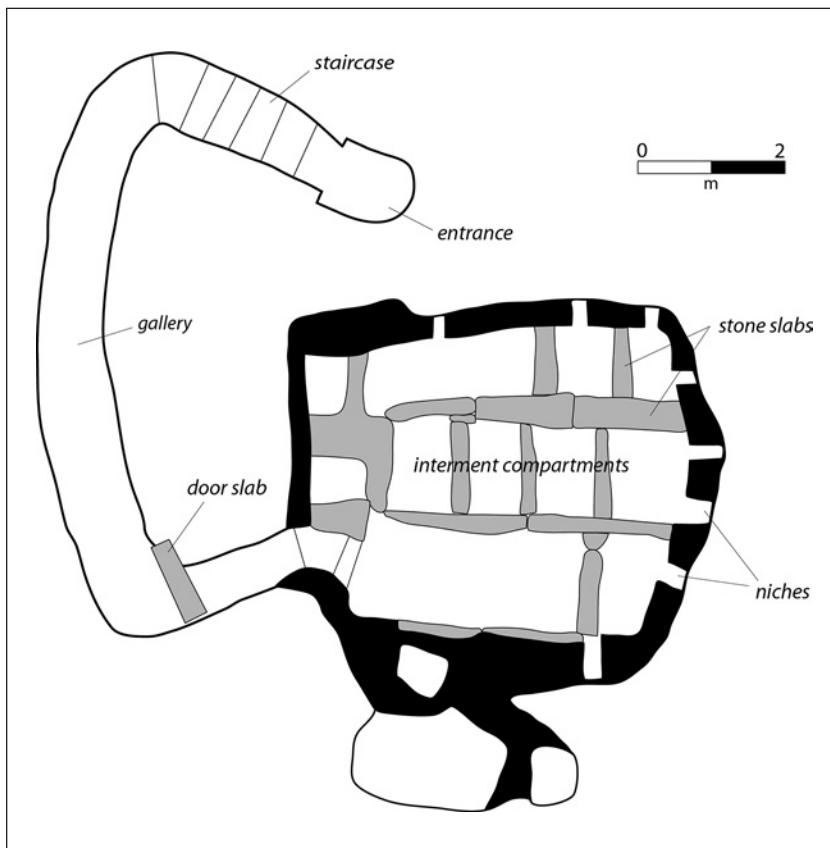


FIGURE 5.5. Plan of Jancu tomb, showing the doorway, thresholds, and curving gallery that lead to a multicompartiment burial space. The entire burial chamber was roofed and marked by a gigantic boulder. Redrawn from the original by Steven Wegner (1988).

Like La Banda, the tomb of Jancu is a notable context because it is possible to reconstruct relationships between artifacts and interment spaces in context (Wegner 1988). Originally marked by a *huanca* (standing stone upright) outside, the entrance lowered directly into a short vertical shaft, which led down via stone stairs to a long, curving gallery. Passing through a series of thresholds, the gallery led into the main chamber (figure 5.5), which was roofed by a massive boulder. Flat stones partitioned the ground space into interment compartments. At least 15 vessels, most of fine Recuay style with figurative modeling of male and female effigies (figure 5.6), were placed on the ground, in niches, and on ledges on the interior walls

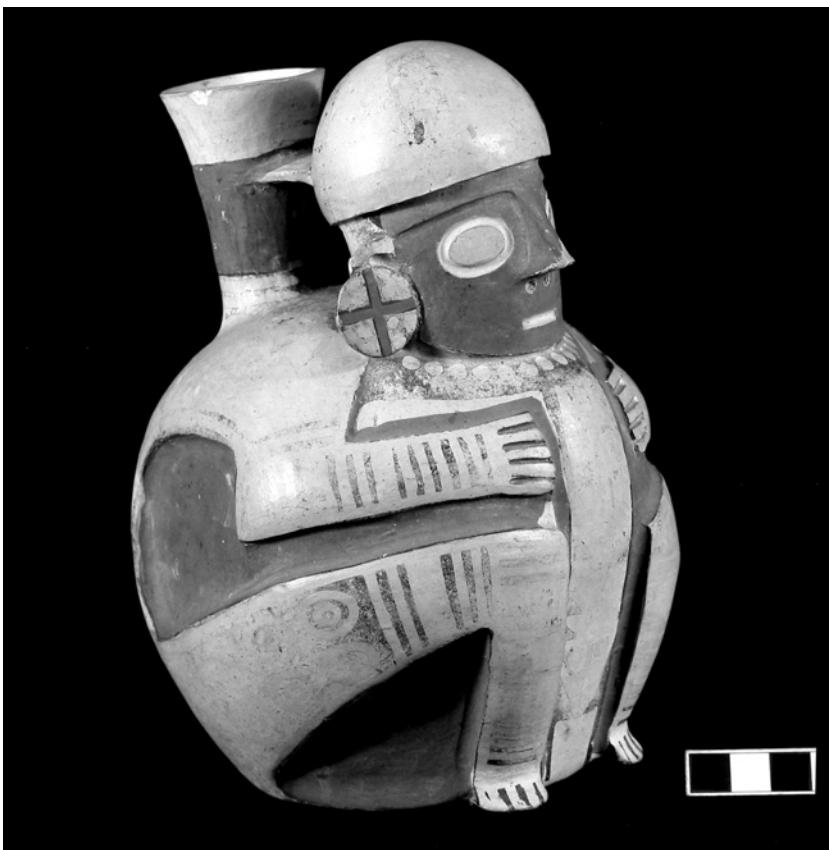


FIGURE 5.6. Modeled Recuay vessel from Jancu tomb, showing flexed, seated male figure, probably a chiefly ancestor effigy. His face and parts of his body are painted red; the arms and legs feature resist black designs on the white kaolinite. Courtesy of Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz.

(Steven Wegner, pers. comm.). At least one interment (flexed, seated) was observed; it was found with a gold foil frontlet, and there may have been poorly preserved burials.

The richest Recuay burial ever recorded was at Pashash, near Cabana. Several dedicatory caches were made at different times to the tomb of the high-status dignitary. The offerings included metal adornments, fine kaolinite vessels, and rare stone objects. Garment pins, spindle whorls, and decomposed textiles indicated that the main interment was of an older woman. The compartment was located underneath a paved floor, inside a multiroom building (Grieder 1978, 48, 55). Other parts of the hilltop

sector have produced additional burials since and indicate that Recuay elites used the site repeatedly for interment purposes.

Where the topography permitted, some Recuay people buried their dead in grottoes, cliffs, and rock overhangs. Notable examples of the latter occur at Aukispukio (Wegner 2001), which featured segmented chambers built into high rocky outcrops. The structures have produced fancy pottery, textile remains, a wooden ear spool, and a complete drum.

The Recuay Period, therefore, saw major developments in mortuary behavior—in scale, distribution, and elaboration. There was a growing emphasis on collective interments and large burial constructions with multiple interment spaces, probably for very high-status lineages. Also the burial items, much of it ritual equipment, became more abundant and of finer quality. In describing the burial constructions and contents, Tello (1929) and his disciple, Mejía Xesspe (1948, 9), called attention to their basic association with local ancestor cults for the esteemed dead. They also found continuities in the reports of middle colonial period idolatries in the region (e.g., Hernández Príncipe 1923).⁶

Middle Horizon Transformations

After AD 600, funerary practices began to change dramatically. In particular, a distinctive new form became increasingly popular: the *chullpa*.⁷ By this term, I mean an above-ground funerary building meant for the curation, display, and veneration of the dead.⁸

Perhaps the best-known *chullpa* is that of Wilkawaín, just north of Huaraz. This is also the largest in the region, measuring 15.6 × 10.7 m, and 9.25 m high (Bennett 1944). It had at least 21 interior rooms with built-in niches, as well as ventilation shafts (figures 5.7a and 5.7b). It was part of a much larger site, comprising nearby Ichik Wilkawaín, in a complex featuring over 60 *chullpas*, subterranean constructions, walled terraces, and enclosures dedicated to ancestor veneration activities. Although earlier remains are known from several of the subterranean constructions (Bennett 1944), new investigations confirm that the site was used most heavily during the Middle Horizon and after (Paredes 2005). Excavations in small, walled residential enclosures around the *chullpas* uncovered offerings and cooking and refuse deposits.

Honcopampa also featured an impressive cluster of *chullpas* (Buse 1965; Isbell 1991; Tschauner 2003). There are approximately 16 altogether (figures 5.7c and 5.7d); the largest, MCS-1, featured 26 distinct chambers. It is interesting that the best-known *chullpas* (Ama Puncu sector) were quite different than the Chucaró Ama sector example (figure 5.8); the latter features different stonework and fewer doorways, and was established apart from the others.

FIGURE 5.7. Reconstruction drawings of large chullpa as in the Callejón de Huaylas: A) section drawing of Wilkawain (redrawn from Bennett [1944, figure 3]); B) plan view about Wilkawain (redrawn from Bennett [1944, figure 2]); C) plan view of chullpa MCS-1, second floor, Honcopampa (redrawn from Tschauner [2003, 2011]); D) plan view of chullpa MCS-1, first floor, Honcopampa (redrawn from Tschauner [2003, 2011]). The different layouts resulted from local social arrangements and burial preferences.

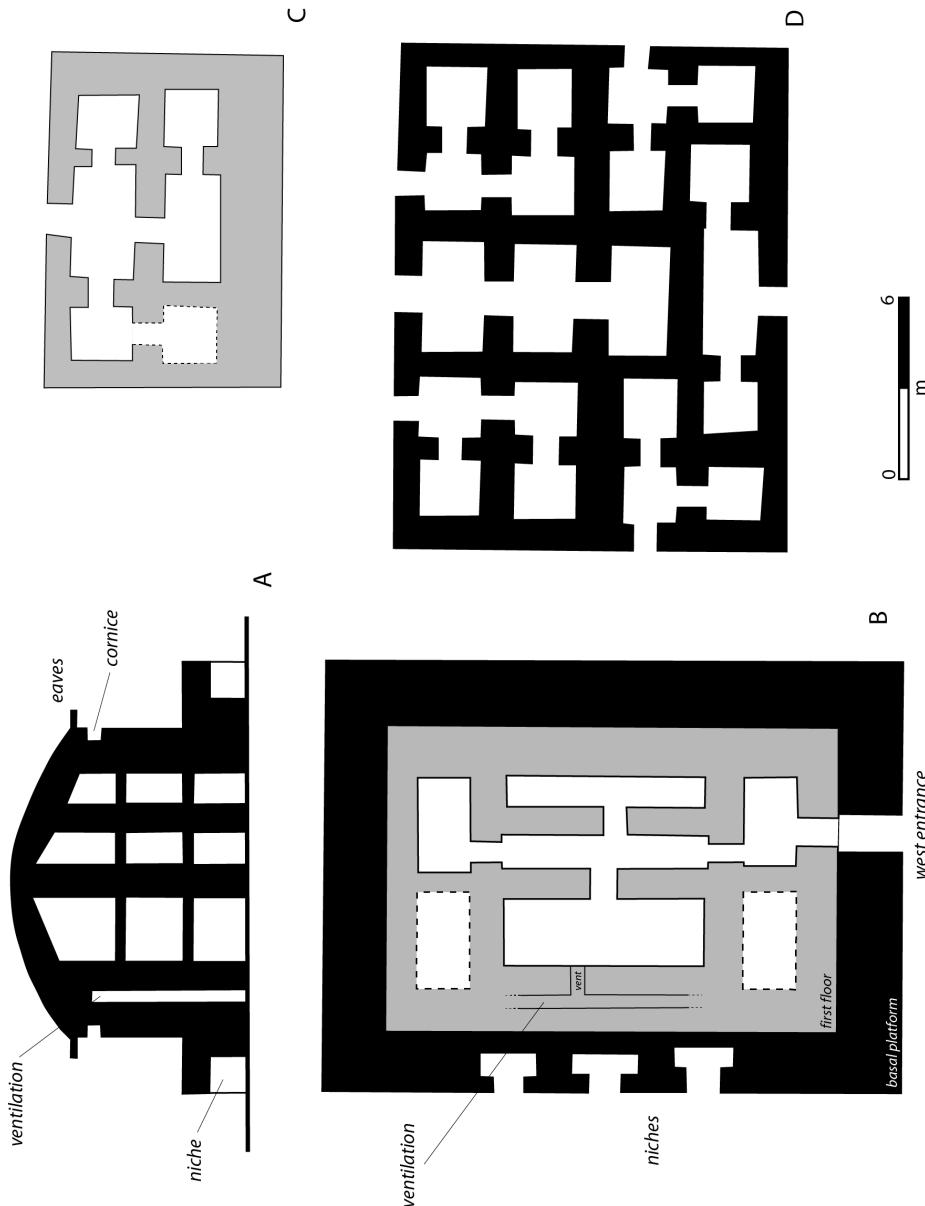




FIGURE 5.8. Front façade of chullpa at Honcopampa, Chukaro Ama sector. Set apart from the main sector of the site and featuring distinct architectural features, the chullpa is indicative of the great variability in chullpa building and organization in the highland Ancash.

Wari culture maintained some presence at Honcopampa, reflected especially in two D-shaped structures (Cook 2001; McEwan 2005; Meddens and Cook 2001). These buildings were located between elite residences and the Ama Puncu cluster of chullpas. Featuring high walls, large interior niches, and limited access, they may have been for feasting and offering practices concerning the dead from the chullpas. Since the use of walled enclosures for feasting had local antecedents (Gero 1991; Lau 2002), the intermediate position of the D-shaped enclosures may be related to how local leaders reinvented forms of political authority, based on links to esteemed dead, during the Middle Horizon.

In addition to Honcopampa and Wilkawaín, the largest known chullpas in Ancash are found in the Callejón de Huaylas (figure 5.1): Katiamá, Keushu, and perhaps Wari-Raxa.⁹ Small chullpas also proliferated throughout Ancash, usually in tandem with small village communities, such as Chinchawas, Sahanpuncu (Copa), and Marcajirca (Huari).

Some general observations can be made at this point. First, there was a tremendous surge in the making and utilization of chullpas during the Middle Horizon. The great frequency of chullpas is, I believe, more than an issue of preservation, sampling, and the long duration of their use. It was at least partly related to increasing populations, for the size and

number of residential settlements, especially for the Callejón de Huaylas, increased at this time as well. Also, funerary practices became an overt domain for display and innovation, as more and more communities literally elevated the contexts for living-dead interactions to the fore.

In addition, social groups of varying degrees of political centralization and influence found the chullpa form suitable. It was not restricted to local elites. This is consistent with their great variability in time and space (Isbell 1997; Mejía Xesspe 1957). Not only were they of different sizes and shapes, they employed different materials and had different door layouts and interior room arrangements, with distinct artifact assemblages. The chullpa does not appear to have been a top-down mandate that required adherence to a standard format. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in sites with multiple chullpas, very often there is one that appears, formally, more important or special (e.g., Wilkawaín, Honcopampa, Keushu, Katiamá). The differentiation is manifested by one or more traits: larger size, placement atop the largest platform, location with visual emphasis, or its isolation from others.

Finally, the record shows that chullpas often integrated local forms and practices. Groups built chullpas in earlier mortuary spaces, supplanting and surmounting older forms, such as the subterranean galleries and chambers. They also actively incorporated stone sculpture, an older practice known from Recuay times (Lau 2006). The monoliths, many depicting ancestors and associated beings, were mounted on chullpas and as nearby, freestanding statues. The great latitude in co-opting spaces and local cultural traditions suggests that many groups did not reject or surrender former practices, beliefs, and objects as much as they integrated them into the new dispositions.

The role of Wari in the changes remains unclear, but it should not be underestimated. Wari cultural expansion is frequently associated with the emergence of a powerful state polity based in Huari, Ayacucho. Isbell (1997, 297–99) has contended that the proliferation of chullpas was a form of local resistance against an increasingly privileged class of elites, both of local polities and the Wari empire. Thus the buildings may have marked the autonomy of local kin groups (*ayllu*) in the face of centralized power and elites who sought to disenfranchise them. While the precise nature of the interaction remains debated, Wari were certainly entangled in the period's dynamism.

Late Pre-Hispanic Patterns

During the Late Intermediate Period, ca. AD 1000–1450, chullpas continued as the predominant burial form. Other forms, such as cists, under-rock burials, and use of caves persisted as well.

While widespread and very common, the chullpas in the Callejón de Huaylas were, in general, small and modest affairs (Diessl 2004; Herrera 2005; Ibarra 2003b; Lane 2006; Orsini 2003; Ponte 2001). They never reached the size or quality of earlier constructions, such as Wilkawaín or Honcopampa. Groups also commonly reused older chullpa constructions rather than build new ones. For example, at Chinchawas, people displaced older remains and added new burial pits within older chullpas (Lau 2010a).

Very few sites of this period have been studied in depth, but some of the best evidence comes from the Conchucos area, east of the Cordillera Blanca. At Marcajirca (Huari), a hilltop funerary and residential community, at least 38 chullpas and 8 cave chambers have been identified, most with abundant human skeletal remains (Ibarra 2009). The earlier Middle Horizon pattern of collective above-ground burials continued throughout the Late Intermediate Period, Late Horizon, and into the early colonial period. Radiocarbon dates from Marcajirca indicate an occupation from AD 1000–1650 (Ibarra 2009, 73).

A different tradition of funerary buildings developed at the nearby ridge-top site of Rapayán (Mantha 2009). Although chullpas were also used, its residents erected impressive multistory buildings intended as defensible dwellings, but in certain cases also as mausolea. Interments have been found in the sealed cavities of house walls, a location that suggests intensive, everyday interactions between the deceased and the living. The tall, agglutinated forms comprised part of a broader tradition of large hilltop settlements along the Marañon headwaters, best known in the Tantamayo region (Flornoy 1957; Kauffmann Doig 2002; Pinilla and Garcia 1981; Ravines 1984).

Much less evidence exists to characterize the Late Horizon. The current data indicate relative continuity in burial forms and locations (Herrera, Orsini, and Lane 2006; Ibarra 2009; Lane 2006). Inka intervention in the region apparently did not strongly affect local burial styles. Local groups continued to use chullpas, caves, and in some cases, subterranean tombs. One famous underground tomb was the resting place for the Inka *capacocha* (child sacrifice) of Tanta Carhua (Zuidema 1978).

At Yayno, local groups interred the head of a child in a stone-lined cist, located in the ruined courtyard of an earlier (Recuay phase) circular compound near the site's summit. Two local-style Inka vessels were placed atop the cist; two large shawl pins and fragments of textiles and carved wood accompanied the cranium (ca. 4 years old). The cist probably formed part of a context dedicated to the mountaintop made under the auspices of the Inka state. Impressive quantities of whole *Spondylus* sp. valves, greenstone beads, and gold metal lámina fragments were strewn throughout the layer above. The long-distance items indicate the cist was revisited periodically to make offerings. Apparently, Inka expansion into

the Conchucos region co-opted key ancient ruins of provincial groups by sponsoring sacrificial interments and subsequent veneration practices (see Hernández Príncipe 1923).

Discussion

Over the course of two millennia, the efforts of the living to engage their deceased have resulted in a rich archaeological record. While precise histories are impossible at present, the patterns almost certainly resulted from the long duration of funerary ceremony and the changing complexity of living-dead interactions. As the result of ongoing practices of collectives, the arrangements might be considered palimpsests of the composition and decision making of the descendant groups over time.

Formal Variability Through Time

In spite of the vagaries due to sampling and preservation, observations can be made regarding the formal variability of the burial constructions and associated practices over time. One of the foremost factors concerns the choices of locations deemed suitable for housing the dead. Very likely, this resulted from local preferences, topography, available building materials, and the position of water features or landforms seen as key places—as much as it resulted from group boundaries and stylistic change. For example, burials in cists, under rocks, and in cave/rockshelter spaces appeared throughout the sequence and cannot be, at present, limited to one period or cultural group. Interestingly, in the idolatries documents, the gloss “*machay*” was commonly applied to all of the primary burial forms: caves, subterranean chambers, and chullpas (Doyle 1988, 106–7).

Local groups valued the durability of the physical context. Mortuary buildings avoided areas that were continually or seasonally wet that would endanger the corpse. Groups favored high areas with strategic vantages and rocky prominences of land. Caves may have been the preferred burial spaces; some large caves have produced great numbers of individuals, a fact that suggests regular use over time. On most occasions, perhaps because caves were unavailable, groups built environments that simulated the qualities of cave interiors.

Some subterranean forms, such as long galleries or multichambered constructions, are primarily diagnostic of the Early Intermediate Period. The first chullpas in Ancash appeared around AD 600. As chullpas proliferated over the next century, there was a corresponding reduction in the use of subterranean tombs (figure 5.2). On occasion, there was physical superposition of local Middle Horizon developments over earlier Recuay

tradition subterranean tombs, indicating perhaps an appropriation of burial space by newcomers. By around AD 700–800, chullpas had become the predominant form.

Ancestor mausolea continued to be used at least several centuries after the fall of the Inka. The preferred forms were caves, chullpas, and rockshelters (e.g., Arriaga [1621] 1968; Doyle 1988; Hernández Príncipe 1923). Because of increasing surveillance by the Church, furtive use of caves and reuse of older constructions may have been preferred. A notable difference between pre-Hispanic and colonial practice is the distance between living and ancestral populations. During the colonial period, necropoli were located 2–9 km away from their source communities (Doyle 1988, 112). There seems to have been less distance in pre-Hispanic times. Many groups, from the Middle Horizon (Chinchawas, Honcopampa, Ichik Wilkawaín) to Late Intermediate Period times (Marcajirca, Rapayán), regularly situated their cemeteries next to residential sectors, or vice versa.

In great part, the changes can be attributed to *reducciones* (sixteenth-century colonial policies), which relocated groups away from their original settlements and burial shrines. The new Spanish-style towns aimed, in great part, to convert pagans by severing the propinquity of the living and their revered progenitors. The architect of the reforms, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, reasoned that “the principal point . . . when making said *reducciones* is that said Indians be removed from the places and sites of their idolatries and burials of their ancestors, out of respect for which, and on the pretext of piety, they have tricked and are tricking inspectors into not moving them from where they are, which is in great detriment to their souls” (Toledo, in Gose 2008, 123[italics as in Gose]).

The form and use of chullpas also changed through time. The largest chullpas in Ancash emerged during the Middle Horizon, only about a century after their initial appearance in the region. Moreover, some manifested as major monumental projects (e.g., Honcopampa, Katiamá, and Wilkawaín) without clear precedents. Hence, there was no slow evolution or uptake of the form, but rather a fairly quick, widespread adoption by local groups, some of whom invested great energy and planning in them.

The chullpa sites were closely associated with broader transformations associated with the Middle Horizon. This time is best known for wider interregional connections, both with Wari and many other societies in northern Peru. The exchange of long-distance goods, especially obsidian, prestige pottery styles, and other rarities indicates a strong openness to new cultural networks (Lau 2005). That all the largest chullpas are found in the Callejón de Huaylas resonates with the valley’s surge of economic interaction, a pattern found much less prominently elsewhere in highland Ancash.

Later, chullpas were smaller, but featured in unprecedented numbers. From around AD 900, chullpas grew increasingly popular, with most areas

showing large numbers. Most, however, were built without stone sculpture, elaborate masonry, or features such as staircases, built-in ventilation, or upper stories. The lack of elaboration, their small size, and limited grave offerings suggest a series of small collectivities, probably kin based, with limited wealth differentiation. Settlement evidence and recent excavations also show relatively few signs of ostentation or social inequality during Ancash's late pre-Hispanic periods (Herrera, Orsini, and Lane 2006; Ibarra 2003a; Mantha 2009).

From Recuay times onward, highland burial practices were especially focused on regular engagements between the living and dead (DeLeonardis and Lau 2004). This contrasts with many coeval developments of neighboring areas. Although manipulation of interments did occur (Millaire 2004), groups of the Moche Period, for example, stressed deep underground interments, building of adobe platform mounds over tombs, and sealing of tombs with earth and mud bricks to severely curb any physical handling or disturbance of the interments (Isbell 1997, 144–48).

Located above ground with easy-to-reach thresholds, chullpas and their contents were much more open to revisit. Chullpa monuments would have also been seen more frequently, especially those located near residential settlements, fields, and pastures. Although subterranean tombs could be re-entered, people using above-ground forms made *access* to the dead a conspicuous priority, with their highly visible doorways and locations near living communities, above ground, and on ridge tops. Doorways into chullpas were rarely blocked with large slabs, as was common in subterranean tombs (Grieder 1978, 45–49; Lau 2002, 291–92; Wegner 1988).

Containment, Nurture, and Regeneration

It is clear from the foregoing that many Ancash groups did not abandon their deceased. Rather, they were given treatments, which allowed their continued presence among the living. The key commonality of most, if not all, of the burial structures is that they were engineered to keep physical human remains *inside*. But why place the dead in containers and why in their distinct forms? One of the most basic reasons, but rarely emphasized, was to shelter and maintain the dead. Keeping them inside helped to ensure their preservation. It protected against the ravages of damaging interventions—such as from the elements, damp, animals, and other humans. At a basic level, then, the constructions were containers to help special bodies survive processes of decay.

Most contexts in ancient Ancash did not place corpses in the soil, nor were they permanently sealed. Arriaga ([1621] 1968, 56) observed that Andeans preferred to keep their dead in the open so as not to confine them, and so they could find more rest. Keeping them in well-ventilated

spaces, and not in soil, also allowed the corpse to desiccate (Allen 1982; Sillar 1996). Not surprisingly, chullpas in the Callejón de Huaylas sometimes feature vent shafts and ducts, such as at Wilkawaín (figure 5.7b), to circulate fresh air (Bennett 1944, 16).

Mummifying bodies likely followed quotidian techniques used to make *chuño* (freeze-dry potatoes) and *charki* (meat jerky), and to process other types of food for storage and later use (e.g., maize, quinoa, beans, and today, wheat) (see also Davis, this volume).¹⁰ Repeated exposure to the pronounced diurnal change typical of the Andean highlands dehydrates the wet tissue, making the item hard, shriveled, light, and portable, be it corpse, meat, tuber, or seed. Manipulating the body during the drying-out process also ossified the ancestor's essential position: flexed, seated, or fetal.¹¹

Veneration involved regular effort seen to appease the ancestors: libations, food, songs, other public activities, and wrappings. Revitalizing the mummies in this way might be likened to the effect that rehydrating *chuño* or *charki* in water, planting seeds, or soaking shelled maize kernels for *chicha* (maize beer) has in activating the latent potency of desiccated things.¹² Thus, similar technical processes may have articulated seemingly disparate things while altering their materiality and meanings; human effort (labor, devotion) transforms the inchoate elements into heavier and fuller agents that can nourish the living.

The shape and location of the burial contexts appear to have reflected the regeneration made possible by ancestors. This follows historical examples that indicate growth and fertility are understood through young forms and their containing element, such as infant (womb), eggs (nest), and seeds, trees, and tubers ([roots, fields, and earth] e.g., Allen 1982; Duviols 1979; Kemper Columbus 1990; Salomon 1991, 1998). It is notable then that the Quechua term *mallqui* (ancestor bundle) also meant "seed," "sapling" or "young plant" (Duviols 1979, 22; Salomon 1995, 328, 340; Sherbondy 1988; Sillar 1996, 282). Most of the tomb forms, collective and individual, might be seen as essentially cognate kinds of built environments meant to curate the potency of their contents. Although they are distinctive, they also share some characteristic properties and features.

The constructions served as physical connections to specific locales and landforms. They mediated a containing space with a chosen spot, which allowed the living to enter and connect periodically. Narrow apertures led into subterranean tombs, shaft-tombs, and galleries. Meanwhile, a chullpa fixed its place largely above ground.¹³ These contexts almost certainly related to the colonial Quechua concept of *pacarina*, a term describing the place where founding progenitors were believed to have emerged (Doyle 1988, 71, 241; Salomon 1995, 322). This often took the form of a rock, spring, tomb, mountain, or cave. At these mytho-historical

locales, the ancestor effigies were often kept, which, in turn, legitimated their placement; sometimes here, the mausolea, which took womb- and cave-like forms, literally rooted.

Many forms also connected to additional burial spaces. Subterranean tomb chambers often featured extensions that linked to other compartments and their interments and cult objects. This can be via branching chambers or small passageways; many do not seem to have been part of the original building plan and were probably added after (Bennett 1944; Ponte 2001, 227–28). The connected spaces, apparently, helped to network relationships between members of the tomb collective over time (figures 5.5 and 5.7). Interestingly, certain chullpas, especially the larger examples with cellular chambers, appear to have purposefully formalized relationships between interments and their spaces. Additional burials, however, could be made by building new chullpas. Chullpas were often added next to one another, and clusters were sometimes given further emphasis by having a perimeter wall built around them.

The design of the constructions was crucial in the organization and temporality of the ritual experience. Antechambers and long narrow passages with separate thresholds (e.g., Jancu) (figure 5.5) interrupted access before reaching the more spacious burial chambers. Also, many tombs had multiple floors or small chambers built directly atop each other. These occurred in chullpas (figure 5.7), as well as subterranean tombs. At Pomakayán, burial cists were packed tightly together, like a honeycomb. The layouts permitted internal spatial divisions, which functioned to segregate interments and different activities within the complex. The compartmentalization, therefore, prescribed intervals in movements and distinguished interactions with the deceased.

Within the tomb were other containers. These included ancestor effigies of different types. For example, the Recuay constructions at Jancu and La Banda included flexed interments and effigy representations on ceramic vessels. Chullpa contexts emphasized stone monoliths and bundles (e.g., Chinchawas, Antajirca). The cloths wrapped around the corpses, forming shells. The overall burial environment, then, involved a series of nested and adjacent containers (e.g., cemeteries > tombs > chambers > effigies), in which the bodies and interior potencies inside can be seen to be nurtured (Lau 2010b).

The burial constructions also share the characteristic of having dark, often cramped, interiors, which resonates with their significance as places of emergence and rebirth. The low constructions are rarely more than 1 m tall—not enough for adults to stand in but sufficient to stand flexed interments (figure 5.9). Movement is often through crawling, and the dark, limiting spaces induces the feeling of vulnerability, disorientation, and shortness of breath. Some reek of excrement, refuse, and damp today,



FIGURE 5.9. Photograph of interior of Jancu tomb. Various stone slabs (foreground) compartmentalized the interior into interment spaces. Note the low ceiling, niches (background), and makeshift ledge where ritual paraphernalia was stored when the tomb was discovered in 1969.

but one could also imagine the smell of old bodies and offerings at various stages of deterioration—also reason, perhaps, for attention to ventilation. Exiting the tomb, a kind of re-emergence, is at once a relief and a sensorial shock, especially the sunlight, fresh air, and freedom of movement. At least with Recuay tradition contexts, a possible objective was to make the visitor deferent, perhaps even supplicant like a child, to the ancestral

effigies and cult space (Lau 2011). This should not be surprising, since the visitors were likely *descendants* of the occupants.

Color symbolism may have also affected the experience of the burial environment. Poor preservation in the highlands precludes any firm points, but some evidence suggests a rich topic for future research. First, many mortuary buildings may have been painted. Red pigment on bare rock, masonry, or clay plaster is known from some chullpa sites, such as Pueblo Viejo (Caraz) (Herrera 2005). The igneous rock of the Chincha was chullpas weathers naturally into a dark, purplish red; a distinctive red clay was used to plaster the façades of cave constructions at Marcajirca (Pampachacra). While red may have been preferred for exteriors, a few subterranean forms seem to emphasize a light or whitish pigment on mud plaster for tomb interiors, perhaps to offset their darkness (Bennett 1944; Wegner 1988).

During the Recuay Period, the emphasis on red and white surfaces was also repeated in sophisticated, polychrome funerary ceramics. Positive red slip and painting were combined with resist black over a kaolinite, white-paste body. Red marked the color of faces and exposed skin, expressing their vitality (Hohmann 2003), while black often served as the ground in which red and white designs were framed and foregrounded (Lau 2010b). Black probably associated with death, but it also resonated with the dark quality of tomb interiors in which regeneration occurred. In the idolatries documents, black was the preferred color for the clothing of mourners and grave offerings (potatoes, guinea pigs, corn) (Doyle 1988, 162–63).

Some three-color representations portray mortuary contexts, while others show effigy representations of humans and mummies (figure 5.10). The pots themselves, as receptacles for containing and serving libation liquids, facilitated the offering practices crucial in ancestor veneration. The vessels often depicted chiefly ancestors in the act of pouring (Lau 2010b). Color symbolism is also very prominent in Moche funerary ceramics (Bourget 2006, 108–12), and many groups around the world have a general emphasis on red-white-black color orientations in funerary practices (Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 45; Turner 1967). In particular, Turner (1967, 88) associates them with bodily fluids (e.g., blood, milk, semen, feces) pertaining to cosmological processes and symbolized in death practices and other rites of passage.

In sum, the Ancash record is consistent with Amerindian cosmologies that recognize the regenerative capacity of death through telluric and biological metaphors (e.g., Boone 2000; Duviviers 1979; Fitzsimmons 2009; Heyden 1981; Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006; López Austin 1988). Focused on the preservation and durability of expired bodies, there is less evidence of practices that sought to obliterate the physical trace and memory of the dead (e.g., Chaumeil 2007).

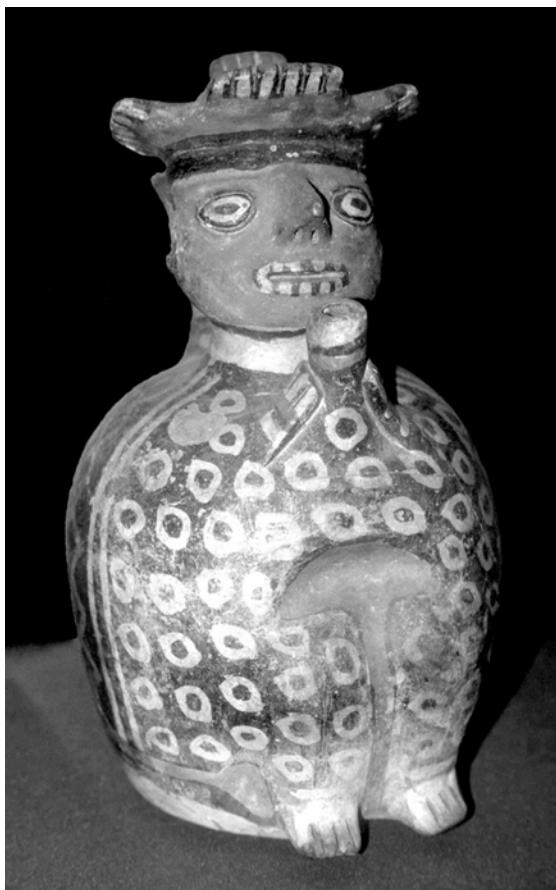


FIGURE 5.10. Modeled Recuay vessel of male figure resembling a seated mummy bundle. The figure grasps a small spout in the form of a cup, and he literally pours from himself, apropos of a chiefly ancestor. There is a larger spout for filling the vessel on the back. Courtesy of Museo de la Municipalidad de Caraz.

The Necropolis and Objectified Histories

Keeping the dead in close proximity over the longue durée manifested in another kind of evidence: the necropolis, a community of the dead.¹⁴ A necropolis's formation presumes a viable and enduring source community (or communities). And it may be seen as the result of its particular social organization and development (Salomon 1995, 347). The forms, activities, contents, and reuse of the burial spaces furnish clues that help inform their prehistory.

For an individual collective tomb, a social group of variable size kept an ongoing interest in its dead over time. These were groups who regarded the construction as a place for regular interaction between the living and the dead. The group added burials as necessary and as long as the cult

continued, presumably as long as the progenitors within the tomb were recognized as potent. A necropolis required multiple such groups.

Over time, the addition of new interments and funerary constructions often formed larger mortuary aggregations. At the scale of individual chamber, one case reported some 80 bundles (Antúnez 1923), all surrounding a carved human figure (*chonta* wood, Recuay style); their positioning may have reflected its centrality in descent reckoning (see also Zuidema 1978, 46). A related pattern occurred at the scale of individual structures, such as the addition of individual cists and new multichamber tombs to existing constructions during Recuay times (e.g., Pomakayán, Roko Amá). The additions appear to have been to relate new burial contexts and interments to the old ones.

A similar process also characterized the later proliferation of chullpas. At some necropoli sites, one finds scores of chullpas. Each was likely the burial shrine of a small, kin-based group, nested but also articulating itself within the larger collectivity (e.g., village, settlement, or ethnic group). Formal patterning of the necropolis (e.g., size, layout) should, notionally, follow principles of the residential sector. However, it has been rarely possible to determine the individual chronology of a given chullpa and its relation to other architecture, due to postdepositional processes, lack of work, and the shallow depth of deposits at chullpa sites.

Other cases of contested architectural histories have better chronological control. For example, the superposition of chullpas over earlier subterranean tombs occurred occasionally in the seventh century (e.g., Ichik Wilkawaín, Chinchawas); these occurred because the groups laid claim to the necropolis space and asserted physical appropriation, as well as new affiliations. The building of D-shaped structures at Honcopampa ca. AD 700 may have operated on a similar principle: to re-imagine local ancestors and their corresponding collectives within Wari's ritual-economic framework.

In the cases where there was physical distance between necropoli and the residential areas, it is clear that the dead needed to be kept physically separate from the living. This may have to do with the polluting aspects of the dead or their potential danger (Douglas 1976; Hertz 1960; Walter 2006). Also, it should be mentioned that not all residential settlements were established close to the burial grounds.

How and why a community develops a cemetery also implicates the peculiar social memory of the collective—who and what is conveyed about the past in the present (e.g., Huntington and Metcalf 1979; Joyce 2001; Salomon 1995; Silverman and Small 2002). Interestingly, Cobo ([1653] 1990, 42) averred that social differentiation affected the remembering of the dead among Inka groups. Long-term veneration over many generations lasted only for lords, as they had lands and infrastructure to maintain their

worship. For commoners, memory of the deceased would be lost when the deceased's children or grandchildren died. Zuidema (1978, 171–72) added that the genealogical structures of two Ancash dynasties were abbreviated, so that some generations were purposefully left out from what was reported to Church inspectors. He also argued that the physical positioning of the bundles around the founding ancestor may have reflected such genealogical correction.

The different lines of evidence show that burial practices and living-dead interactions were often malleable and contested over time (see Shimada et al., this volume). The spatial layout of body, tomb, and architectural arrangements located the social interests and orientations of their constituents. Ethnography has identified how the cemetery is eminently a reflection of society but also a social process—the living socialize the dead and the graveyard (Harris 1982, 56). In mapping social divisions and affiliations, funerary complexes in Ancash were palimpsests of their source communities and also sites for continual negotiation.

Engaging and Revitalizing the Dead

Previous sections have introduced some of the beliefs and changing statuses of the deceased body. I wish now to focus on the diversity of activities that were performed and embodied as forms of memory practice on the part of the living (Connerton 1989; Joyce 1998, 2005; Mills and Walker 2008). The most prominent body-centered death practice regards the making and use of ancestor effigies. Relying on ethnohistoric evidence, I concentrate on the mummies here, and discuss effigies more generally in the next section.

Treatment of the bodies probably first included removal of internal organs and, if appropriate, embalming. Cobo's ([1653] 1990, 39, 42) description of Inka Period groups is especially vivid:

The members of the deceased's *ayllu* and family unit would take the dead body, and if the deceased was a king or a great lord, the body would be embalmed with great skill. As a result, it would be preserved intact for many years, and it would not deteriorate or give off a foul odor. . . . This body was so well preserved and adorned that it looked as if it was alive. The face was so full, with such a natural skin complexion that it did not seem to be dead. . . . The face was preserved in that way because there was a calabash rind under the skin of each cheek. As the flesh dried out, the skin had remained tight and had taken on a nice gloss.¹⁵ [Italics in original]

Further intensive physical contact with the deceased is also implied through their regalia. One of the key acts in the ancestor cults, often

synchronized to propitious moments of the agricultural cycle, was to provide new wrappings for the ancestor (Arriaga [1621] 1968, 55; Doyle 1988, 228–29). This was as much a form of display and commitment on the part of the descendants as it was about pleasing the ancestor with fresh attire. If the outer surface was the public countenance for the bundles' interior potency (see also Lau 2010b), rewrapping demonstrated the new vitality, just as a plant discards old tissue or an animal sloughs off hair or skin.

Crucial bodily engagements also occurred through festive activities. These are best known from ethnohistoric accounts (Doyle 1988; Duvíols 2003; Hernández Príncipe 1923; Millones 1979), but is also evidenced through archaeology and iconography (Carrión Cachot 1955; Herrera 2008; Ibarra 2003b; Lau 2000, 2002; Mantha 2009). Food and other offerings were made to the dead, but these were accompanied by large quantities of food and drink consumed by the living. *Borracheras* (drunken public gatherings) were celebrations with great consumption of food and drink (figure 5.4). Dancing was common practice, as were consultations, conversations, and songs accompanied by flutes and drums. Ancestors had the capacity to speak and disseminated advice, predictions, and admonitions through their priests (Curatola and Ziolkowski 2008; Doyle 1988).

The various activities, enabled by the effigies' lightness and portability, revivified the ancestors and can be said to make them heavier, more solid, more present. Chicha maize beer was an especially crucial agent in the cults (Doyle 1988; Duvíols 2003; Millones 1979). Arriaga ([1621] 1968, 41) observed that "the principal offering, the best and most important part of Indian sacrifices, is chicha. By it and with it, the festivals of the *huacas* (sacred places and entities) begin. It is everything. . . . It is a common saying with them that when they go to worship the *huacas* they are giving them a drink." It was also the key beverage, drunk to excess, in their celebration. A plentiful supply was seen as a host's obligation and also the favor of ancestors, a bounty of resources made possible by their intervention. Thus, well-being coursed through the collective social body, living and ancestral.

Various prohibitions accompanied death practices. For example, the five-day burial ritual known as *pacarícu* required that people fasted, eating only white maize and meat, while abstaining from salt and chili pepper.¹⁶ Makers of chicha, as well as participants in ancestor celebrations marking the planting and harvest seasons, also abstained from these foods and sexual relations (Arriaga [1621] 1968, 56; Doyle 1988, 149).

A crucial kind of bodily engagement was visual. To perform activities under the gaze of ancestors and crucial others legitimized statuses and power relations. Some data exist that lend support to this conjecture. The interactive visual quality of Recuay figural ceramics (figures 5.4 and

5.10) may allude to a special form of subjectivity during ritual encounters, perhaps heightened through intoxication and shared between chiefly/ancestral figures and their followers (Lau 2008, 2010b). Cobo ([1653] 1990, 42) remarked that the Inka fabricated a mummy effigy so that “[its] artificial eyes were open, and this gave the impression that it was looking at those who were present.”

While the symbolism of growth and regeneration is relatively abundant, more can be said about decay and decomposition. Because the physical disposal of the corpse is essential to social renewal and the fate of the souls (Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 53–57), society must do away with the locus of pollution for it to continue. The process, for many cultures, requires burial or careful processing to expel its putrescent matter. For ancient Ancash groups, this appears to have consisted mainly of removing internal organs and then its subsequent mummification through desiccation. There are also Recuay ceramics and stone carvings depicting creatures who “take” or predate on anthropomorphic figures; other representations show similar animals and birds picking on heads, as well as consuming the innards of dead human figures (Grieder 1978, 138, 148). These may be related to notions of defleshing and to local Quechua oral traditions about the role of pumas, especially in transitioning the deceased into the afterlife (Walter 1997, 2002).

The key function of the grave vessels was to contain offerings of liquids and foods, probably chicha (e.g., Allen 1982; Bourget 2006; Weismantel 2004). Chicha accompanied death practices as offerings and beverages at all key moments of handling the dead, from its initial expiration to ancestralization and veneration (Doyle 1988). Chicha and the dead are linked, not least because both seek to manage decay (Gose 1994, 134–35). Chicha, of course, is produced through fermentation (Hayashida 2008; Jennings et al. 2005). A related fermented offering used dark or purple maize and was served “strong and thick,” called *tecti* (Arriaga [1621] 1968, 42).¹⁷

Effigy vessels (figures 5.4 and 5.10) make clear that the fluids flowed from the death process, which the ancestral figure provisioned. What nourishes the ancestor as offerings and literally fills the effigy vessel as liquid is produced by a similar process of decomposition (grinding, fermentation, spoiling) that the living endeavor to avoid for the physical corpse. Notably, the presence of fermented drink and ancestral corpses might be best discerned through the olfactory senses, for the production and use of both implies a great, distinctive odor.¹⁸ The unbearable smell of decaying bodies prompted descendants to remove their forebears from Christian graves and the burden of the soil (Doyle 1988, 205). The command and embodiment of decaying forms was, in a sense, a perpetual triumph over death and a basic part of the “alchemy which transforms death into fertility” (Bloch and Parry 1982, 41).

The Proliferation of Simulacra

The various physical engagements with the dead constituted vital forms of sociality. The complex of living-dead relations, from the long burial process to the installation and veneration of cult images, obliged multiple social relations and interactions. It was precisely in these contexts that social roles were instantiated (e.g., “kin”), obliterated (e.g., “coworker”), changed (“host”), or remade (e.g., “widow”) through the loss of loved ones. Characterizing this process was a series of social activities seen as proper—done with and witnessed by one’s forebears, in the form of simulacra. While mummified bodies served as one kind, the archaeological and historical records indicate there were many other types, made of different materials. All these were invested with parts of or ascribed some essence of the original.

Stone, in particular, because of its generative properties, was an important material for images (Howard 2006; Lau 2008). One kind consisted of the standing stone uprights known as huancas, or *wankas*, that feature little or no modification besides their positioning (figure 5.11). In highland Ancash, the first huancas appeared by the Early Horizon, and the



FIGURE 5.11. Photograph of three huancas, one fallen over, east of Huaraz (mid-ground). Note the low stone platform on which the huancas stand. As ancestral images, huancas served a number of purposes, including marking the location of graves, as guardian divinities, and as markers of fields and territory.

tradition continued until colonial times (Bazán del Campo 2007; Bazán del Campo and Wegner 2006; Doyle 1988; Falcón 2004). Some huanca sites featured substantial platforms to further distinguish the monument. Other huancas were used to mark the presence of burial constructions underneath (e.g., Chinchawas, Jancu). Duviols (1977, 1979) argued that huancas (~phallic, erected above-ground) and mummy bundles (likened to seeds/infants, contained in fecund locales) formed a complementary pairing symbolic of agricultural work, as well as sexual reproduction.¹⁹

Effigies were also carved out of stone. The best-known examples are from the Recuay tradition (Grieder 1978; Lau 2006; Schaedel 1948, 1952). Ancestors could also be manifested through ceramic figurines and figurative vessels, not to mention wood and small stones. In other words, many items were inscribed with the partible potency of ancestors. It was not tethered to the dead body, but could be incorporated into another container.

Over the long term, the record evidences a range of bodies and effigies, and potential associations (figure 5.12). Especially useful here is Salomon's discussion (1995, 328–34; see also 1998, 9–11) of colonial-era native concepts for death and dying as kinds of becoming (sensu Urioste 1981, 15–18). The "death continuum" accords physical states and associations of the *huañuc*, or *wañuq* (expiring body), and its transformation after death from the more fleshy recently dead (moribund to cadaver) to the harder, dry, and fixed status of *aya*, and *mallqui* ("enshrined" mummy). In this way, the different kinds of effigies may have marked different kinds of deceased in a temporal progression. Some documents, for example, refer to distinctions between recently deceased and those who have been lithified: from *mallqui* to *huaca* *mallqui* to *huaca* (Zuidema 1978).²⁰ The last were those beings farthest removed in terms of genealogical distance and time, and perhaps more important in terms of being founding progenitors and who had been turned into stone.

To schematize living and dead interactions, figure 5.13 presents a model of their regenerative effects. Accompanying bodily transformations and associations are flows concerning the vitality of bodies and directed forms of productive effort, issued at different intervals. One type, essentially burial treatments and subsequent ritual work (B>C and C>D), is concentrating and centrifugal from humans to the corpse/prototype. The other (D>A) is the goal of ancestor cults: vitality issued from the ancestor to the serial group. Archaeologists most commonly encounter the remains of practices and objects associated with modalities C>D and D>A.

Having multiple images of ancestors might be explained by additional, more contingent factors. New images may have been to replace stolen, captured, or destroyed effigies (Doyle 1988, 66). For example, when the Spanish destroyed *mallqui* ancestors in *autos de fé* (acts of faith),

Corporeal status	Living	→	Cadaver	→	Mummy/bundle	→	Stone effigy
Colonial Quechua terms	(causac)	huañuc	aya	mallqui	huaca	mallqui	huaca
----- (ancestors) -----							
Materiality							
interiority	wet		desiccated				{stone}
surface	soft, warm, supple		dry, bony, shriveled				hard, cold, fixed
weight	(regular)		light				heavy
Genealogical distance	closer						greater
Time	more recent						older

FIGURE 5.12. Diagram showing associations of different human corporeal states, from living to stone effigy. Three key variables are time, materiality, and genealogical distance.

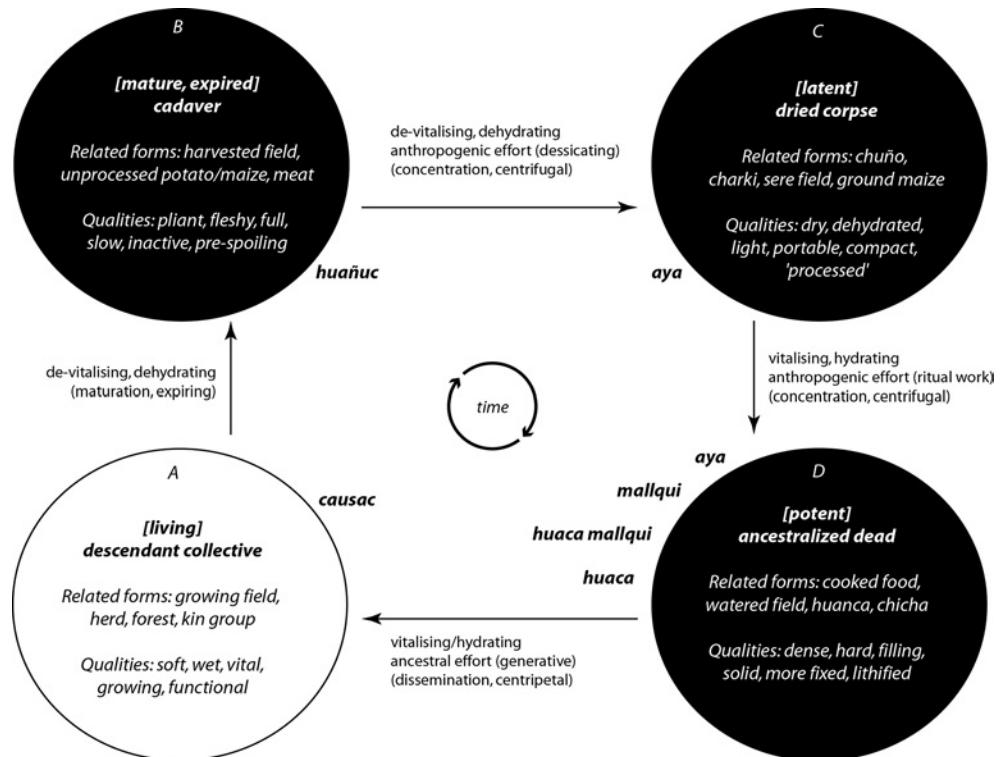


FIGURE 5.13. Diagram showing a scheme of regeneration, physical associations, and flows of vitality between different modalities of the living and dying body (B-C-D, in black).

sometimes it was discovered that native Andeans would surreptitiously salvage the ashes, surviving body parts (e.g., nails, hair), and other associated remains to reconstitute new cult images. Resourceful redefinition of the ancestral (e.g., conopas, mallquis, huacas, and mountains) was part of the drastic post-conquest upheaval in local ritual systems and cosmologies (e.g., Gose 2006).

In seeking to reconstitute society during periods of transition, each corporate event for the dead formed crucial political opportunities—especially for those who sought to legitimize or displace positions of authority based on ancestral relations. While the key diagnostics for constituting an ancestor may have been time, memory of heroic deeds, genealogical distance, and physical qualities, these were also sites of negotiation. For example, the Inka practice of capacocha, such as with Tanta Carhua (a girl who does not appear to have been a biological progenitor), appears to have circumvented the conventional rules and ideal progression of ancestor-making. Effigies could be produced to present the ancestral being in public display and performance, and other significant settings. Their physical engagement with others grew by having multiple images. Such practices are perhaps best known for the *huauque* brother, or double images, described for Inka lords (e.g., Van de Guchte 1996). Recuay ceramic and stone-carved effigies may have served similar purposes.

The capacity to assert association with the agents of social and economic well-being must have been crucial. Bloch and Parry (1982, 41) assert, “[Through ideology,] society is made both emotionally and intellectually unassailable by means of that alchemy which transforms death into fertility. This fertility is represented as a gift made by those in authority which they bestow by their blessings.” In the process, the transcendent power of the dead is translated into power among the living.

Conclusions

This chapter has examined burial and postmortem ritual practices in Peru’s northern highlands. I reviewed different analytical units (cult objects, tomb, and necropolis) to elucidate enduring regional dispositions in the interactions between the living and the dead. Continuities, as well as marked transformations, have been identified that emphasize the regenerative properties of the esteemed dead.

The longue durée perspective contributes in a number of ways. First, it allowed fuller accounting of the variability and trajectory of cultural practices than is usually possible with the study of shorter spans of time and single cultures or contexts; it also provides serial examples to more confidently bridge archaeological and historical forms of evidence. Over

time, the primary and most elaborate forms were constructions for group secondary interments. First appearing during the early centuries AD, the forms appear to have resulted from the efforts and strategies of collectivities—most small and probably descent based. The major change was a general move away from subterranean graves to above-ground mortuary constructions, ca. AD 700. Later developments saw less ostentatious mortuary practices, when there was, nevertheless, widespread popularization of chullpas as a burial form. In general, we see more frequent burial constructions over time.

The effects of the major periods of cultural integration were not always plainly evident. More research is necessary, but the expansions of Wari and Inka did not coincide with major transformations in local ceremony; ancestor cults continued to flourish. Nevertheless, there were innovations (e.g., D-shaped structures, capacocha, and chullpas) that helped reinvent traditions during critical historical junctures. Inka accounts of provincial administration are consistent with these practices. It remains to determine whether Wari Period developments resulted from hegemonic forms of statecraft, local resistance, or other as yet undetermined reasons.

The longue durée perspective also sheds light on the role of renewal embedded in four recurring themes. First, much of Andean mortuary—its forms and practices—concerned the enduring bodily presence of ancestors. The various burial constructions have been understood generally as containers for preserving, maintaining, and connecting with tangible ancestral forms. Over time, with the move to chullpas and larger collective burials and necropoli, greater emphasis was given to access, visual prominence, and overtly materializing social links to the dead. All can be considered palimpsests of local social orders and histories.

A related axis focused on the transformation of people into cult objects, or perhaps more correctly, objects treated as persons. This manifested especially through desiccated mummies and flexed interments. The objectification process also occurred at different forms and scales, from grave items to buildings and landforms. Schematizations charted the course from corpse to lithified ancestor and implicated changing associations (time depth, genealogical distance, and recognition about the materiality of dead/live things) and flows of vitality. Older progenitors, by obligation, were located further away in time and descent reckoning, but may have been the most potent and efficacious. Groups valued more permanent, durable, and solid physical bodies.

If physical images provided the pivots for religious mediation, the record also demonstrates the remarkable protean capacity of ancestors to adapt and embody different forms. This cosmological latitude may have been why ancestor cults were so enduring, even during great times of cultural change (e.g., Wari, Inka, colonial). At the same time, historical

contingency and local politics of burial and simulacra ensured constant transformation. Ancestor cults were exercises in group identity and memory, which located actors via a socially constituted relationship to the past. The longue durée shows that that past and its inscription, however, were rarely stable.

Finally, the interactions between the living and the dead were seen as vital forms of embodied practice. The movements and activities of the participants (e.g., drinking, serving, offering, deference, and visitation) enabled the nourishing and disciplining of bodies as cyclical, predictable process. Burial constructions and the treatment of the corpse marshaled symbolism from the life-death transformations of living forms, both plant and animal. In attending to their ancestors, descendants reinvigorated their vitalizing prototypes and repeated the embodied acts that engendered them. Mimetic representations (effigies) and practice (rites) replicated ancestral models, desiring their constant, formulaic production. What resulted from the cult practices were transformed bodies, both living and dead, that together renewed the social body.

Faith in the productive quality of dead forebears, of course, strained any easy rapprochement between Andeans and Christians. Whereas the soul, emancipated from the body, remains eminent in Christianity, pre-Hispanic practices privileged the materiality of the dead body and its physical engagement long after biological death. And whereas groups today actively seek the release of the soul from the putrescent corpse to distance it from society (Gose 1994, 121; Harris 1982, 62), much pre-Hispanic practice sought the curation of the deceased's essence in order to bring its vitality and fruits closer.

Not long after Pizarro, the promise of the salvation of indigenous souls fueled the campaigns to destroy idolatry across the highlands. Yet so deeply rooted were interactions between the living and the dead that Arriaga ([1621] 1968, 19–20) disparaged the history of failed conversion as “long and sorrowful.” Ultimately, the Church made inroads by replacing the myriad ancestral effigies with images of its one true God—also a suffering body in need of devotion.

Notes

1. It is best associated with the French Annales School of history and scholars, such as F. Braudel and M. Bloch.
2. Here considered as specific named deceased, mainly progenitors, deemed to have influence over the affairs of the living (see also Isbell 1997; Lau 2008).
3. Represented today by the departments of Ancash, Lima, Huánuco, Cerro de Pasco, Junín, and parts of Ica.

4. As is common practice, I use “Huarás” to refer to the ancient culture and “Huaraz” for the modern city.

5. *El Comercio*, April 8, 1998.

6. It was in *Inca*, the serial edited by J. C. Tello in 1923, that the Hernández Príncipe document was first published.

7. Mejía (1957, 101, my translation) argued that the term is based on the Quechua term (verb) “*ch'ulla*,” which means “to divide, separate, isolate, disintegrate.” With the suffix –pa, *chullpa* could be “the division, isolation, or disintegration of an object or thing.” Mejía did not continue this interesting discussion in relation to any funerary cosmology (e.g., separation of living/dead, or corpse/soul, etc.). Although it is unclear what languages were spoken in pre-Inka Ancash, I will continue to use the term, since it provides an expedient gloss.

8. Where applicable, the term is used synonymously with mausoleum and burial shrine.

9. Excavations in the base and platform of the large, isolated *chullpa* at Keushu by a team led by Ryozo Matsumoto (pers. comm.) resulted in Middle Horizon remains.

10. It is significant that Allen (1982, 182) writes, “As potatoes turn into *ch'uño*, they are said to die. I was told repeatedly that *ch'uño* is *wañusqa* (dead).”

11. This was another bodily orientation that conflicted with Christian practice, which favored the extended position (Doyle 1988, 204).

12. Allen (1982) has made this comparison especially for potatoes. Sillar (1996) has focused on the comparison's storage structures.

13. *Chullpas*, not infrequently, had subterranean components, in the form of chambers, cists, or hollows overlain by the above-ground building.

14. Herrera (2005) has suggested the term “mortuary community.”

15. Interestingly, Cobo (1990, 39) observed that “some of the bodies lasted this way for two hundred years,” suggesting that he had queried about the age of the oldest ones in living memory. Still, this underestimates the durability of mummification. Highland mummies dating from the Late Intermediate Period are still occasionally found in dry caves of Ancash. On the arid Andean coast, many mummies over several millennia old are known.

16. *Pacarícuc*, from “*Pacaric*, what is reborn, what returns, the dawn” (Arriaga 1968, 56); the same root is used in *pacarina*.

17. Most glosses focus on its making technique, González Holguín: “*Tekte*. El adobo que echan a la chicha”; Perroud/Chouvenc: “Cocimiento del molido de maíz fermentado o jora; primera operación de la elaboración de la chicha” (Arriaga 1999: note 154). Interestingly, *tiki* in Ancash Quechua means “verruga, verruga seca (dry wart)” (Parker and Chávez 1976).

18. *Tocush* (fermented potato mush) is another product sometimes used for festive events today in Ancash, and it is said to have medicinal properties. It is prepared in pits with access to running water, and has a distinctive, rotten smell.

19. See also Gose 1994 for ethnographic parallels, especially between death and sowing.

20. There would also be great variability whether this timeline occurred over the course of a few years or over many generations, as would be expected. Some ancestors could be made in the course of a few seasons, such as the *capacocha* Tanta Carhua (Hernández Príncipe 1923).

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CHAPTER SIX

Ancestors and Social Memory

A South American Example of Dead Body Politics

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Inka empire building swarmed with cultural politics. Thus battles over bodies also became battles over histories. And since struggles in the Andes had kinship at their core, it is not surprising that struggles over histories were played out in clashes over descent.

—Silverblatt, “*Imperial Dilemmas*”

I present the politics of corpses as being less about legitimating new governments (though it can be that, too) than about cosmologies and practices relating the living and the dead. And I see the rewriting of history that is obviously central to dead-body politics as part of a larger process whereby fundamental changes are occurring in conceptions of time itself.

—Verdery, “*The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*”

Introduction

In the first epigram cited above, Silverblatt discusses the politics of Inka conquest in terms of battles over histories, over descent, and over bodies. In her richly documented discussion of cultural politics, she emphasizes the mechanisms by which the Inka captured ideologies of descent and integrated local belief systems into the power of the Inka Empire. Focusing

upon the manner in which the Inka actively acquired and manipulated social memories, Silverblatt's discussion centers on the living bodies of the conquered and the conqueror. Her arguments concerning descent and the creation of common ancestry hold implications, however, for the interpretation of other Andean bodies. The Inka's battles over bodies not only framed interpretations of a common, mythic past but also included the very real remnants of corporeal ancestors. The extension of Silverblatt's argument to include the formerly living anchors the case study presented here.

Far separated in space and time from Silverblatt's ethnohistoric treatise is Katherine Verdery's compelling discussion of "dead-body politics" in postsocialist Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Her opening sentence, "dead bodies have enjoyed political life the world over and since far back in time," underscores, however, the centrality of the dead in numerous and varied political arenas (Verdery 1999, 1). Insightfully, Verdery extends her argument beyond the formerly living and argues that statues are also national relics whose functions frequently parallel those of less durable corpses, and the line between "bone and bronze" is argued to be thin (Verdery 1999, 12). In the precolonial Andes, the analogy between statues and dead bodies is remarkably apt. At a local level, durable, mummified ancestors were regularly consulted, and their presence was required at auspicious ritual events (Arriaga [1621] 1968; Doyle 1988; MacCormack 1991). Nationally, Inka ritual and political landscapes were mediated by *wawkis* (statue-brothers) of the living and deceased mummified Inka rulers (Gose 1996; Dean 1999). While frequently glossed as "an ancestor cult," interactions between the living Andeans and their dead involved much more than veneration. As oracles, the dead were consulted and used to either shift the delicate balance of power that was the Inka world or to affirm it.

Verdery also offers worthwhile advice to students of dead-body politics.

This [dead-body politics] is an immense topic. To do it even minimal justice requires attending to political symbolism; to death rituals and beliefs, such as ideas about what constitutes a 'proper burial'; to the connections between the particular corpses being manipulated and the wider national and international contexts of their manipulations; and to reassessing or rewriting the past and creating or retrieving 'memory.' (Verdery 1999, 3)

Thus, in order to explore the implications of dead-body politics, we must understand both histories: the written and the rewritten. Contexts extend beyond the body to the broader national and international arenas where the corpse may be manipulated either physically or symbolically.

In this paper, we consider an Inka case study in dead-body politics. As we develop our interpretations, we are sensitive to Silverblatt's concept of "battles over histories," as well as Verdery's concern for contextual grounding. In focusing upon the durable, mummified ancestors, we also explore Robert Hertz's concept of secondary burial and liminality. Throughout we are mindful of Coser's closing comment in the introduction to a recent edition of Maurice Halbwachs's *On Collective Memory*: "the present generation may rewrite history but it does not write it on a blank page" (Coser 1992, 34).

The Setting: La Laguna de Los Cóndores

The funerary site, LC1 (La Laguna de Los Cóndores), is located in northern Perú (figure 6.1) and is frequently referenced by the name of the lake above which it is positioned (Guillén 1998). Beginning at approximately AD 800, the Cloud Forest that includes La Laguna was occupied by people who are described in the Spanish Chronicles as the "Chachapoya."¹ The seven *chullpas* (stone funerary towers) in which La Laguna remains were discovered are of a typical Chachapoya style, which includes zig-zag friezes. The builders had leveled the floor of a natural rock shelter about 99 m (325 ft.) above the valley floor and then created towers approximately 3 m (10 ft.) high. Ancestral remains, wrapped in textiles, had been placed upon two levels of platforms within the towers. Chullpa windows faced the lake and overlooked a Chachapoya residential site (Llaqtacocha or "town-on-the-lake") containing more than 100 house foundations (Guillén 1998; von Hagen 2002a, 2002b; von Hagen and Guillén 1998).

Published accounts have focused upon the spectacular bundles of remains, some of which included intact, prepared bodies. Sonia Guillén, who directed the excavations at La Laguna, states that some corpses had been artificially prepared and that the skin of these mummies resembled well-preserved leather. She reports that

the mummies themselves were . . . subjected to a sophisticated process, the skin carefully treated and cotton inserted in mouth, cheeks, and nose. The bodies were embalmed, the internal organs removed through the rectum or vagina, depending on sex and these orifices, which had been enlarged for that purpose, were then carefully plugged. The result was a dried and preserved corpse capable of surviving the effects of time and climate. The typical odor of natural mummies is absent and, in some cases, it is even possible to detect a natural antiseptic. (Guillén 1998, 47)

Prepared, intact bodies, however, appear to be only the most recent remains deposited at the site, including a few associated with diagnostic



FIGURE 6.1. Map of Peru showing the major archaeological sites and modern settlements in the northeastern area of Peru. Solid squares indicate archaeological sites.

artifacts from the Spanish colonial period. Other, earlier textile bundles contained disarticulated skeletons, sometimes incorporating bones from multiple individuals (Guillén 2003; Wild et al. 2007). These apparently predate the intact interments, as do an estimated 200 or more individuals represented as disarticulated skeletons, apparently deposited as secondary interments, placed in baskets. Some bones had been painted with red pigment, perhaps cinnabar. Archaeologists infer that the people who interred the mummies had gathered the previously entombed skeletonized remains into two structures, Chullpas 1 and 3 at the east end of the group (von Hagen 2002a).

Who, then, do these remains represent? The intact mummies have been variously considered Chachapoya, Inka, or perhaps relocated *mitimaes* (people permanently relocated by the state for its varied purposes) from Cajamarca and Chimú. The earlier, disarticulated skeletons are considered Chachapoya (Guillén 1998, 2003; von Hagen 2002a, 2002b; von Hagen and Guillén 1998). The funerary contrast between the two sets of dead bodies is striking: one fully composed of dry bone and the other, elaborately prepared, dried images of the living. In considering the meaning behind these contrastive disposal forms, we must heed Verdery's sage advice and first explore the Chachapoya context more fully. We then turn to Andean traditions of mummification and concepts of the body. Theories of mortuary treatment provide further grounding for the interpretation of Inka dead-body politics.

The Chachapoya and Their Mortuary Customs

During the early 1470s, Túpac Inka Yupanqui exerted control over the Chachapoya region (Espinoza Soriano 1967; Schjellerup 1980/81, 1997; von Hagen 2002a). At that time the region was occupied by at least 20 independent *ayllus* who united politically only in opposition to common enemies (Church 1996; Espinoza Soriano 1967; Guillén 1998; Lerche 1995). An *ayllu* is a social group composed of descendants from the same ancestors (i.e., kinship based) who collectively possessed their own lands, pastures (included llama and alpaca herds), and water supply. Three Chachapoya ethnic groups have been identified, which correspond roughly to the *parcialidades* (multiple segmentary units) received by the Spaniard Alonso de Alvarado in 1538. Based on his analysis of the geographic distribution of the geometric designs that are found on Chachapoya buildings, Lerche (1995) has divided the region into northern and southern portions. Buildings in the northern portion predominately exhibit a trapezoidal, eye-shaped pattern, while sites in the south contain buildings with zig-zags. According to Lerche (1995), these forms converge at the site of Congona,

near the modern town of Leymebamba. For heuristic purposes therefore, the area of Leymebamba and Congona will serve as the demarcation between “northern” and “southern” Chachapoya sites.

While the Chachapoya can be identified archaeologically through similarities of architectural design details and artifact motifs, a remarkable variety of Chachapoya mortuary treatments clearly exist (Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscutt 2010). Human remains have been reported from caves, (Langlois 1940a, 1940b; Reichlen and Reichlen 1949, 1950; Schjellerup 1997; Thompson 1973; Zubiate Zabarburu 1984) and within the walls and houses at sites such as Kuelap (Narváez Vargas 1988) and Patron Samana (Schjellerup 1997). Additionally, there are anthropomorphic sarcophagi, which appear to be a northern phenomenon (Kauffmann Doig et al. 1989; von Hagen 2002a, 2002b) and cliff-side stone chullpas, which are more common in the south (von Hagen 2002a, 2002b). In the former, Kauffmann Doig et al. (1989) identify six types of sarcophagi, four of which bear anthropomorphic images and two that simply enclose human remains. The most elaborate clay and cane sarcophagi are monuments over 2 m high, containing single interments, and topped by a human skull impaled on a wooden rod extending through the foramen magnum (figure 6.2). Though the chullpas vary in terms of plan, including round, semicircular, rectangular, and square, they exhibit a number of similarities. Construction material generally consists of cleaved white limestone slabs mortared with mud. The geometric designs mentioned above are incorporated directly into the construction of the walls (figure 6.2).

In addition to this variability in mortuary architecture, there is also evidence that indicates significant variability in postmortem body processing, including both secondary burials (Guillén 1998; Morales et al. 2002; von Hagen 2002a) and the interment of mummified remains. At present, however, there is no consensus concerning the degree to which artificial mummification was practiced by any of the Chachapoya ayllus prior to the arrival of the Inka (Guillén 2005; Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscutt 2010). Several reports from pre-Inka Chachapoya contexts (e.g., chullpas and anthropomorphic sarcophagi) do mention the presence of cadavers and mummies, as opposed to bones and skulls (Horkheimer 1959; Kauffmann Doig 1989; Zubiate Zabarburu 1984), though these have not been systematically investigated. Recently, mummies from a mortuary site adjacent to the Laguna Huayabamba in the southern half of the region have been described (Briceño and Muscutt 2004; Fernandez-Dávila 2008; Muscutt 2001; Nystrom 2005; Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscutt 2010). While the exterior treatment of the mummies (e.g., textiles wrappings) seems to, at least superficially, resemble the Cóndores mummies, the Huayabamba mummies do not appear to have been eviscerated as has been reported for the Laguna de los Cóndores mummies (Guillén 2005). Importantly,



FIGURE 6.2. Variation in Chachapoya mortuary treatment. The left image shows clay and cane sarcophagi characteristic of the north, while the right side illustrates stone structures or chullpas positioned on cliff faces.

radiocarbon analysis of anthropogenic plant material associated with the mummy bundles indicate that they date to the Late Chachapoya Period, prior to the AD 1470 Inca conquest (Fernandez-Dávila 2008; Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscatt 2010).²

A second point of debate has focused upon the inclusivity or exclusivity of the mortuary structures. At one level, several authors have suggested that there is a kin-based structuring to chullpas interment at Laguna de los Cóndores (von Hagen and Guillén 1998), Los Pinchudos (Morales et al. 2002), and Laguna Huayabamba (Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscatt 2010). To date, however, intra-chullpa biological distance studies have not been conducted.

Additionally, the argument has been made that interment in chullpas was reserved for the elite members of society, whether Chachapoya or Inka (Church and Morales 2001; von Hagen 2002b; Vreeland and Cockburn 1980). Several lines of evidence are commonly used to support this perspective. The elaborate nature of the mummy bundles and the remote and/or inaccessible locations of interment facilities are frequently cited. In 1940, Langlois noted that the assumption that chullpas contained only the remains of elite suggests that there should have been cemeteries for the common folks. He emphasized, however, that none had been discovered to date and none have been reported since he made this observation. Vreeland and Cockburn (1980) infer that the elite were placed in above-ground structures while others were interred below ground. This conclusion is based upon a Spanish Chronicler's report (Vizcarra 1574) of the desecration of the Apo Chuquimis's body by Colla Tópac. Chuquimis's cadaver was ordered removed from its burial cave and dishonored by placement beneath the earth (Espinoza Soriano 1967; Schjellerup 1984, 1997).

Espinoza Soriano (1967, 246) reports that the cadaver was dishonored and vilified by this subterranean interment as any common man (“como a cualquier hombre plebeyo”). It is not clear, however, that Vizcarra actually witnessed nonelites being interred beneath the soil. As we shall see in a later section that explores traditional highland Andean concepts of the body, interment carried the connotation of eternal dishonor well beyond that of being associated in death with common folk.

Others deduce that the remains recovered to date are simply too few to account for Chachapoya dead. However, the presence of at least 19 other sites grouped around La Laguna de los Cóndores suggests that low estimates of interment numbers may be biased by the fact that few such remote locations have been systematically surveyed. Overall, the degree of destructive disturbance at most sites, the poor preservation in many contexts, and the lack of systematic site enumeration suggest that conclusions concerning exclusivity are premature.

The Body and Social Memory: An Embedded Andean Tradition

The elaborately prepared mummies found at Cóndores and Huayabamba are relatively recent manifestations of a deeply embedded Andean tradition surrounding the care and preservation of the dead. The most ancient prepared mummies in the world have been recovered from ~7,000-year-old Chinchorro sites located in South America, in the coastal region of the Atacama Desert in present-day northern Chile and southern Perú (Allison et al. 1984; Arriaza 1995a, 1995b, 1996; Arriaza et al. 1998; Bittmann 1982; Bittmann and Munizaga 1976; Guillén 1992; Mostny 1944). The so-called “black mummies,” prepared by fully defleshing and eviscerating remains, date from approximately 5050 to 2550 BC. Slightly less complex “red mummies” first appear ca. 2500 BC, forming a tradition that lasted approximately 500 years (Arriaza et al. 1998).

The complexities of Chinchorro body preparation are generally accepted, with debate surrounding possible explanations for such elaboration among early fisher-gatherers. The fact that some mummies present evidence of exposure and repainting (Allison et al. 1984; Bird 1943; Mostny 1944) suggests that they may have served as visible monuments of group affiliation and perhaps as territorial markers (Buikstra 1995).

While post-Chinchorro Andean mummies are well known, most occurred naturally without specialized body treatment. The few exceptions include the complicated methods employed to create Nazca trophy heads and a few eviscerated and prepared ~1000 AD Chiribaya mummies from the southern coast of Peru (Guillén 2003). However, thousands of honored

mallquis (ancestral mummies) were found throughout the Andes during the initial Spanish march to Cusco. These remains undoubtedly represent pre-Inka traditions whereby the ancestors were active participants in the economic, political, social, and spiritual affairs of their descendants. We can never know exactly how the Central Andean corpses were prepared due to the pervasively destructive activities of the Spanish, who first attacked the royals of Cuzco and then turned to the hinterlands (Arriaga [1621] 1968; Conrad and Demarest 1984). Indeed, controversy has focused upon the proposal that these Royal Inka mummies of Cuzco were embalmed and eviscerated. The early Spanish Chroniclers, no doubt influenced by ancient Egyptian examples, were quite willing to accept a variety of preparation methods, ranging from freeze-drying to preservation with balsam or bitumen (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1966; Guaman Poma de Ayala [1615] 1978; [1590] Valera 1945). Recent scholars, such as Arriaza (1995a) and Vreeland (1998), have expressed skepticism concerning these interpretations. The elaborate treatment accorded the mummies recovered from La Laguna de los Condores, however, suggests that at least some of the Chroniclers' observations were accurate and that Inka corpses may have been eviscerated and embalmed. Such elaborate methods for corpse preservation, however, had only recently come to the La Laguna context, having replaced or significantly modified an earlier, distinctively different burial program. To further explore the possible meaning behind these changes in funerary procedures, we now turn to traditional Andean concepts of the body.

The Andean Body: Cosmology and Landscape

One of the most widely cited constructions of the Andean human body is that of Bastien (1978, 1987), whose research among the Kallawayan healers of Bolivia well illustrates the integration of land, body, and the supernatural. Located in midwestern Bolivia, adjacent to Perú and northeast of Lake Titicaca, the Kallawayans, like many other traditional Andeans, conceptualize time as cyclic, not linear. Concepts of the body and its integration with their social world, with the natural landscape, and with the cosmos also contrast with Western traditions.

As Bastien (1978, 1987) emphasizes, the tripartite landscape, ayllu, and human body divisions are not perfectly isomorphic. Even so, there are metaphorical linkages between the mountain, for example, and the body. The peak of the mountain is the head, the central slopes the trunk, and the lower slopes, the legs. Linking portions of the body, the ayllu villages and the embodied landscape are conduits for blood and for water. That this Andean worldview has considerable time depth and geographic generality is suggested by the fact that Huarochiri legends also associate the human body

with the mountain metaphor (Bastien 1987, 73). In discussing the Kallawayan body, Bastien emphasizes that there is no perceived division between the psyche and the body, truly an embodied mind–mindful body integration (*sensu* Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987; see also Bell 1992). Mummification would seem an ideal mortuary procedure to maintain this organic unity.

Similarly, Gose's (1994) ethnography of Huaquirca, a traditional Andean peasant community in southern Perú, emphasizes the centrality of the mountain metaphor. Gose (1994, 130) describes a sequence whereby the “soul is reduced by heat in the afterlife, the animating water that it once embodied is driven back into the land of the living.” The moisture thus provided is part of a hydraulic cycle that leads to the expulsion of water from a western mountain and thus fuels agriculture. Though the people of Huaquirca now inter their dead, we can envision a past where desiccated mummies confirmed that the vital moisture had moved from the ancestor into the natural cycle.

Such concepts of the human body, its integral place within Andean natural cycles, the significance of wholeness, the repugnance of putrid flesh, the dead body in a state of suspended animation awaiting an infusion of fluid to once again join the living, all help explain the Inka/Central Andean preoccupation with mummification and the wholeness of the deceased body. Profoundly concerned about the integrity of his body, the Royal Inka Atahualpa converted to Christianity shortly before he was strangled so that his body would remain intact and not be burned (Hernández et al. 1987).³

Inka *capac cocha* human sacrifices were typically killed either by drowning or strangulation, or by being entombed alive in order to conserve the body (Clasen 1993). That burial in earth would not preserve the body is undoubtedly reflected in the rationale offered by sixteenth-century Andeans for removing corpses from Christian cemeteries to *machays* (burial caves). In one account, “witnesses stated that the corpse had to be buried in the Andean manner, because when placed in the extended position underground, the earth on top of him prevented the deceased from breathing and moving. . . . They asked to be taken to the houses of their grandfathers and mallquis because they were not able to move and because in the church grave they would rot—they said it smelled horrible there” (Doyle 1988, 205). Another enterprising couple interred their children in a church crypt made of stone slabs so that they might access them and treat them in the traditional manner, including a fiesta and a procession around town (Arriaga [1621] 1968).

A further example of the general Andean distaste for interment involved the Chachapoya chief Chuquimis. As punishment for the alleged poisoning of Huayna Capac in 1525, his remains were taken from a cave and then buried, thus desecrating him and his lineage (Espinoza Soriano 1967; Schjellerup 1984, 1997). Given the widespread aversion to burial among

traditional highland Andeans, it appears likely that Chuquimis's remains were desecrated by the act of interment itself rather than an inferred association with graves of the common folk. These examples underscore the need to maintain the body whole and uncorrupted, even in death, and the penalty for not doing so.

Interestingly, the drive to maintain an intact body remains strong among the traditional Andean peoples studied by Abercrombie (1998) in the vicinity of Santa Barbara de Culta, Bolivia. When engaged in photography, he found "that formal poses were vastly preferred over casual snapshots," and he stated, "Many people greatly objected to close-ups that 'cut' part of their bodies. One of the resident vecinos was convinced that I meant him bodily harm" (Abercrombie 1998, 68).

Recent Western scholarship concerning the body has emphasized the need to move beyond the Cartesian duality of mind and body, focusing instead upon the embodied mind and the mindful body (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987). The artificial nature of the Cartesian dichotomy is well illustrated in the Kallawayan case, where the corporeal being is fully integrated with not only the psyche but also with the physical landscape and the mythic order of the world. Thus, among traditional Andeans, individual bodies, alive and dead, exist within a reproductive cycle that maps upon both the physical and social landscapes. The journey of an intact body thus never ends.

We may therefore infer that for ancient Andeans, social order and memory (*sensu* Connerton 1989) was reflected, created, and maintained through reference to the bodies of the ancestors. Whether located within remote Andean burial caves, stone chullpas, or in the elaborate Cuzco processions, political manipulation of the ancestors was writ large in the body of the ancestor and its relationship with the living. So long as these spectacular mummies were intact, Inka political hegemony and their ability to manipulate history and social memory persisted.

Having underscored the symbolic importance of intact ancestors in ensuring the ongoing vitality of the Inka state and Inka peoples, we return to the two contrastive burial modes evidenced within the Chachapoya region. The traditional Chachapoya reduced the ancestors to hard dry bones, which were moved aside to make way for elaborately prepared dry flesh. How should we interpret the apparently contrastive burial forms?

Hertz

In a work of fundamental significance to all students of funerary behavior, Robert Hertz would urge us to minimize the interpretative differences between the two disposal types (figure 6.3). In his 1907 generalization,

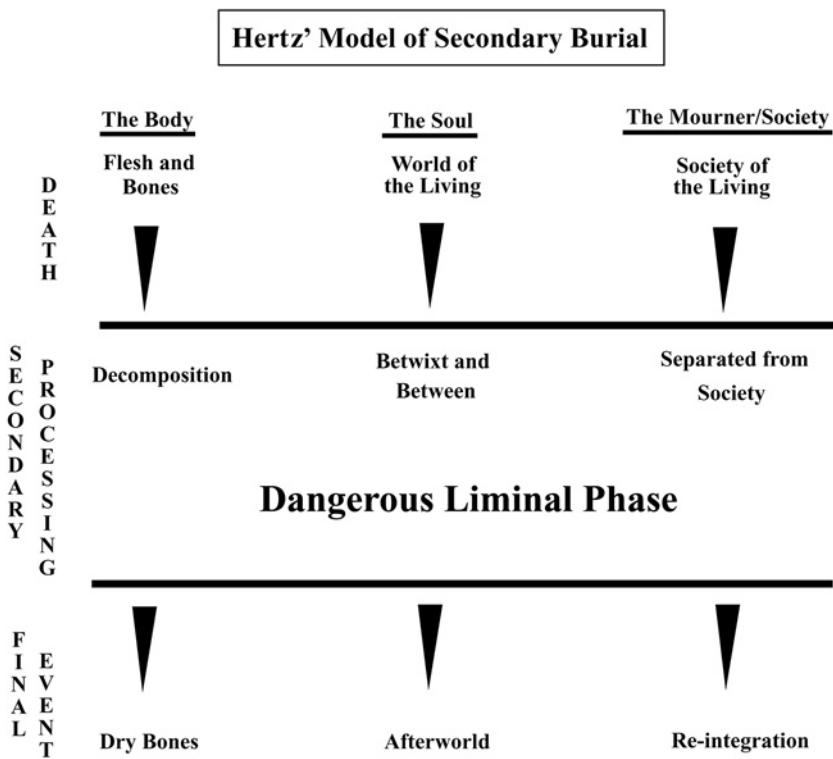


FIGURE 6.3. Graphic representation of R. Hertz's model of secondary burial

comparative study of secondary burial treatments, Hertz reported that the custom of temporary burial was widespread and had many different forms. He argued that the location of intermediate interment facilities was relatively unimportant, whether trees, scaffolds, or within houses of the living. All were designed to reduce the corpse to pure dry bones from which the impure flesh has been separated. The intermediate period was characterized as a dangerous time when a malevolent soul may remain near the rotting corpse. For Hertz, full separation of the deceased from this world thus occurred only at the time of the second funeral, the time of final disposal for the dry bones. The process of death was then complete.

Turning to mummification, Hertz argued that embalmment also hardens the corrupting flesh, that this was simply a special case of secondary burial. He therefore inferred that presentation of the mummy at the end of the processing period was equivalent to deposition of the bundled secondary interment (Hertz [1907] 1960, 41–42).

Thus, for Hertz, our two juxtaposed, and seemingly contrastive Andean burial treatments occurring in Chachapoya were not very different. They both represented a protracted period for removing the dangerous, putrid component of the body and rendering the remains hard, at which point their final deposition would complete the process of death. The soul was then free to join with the ancestors.

At a deeper level, however, we must address the formal differences in mortuary programs. The skeletonized, presumably Chachapoya, remains appear to conform well to notions postulated by Hertz ([1907] 1960), Van Gennep (1960), Douglas (1966), Turner (1960), and others concerning funerary rituals as rites of passage. All have emphasized that liminal states are dangerous and potentially polluting, because they are ambiguous. The power of liminality has also been linked by Bloch (1992) to its association with transcendent, enduring cycles of life and death. During the period of secondary processing, a Chachapoya corpse was polluting, but the ultimate separation of flesh culminated with a finality that removed the dead from the world of the living.

What then of mummification? Hertz ([1907] 1960) would have us believe that this is simply another secondary burial procedure whereby both hard bones and durable flesh are produced in the construction of ancestorhood. Clearly there are ethnohistoric sources that support this conclusion (Doyle 1988; MacCormack 1991; Salomon 1995). Salomon (1995, 346), for example, considers the progressive hardening of the corpse into a mummy to be the time of transition. He further argues that ancestorhood among traditional Andeans was achieved through departure of the corrupting flesh and the "volatile personal shade" (Salomon 1995, 329). He also infers that the mummified ancestors transmitted both incorporating and inscribing messages. Genealogies and entitlements were inscribed and reinscribed through the treatment of the mummies, thus providing a dynamic text that defined the fortunes of descendants and directed the interpretation of memory. Incorporated, however, within the "postures, gestures, and orientations" of the mummies was the unconscious transmission of information about the generative cycle of Andean existence (Salomon 1995, 346).

Why were the messages inscribed in the dead so powerful? The mummies and the memories they transmitted anchored not only the social structures of Andean communities but they also empowered the Inka state; thus the influence of the Andean mummies appears remarkable. Recognizing the Andean propensity for multivocality and metaphorical meanings, it is hard to escape the arrested liminality that the durable mummies represent. Even with the departure of the spirit and the flesh, these hardened images stand in arrested and perilous transition, their bodies suspended between the living world and the generative cycles

that produce new lives. Thus, they were most dangerous and powerful dead-bodies (sensu Verdery 1999).

The Body Politic

As Silverblatt (1988) emphasizes, battles over bodies were central to the Inka conquest of the Chachapoya. Live bodies, of course, anchored many Inka initiatives: mitimaes were moved; soldiers and the sons of Chachapoya elite were recruited to Cuzco. Descent groups were fused through marriages between the Chachapoya leaders and the Inka royal lineage (Schjellerup 1997).

Silverblatt (1988) reports that one method used by the Inka to integrate conquered cosmologies was to take over and elaborate local beliefs and practices. The appropriation of local burial places is also quite consistent with a much more subtle political act, the capture of the Chachapoya ideology of descent (sensu Silverblatt 1988). In the example presented in this paper, the Inka subordinated Chachapoya ancestorhood by providing hardened, mummified ancestors more durable than dry bones. Guillén (1998) and von Hagen (2002a) both underscore that the Inka occupation of a sacred Chachapoya burial landscape carried with it a number of meanings. The Laguna may have represented a *paqarina*, or place of origin, for the Chilchos, leading von Hagen (2002a) and Guillén (1998) to emphasize Inka power and the domination of Chachapoya identity.

Yet, as Verdery also notes (1999, 28), dead bodies are powerful because of their ambiguity and their propensity for carrying multiple symbolic meanings. Dead bodies were integrated with the living in a landscape that was both broad and deep. Royal Inka corpses, symbolically linked to the origins of the world, represented the sun and moon in their power to ensure the generative life cycles that supported the quotidian Inka world, reinforced by rituals.⁴

A further, even less obvious expression of Inka cultural politics focuses upon the shift in mortuary treatment noted at La Laguna de los Cóndores, from secondary burial to prepared mummies. In the La Laguna de los Cóndores example, the Chachapoya ancestors occupied natural and artificial caves as they moved from deep engagement with the vibrant cycles lodged deep within the mountains and the living visitors whose rituals also fueled their vitality. Their origins were nearby, within the *paqarina* at the valley floor. They thus possessed a cyclic past, whereby the living traveled up the mountain to the sacred *huacas* (sacred object or deity) where the recent ancestors helped them read and reinforced their heritage. Upon this intruded the Inka bodies, whose origins emanated from a distant altiplano lake and whose integration with cyclic social histories paralleled that of local tradition. One principal *huaca* reported for the Chachapoya is

a small lake named Cuychaculla, which according to Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572] 1999) was transported to Cuzco by one of Huayna Capac's captains. In the Inka ideology of descent, lakes have a significant role in creating and legitimizing their right to rule. Highland lakes were perceived to originate from the Pacific Ocean via Lake Titicaca, and by placing the source of all highland water as the site of their own genesis, the Inka could claim a legitimate right to rule conquered areas (Sherbondy 1992). By bringing the Chachapoya lake to Cuzco, even symbolically, the Inka were sending a powerful signal of legitimate leadership over the Chachapoya population. The placement, display, and manipulation of ancestors in highly visible locations and rituals are powerful means of establishing control over resources, and thus, in one sense, the Inka battle over bodies was about power and control. Living bodies were moved across landscapes. The Chachapoya ancestors were physically displaced, and bodies reflecting the new Inka domination—whether mitimae, Chachapoya loyal to the Inka state, or Inka—were strategically placed. Social memory was written in many forms, in *quipus* (knotted textile record-keeping devices), in textile coverings for the mummy bundles, and in the ritualized acts of sacrifice and libation that brought the living to the dead. Thus was history rewritten; social memory melded the victor with the vanquished.

Postscript: Imperial Appropriations of Bodies: The Inka and the Spanish Conquest

As different as the context and social history may be between the Inka and Spanish empires, both engaged in the manipulation of social memory through the appropriation of bodies, and the “battle over bodies” continued into the colonial period. An ever-expansive vision of the past endured and supported the Inka empire until the Spanish with their distinctly longer and distant ancestry refused the invitation to subordinate to Inka descent. Fictive, ever more inclusive Inka-centered descent groups reached out across the Andes, failing only when they confronted the even more powerful, descent ideologies of the Spanish. Though Pedro Pizzarro's ([1571] 1921) interlocutor doubtless tried to draw him into a symbolically powerful, asymmetrical relationship with the royal Inka mummy to whom he spoke, the fundamentally distinctive Inka and Christian pasts were not so easily melded.

Spanish festivals in Cuzco, Potosí, and Lima blended Inka and Spanish royal descent groups (Cummins 1991; Dean 1999). Held between 1555 and 1756, these festivals prominently featured processions of living Inka elite representing each of the 12 royal Inka rulers beginning with the first Sapa Inka (Manko Qhápac) and ending with Wayna Qhápaq, the last pre-Hispanic ruler. This procession of Inka kings was then followed by

representations Charles the V and subsequent Spanish kings, thus appropriating the Inka royals into the Spanish hierarchy (Cummins 1991; Dean 1999). In particular, Corpus Christi as celebrated in Cuzco was replete with sun symbolism, doubtless interpreted quite differently by Andean and Spanish viewers. During the sixteenth century, even the sacrament was displayed in a golden sun-shaped monstrance (Dean 1999).

A further example that drew colonial European and Andean bodies and ancestry together involved a portrait that was displayed prominently near the entrance of their church in Cuzco. In this rendering, marriages between Jesuit founders and Inka elite were featured, thus joining Jesuit descent to that of the royal Inka. The painting depicts the Jesuit saints Ignacio de Loyola and Francisco de Borja flanked by two married couples: to the saints' right stand Don Martín García de Loyola, the grandnephew of San Ignacio, and Doña Beatriz Ñusta, daughter of Sapa Inka Sayri Túpaq; to their left are Doña Ana María Lorenza García de Loyola, the daughter of Martín and Beatriz, and her husband, Don Juan Enriques de Borja y Almansa, the grandson of San Francisco Borja (Dean 1999, 112–13). In this image, Inka royals and their descent groups joined with the Jesuits, an arrangement said to be profitable for both (Dean 1999).

Thus, the battles over bodies moved into the colonial era. The royal Inka mummies were lost to the invaders, as were the tangible remains of mallquis from throughout the Andes. Yet the living bodies of the Inka elite continued to parade their ancestry, accompanied in procession by the Spanish monarch. Jesuits capitalized upon the metaphor of descent to join their heritage with elite Inka. The dead-body politics of the ancient Andes, no longer based upon the visible ancestors, continued to find the ideology of descent and social memory to be powerful indeed.

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Notes

1. Following Lerche (1995), Schjellerup (1980/81, 1997), von Hagen (2002a), and Urton (2001), we refer to the ancient people and polity as Chachapoya. Chachapoyas is the name appropriately applied to the modern city and province of Perú.

2. The radiocarbon dates (Beta 147873: 95% CI AD 1017–1180 and Beta 147871; 95% CI AD 1028–1219) from Los Pinchudos were originally reported by Fernández-Dávila (2008) and calibrated using OxCal 4.0 (Bronk 1995, 2001, 2007) and the SHCa104 calibration curve (McCormac et al. 2004) by Nystrom, Buikstra, and Muscutt (2010).

3. In 1572, the Inka Tupac Amaru was less fortunate. After baptism as Don Pablo Tupac Amaru, the last royal Inka was beheaded (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1966; MacCormack 1985).

4. Though their symbolic power may have been diluted by Christianity, it is of interest to note that the Laymi reported by Harris (1982) placed bread icons of the sun and the moon at the top of the stepped altars (*escaleras*) that the souls of the recently dead are to climb to ascend to heaven on November 1 (All Saints Day).

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Requiem Aeternam?

Archaeothanatology of Mortuary Ritual in Colonial Mórrope, North Coast of Peru

HAAGEN D. KLAUS AND MANUEL E. TAM

Requiem aeternum, dona eis, Domine—Grant them eternal rest, O Lord—are the words that open the old Catholic requiem mass of the dead. Following the European conquest of Andean South America, this prayer reflected the introduction of an idealized European treatment of the deceased whose bodies should remain undisturbed and intact awaiting the second coming of Christ. This was a rather alien concept for Native Andeans whose various millennia-long traditions placed the living in very close ritualized contact with their dead who actively and intimately participated in the world. Such fundamental relationships were perceived as threats to colonial religious domination. Traditional practices involving living-dead interactions were among the most actively attacked targets in the 300-year-long Spanish Catholic war against Native Andean religions.

This chapter has two goals. First, we seek to open an archaeological window into colonial Andean mortuary practices—understood previously almost exclusively from ethnohistoric sources—primarily to explore the evolution of pre-Hispanic indigenous mortuary ritual on the North Coast of Peru into the colonial era and to question if and how traditions of living-dead interactions persisted into colonial times. Our second goal is methodological, as we aim to demonstrate the promise of an

archaeothanatological approach to reconstruct living-dead interactions based on nuanced anatomical, spatial, and organizational approaches toward the skeletal remains within a grave.

Andean Mortuary Archaeology and Archaeothanatology

Problems, Paradoxes, and Potentials

The North Coast of Peru is a “natural laboratory” for mortuary analysis. There are many lines of evidence that can be used to reconstruct Andean mortuary practices. Depictions of the dead and of funerary rites are found in art, such as that of the Moche, Chimú, and Sicán cultures (Benson 1975, 1997; Bourget 2006; Hocquenghem 1981; Uceda 1997), but the considerable chasm between art history and archaeology results in decontextualized art objects that provide problematic perspectives on funerary practice. During the colonial era, the Spanish were often motivated to document local beliefs in order to better identify and persecute indigenous idolaters (see Andrien 2001). Such efforts unintentionally produced archaeologically useful information—but time, cultural dissimilarities, and the impacts of conquest make easy application to the archaeological past often difficult to justify. Undeniably, the best evidence of mortuary behaviors comes in the form of burials themselves.

On the Peruvian coast, the desert environment provides excellent preservation of bone, skin, hair, burial textiles, cane coffins, gourds, food offerings, and evidence of pre- and post-interment ritual activities. Yet, the *raison d'être* (reason for being) of burial excavation in many Andean archaeological traditions has long involved the search for decorated grave goods to define chronologies and supply material for iconographic studies. By the 1970s, grave lots had been chronically oversampled in the generation of large artifact collections. Regionally, burial analyses had long been dominated by a descriptive paradigm (e.g., Bennett 1939; Donnan and Mackey 1978; Larco Hoyle 1941; Strong and Evans 1952). Reflecting what they had been trained to observe and conceptualize, many of these workers paid little or no attention to the human remains in the grave—what Duday (2006, 30) would call a “flagrant epistemological aberration.” However, theoretical and interpretive foci have materialized since the 1970s (Buikstra 1995; Dillehay 1995; Isbell 1997; Menzel 1977; Shimada et al. 2004), although some still claim disinterest in mortuary theory (Castillo 2004). New themes and questions are productively emerging from Andean mortuary archaeology, including the dynamics of power, identity, ideology, ethnicity, and ethnogenesis (Bawden 2001; Chadelaine, Pimentel, and Gumba 2005; Isbell and

Cook 2002; Kaulike 2000; Klaus 2013; Klaus and Tam 2009b; Makowski 2002). But work examining the interactions between the living and the dead places the human body and all its biocultural trappings at the center of funerary investigation. Complex interaction between the living and curated ancestor mummies has been well documented as a fundamental element of ritual and social life in highland Recuay, Chachapoyas, and Inka cultures (Buikstra and Nystrom 2003; Isbell 1997; Lau 2000, 2002; Ramírez 2005). In contrast to highland practices of burial in easy-access, open *chullpas* (funerary structures), Isbell (1997, 143–44) characterized burial on the Central and North coasts of Peru as the “*huaca* cemetery,” [in which] the body was sealed in an underground grave that was never intended to be opened.” Recent revaluation of the concept of the *huaca* (sacred objects and deities) cemetery shows it to be untenable, and a variety of living-dead interactions have come to light on the central and North Coast of Peru (see Shimada et al. this volume for an extensive overview).

Archaeothanatology in Andean Mortuary Analysis

While Andean mortuary archaeology may be advancing in terms of engagement with theoretically driven questions, parallel methodological advances in burial excavation have yet to emerge. The methods and perceptions of information employed in the excavation of a burial are much the same as those used by past generations of Andeanists despite new technologies, such as digital cameras or total stations. The emerging approach called archaeothanatology, however, can potentially revolutionize the methods and motivations of mortuary analysis in Andean studies. Also referred to as *anthropologie de terrain*, or field anthropology, archaeothanatology emerged from a school of French field practice most visibly pioneered by Henri Duday (1978, 2006, 2009). It may be the most significant development in mortuary archaeology since postprocessual theory. Archaeothanatology is a holistic and dynamic form of burial excavation and analysis. Duday (2009, 6) argues its proximal goal is “to reconstruct the attitudes of ancient populations towards death by focusing on the study of the human skeleton and analyzing the acts linked to the management and treatment of the corpse.” The premise is that every anatomical relationship observed in a skeleton—or lack thereof—has significance; physical and taphonomic evidence is used to reconstruct the totality of mortuary ritual before, during, and after burial. The body is placed at the center of inquiry but does not marginalize the material remains in a burial. In other words, the body is the “datum point” by which other elements of a constructed grave are united and understood in recursive relationships to one another.

While some might perceive that archaeothanatology represents only fastidious burial excavation, its foci are anatomical, spatial, taphonomic,

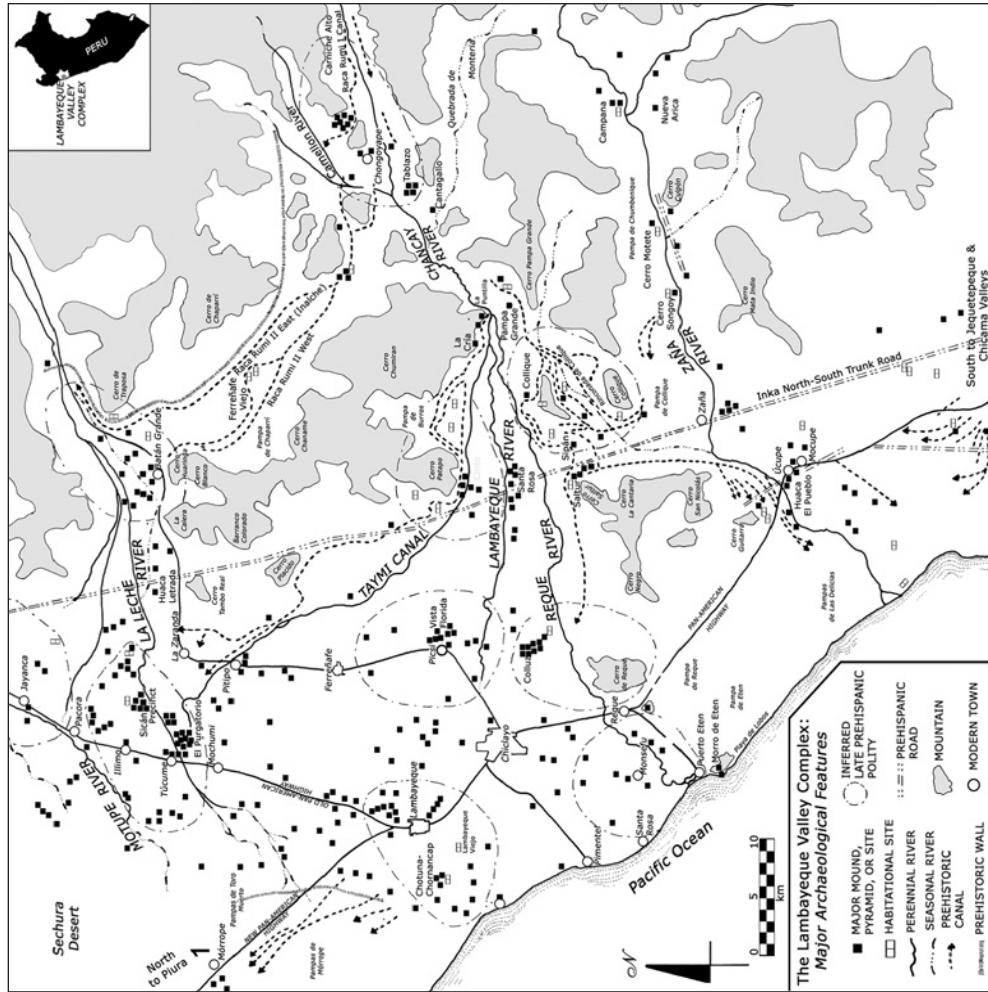
and above all interpretive. Archaeothanatology examines all the natural and cultural processes that affect the *entire* body (versus only the skeleton) before and after burial, nonpreservation or preservation of skeletal elements, how a body transitions from corpse to skeleton, and the dynamic interaction of that process within a constructed grave environment (Duday 2009). Archaeothanatology allows for remarkably detailed identification and interpretation of primary burials, delayed primary burial, secondary inhumations, infant burials, and large-scale funerary settings, including multiple burials, charnel houses, and cemeteries. Archaeoanthropolgical detection of body positioning, the presence of shrouds or coffins, grave opening, body ligatures, skeletal manipulation, and other types of funerary activity may reach its full potential when these data are mapped out onto layers of local, regional, and diachronic contexts to provide detailed and otherwise unavailable funerary perspectives on cosmology, social change, paleopathology, identity, and history. While archaeoanthropolgy is costly in terms of time and budget, requires significant training in human anatomy, and has only recently emerged in English-language publications, its utility in Andean mortuary studies is clear. Given the variations of complex mortuary rituals, it is difficult to imagine a more appropriate or informative approach to examine the interactions between the living and the dead in the Andean past.

Archaeological and Historic Contexts

The Muchik Substratum and European Conquest

The Lambayeque Valley Complex (figure 7.1) on the North Coast of Peru was a center of independent and influential cultural development that began around 2500 BC and spanned the formative Cupisnique chiefdoms (1500–650 BC), the Moche culture (100–750 CE), the Middle Sicán state (900–1100 CE), foreign Chimú (~1375–1470 CE), Inka imperial rule (~1470–1532 CE), and Spanish colonial society (1532–1821 CE) (Alva and Donnan 1993; Elera 1986; Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez 1995; Klaus 2008; Shimada 1994, 1995, 2000). An emerging understanding holds that a major portion of the region's late pre-Hispanic, colonial, and modern population are the descendants of a biocultural substratum (Shinoda 2009; Klaus 2014; Klaus et al. 2010). This group appears to have coalesced in Moche times to eventually form a distinctive and conservative ethnic group that outlived the Moche culture. Tentatively, we designate this group as Muchik (in addition, Muchik is a term for the historically known linguistic group of the North Coast (Rivet 1949) and the modern term that many modern indigenous Lambayecanos use to self-identify

FIGURE 7.1. The Lambayeque Valley Complex on the North Coast of Peru. Drawing by H. Klaus, adapted from Shimada (1994, figure 3.15).



their ethnic identity). Well after the political collapse of the Moche, these people continued to reproduce (at least in form) many practices recognized in the Moche culture, including archaeologically recognizable elements of their death rituals (i.e., Donnan 1995), material culture, and artistic conventions and symbolisms that can be tentatively tracked under the surface of subsequent cultures (for more extensive discussion, see Klaus 2014). These included burial of the body aligned to a cardinal point (usually a north-south axis), inclusion of a few grave goods representing up to five categories of items, such as ceramic vessels and metal goods, and complex manipulations of human remains most often focused on skulls and long bones.

The conquest and its aftermath are not as well understood in Lambayeque as in other regions of Peru. Documentary sources are especially lacking. The area did not have a dedicated Spanish or indigenous chronicler. Yet, unprecedented changes are known to have unfolded in the Lambayeque Valley within 50 years of contact. The Spanish found the Lambayeque Valley divided into dualistic, economically specialized polities (Netherly 1990) that were swiftly dismantled as *encomiendas* (a type of land grant to Spanish colonists) were rapidly established (Mendoza 1985, 179). Llamas and alpacas—lynchpins of pre-Hispanic economy and diet—were slaughtered in favor of large-scale husbandry of European livestock, which were raised mainly for the production of soap and leather (Ramírez 1974, 1996). *Reducciones* (or “reductions”) involved a settlement pattern informally instituted as early as 1536 and created an indigenous labor and tribute pool by uprooting and relocating traditional communities into new nucleated settlements. Communities sank into poverty as systems of collective well-being disintegrated (Ramírez 1996, 157). Unlike the south-central Andes that saw organized insurgency, resistance on the North Coast was often nonviolent and included withholding tribute (Ramírez 1996).

Beyond recording the dates for the establishment of various churches and chapels in Lambayeque, exceedingly little is known about the role of the Church and its impact on indigenous Muchik belief and ritual on the colonial North Coast of Peru. What is described recalls the influence of the Inquisition on the extirpation of idolatries in Peru. For instance, oral traditions recount Natives deemed to be heretics were burned alive atop the ruins of Túcume, which was decreed as the physical gateway to hell. Excavations by Heyerdahl, Sandweiss, and Narváez (1995, 212–13) atop the Huaca Larga pyramid documented possible evidence of such executions.

One of the first outposts of Christianity in Lambayeque was Mórrope, 803 km north of the modern capital of Lima. It is on the northwestern perimeter of the Lambayeque Valley Complex at the southern border of

the Sechura Desert, near the termination of the seasonal Motupe and Hondo rivers. Mórrope, a small and semi-isolated town, was one of the last bastions of the extinct Muchik language, though Muchik surnames, including Cajesol, Inoñan, Farroñan, Llontop, Puriguaman, Siesquen, and Tuñoque, persist in Mórrope and its environs. Surveys by the Sicán Archaeological Project and the authors have identified evidence of continuous local occupation dating back to at least Moche V (550–750 CE). The abundance of clays led to a community-level craft specialization in modern Mórrope using pre-Hispanic *paleteada* (or paddle-and-anvil) ceramic production technology (Cleland and Shimada 1998).

Tantalizing details about colonial Mórrope emerge from an unfinished eighteenth-century manuscript written by the priest don Justo Modesto Rubiños y Andrade. He chronicles the succession of clergy in Mórrope and depicts a marginalized Muchik community rooted in a pre-Hispanic past experiencing stressful political and economic conflicts with neighboring communities, the Church, and secular authorities over sparse water, land, and mining rights. Rubiños y Andrade ([1936] 1782, 298) stated the first mass was consecrated on June 29, 1536, at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope and fell out of use at some unspecified point between 1720 and 1751. European settlement of Mórrope was strategic, as it served as one end of the key route by which goods, information, and people traversed the desert between Lambayeque and Piura (Peralta 1998).

Research Questions

An archaeothanatological study of funerary patterns at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope affords a unique opportunity to explore key issues regarding the patterns, processes, organization, and intent of funerary practices in Peru from the first moments of the colonial entanglement into the eighteenth century. Additionally, a vibrant emergent literature on the archaeology of colonial encounters (Lyons and Papadapoulos 2002; Stein 2005; Liebmann and Murphy 2010; Card 2013) identifies—on one level—how colonialism commonly and cross-culturally resulted in dynamic processes of ethnogenesis, identity formation and reformation, and hybrid material cultures. On a more local level, evidence of colonial encounters reveals that even in settings of highly centralized colonial programs, local outcomes were highly particularistic (Gasco 2005). What was the situation in Mórrope?

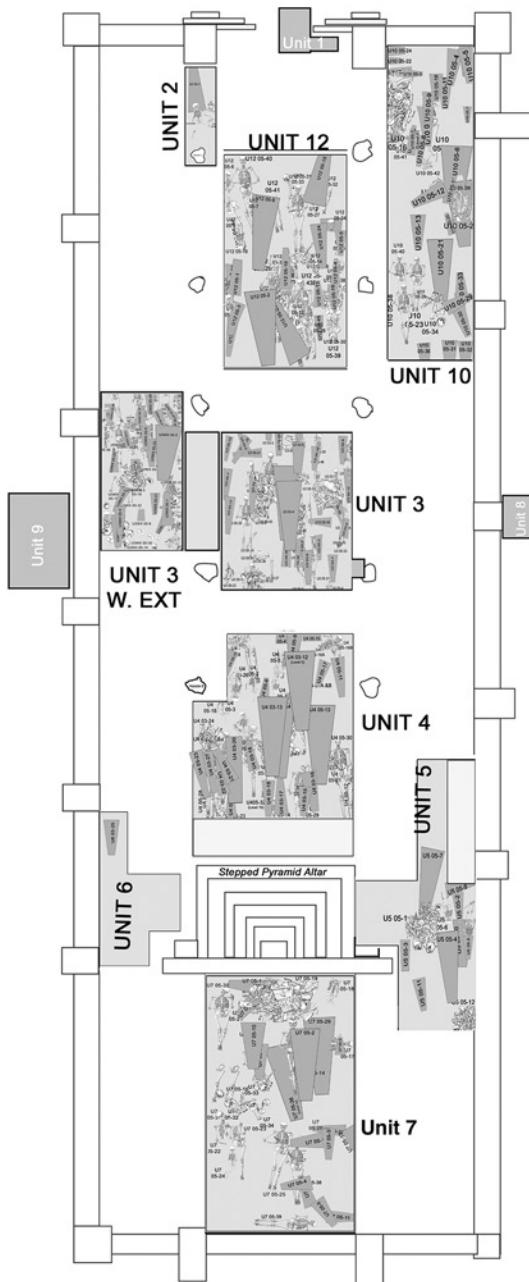
Still, major targets of the Catholic extirpators were Andean practices of ancestor worship that brought the living and the dead into regular contact. Aggressive tactics involved compelling Natives to publically burn the mummies of their ancestors, often the remains of parents or close kin (Gareis 1999, 236), while burial of the dead under a church floor

exerted earthly and spiritual ownership of the dead. Yet, intense bonds between the living and the dead persisted into the late 1600s throughout Native Peru (Doyle 1988; Salomon 1995). Some people did not hesitate to “rescue” their dead for reburial in traditional locations, while others attempted clandestine burials outside the church (Griffiths 1996, 199). Remains of the baptized and nonbaptized alike were placed in mortuary caves and worshipped. Elsewhere, the dead’s disinterred skulls were removed to individual households, and the living beseeched their ancestors for life-giving rains before reburial (Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Saignes 1999, 118).

Given the widespread doctrinal assaults on contact between the living and the dead in the colonial Andes and the often equally intense Native counter responses, we seek to learn what happened to Muchik mortuary traditions in the colonial Lambayeque region. Were the Muchik of Mórrope cut off from their dead? Was there relatively strict adherence to Catholic burial rites, such as in the Spanish mission of Tipu in Central America (Cohen et al. 1997), or did elements of precontact burial patterns endure, encoded in hybrid expressions (Larsen 1990)?

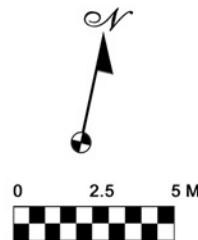
Archaeological Study—Materials and Methods

The excavation of the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope (figure 7.2) was driven by a model of integrated burial analysis (Klaus 2008, 66) that sought to achieve a holistic reconstruction of life, death, and society in colonial Mórrope. We documented all elements of the Chapel’s architectural features, site stratigraphy, building chronology, mortuary patterns, and a complete bioarchaeological study of the intact mortuary population (Klaus 2013; Klaus and Tam 2009a, b, 2010; Klaus, Larsen, and Tam 2009). The site is too young to obtain reliable radiometric dates, so relative dates based on stratigraphic position, seriation, and multivariate multiple correspondence analysis validated an Early/Middle and Middle/Late Colonial temporal sequence (Klaus 2008). Excavation of skeletal remains and their mortuary contexts followed an archaeoanthropological approach to define especially the most delicate articulations, such as hands, feet, and unfused epiphyses among subadults. Mortuary pattern data were collected according to detailed data collection protocols, documenting three-dimensional provenience, horizontal and vertical stratigraphy, coffin construction and decoration, and cardinal orientation. Archaeoanthropological observations including missing/disarticulated skeletal elements and entomological activity aimed to reconstruct funerary programs at Mórrope. Large 1:2 and 1:4 scale burial drawings, themselves a form of data collection, were complemented by high-resolution digital photography.



Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope

Plan View
Excavation Units and Burials



San Pedro de Mórrope
Archaeological Project

Lambayeque Valley
Biohistory Project

2004-2005

FIGURE 7.2. Plan map of the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope.

Results

Primary Burial

Of the 322 burials documented, 143 were individual primary burials. Burial U3 03-4 illustrates this pattern quite well (figure 7.3). This older adult male was placed within a coffin in an extended position on his back with hands folded over the pelvis. The body clearly decomposed within an empty void. Angulation of the vertebral column suggests the head rolled to the right when decomposition ruptured the ligaments, probably between the C2 and C3 vertebrae, though the decomposition of a small textile mass (pillow?) may have also added to the rolling of the head. Verticalization of the right clavicle was noted, indicating compression of the right shoulder up against the coffin's sideboard. The thoracic cage collapsed and flattened. As noted above, the hands appear to have been originally folded over the pelvis; finger phalanges from both left and right hands were commingled in the pelvic bowl; these represent some of the most labile joint articulations that break down more rapidly (Duday 2009, 26). Yet, the transverse compression of the right shoulder appears to have later pulled the right arm laterally, resulting in carpal and metacarpal bones, maintained by more persistent connective tissue, resting on and lateral to the proximal right femur. The right os coxae fell to the side, but the mummified sacroiliac tendon maintained the connection between the sacrum and the left os coxae. Disarticulation of the foot bones indicate the feet were vertically positioned, and when the shoes decomposed, the bones jumbled downward, though some metatarsals maintained a vertical angle against the footboard. After decomposition was complete, the integrity of the coffin lid, fashioned from several fitted wooden planks, began to fail and allowed the coffin to gently fill with sand. The totality of evidence indicates interment followed death quickly and the body decomposed within a void that later in-filled (also see Roksandic 2002). In other cases, coffin lids would fail quite suddenly and result in postmortem fracturing of the cranial vault and the delicate maxillofacial region.

Prolonged Primary Burial

Evidence also suggests many other Muchik bodies in Mórrope experienced protracted interactions with the world of the living. Unambiguous evidence of prolonged primary burial was observed in 22 burials (or 6.8%). All prolonged primary burials were young children, and nearly half were between one and two years old. This pattern temporally spanned the entire use of the Chapel and included one intrusive nineteenth-century burial. In such cases, empty muscoid fly pupa and ecdysial caps were found on the outside and interiors of coffin burials, but no adult flies were trapped

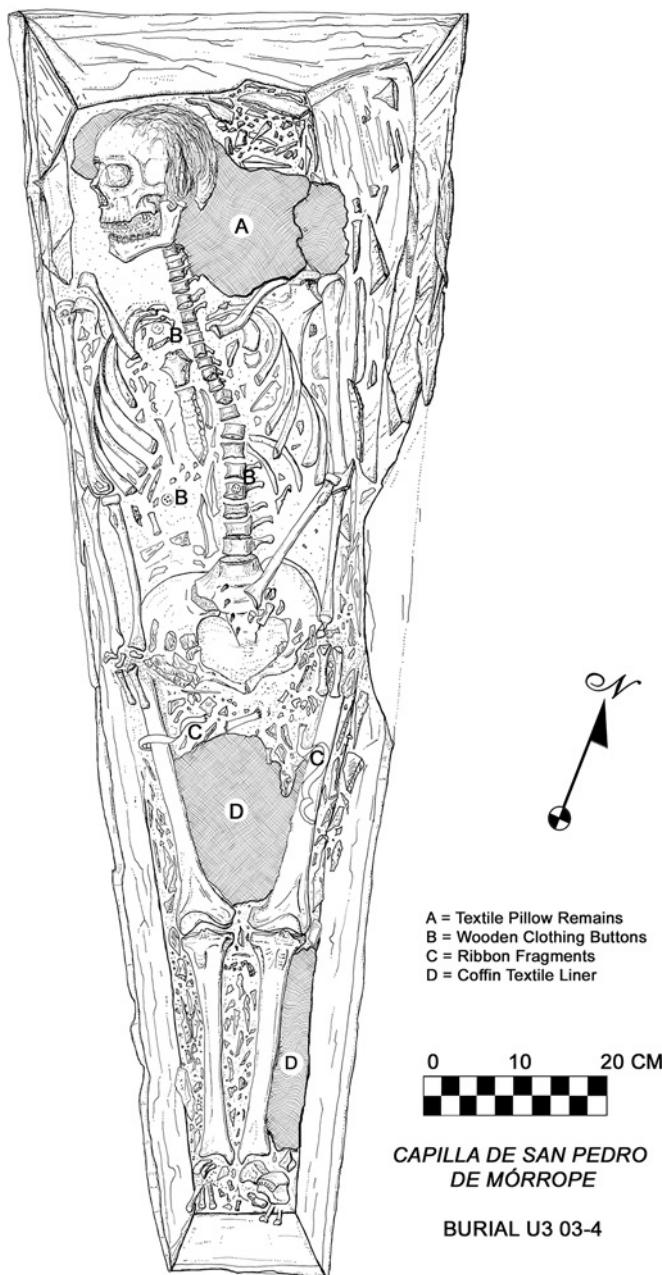


FIGURE 7.3. Burial U3 03-4, as described in detail in the text, represents a good example of a primary burial.

in the sealed coffins. All of the maggots had completed metamorphosis before interment. Experimental decomposition data suggests generally 20 to 35 days would have passed in the insect's life cycle to hatch the adult fly (Haskell et al. 1997). Initial assessment of morphological characteristics reveals at least three varieties of pupa, including *Calliphoridae*. However, the total number of bodies with associated insect cases was probably higher, as burials of another 25 people included only carapaces of beetles that are predaceous on fly eggs and larvae. The other previously used criteria to detect prolonged primary burial—subtle disarticulation or shifting of hand and foot elements (Nelson 1998; Shimada et al. this volume)—was difficult to apply in coffin burials, but examination of taphonomic processes provided answers to this question.

Post-Interment Removal

Extensive burial activity over approximately 200 years produced the heavily disturbed matrix under the Chapel floor. In all but a few cases, documentation of vertical and horizontal stratigraphic signatures of postdepositional intrusions was impossible. However, intrusive activity and manipulation of human remains could be directly observed. Postdepositional removal of bones was observed in 92 burials (or 28.6%). Cases of bone removal crosscut all age and sex groups and fall into three categories.

First, 34 burials appeared disrupted by the placement of a later asynchronous interment. Bones of the earlier burials were removed, or reduced, to employ Duday's terminology (2009, 72). In the case of Burial U10 05-6 ([a middle-aged female] figure 7.4), the upper body and surrounding coffin was present but "cut," and 2.1 m beneath this individual's missing middle and lower body was a Late Colonial-style coffin. This pattern appears to have been happenstance; there was literally a body in the way of a new burial, and so it was reduced. In every case of this type of secondary disruption, the living made the decision to remove what they disturbed rather than pushing it to the side. Similar impressions of burials being "in the way" were encountered, with nine coffins moved *en toto* and rather unceremoniously dumped on their sides or piled atop of each other (figure 7.5).

Second, cases of post-interment removal of skeletonized elements were observed in 14 burials in the absence of any kind of subsequent depositional or disruptive activity. The coffins of two subadults (Burials U7 05-9 and U10 05-10) were found with their lids missing (figure 7.6). The skulls of both children had been removed, and the right hand, lower legs, and feet were also removed in Burial U7-09. Two Early/Middle Colonial burials (Burials U4 05-28, -29), placed next to each other, were undisturbed except for missing heads. Burial U3 AO 05-33 was missing the entire right

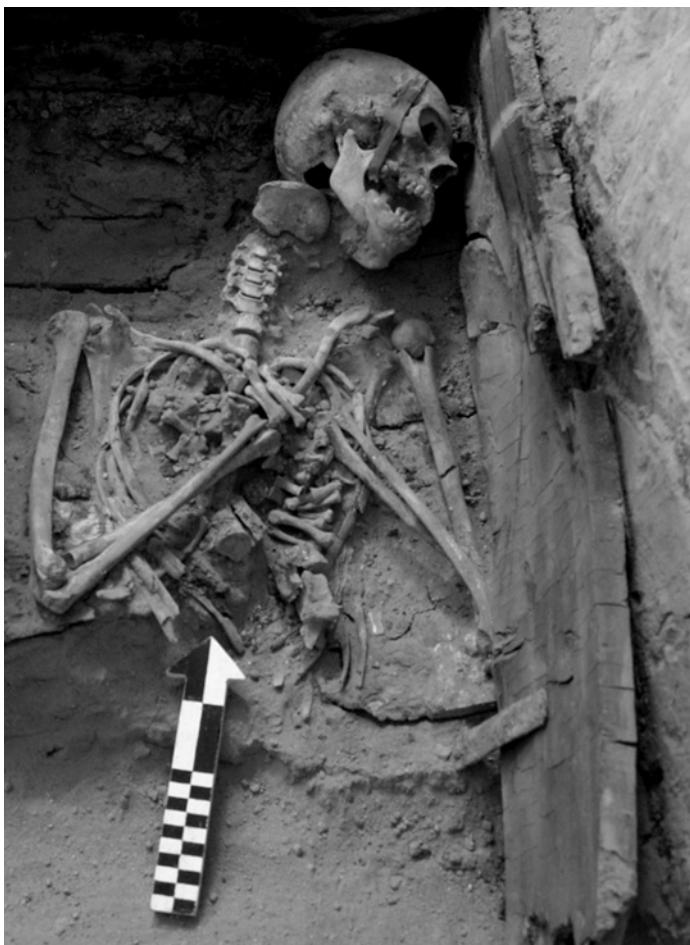
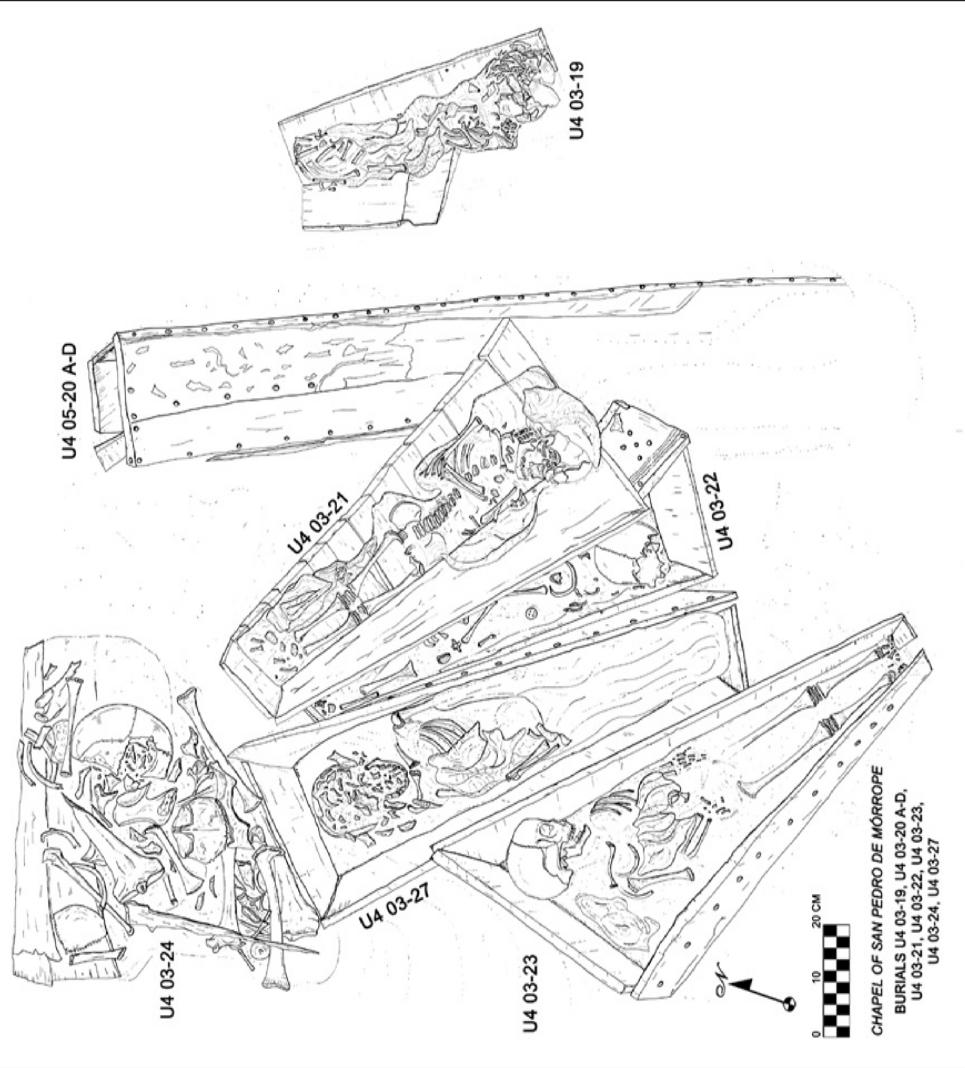


FIGURE 7.4. Burial U10 05-6, disrupted by an asynchronous burial placed 2.1 meters below. Also note the separation of the skull from the vertebral column and its movement into the upper left corner of the coffin through completely natural taphonomic processes.

arm, forearm, and hand. There was no evidence of ante- or perimortem trauma or movement of skeletal elements consistent with pulling bones off of a fleshed body; so manipulation of a skeletonized body already in the ground is most probable. In these and parallel cases, the lack of anatomical disruption to adjacent bones, such as the vertebral columns, indicates soft tissue had decomposed and removal followed decomposition. Also, three

FIGURE 7.5. A group of Late Colonial coffins containing children moved en toto in Unit 4 near the altar. They were accompanied by two secondary burials (U4 05-20 and 04-24), and the remains inside U4 03-22 had been extensively manipulated.



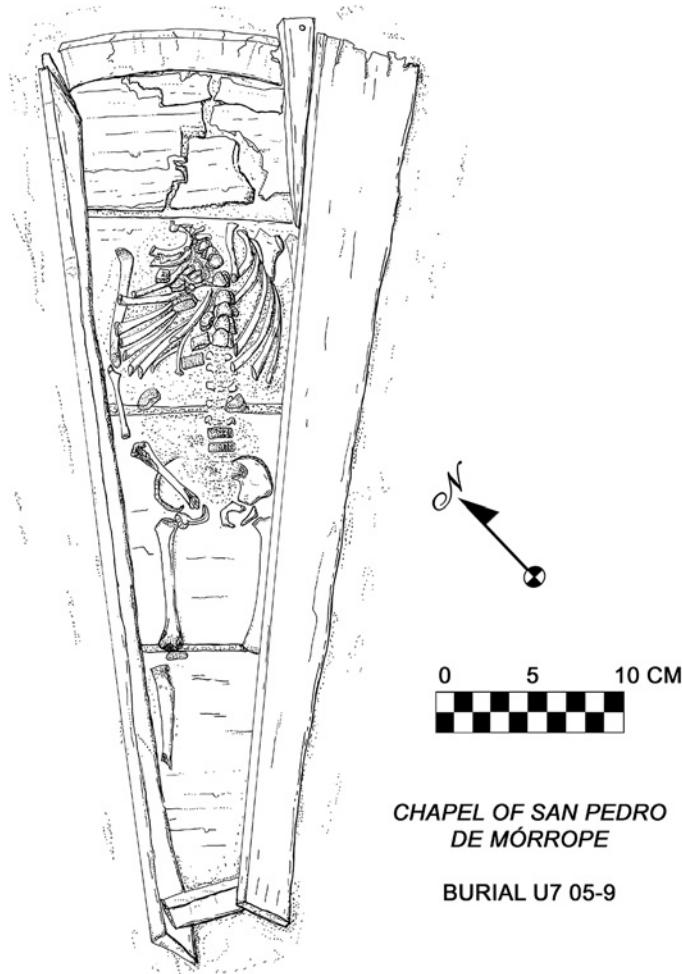


FIGURE 7.6. Burial U7 05-9, a subadult displaying a pattern of post-interment removal of the skull and long bones. The lid to this coffin was never found.

entire individuals had been exhumed, but their coffins remained. These coffins were, however, not completely empty. They each contained traces of the original occupant, ranging from sesamoid bones, small cranial vault bits, and dental fragments (suggestive of the fragmentation effect of a coffin lid board collapse on a skull following soft tissue breakdown). One emptied coffin contained only a hair mat that separated from the cranium during decomposition inside the coffin.

Third, 44 burials featured missing skeletal elements but lacked a clear source of disruption. For instance, a group of closely spaced subadults (Burials U4 05-2, -3, -5, -7, and -8) in Unit 4 were missing crania, long bones, hands, and feet, with no visible intrusions or potentially intrusive primary burials. Postmortem accession and removal appears the most likely explanation, as they were too deep to have been altered accidentally by various documented renovations of the floor nearly a meter above.

Removal and Replacement

Only one case indicated removal and replacement of human bones. In Burial U4 03-22 (figure 7.5), the child's cranium was disarticulated from the mandible and sitting upright and rotated about 140° counterclockwise away from the midline of the body. While the frontal bone had naturally disarticulated and fallen flat, the head position is almost certainly impossible to achieve via natural taphonomic or soft tissue decompositional behavior. It may have been jumbled into this position when the coffin was moved, but the key piece of evidence here is that most of the child's anterior dentition was missing. Among subadults, single rooted incisors and canines maintain an especially tenuous hold within their alveolar sockets and commonly fall out when the periodontal ligaments disintegrate. This points directly to an interval of time the cranium experienced outside of the coffin.

Secondary Burial—Ossuaries

Three modes of secondary burial were identified at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope. The first is ossuary burial, in which disarticulated and incomplete remains from one or more individuals were gathered and collectively re-interred. A total of 53 (or 16.5%) contexts at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope were secondary burials that meet Dудay's (2009, 89–92) criteria of preplanning: the absence of particular bones (see below) and total lack of anatomical articulations. These deposits were placed in irregularly shaped pits ranging from 20 to 94 cm in depth and contained anywhere from 4 to 1,279 bones (figure 7.7). Each secondary burial was a single depositional event. Placement of bones within each secondary burial was mostly haphazard, but in a few instances grouped long bones were aligned on a north-south axis. Assessment of the minimum number of individuals (MNI) in each secondary context ranged from 1 to 79, but in most cases between 3 and 10. The secondary ossuary burials collectively represent at least 337 additional individuals (123 subadults and 214 adults).

However, secondary burial did not always involve completely decomposed bodies. Three partially articulated skeletons were found amongst

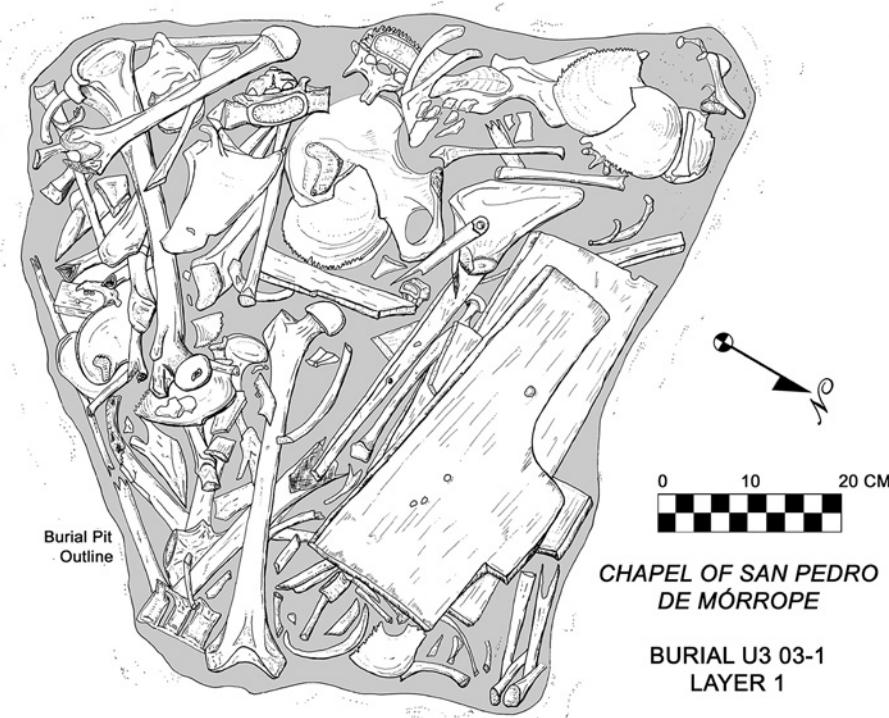


FIGURE 7.7. Burial U3 03-1 was the largest secondary burial encountered in Mórrope. A total of 1,279 bones corresponding to at least 79 individuals were reburied in a conical pit 93 cm deep.

the fully disarticulated remains of at least 14 other people in the secondary interment Burial U7 05-1. Individual 1 consisted of an articulated thoracic vertebral column, thoracic cage, humeri, radii, and ulnae. The remains were placed in what would correspond to an inverted, face down position tightly compressed against a wall. The collapse of the ribs revealed a reversed positioning of inferior ribs resting on superior ribs, suggesting decomposition of these persistent joints occurred in the observed inverted position. Elsewhere within this burial, a cranium was found with its mandible, first thru fifth cervical vertebrae, and hyoid bone articulated in anatomical position. Articulated left and right legs and feet (wearing remains of leather shoes) were identified near the bottom of the deposit along with a perfectly articulated set of five left metatarsals. In the largest secondary burial, Burial U3 03-1, some bones exhibited a variety of cuts, chops, punctures, scrapes, crush damage, and peeling of cortical bone subsequent to a tool chop or scrape (figure 7.8). We

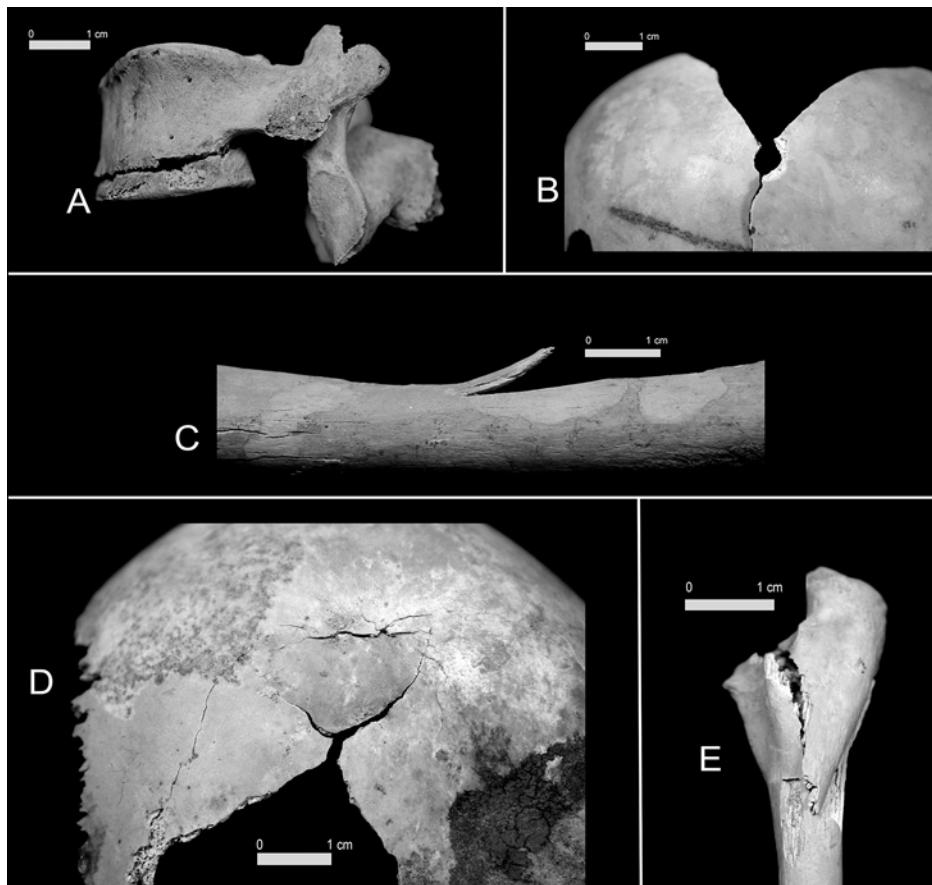


FIGURE 7.8. Postmortem damage to exhumed bones, Burial U3 03-1, including: A) penetrating chop damage to a lumbar vertebral body; B) penetrating puncture wound to a parietal bone; C) oblique chop damage to the diaphysis of a humerus resulting in a postmortem cortical peel defect; D) depressed fracture to a parietal bone that could be easily misidentified as a perimortem injury; and E) incomplete postmortem breakage of a proximal ulna resulting from a torsional force.

infer such damage occurred during exhumation. This implies a less-than-cautious (perhaps rushed?) exhumation, that some reburials followed closely behind primary burial, and that while anatomical connections did not persist, bones were still relatively fresh.

In almost every secondary ossuary deposit where crania were present, anterior teeth were commonly missing from the crania and were not found

elsewhere in the pit. Again, the single roots of these missing teeth make them very likely to fall out when handled, which points to loss during the transition from primary to secondary burial. Also, in three secondary burials, multiple adult crania included preserved brain tissue and contained embedded fly pupa. A more complex postmortem history is evident, with prolonged primary burial leading eventually to exhumation and reburial.

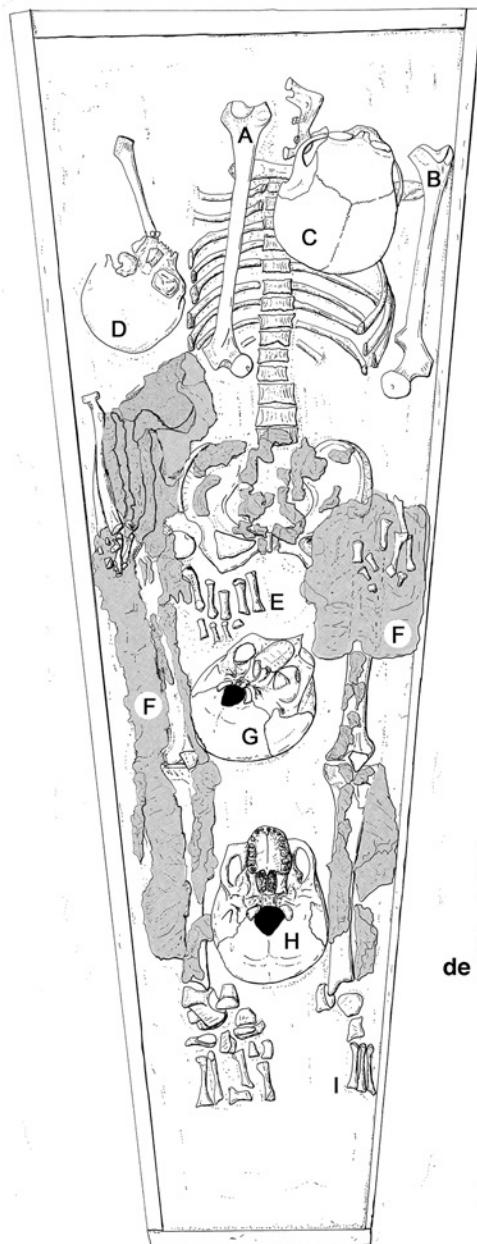
Secondary Burial—Bones and Bone Bundles Superimposed on Primary Burials

A second mode of secondary burial observed in six contexts involved the placement of disarticulated bones directly atop primary burials. The Middle/Late Colonial coffin of Burial U5 05-4 had been opened and the lid and right sideboard removed. Then, multiple long bones and crania of at least five adults and one subadult were placed atop the upper body of a primary burial, a middle-aged adult male whose skeleton remained undisturbed by the process. Burial U7 05-2 (probable Late Colonial) was found without its lid (figure 7.9). In this case, several bones of the primary burial (an older adult female) had been removed, including her skull, arm long bones, and feet. Then, the crania of four other individuals were set within the coffin—one cranium atop the shoulders, another by the right shoulder, one inverted cranium between the femora, and another between the tibiae. A left and right femur originating from two distinct individuals were placed inverted in the position of the arms. Metacarpals and proximal phalanges of an extra hand were found inferior to the right os coxae and were clearly no longer maintained by connective tissue (i.e., various hand bones positions were inverted such that the anatomical proximal end of a bone was positioned distally) and appear intentionally arranged.

It is a distinct possibility that when digging a new burial pit, earlier inhumations were disturbed and parts of them reburied atop the newly interred body. However, usually there were no traces of prior burial placement. Bone selection was also quite repetitive and selective (skulls and long bones). Burial bundles may have been asynchronous, as indicated by Burial U4 05-31, where the preservation of the primary burial was poor (a function, we discovered, of duration in the highly saline sand), while the bones comprising the superimposing secondary burial bundle were far superior.

Secondary Burial—Isolated Remains

A third mode of secondary burial involved the reburial of several thousand individual skeletal elements, which were found throughout every stratigraphic level of every excavation unit. Isolated remains bore no



A = Left Adult Femur
B = Right Adult Femur
(Different Individual)
C = Adult Cranium 1
D = Adult Cranium 2
E = Arranged Set of Additional
Metacarpals
F = Burial Shroud Remains
G = Adult Cranium 3
H = Adult Cranium 4
I = Arranged Set of Inverted
Metatarsals

0 15 30 CM

Chapel of San Pedro
de Mórrope Archaeological
Project

*
Lambayeque Valley
Biohistory Project

Mórrope
Burial CSPM U7 05-2

FIGURE 7.9. Burial U7 05-2 is a complex case of postdepositional alteration, removal, and addition of skeletal elements. As with the Burial U7 05-9 (figure 7.6), the lid to this coffin was never found.

relationships to each other or adjacent burial contexts. No anatomical articulations were ever observed between the bones—these were dry single elements being put back into the ground. In all, 525 kg of isolated skeletal and dental remains were recovered. Isolated remains represented all skeletal elements, with many complete long bones and crania. Due to time limitations, only isolated long bones were examined, which revealed 2,569 long bones (MNI = 202 subadults, 77 adults). The completeness of many of the isolated bones points to careful reburial.

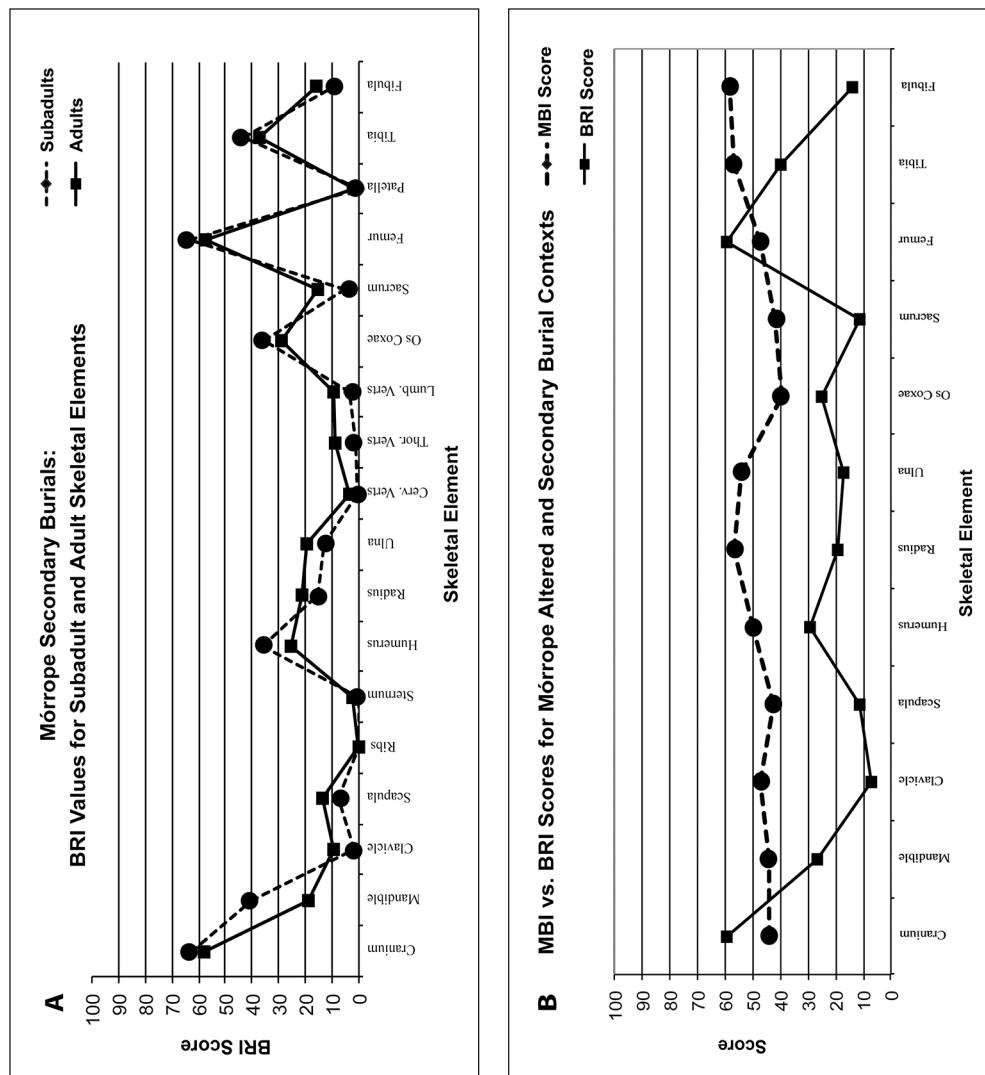
Quantitative Analyses of Altered Burials

Quantitative distributional analyses are also useful to define patterns of living-dead interaction. For each altered burial, individual skeletal elements were coded as present or absent. Counts for left and right bones were combined, as there were no differences in the number of missing bones by side. Bones were then grouped into element classes. The resultant distribution demonstrates long bones together represent the most commonly missing element, followed in frequency by pelvic elements, hands and feet, clavicles, vertebrae, scapulae, and lastly, skulls.

Secondary burials are far more complex assemblages. Instead of univariate distribution counts, a bone representation index (BRI) was calculated. A BRI is the ratio of the bones excavated and the number of bones that should have been present based on the MNI such that $BRI = 100 \times \Sigma (N_{\text{observed}}/N_{\text{expected}})$ (Bello and Andrews 2006). The BRI scores were generated for subadults and adults separately and plotted (figure 7.10a). BRI scores for subadults and adults (MNI = 320) each follow a nearly identical pattern allowing for identification of a common idea of skeletal elements that were reburied in the secondary assemblages at Mórrope. Clearest emphasis is placed on the reburial of femora (BRI = 60.4) and crania (BRI = 60.3), and is followed by tibiae (BRI = 40.5), humeri (BRI = 30.8), os coxae (BRI = 32.2), mandibles (BRI = 29.5), radii (BRI = 18.21), and ulnae (BRI = 16.39). All other skeletal element scores fall below 15. Patellae (BRI = 0.97) and ribs (BRI = 0.28) are the least represented elements and for all intents and purposes are unrepresented in the secondary burials. While long bones and crania are faithfully reburied in comparison to other elements, the overall low BRI scores points to 1) selectivity in the bones that were re-interred, and 2) the fact that a great deal of original skeletal “mass” comprising these 337 individuals is not present in the secondary burials. By count data alone, 94.6% of the original minimum number of bones—89% of which are accounted for by *non-long* bones—are not present in secondary burials.

BRI scores were then plotted against missing bone index (MBI) values, defined here as the ratio between missing skeletal elements in an

FIGURE 7.10. A) BRI scores for subadults and adults showing highly comparable representation of adult and subadult remains in Mórtrope secondary burials. B) BRI scores (solid line) plotted against missing bone index (MBI) values (dashed line) illustrating the phenomenon of “missing mass” in the skeletal sample.



altered burial and the number of elements comprising the original body such that $MBI = 100 \times \Sigma (N_{missing}/N_{original})$ (figure 7.10b). If all disturbed remains were consistently reburied, MBI should match the BRI distribution. Almost all MBI values are consistently higher than the quantity of “missing mass.” The BRI values for crania and femora indicate there are more femora and crania than altered burials, revealing just how constantly these two skeletal elements were re-interred. This points to altered burials as a source of material for secondary burials, but it appears many bones removed from primary burials did not come to rest in the secondary deposits. The isolated reburials of long bones certainly appear to represent many of these “missing” bones. Or, as we discuss elsewhere, bones may have physically left the premises (Klaus and Tam 2009b, 143).

Multivariate multiple correspondence analysis was also used to explore the structure of secondary burials. Frequencies of bones present were calculated, grouped into element classes, and analyzed using a program written in International Matrix Language in SAS 9.1 (SAS Inc. 2003). The results (figure 7.11) portray nonrandom relationships; long bones group coherently, especially with contingent relationships between radii and ulnae, femora and humeri, and fibulae and tibiae. The few sternae and patellae in the reburials are consistent with their status as outliers. Crania are also represented as an outlier due to the structure of the data; unlike any other element, crania are present in all but three secondary burials in a consistent range of numbers.

Discussion

Archaeothanatological Model of Mortuary Process

Colonial mortuary patterns at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope speak to both process and purpose. While meaning can be difficult to interpret in mortuary studies, the physical ways people manufacture meaning are far more accessible (Pauketat 2010), especially in an archaeothanatological respect. Modeling of burial ritual and taphonomic processes at Mórrope reveals a complex set of contingencies and possible outcomes for a dead body. When a member of the living community died, the body was likely first subjected to a preburial ritual program of which little evidence remains. Catholic mortuary custom would have involved a short interval, allowing for a wake followed by a funeral mass. Preburial curation of the corpse for a month or longer is also clear from the entomological evidence of prolonged primary burials of as many as 47 children and 3 adults.

Following deposition, a wide range of possible outcomes awaited (figure 7.12). The interaction between decomposition, gravity, and the void of a

Correspondence Analysis: Bone Association in Secondary Burials

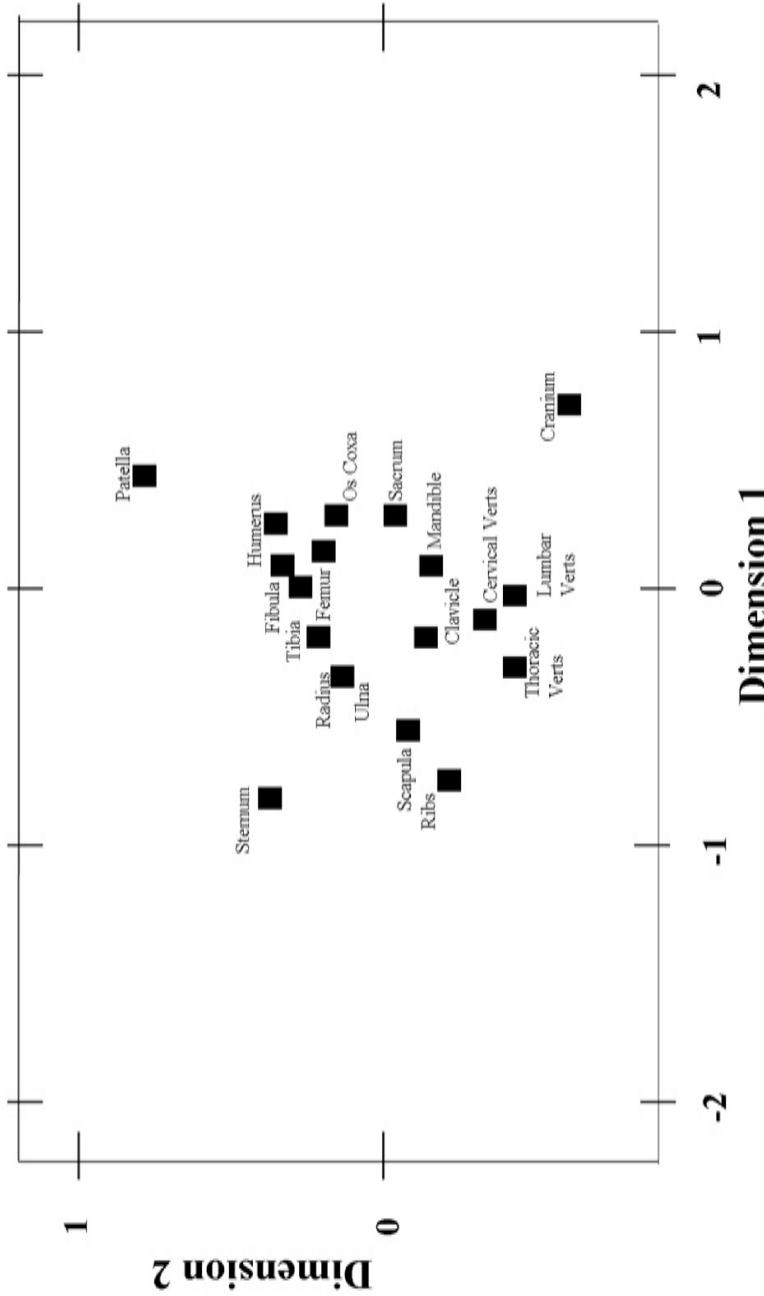


FIGURE 7.11. Multivariate multiple correspondence analysis of secondary burial contents and organization, demonstrating the relationships (or lack thereof) of bone selection and sorting in these contexts. The internally consistent grouping of long bones is clear. The cranium is represented as an outlier because at least one cranium was consistently present in nearly every secondary burial in Mórrope.

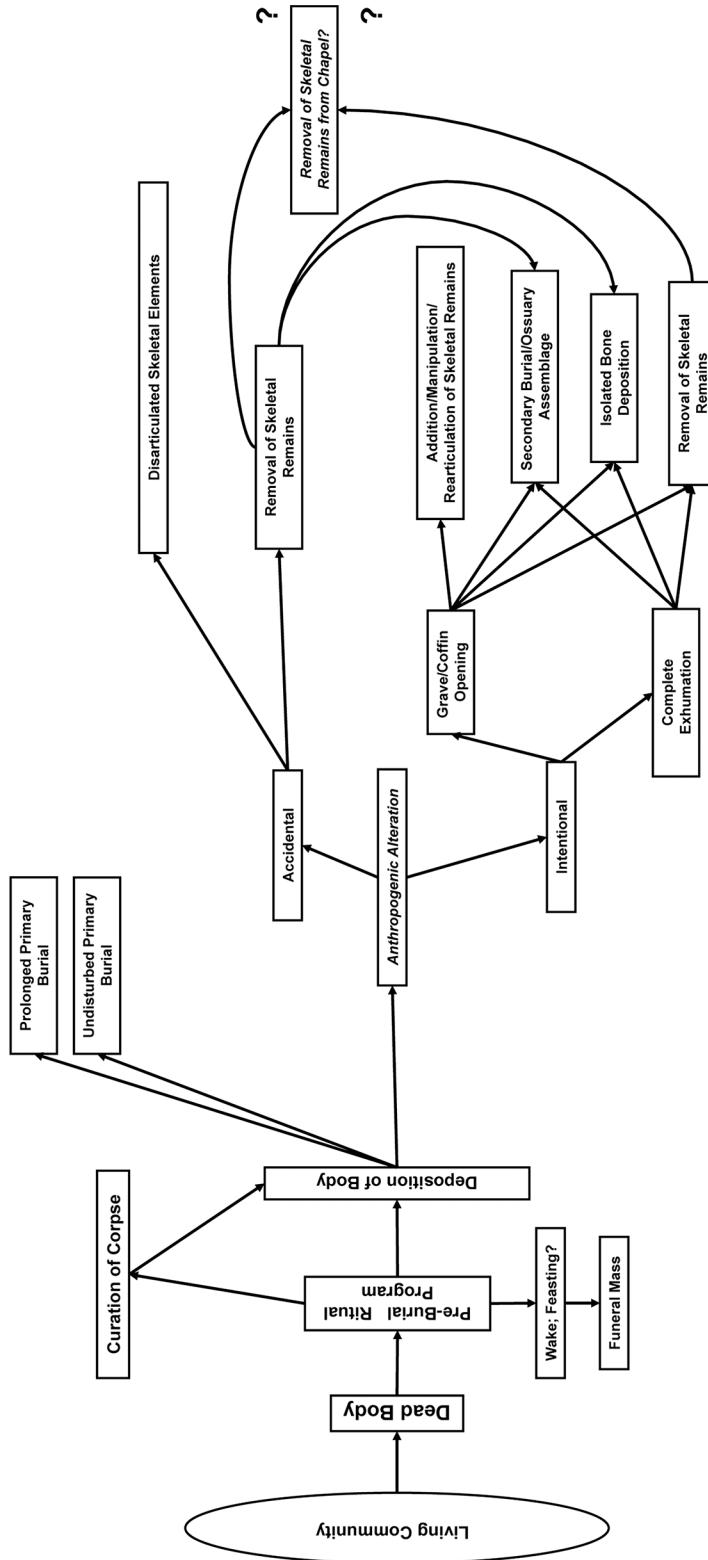


FIGURE 7.12. A model of living-dead interactions in colonial Mórrope, encompassing all of the observed and various potential outcomes of living-dead interactions in the colonial Mórrope cemetery.

coffin was responsible for specific forms of shifting of skeletal elements as described earlier. With this baseline pattern established, it was possible to identify multiple deviations from natural decomposition owing to anthropogenic alterations of bodies and skeletons. Some were clearly accidentally altered or appear as the result of reducing a skeleton to make way for a new burial. Intentional alterations of burials present a different physical signature, as in the opening of grave pits or coffins that was not associated with placement of new burials and that repetitively targeted mostly skulls and long bones for removal and reburial. In other cases, skeletal elements were removed, added, or manipulated. These activities likely contributed to secondary burials and deposition of isolated bones. Bundled secondary burials atop primary burials could suggest an activity where the dead were revisited and bones were buried atop them.

Significance of Living-Dead Interactions in Colonial Mórrope

As discussed earlier, coherent forms of mortuary traditions involving living-dead interactions appear to have existed on the North Coast of Peru since at least the Cupisnique era (Elera 1998) through the Moche Period (Cordy-Collins 2009; Donnan 2007; Hecker and Hecker 1992; Millaire 2004; Nelson 1998; Uceda 1997; Verano 1995), the Middle Sicán era (Klaus 2003, 2008; Shimada et al. 2004, also this volume), and under provincial Chimú and Chimú-Inka administrations (Klaus 2014). These practices include: 1) prolonged primary burial involving corpses intentionally curated before interment; 2) postdepositional removal that involved subtraction of skulls and long bones from graves; 3) postdepositional removal and rearrangement that involved grave reopening and removal of skeletal elements followed by reburial of the bones subsequent to an unknown interval and often accompanied by an attempt to replace removed bones in something resembling anatomical position; 4) secondary burial of complete skeletons or isolated skeletal elements; and 5) visitation of the dead in open-access chambers.

Based on these regional contexts, the range of mortuary activities in colonial Mórrope appear to have direct patterned, physical correlates in regional pre-Hispanic practices (Klaus and Tam 2009b). In other words, the means of producing meaning appear to have varied little from pre-Hispanic and colonial eras. But as Buikstra (2009) (and also see Kubler [1962] for a detailed discussion of the issue) correctly points out, stability in the structure or expression of a symbolic system does not necessarily equate to stability of meaning. In this situation, there is a good chance that the deeply conserved patterns of ritual interactions over some 2,500 years were intimately intertwined to regionally pervasive and persistent

meanings for which ritual form existed to transmit. While proximal situational meaning almost certainly changed within the colonial world, deeper connotations and even the reasons for interacting with the dead may have remained relatively stable within hybrid religious formations as in many places throughout the colonial Andes (MacCormack 1991; Salomon 1995).

Returning to Buikstra's (2009) observation, there are probably layers and levels of living-dead interaction that do reflect new ideas and meanings produced through the dialectical tensions of the colonial encounter in Mórrope. Pre-Hispanic curation of the dead before burial is commonly observed among pre-Hispanic adults (e.g., Cordy-Collins 2009; Nelson 1998; Shimada et al. 2004), but evidence of the same practice appears almost exclusively associated with infants and young children in colonial Mórrope. A secular explanation (i.e., involving death of children far from home with maggot infestation occurring on the trip back for burial) seems unlikely given: 1) the ethnohistoric portrait of locally focused lives and labor in Mórrope; 2) archaeothanatological perspectives that would predict far greater degrees of jumbled skeletal elements from decomposition during transport; and 3) layered deposits of thousands of fly pupa in a possible charnel structure in the southwest corner of the Chapel to indicate bodies decomposed inside the Chapel itself. Given the widespread conception of fly infestation accomplishing a kind of "soul" transfer that persisted into the colonial era (Salomon and Urioste 1991), a similar concern may have been expressed in Mórrope. The fate of adult souls may not have been as precarious, but children may have been a different matter. This may have something to do with the interaction between Catholic concepts of original sin, limbo, and baptism with Andean concepts involving the liminality and perhaps "nonhuman" nature of young children (Sillar 1994; Klaus, Centurión, and Curo 2010). Those chosen for prolonged primary burial are a small subset of all children buried in Mórrope, and there appear no common spatial, temporal, or biological (i.e., health status) threads connecting them. The criteria for selection for prolonged primary burial remain very important to clarify.

Manipulation of human remains ranging from intentional opening of burials, removal of skeletal elements, and secondary burials also closely follow pre-Hispanic ritual precedents. Multiple ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources suggest the power of the Andean dead involved their influence on fertility in the living world. One of the longest-lasting and widespread aspects of Andean cosmology is a vegetal metaphor of the dead as the source of fertility (e.g., Allen 1982, also in this volume; Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Duvíols 2003; Salomon 1995). After the fleshy, volatile parts of the body rotted away, bones eventually emerge just as seeds fall from a dying plant, and the living are left with dried, hard, and durable human

remains. In the south-central Andes, this quality was ascribed to mummies physically accessible in caves and chullpas from pre-Hispanic to colonial periods (Salomon 1995). The same basic idea of the fertile dead may be expressed in a different manner on the North Coast of Peru where bones themselves were ascribed similar characteristics in a form of metonymy or *pars pro toto* thinking (cf. Weismantel in this volume) not completely dissimilar from agricultural magic practiced by the Laymi of modern Bolivia (Harris 1982). It is possible altered burials and exhumations reflect the intention of the living to harness this characteristic of their dead. As we describe elsewhere (Klaus and Tam 2009b), following the collection of raw materials, subsequent acts of collective or isolated secondary burial perhaps completed a process that embodied a metaphor of seed planting; the living could direct in some fashion the power of the dead to ensure fertility and communal well-being during the colonial era. In cases where bones were added, including bone bundle burials atop primary burials, Hecker and Hecker (1992) and Klaus (2003) observe the same activity among Moche and Middle Sicán burials. Hecker and Hecker (1992, 45) think funerary inclusions of human bones among the Moche reflected a belief that the soul of the recently deceased needed a guide for its safe journey to the world of the dead, perhaps because they would be threatened by hostile *animas* that have not successfully made the transition to a new status or journey to the next world—or in the colonial setting, the Christian heaven. The possibility of dangerous *animas* is consistent with how missionization widely conferred conflation of the devil with the dead, and how Catholic-conceived demons, as incarnations of the spirits of the dead, were seen as the source of fertility (Saignes 1999, 118–19; cf. Allen in this volume). Inclusion of bones in a new burial then could have equally aimed to secure or amplify the fertility of the recently dead.

The repetitive use of skulls and long bones requires close consideration. The human skull is the most commonly manipulated element from Pachacamac to Pacatnamú and beyond (Shimada et al. this volume). Classen (1993), Hill (2006), Arnold and Hastorf (2008), and Weismantel (this volume) argue for the widespread immense significance of the head in many Andean symbolic systems, including complex and multiform links to fertility and personhood. Long bones may have been selected as they are the largest, most durable parts of the human skeleton, though special meanings appear to have been inscribed to particular body parts as in the case of Moche depictions of legs, arms, and the raised forearm with the hand clenched in a half fist (Donnan 1978, 151–55). Further exploration of the meanings of bones, body parts, and whole bodies from the pre-Hispanic to colonial periods is warranted.

It is important, however, to note that practices of ancestor veneration were not likely transpiring at Mórrope. Manipulation and secondary

burials involved the skeletal remains of both children and adults. Ancestor status is a highly specialized social role attained only by adults with offspring (Helms 1998; Salomon 1995; Sillar 1992; Whitley 2002), so if some element of the fertility of ancestral bodies/body parts was in play, it may be more broadly applied to the dead in general. Andean ancestor worship also would likely have involved a physical trace of direct periodic visitation, veneration, subsequent offerings, fêting, or even indirect contact, such as *ushnu*-like offering of libations (Shimada 1986), evidence of which are all absent. Moreover, the old oral tale, *Las Malas Almas en Mórrope* (The Evil Spirits of Mórrope), depicts the dead in the *Iglesia vieja* (the 'Old Church,' or the Chapel of San Pedro itself) as the nocturnal source of malevolent and deadly spirits looking to feed off the blood of the living (Narváez Vargas 2001, 363)—they are not beloved affines.

Funerary deployments of human remains in colonial Mórrope may have also involved new and situational political and ideological struggles. Following Pauketat (2010), it is key to consider how inanimate objects can be invested with agency, including bones (going well beyond actuating fertility). In Rubiños y Andrade's manuscript ([1936] 1782), the dead surface in a few accounts that are quite revealing in this respect. Rubiños y Andrade depicts himself and his predecessors as waging war against idolatry and religious "errors" and "absurdities" on behalf of the local Muchik townspeople. This suggests that in the absence of periodically visiting clergy, formation and exercise of hybrid or synergistic religious practices had ample room to develop (Klaus 2008). Rubiños y Andrade ([1936] 1782, 319) relates a story, taking place in 1664, where the Mórrope priest Benevites fell ill on the road to Mórrope and experienced a vision. At that very spot, he commanded his local helpers to dig, and they produced an ostensibly pre-Hispanic skeleton. The bones were exhumed and reburied in the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope with full Christian rights. The spirit of the exhumed was then said to have come to Benevites, thanking him for making it possible to be so close to God. A second story relates that in 1685, the priest Banses fled to nearby Pacora with the news that the British pirate Edward David was moving north after killing the priest of Casma and sacking Zaña. Banses soon fell ill and died in Pacora. Morropanos under the cover of night stole the corpse and buried it in Mórrope (though not for long, as church officials exhumed the body and buried it for a third time in the church in Túcume). The motivation for corpse robbing perhaps owed to a long-standing struggle for legitimacy between Mórrope and Pacora and incidentally reveals the presence of an *ayudante del difunto* (indigenous funeral specialist) in Mórrope.

These narratives appear to place the dead at the center of a local struggle for control over the dead and the cosmos, and interactions with the dead were at the center of it all. Bodies appear as well-established and politicized

objects whose agency contributed to spiritual and worldly authority while actively shaping social and cosmological landscapes. As such, human bodies and bones were not just an actively negotiated and appropriated locus of authority and control in Mórrope—they helped create it. On this level, indigenous people enacting the forms of pre-Hispanic ritual inside the Chapel (probably when priests were absent) could represent an attempt to assert Muchik authority over their dead. Bones could reappropriate the sacred interior space of the church for their own agendas that probably included identity conservation and a community's sociopolitical-religious solidarity during unsettled times. Manipulating the agency of bones could suggest strong competition between local and foreign ideas, such as between the dead being the source of new life rather than the Christian God. Given the extensive architectural evidence of the Chapel of San Pedro as a physically hybrid space between Muchik and Catholic traditions (Klaus 2013), living-dead interactions also signal another layer of a dynamic hybridity between both worlds.

Conclusion

Many of the people buried in colonial Mórrope did not find eternal rest. In our attempt to open the first archaeological window to colonial Andean mortuary practices on the North Coast of Peru, it is clear the dead continued to enter and reenter the world of the living. Pre-Hispanic rituals were not annihilated but became resituated within hybrid rituals (Klaus 2013) that bridged the pre-Hispanic past with a radically changing world. The use of archaeoanthropology aimed to demonstrate its potential in Andean mortuary archaeology to better deal with settings where the living and the dead came into a variety of forms of physical contact. These methods can maximize the depth of information available for funerary analysis but also reduce persistent disconnections between archaeology and physical anthropology in the field excavation of burials and their biocultural contents. Archaeoanthropology can represent a future direction in Andean archaeology not only to better understand the treatment of human bodies in funerary ritual, but the broader living worlds in which the dead played singular roles.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Sadness of Jars

*Separation and Rectification in
Andean Understandings of Death*

CATHERINE J. ALLEN

Prologue: The Rain Is Falling *Raki-Raki*

Standing on an Andean hillside looking across a windy mountain valley, one sees the rain falling at an angle. The harder the wind, the closer to horizontal the rain. But suppose that, as occasionally happens, the wind is all mixed up and blowing from more than one direction. Then the sheets of rain go off every which way. In the Peruvian highlands around Cuzco, this would be taken as a bad sign. "The rain is raki-raki," they say. "Someone is going to die."

Raki- is the root of words denoting separation or partition of entities that originally belonged together. *Raki-raki* is the name of a small fern that grows along streambeds, so called because its leaves diverge repeatedly at opposing angles from the central stem. The same vertical-branching form frequently decorates Inca ceramics in a fernlike motif (see below). In 1975, Oscar Nuñez del Prado, a renowned Cuzco ethnographer kindly conversing with this then-green graduate student, pointed to the raki-raki ("fern") motif and suggested I investigate its connection to raki-raki

rainfall as an omen of death. In this chapter, I finally take up his suggestion. In the following pages, I explore the semantic field of the term *raki* and bring together themes of death, separation, repartition, and storage. In the process, I hope to illustrate ways in which ethnographic comparison can illuminate pre-Columbian material culture, particularly in relation to this volume's theme, "Living with the Dead in the Andes."¹

Raki: Things Come Apart

In his discussion of Quechua arithmetical concepts, Urton defines *rakiy* as a particular kind of division that separates "one large, complex object or entity into several smaller, simpler ones," as when one separates the strands of a braid (Urton 1997, 165).² In the community of Chinchero, a textile pattern called *raki-raki* provides a diagrammatic expression of dissolution (figure 8.1).

"The color areas in the pattern do not mix; they are held apart everywhere by intervening white threads" (Franquemont 1986, 332). In an article on textile designs in Chinchero, Christine Franquemont recounts how don Tomás, not himself a weaver, commented on this pattern and said, "This is obviously *raki-raki*, like the *raki-raki* that exists when the husband is in one land and his wife in another, or a son is alive and his mother is dead" (*ibid.*). For don Tomás, the abstract form evoked an experience of sadness and loss.

When an irrigation canal is split into two separate flows, each is called *raki*; the flow from a *raki* is sufficient to water a *topo* (about four-fifths of an acre) in about two hours (Trawick 2002, 41).³ According to Gose, the *raki-raki* fern is brought to canal cleaning ceremonies in the community of Huaquirca in Apurimac. He comments that "*raki-raki*, the fern is in this context clearly related to the notion of *raki* ('a portion') which refers to an allotment of irrigation water . . . and suggests an abundance of these allotments by reduplication" (Gose 1994, 98).

In the sense of "portion," *raki* also refers to a unit of measurement for grains ([about 15 k] Academia de Quechua 1995, 507). One sees pots used in highland markets as units of measurement in calculating



FIGURE 8.1. *Raki-raki* textile motif. Drawing by Hannah Wolfe, adapted from Franquemont (1986, 332).

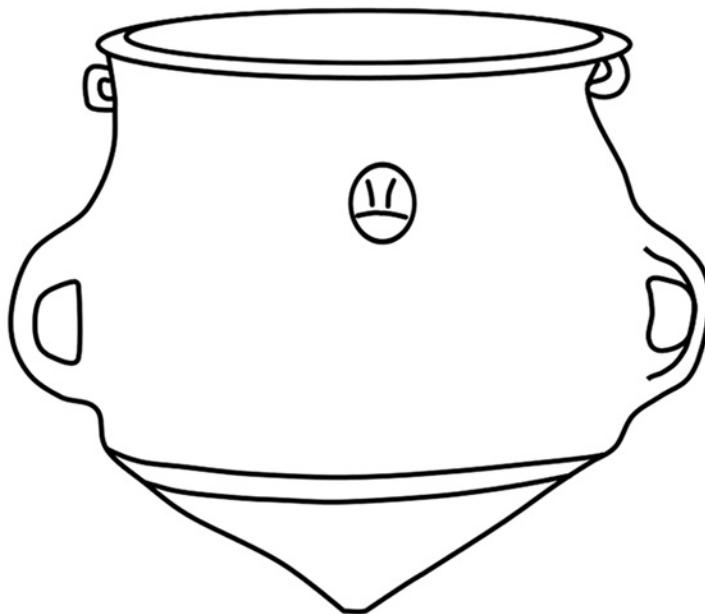


FIGURE 8.2. Typical outline of an Inca raki. It was carried on the back using a tump line passed through the handles. Drawing by Hannah Wolfe after Bray (2004, 367).

equivalent exchanges—for example, maize kernels for freeze-dried potatoes. This brings us to another definition of raki as a type of wide-mouthed ceramic pot, implying a unit of storage that has been partitioned from a larger supply (figure 8.2).⁴

Turning our perspective to the past, we find that Diego Gonçález Holguín's *vocabulario* of 1608 provides essentially the same definitions for *raqui* (raki) as we encounter today. His entries indicate an enduring (and presumably pre-conquest) connection among these concepts:

- *Raqui. Mal aguero, como el que aparta los que bien se quieren.* [Bad omen, as that which separates those who love each other well.]
- *Raqui. Barreno, o tinaja boqui ancha medida como de media banega y es de barro.*⁵ [A clay tub or jug with mouth of medium width about half a bushel in size and made of clay.]
- *Raquini o raquitani. Repartir dar porciones, o partar uno de otro.* [To apportion, or to separate one thing from another.]
- *Raquiraqui. Helecho yerua* [A fern] (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1989, 313).

Elsewhere in Gonçález Holguín's dictionary ([1608] 1989, 16) we find the graphically expressive semantic couplet formed from *raqui* preceded by intensifying *accy* (sand) and *ttiuy* (landslide): *Accoyraqui, ttiuyraqui. Infortunio, grande calamidad, aduersidad* [Sand-raki, landslide-raki. Misfortune, great calamity, adversity].

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Gonçález Holguín's contemporary, provides a good example of this phrase in a sorrowful love song. I have underlined *raqui* in the Quechua text (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1987, 288–90; my translation):

*Haray haraui
Acoyraquicho Coya raquiriuanchic?
Tiyoyraquicho Nusta raquiriuanchic?
Cicllallay chinchircoma captiquicho?*

[Oh, a song!
Is it misfortune, Queen, which separates us?
Is it disgrace, Princess, which separates us?
Is it that you're my little blue flower, my yellow blossom?]

Turning from language to material culture, the raki-raki “fern” design on Inca storage vessels, illustrated here on an *urpu* (aryballoid-form jar, figures 8.3a and 8.3b), visually suggests the same process of separation that contemporary Quechua speakers observe in the branching structure of fern plants and in the clearly separated color areas of the raki-raki textile motif.⁶

*What's in a Name?*⁹

So far we have encountered raki-raki as helter-skelter rain as an omen of death, a fern, a branching motif on ceramics, a textile motif with sorrowful connotations; and raki as misfortune, divided flow in an irrigation canal, a large wide-mouthed jar, a portion, a unit of measurement, and an arithmetic function. The common denominator of this diverse set is the arithmetic function. All relate to a process of separation and division; they are instances of a certain kind of process. This points to a subtle but crucial shift in the way we think about Andean material culture. *Rather than understanding raki as a name for things, we need to understand things as expressions of raki.* Franquemont makes this point when she observes that the names of Chincheró textile motifs refer to processes rather than things. “These names, *raki raki, k'eswa*, and *loraypu* . . . can be applied to many realms of experience.” The underlying “logic of classification” that applies to design motifs applies to “plants, techniques of basketry, rope making, or roofing, as well as to social phenomena and activities”



FIGURE 8.3A. Inca urpu with raki-raki (fern) design. Museo Rafael Larco Herrera. Photo courtesy of Y. Yoshii.



FIGURE 8.3B. Detail of figure 8.3a. Photo courtesy of Y. Yoshii.

(Franquemont 1986, 333). Thus the raki-raki textile pattern does not *look* like raki-raki the fern. They share the designation raki-raki because they *do* the same kind of thing.

“Resetting” our thinking in terms of processes rather than things may help us relate to Inca material expression from a culturally informed perspective. Inca artists and craftspeople employed an angular and (apparently) nonfigurative style of decoration that seems to refer to types of relationships and processes rather than naturalistic representation (Cummins 2002, 127–37). They were fascinated with geometric relations—with encounters, reflections, inversions, and repetition (see Ascher and Ascher 1981, 54–55). I argue (Allen 1997, 1998, 2002b) that, far from static ornamentation, these designs dynamically expressed *processes* that carried moral and emotional significance.

This brings us back to don Oscar’s question with which I opened this chapter: what is the connection between raki-raki and death?

Ethnography of Death in the Andes

In the five centuries since the Spanish invasion of the Andes, perhaps no cultural practices have been more affected than those related to the treatment of the dead.⁷ Catholic missionaries rooted out the more overt practices connected with ancestor worship, such as mummification, placing the dead in caves, and tending ancestral mummies with food, drink, and changes of clothing. Nevertheless, Christian ideas about the nature of death and the dead did not completely replace pre-Columbian ones. The incommensurability of Andean and Spanish ideas about the relationship of body and soul resulted in parallel ideologies that were called into practice in different contexts (Allen 1982 [1988], 2002a; Bastien 1986; Harris 2000; Klaus and Tam this volume; Lau this volume). For example, in Paucartambo Province, northeast of Cuzco, the “old grandfathers” still dwell in the land; they still help the potatoes “grow big,” and they still receive offerings of coca, cane alcohol, and *chicha* (a general term that refers to a variety of fermented and nonfermented beverages, but here it refers to maize beer). Sonqueños bury their dead in their local cemetery; after several years the graves are disinterred, and the soil and bones are turned under to make room for new burials. At this point some families take home the skulls of their “grandparents” (a general term for ancestor) to watch over their houses.

Death: The View from Afar

As in many societies (Hertz [1907] 1960) Native Andeans conceive of death as a drawn-out process occurring over time. Death and life constitute

a self-renewing cycle, which Salomon, drawing mostly on ethnohistorical evidence, describes as a gradient in which a person, like a plant, moves from wet, juicy babyhood, to “ever more firm and resistant but also dryer and more rigid” adulthood, to desiccated remains that “have left life and been preserved,” like the freeze-dried potatoes called *ch'uñu* (Salomon 1998, 11; also see Lau’s discussion in this volume). *Ch'uñu* can be stored for as much as ten years and then reconstituted by soaking in water. In my ethnography of Sonqo (Paucartambo, Cuzco), I described the ceremony with which *ch'uñu* is transported to the storehouses. Enlivened with music and libations of chicha, the desiccated potatoes are treated like little mummies who will provide for the future (Allen 1982, 2002a; also see Arnold and Yapita 1996).

While desiccated potatoes are compared to mummies, desiccated human remains are compared to seeds that drop from dried pods to begin the round anew. Salomon goes on to observe that “in idolatry trials, some defendants gave voice to an image of Uma Pacha (the afterlife) as being a farm where spirits, like seeds, could flourish back toward life” (*ibid.*). This seed-like character of the dead appears in contemporary ethnography as well. Peter Gose (1994, 103–40) provides one of the most extensive analyses. Life and death have a circulating character; one dies into a dry seed-like being that gives rise to new life.

In a study based both on her ethnographic research in Chuschi (Ayacucho) in the 1970s, as well as ethnohistoric sources, Isbell (1997) describes a comparable movement through the life cycle from soft juiciness, to firm adulthood, to dry, seed-like old age, and then death. She includes a gendered dimension as well. Babies are not differentiated overtly in terms of gender; gender distinctions become more strongly marked throughout childhood until, in firm adulthood, one marries and produces another generation of babies, after which one subsides into androgynous old age and finally death.

Viewed thus from afar, the overall cycle of life appears as a positive and even benign process. Death is simply a transition from one state of existence to another, a transition that is necessary to perpetuate life in the world. The view from within, however, is quite different. From the perspective of living persons, dying is fraught—as it is for most human beings everywhere—with anxiety and grief.

Death: The View from Within

In the Cuzco region, a person heading toward death is thought to experience a loss of *animu* (from Spanish *árbol*, spirit). According to Ricard Lanata (2007, 77–105), herders in the Ausangate region of Cuzco describe *animu* as a kind of aura or envelope enclosing a person’s body. Without

this enveloping animu, a person suffers a gradual loss of internal balance. As the animu dissipates, the deceased-to-be exudes a sickly atmosphere called *qayqa* that can make people in the vicinity violently ill with upset stomachs or headaches. This occurs without any intention on the part of the dying person, and in fact a person can be sickened, all unawares, by their own *qayqa*.

In Apurimac animu refers to the “small soul,” counterpart of the *alma*, or “great soul.” The relationship is complex (see Gose 1994, 115–25). While the alma embodies a living person both as bodily form and moral character, the animu imbues it with vitality and consciousness. An interdependence between alma and *ámino* exists, since the physical and moral development of the alma presupposes its animation, just as the vital force of the *ámino* cannot take form except in relation with an impulse toward embodiment ([the alma] Gose 1994, 115).

According to Arnold and Yapita (1998, 73), the alma is like a bundle of cloth, given voice and consciousness by the animu. Without the animu, the alma is left sitting there speechless, like an old suit of clothes. As a person proceeds toward death, the relationship between these two principles is gradually lost; alma and animu are separated.

Alma/animu does not correspond exactly to a duality of body and soul. Each is associated with aspects of the body; alma is seated mainly in the bones while animu is in the moist flesh surrounding the bones like an envelope. Unlike the Christian concept of soul, neither alma nor animu is the seat of a person’s essential self. Almas—speechless and deaf though they may be—are always considered dangerous, and they cause harm quite independently of a person’s volition. For example, I suffered a bout of nausea that was, in hindsight, attributed to the escaping alma of a friend who died several months afterward. When I objected to the idea that this friend would have harmed me, I received the response, “You don’t understand. It wasn’t Basilia [my friend], it was her alma” (Allen 2002a, 43–44).

The idea that a person’s alma begins to leave the body long before the moment of expiration is suggested by some of our earliest sources and persists in the present. Cieza de León, for example, recounts how dead people were said to be seen walking through the fields they cultivated in life (2005, 182).⁸ In Sonqo, I was told that the soul had to visit all the places where it had committed *huchha* (transgressions) during its life. According to Gose, people in Huaquirca report seeing almas of dying people wandering among their fields, separated from their bedridden bodies. Such almas can be recognized for what they are (and not the living person) by “their inability to perceive or interact with the living. . . . Since the *ámino* is supposed to maintain the sense, it is logical that these almas wandering in a state of separation would be oblivious to the presence of others” (Gose 1994, 116). A living person, looking toward death, may

recognize signs that his or her soul is wandering. For example, near the end of her life story, a Cuzco market woman comments,

eight years before we die, our souls begin their journey, tracking our footsteps back to all the places we've gone while living in this world. So our poor souls must stop time and time again, suffering at each and every place we were careless, even the places where we let a sewing needle drop to the floor. . . . So my soul must've already begun its journey, and that's why at daybreak my legs are all tired out. (Gelles and Martinez Escobar 1996, 136)

Calling the Soul

Although death eventually comes to everyone, critically ill people can sometimes be restored to health. With animu and alma back in equilibrium, the soul stops wandering, at least for awhile. Temporary loss of this equilibrium can be experienced throughout life on a smaller scale. For example, on one occasion I became withdrawn and sullen after being teased mercilessly by a group of women. Eventually I left the gathering and walked out by myself. When, after a short time, I returned in a better mood, one of the women asked quietly, "Did you call back your alma?"

After a death, survivors try to call back the departed soul. The experience of separation among "those who love each other well" is poignantly expressed in lamentations for the dead. The chronicler Diaz de Betanzos mentions this practice in his 1551 description of memorial rites prescribed for Inca Yupanque: "when they had all arrived at the places where he stood and the ones where he sat down when he was alive and walked through there, they should call out to him in loud voices, ask him where he was, and speak to him of his deeds" (Betanzos [1551] 1996, 134).

Today, as in Incaic times, mourners call out to the dead. "*Maypin kanki?*" "Where are you?" In 1975 I attended a funeral where a cousin of Rufina, the deceased woman, launched into a similar lament. She stood up and stretched out her hands to the grave, keening in a high-pitched wail, loudly but without tears, "Where have you gone? Why did you leave us? How could you leave your husband and children? What will they do without you?" She turned away from the grave and approached us, still calling to the dead woman. "*Where have you gone, my sister? How shall I find you now? Your children are crying for you*" (Allen 2002a, 4).

The experience of loss and longing expressed in these laments is like that evoked by the raki-raki design for Franquemont's Chinchoro respondent, "when the husband is in one land and his wife in another, or a son is alive and his mother is dead."

In her description of social relations in Chuschi, Isbell describes the set of kinsmen and affines who depend on each other in mutual aid relationships as “*kuyaq*,” those who love each other” (1978, 13, 168–70). Separating members of this “loving” group in death disrupts a total system of economic and social interdependences (Salomon 1995, 325). Thus, lamentation for the dead dwells on social and economic functions the deceased person fulfilled in life. In the examples above, mourners called to their late king, Inca Yupanqui, and reminded him of “his deeds”; while in the Paucartambo cemetery the mourner reproached her cousin for deserting her husband and children. According to Urton, in Norte de Potosí this practice is elaborated in a ritual “recounting” (*yapuykakamuy*). “This mourning takes the form of a loud wailing and of rapidly repeating, between sobs, the things that one remembers—recounts—about the dead person” (Urton 1997, 98).

In the weeks that followed her death, Rufina’s husband dwelt on the loss of her skills as a herdswoman and lamented the shortage of manure that would result from having to keep the animals in another family’s corral. This in turn, he predicted, would result in a failed potato crop, no seed potatoes for the following year, and general ruination for him and his children (see Allen 2002a, 144). Within a year he remarried and, with the arrival of a new wife, llamas and sheep (along with their manure) once again filled his corral. As time passed, Rufina’s daughter, who was three at the time of her mother’s death, grew into her early teens and took over the herding duties for her aging stepmother.

Sadly, this daughter died before reaching her fifteenth year. A letter from one of her brothers reached me in Maryland. “Our father,” it said, “does nothing but weep for his little shepherdess, asking who will take care of his animals.”

Far from being heartless, it was—to this traditional Andean man—highly appropriate to mourn his child in terms of her contribution to the family economy. The lament expressed appreciation of his daughter’s important place in the web of relations that supports family life and, in this way, paid tribute to her developing personhood as a young adult.

Personhood

My acquaintances in Sonqo did not, as far as I can tell, entertain a notion of the self as a unitary being. Persons are recognized as distinct from one another, of course, but this distinctiveness is derived from a unique position in a web of “socio-ritual connections” (Salomon 1998, 16; also see Weismantel’s discussion of the partible self in this volume). These connections consist of dyadic relationships of symmetrical and asymmetrical reciprocity formed with persons of different social categories, with

superior entities like mountain lords, and with subservient beings like domestic animals and household utensils. In the mature adult, this interactive nexus of relationships is fully constituted and properly embodied; personhood is a constant process of balancing many different kinds of interactive relationships at many different levels.

Writing of Ecuadorean Quichua speakers, Lawrence Carpenter observes a linguistic postulate that he describes as “duality-of-self.”⁹ It is based on the concept that a person possesses two selves: a public, controllable self; and another “part of one over which there is ‘no control,’ the part that */ukupi tiyajun/* ‘sits or exists on the inside’” (Carpenter 1992, 118–19). Although differing somewhat from the alma/animu dichotomy, this formulation is consistent with the uncontrollable aspect of the alma, that which escapes and causes harm once the enveloping animu begins to dissipate.

In Sonqo, ritual practice represents duality-of-self as gendered (Allen 2002a, 64; 2011, 34). When a procedure called *hampi akllay* (choosing medicine) is performed on behalf of a human being (as opposed to animal or crop welfare), the ritual specialist begins by preparing a diagrammatic representation of the person.¹⁰ He (or occasionally she) begins by choosing eight well-matched coca leaves. Out of this set of eight, he composes four pairs of leaves, each of which is described as *warmiqhari* (a female/male pair). Then he combines these four two-leaf piles of leaves into two four-leaf piles; each of these is also *warmiqhari*. Finally he combines the two four-leaf piles to form the representation of a complete human being. Composed of blended male and female elements, this coca leaf “person” is the core of an offering that will be burned on behalf of the individual for whom it was composed. The Earth and Mountain Lords consume the medicine bundle as it burns and (hopefully) are moved to reciprocate with prosperity and well-being.

In a powerfully condensed form, this little stack of leaves reveals the person not as unitary, nor even as simply dual, but rather as a nexus of multiple, simultaneous, and gendered dyadic relationships. That female and male elements ought to enfold each other to produce a single (but inherently dual) being was implicit in many of the activities and conversations I shared with acquaintances in Sonqo. Hands and feet have gendered connotations. One’s hands, and the work done with hands, are the female aspect of oneself, while feet, and work done with feet, are male. A child growing to adulthood learns to express these different aspects appropriately according to his male or her female physiology; this entails subordinating capabilities proper to the opposite sex. One becomes appropriately gendered by sacrificing the opposite gender in oneself, thus becoming intrinsically incomplete. The only way to overcome this intrinsic incompleteness is through marriage—that is, by pairing up with another

dual but oppositely gendered person. This idea is also expressed—and symbolically overcome—in the medicine bundle which, in preparation for burning, is enclosed in a carefully folded piece of paper, conceived as a person, with a carefully noted head and feet. When folded up the feet become the head and the head becomes the feet.

The insistence that “Everything is Man-and-Woman”—articulated as *Tukuy ima qhariwam* by Bolivian Macha (Platt 1986)—runs like a leitmotif through Andean ethnography. Urton discusses the terms *yanantin* (coupled) and *iskaynintin* (two-together, paired) as representing “what we could call imperative forces that ‘urge’ the linkage of things considered to have a natural, complementary relationship to each other” (Urton 1997, 78). The process of death entails a loss of the enveloping and structuring animu; the “imperative force” that holds together the multiple dyadic self ebbs away as an exudation of qayqa.

The Great Divide

After death, qayqa becomes perceptible in the putrid atmosphere surrounding the corpse. Decomposition, which already has long been underway, manifests itself as the body rots and the flesh separates from the bones. It is of the utmost importance to survivors, as well as the deceased, that this process be properly completed. Persons who in life violated their reciprocity relationships (the worst such offense being incest) never complete this separation of flesh and bone. Imprisoned in rotting bodies, surrounded by qayqa and howling in pain, these *kukuchis* (or *condenados*) roam boulder fields and glaciers, filled with cannibalistic longings to eat human flesh.

Although most people escape this dire fate, even the best of us have imbalances to rectify, and this settling of accounts takes place in the soul’s journeys before and after death. In this liminal passage, relationships of dominance and dependency are reversed. Peter Gose tells us that in Huaquirca, the deceased alma is said to scale Mt. Qoropuna by a tortuous winding path.¹¹ Along the way it passes through Dog Town (*Alqollaqta*), and “(a)nyone who has mistreated dogs in life is likely to be severely bitten, or even totally devoured there” (Gose 1994, 123). Valderrama and Escalante (1980, 258–60) report an even more drastic ordeal in which dogs completely devour the alma and excrete it as feces. Only when a white dog urinates on this excrement does the *alma* revive and continue on its way. Similar ordeals may await the alma in “Cat Town” (*Michillaqta*), “Chicken Town” (*Wallpallaqta*), “Guinea-pig Town” (*Qowillaqta*), and “Pot Town” (*Mank’allaqta*), “where each of these beings punishes the alma for any mistreatment it may have given them in life” (Gose 1994, 124–25). In a reversal of normal relationships of dominance and dependency, dogs,

cats, and guinea pigs revenge themselves on cruel masters, and pots (interestingly classed here with domestic animals) presumably burn and smash careless users.

Even in less detailed accounts, the soul's travels are always described as long, tiring, and perilous. This grueling journey to the afterlife rectifies inevitable asymmetries in the myriad dyadic relationships which, together, constitute the person's unique self. Every person participates in asymmetrical relationships (e.g., those between dogs and masters; sons-and-fathers-in-law; male and female parts of oneself) that have to be maintained in a state of tension. The image of the animu as an envelope indicates that the person has to be, in effect, held together to keep from flying apart. With animu dissipating, mastery becomes subservience, and the soul experiences a moral state of "equal and opposite reaction." It sets out on its liminal journey to rectify these one-sided relationships and finally crosses the *Yawar Mayu* (Blood River) that separates life from death. Having achieved a state of dry but seminal neutrality, it is absorbed into the afterlife.

While there is much variation, many accounts from early colonial sources to the present describe the afterlife as a kind of parallel world to that of the living, "where spirits, like seeds, could flourish back toward life" (Harris 2000; Salomon 1995, 1998). In Sonqo some of my respondents described this as God's hacienda. In other contexts the dead are said to enter underground lakes in the interior of a mighty mountain. According to Bastien (1985), the Qollahuaya dead are carried in a subterranean river to a lake within Mt. Kaata, from whence they are reborn. Similarly, in Sonqo the dead were said to "travel" (*puriy*) in subterranean water that breaks through Sonqo's hillsides in springs (*pukyu*) and marshes (*wayllar*). Huaquiraños describe Mt. Qoropuna as giving rise to an underground system of lakes and rivers, through which moisture expelled by the dead returns to the living in the form of irrigation water (Gose 1994, 134). In either version, as water or seeds, the dead become sources of life-giving water and new generations of people. They belong to a generalized category within which the particularity of persons is lost (Allen 2002a, 41; Gose 1994, 119, 130).

This brings us back, finally, to the view from afar, in which life and death can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory, forming a cycle that constantly renews itself. Nevertheless, living/dying persons, viewing life from within, see only a piece of this circulating system. The pre-Columbian practice of caring for the desiccated bodies of the dead attempted to deny the inevitable experience of loss and dissolution. Even for the Inca elite—who managed to retain their mummified forebears as social persons who "ate," "drank," and "spoke"—death was a decisive break. They, too, called to the recently dead, "*Maypin kanki?*" ("Where

are you?”) Due to its partiality, the view from within experiences death as “separating those who love each other well,” “as when a son is alive and his mother is dead.” This separation without resolution is raki-raki.

Moral Geometry

“The Art of Rectification”

Dying properly is a process of rectification. It negates the self by balancing out dyadic relations of dominance and dependency that constitute a person.¹² With accounts balanced and tension released, the soul crosses Blood River and subsides into generalized ancestorhood. In this way, death provides life and vitality for new generations. Particularity in life is neutralized by death in order to reproduce more life.

Urton describes Quechua arithmetic as an “art of rectification,” a balancing out of social relationships. This is, he comments, an “over-arching value” that “clearly distinguishes Quechua arithmetic practices and mathematical conceptions from those in the West” (Urton 1997, 145).

Rectification is inherent in the circulating character of Andean cosmology where “what goes around comes around” (e.g., Earls and Silverblatt 1976; Urton 1981), as well as in the redistributive economy of the Inca state (Murra 1980). It was in the interest of the ruling class to emphasize this “view from afar,” to display their dead ancestors as continuing to exist in a powerfully transmogrified form, thus “transforming the dead into a transcendent and eternal force” (Bloch and Parry 1982, 41).¹³ For rural commoners who interred their dead in the agricultural fields or in local caves and crevices, the deceased more rapidly entered a generalized category of original ancestors (MacCormack 1991, 95). In either case, death was understood as a regenerative counterpart to life, an understanding reiterated in ritual practice and experienced in daily activities as people irrigated their fields and tended growing plants. Thus the ideology of rectification addressed problems of “individuality and unrepeatable time . . . which must be overcome if the social order is to be represented as eternal” (Bloch and Parry 1982, 15).

But from within—from the perspective of a person passing (unrepeatably) through time—these problems can never be overcome completely. Death of others, as well as oneself, overthrows the immediate order of things, producing a period of traumatic crisis. Death separates the intertwined parts of oneself and rends the mutually defining web of socio-ritual connections, bringing to mind Urton’s discussion of rakiy as a type of division in Quechua arithmetic. He compares rakiy to the process of separating the yarns of a plied thread:

In this case “division” refers to the “separation” of the component parts (the individual spun yarns) of the thread. In *rak’iy*, a complex whole is “decomposed” into its constituent parts. (1997, 166)¹⁴

According to a circulatory and redistributive ideology, the separated “strands” return to the world at large and life goes on—but from the perspective of the decomposed, it’s a zero-sum game.

The Sadness of Jars

This brings us back to the “logic of classification” underlying the various meanings of raki. It clarifies why raki-raki rainfall would be “read” as an ominous diagram of death and the raki-raki textile motif would evoke a sense of sadness by “holding apart” fields of color. While accounts of death and dying naturally emphasize their visceral and psychologically traumatic aspects (corpse stench, separation of flesh and bone, the soul’s terrifying passage to the other world), rakiy as an arithmetic operation points to other connections. I want to return, in conclusion, to the ceramic rakis, as well as urpus with the “fern” design (figures 8.3a 8.3b), and explore the relationship of these large jars to raki’s semantic field.

Did the “logic of classification” that gives sorrowful and ominous meaning to the raki-raki rain and the textile motif tinge the jar with the same associations? I think it did. While it would be extreme to read every example of raki as a statement of regret and anxiety, every instance of raki manifests a principle of separation, and entails sacrificing the integrity of a previously existing unit. Mannheim, following Gose (1986), argues that an ideology of sacrifice (rather than gift exchange) governed the systems of reciprocity and redistribution characteristic of indigenous Andean societies.¹⁵ He comments,

A pervasive sense of sorrow and loss is . . . perhaps a recognition that every reciprocal action is always one-half of a cycle, that reciprocity requires an initial surrender of the self to the gift of labor or object, and that the cycle of reciprocity is ever likely to rupture . . . Andean economy and culture turn a famous anthropological principle on its head: all exchange is, at base, sacrifice. (Mannheim 1991, 19)

It is this “axiology of loss” (*ibid.*) that tinges storage jars with sadness.

It is well known that Inca economy operated as an elaborate system of redistribution based on the ruler’s myriad dyadic relationships with subject communities (see among others, Murra 1980, Wachtel 1977). Although phrased in an idiom of reciprocity, these relationships were coerced. Community members were required to labor in their fields and pastures not

only for themselves and their own *kuraka* (headman), but for the state as well. A large part of their production had to be divided by the *kuraka* and set aside as state tribute. It seems reasonable to suggest that this process of *rakiy* would not have been entirely welcome and might have been carried out amid sentiments of resentment and regret.

Chicha figured largely in Inca expansion. Highly standardized and finely made *urpus*, used for storing and serving *chicha*, is a hallmark of imperial hegemony (Bray 2000, 2003). *Rakis* also figured in this connection for, in addition to measuring and storing maize, they were used in the preparation of chicha. Chicha is made by grinding or chewing sprouted maize kernels to a pasty mash which is placed in a *raki*. Water is added and the mixture is boiled and then cooled so the dregs can settle and be separated out. The beverage ferments in the *raki* for about a day (the duration varies), and then is boiled again, before being poured into an *urpu* for a second fermentation (see among others, Jennings and Chatfield 2009).

Feasting with chicha was “a forum for symbolic reciprocity” (Cummins 2002, 52). A *kuraka* expressed and maintained his leadership of a community through generous and frequent distribution of this beverage. At the imperial level, chicha distribution similarly expressed the relationship of the Inca ruler to the *kurakas* of subject communities.

This show of generosity was critical to the Incas’ creating a theatrical appearance of chiefly generosity and appreciation of commoners—thus minimizing the appearance of the social gulf that separated them while simultaneously maintaining it. The political uses of feasting with chicha were not, of course, invented by the Incas. Hastorf and Johannessen show that among the pre-Inca Wanka in the Mantaro Valley, the frequency of *rakis* and *urpus* increases with the development of social differentiation, indicating that “elites took up and emphasized the symbolic powers of maize beer to aid in the building of . . . unequal status relationships” (1995, 115). *Rakis* thus played a role in separating elites from commoners, and separating commoners from the fruits of their labor, functions consistent with the vessel’s name. As dividers of the common stores, *rakis* participated in the imperial system of tribute and redistribution. Because they were used in the initial stages of chicha making, *rakis* were instrumental in the feasting that helped maintain Inca hegemony. Chicha was—and continues to be—powerfully associated with death and regeneration. A narrative I recorded in Sonqo indicates that *rakis* share to some extent in these associations. Although it is not the only story I encountered that mentions pots, it is the only one that emphasizes the *type* of pot. I confine myself to a brief summary as I have analyzed this story elsewhere (Allen 2009). A woman tries to make chicha by herself in a lonely hut in the high mountain grassland. Her husband is traveling, and she is accompanied only by her very small child. Struggling with the task, she asks a

passerby to help her, not realizing that the stranger is really a *condenado warmi* (a female damned soul). Once she recognizes her guest's perilous identity, she escapes on the pretext of tending her animals, leaving her child alone with the *condenada*. The *condenada* tries to lure her back, calling "your child fell into the raki!" When the woman doesn't return, the *condenada* devours the child, throws its little head and hands in the raki, and leaves. In the morning the woman returns home. There is her partial and dismembered child floating in the raki full of bloody chicha. When her husband comes home they quarrel violently, the raki breaks and the bloody undrinkable chicha runs all over the floor.

This story graphically expresses the perils of (potentially incestuous) introversion that beset households in a high mountain community of far-flung isolated homesteads. The raki appears to express the integrity of the household, as well as its problematic isolation from others. The tragic events are set in motion by the separation of spouses and the woman's isolation from anyone who would help her through normal relations of mutual aid. (In fact, no one would really attempt to make chicha in such a situation.) The solitary woman's vulnerability is intensified by the fermentation process, which seems to attract the *condenada*. Because maize has a double soul, parallel to the alma/animu of human beings, fermentation is experienced as "closely allied to the decomposition of death" (Gose 1994, 135). Properly fermented, chicha should provide a medium for community and exchange with other households, but through the agency of this ruined (improperly "fermented") soul, it is contaminated with the family's blood. The next generation is dismembered and submerged within this ruinous mixture. The story ends as the raki breaks in a final expression of household dissolution.

The image of the dismembered child's little head and hands is especially poignant and—although far separated in space and time—resonates with Moche practices discussed by Weismantel in this volume. A bodiless head ought to belong to an ancestor, an old grandfather's skull brought home from the grave—not to a soft immature child who, dismembered, will never grow up, reproduce, and harden into ancestorhood (Lau, this volume).

The narrative indicates that the raki pot has, implicitly, disturbing associations with death and dissolution. Normally, busy people using pots as they go about their lives will not have the full range of meanings at the forefront of consciousness. The paradoxical and even tragic dimensions of raki are submerged in everyday activities; they surface only occasionally when imagination plumbs the depths for expressive purposes.

Contemporary rakis and urpus are usually undecorated (and, in fact, are being replaced by metal pots and plastic tubs). Inca urpus, however, were decorated with a few highly standardized design formats. Among the most common of these is our vertical branching "fern" motif flanking a



FIGURE 8.4A. Rhomboid design flanked by a version of the “fern” design on an Inca urpu. Museo Inka. Photo courtesy of Y. Yoshii.

central panel consisting of a series of rhomboids (figure 8.4a; the small repertoire of other designs found in the central panel include the X-and-bar design shown in figure 8.4b).

Noting that “the majority of [urpus] employ concentric rhomboids and the so-called fern motif as primary design elements,” Bray insightfully suggests that “these primary motifs must have been intended to convey something . . . fundamental about the notion of Inca sovereignty” (2000, 173; also see Bray 2004, 2009).¹⁶ How might they do this? What processes are embodied by these abstract patterns? We are in a position to answer this for

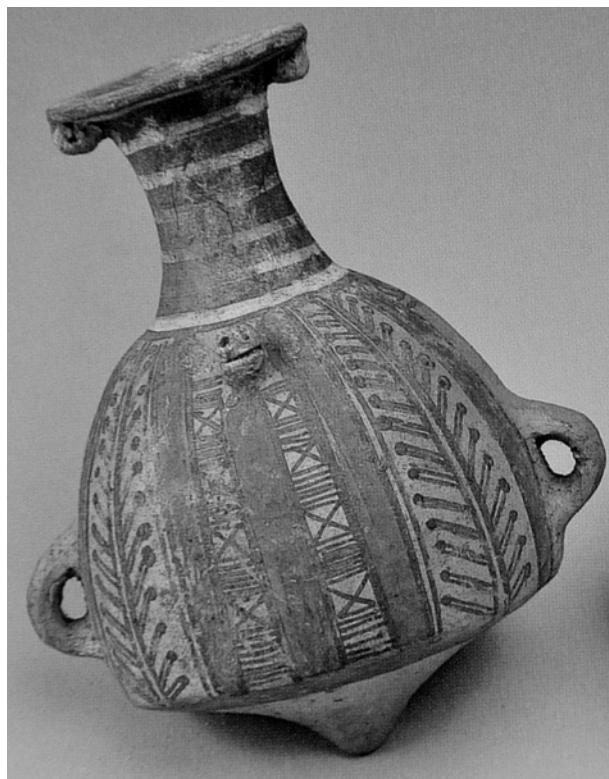


FIGURE 8.4B. Fern and X-and-bar designs on an Inca urpu. Museo Inka. Photo courtesy of Y. Yoshii.

the vertical branching design, which manifests a repeated process of uni-directional separation. The lines diverge and do not meet again: raki-raki.

Several authors (see among others, Franquemont 1986; Heckman 2003; Silverman 1994) have noted that the rhomboid motif appears in contexts (e.g., origin cave, sun, lakes, eyes) associated with emergence and continuity. In another paper (Allen 2002b), I show that the row of rhomboids (making a double zigzag) appears in contexts associated with irrigation water, with emergence from an interior, and with *tinku* (processes of violent but productive encounter). Composed of lines that diverge and converge repeatedly, the dynamism of this motif contrasts strongly with the ineluctable separation manifested in raki-raki.

I suggest, therefore, that this iconography (vertical-branching + rhomboids) combines the two perspectives on life and death that I have explored in this paper—the insistence that new life emerges from death and the

equally urgent insistence that death is irreparable separation. This does not necessarily mean that they were “read” as a message about death in so many words. Rather, they expressed two opposite processes that, separately and together, operated meaningfully in many aspects of Andean life. Powerfully multivalent, the elegantly simple forms would have been memorable expressions of sovereignty.

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Notes

1. Also see Sillar’s (2004) insightful discussion of the uses of ethnographic analogy in Andean archaeology.

2. Urton, whose study of Quechua arithmetical concepts was carried out mainly in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia, renders the word as *rak’iy*. Some Quechua dictionaries differentiate between *raki* and *rak’i* (the apostrophe indicates an ejective, also called a glottal stop). Jesús Lara, who was based in Bolivia, defines *raki* as an omen and a wide-mouth pot; *raki-raki* as a fern; and *rak’iy*, with glottalized /k/, as a verb meaning to apportion or separate. Others, including González Holguín ([1608] 1989, 313), Jorge Lira (1982, 245), Antonio Cusihuaman (1976, 126), and the Academia Mayor de La Lengua Quechua (1995, 507–8)

use a single spelling (raki) for the full range of meanings, including many forms of the verb.

It appears that the glottal stop is a late addition to the word rakiy. Ejectives are frequent in Cuzco-Collao Quechua, the most southern branch of Quechua, but are absent in most branches of the Quechua language family. Mannheim (1991, 177–78) argues that they entered Cuzco-Collao due to contact with the Aymara language. His analysis points to the role of iconicity and sound symbolism in the adoption of ejectives by Cuzco-Collao (*ibid.*, 180). This makes perfect sense in the shift from rakiy to rak'iy. In the verb rak'iy, the sound (abrupt cracking /k'/) mirrors the meaning (separation of things that belong together).

3. See also Montoya, Silveira, and Lindoso (1979), Trawick (2002b), and Treacy (1994).

4. For a description of how a raki is made see Karen Chávez (1985, 188–92). Regarding rak'i as a variant of raki, see note 2.

5. Although González Holguín renders this word as *barreno*, which means bore or auger, I am reading it as *barreño*, a clay tub, which is consistent with the rest of the definition.

6. Following Yacovleff and Herrerra (1935, 69–70), archaeologists commonly refer to this motif as a fern. Although we cannot know for sure whether or not the Inca makers and users of the pots called the design raki-raki, the pattern illustrates a similar process of separation.

7. The ethnography of death in Andean communities has been the subject of many good studies. On contemporary communities, see among others, Gose (1994) and Harris (2000). On the ethnohistory of pre-Columbian death and mortuary practices see MacCormack (1991), Duviols (1986), and Zuidema (1973). On the problem of continuities between the present and the pre-Columbian past, see among others, Salomon (1995).

8. This passage is translated and discussed by Sabine MacCormack (1991, 92–93).

9. Also see Tristan Platt (1986) and Regina Harrison (1986), among others.

10. I discuss hampi akllay at more length in Allen (2002a, 129–39).

11. On the journey to the afterlife, see also Zuidema and Quispe (1968). This penitential journey bears some similarities to the Catholic idea of purgatory and probably shows its influence.

12. As in Melanesian cases discussed by Bloch and Parry, “permanence is only achieved by overcoming the differentiation on which exchange is based” (1982, 32).

13. See among many others, MacCormack (1991, 118–38) and Zuidema (1973).

14. Regarding rakiy and rak'iy, see note 2.

15. On reciprocity and redistribution see Alberti and Mayer (1974) and Mayer (2002).

16. Bray questions the “fern” designation, preferring to identify the motif as a tree (*mallki*) in an analogy with a sketch of the Incas’ place of origin by the

indigenous chronicler Santa Cruz Pachakuti Yamqui ([1613] 1993, 198). She points out striking structural parallels between typical urpu iconography and this drawing, in which two ancestor-trees (complete with their roots) flank an enclosed rhomboid design representing the Inca cave of origin (Tambo Toqo). Her position need not be perceived as opposed to mine. Once we focus on raki-raki not as the name of a thing but of a process—and see the raki-raki pattern as a multivalent expression of this process—then identification of the vertical-branching motif as fern or tree is of secondary importance. It can be either or both.

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CHAPTER NINE

Turbulent Tombs

FRANK SALOMON

Toward 1891, the Italian ornithologist and ethnological collector Henry Hillyer Giglioli (1843–1909; *The Geographical Journal* 1910) was invited to view some objects his friend Ernesto Mazzei had obtained from pre-Hispanic tombs around Lima. We can imagine Giglioli's opulent mustaches twitching with curiosity as he came face-to-face with two visages that were once human.¹ They belonged to masks made from facial bones and mandibles of ancient Peruvians (figure 9.1). Giglioli's description of the Peruvian find appeared in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnologie* in 1891 from whence the following description has been drawn.

The “two masks made with the facial portions of human skulls . . . were dug up from *huacas*, the well/known Peruvian cities of the dead” (Giglioli 1891, 85), perhaps meaning a cluster of funerary structures. The larger one (figures 9.1a, 9.1b) came from Matucana, a Huarochirí village and (since 1870) railroad station at 2,378 m above sea level in the middle Rímac River canyon. “The teeth, partly fallen out, partly lost during life as the closed alveoli show, tell that the skull belonged to an elderly if not old man. . . . The upper portion of this skin is bent and folded over the cut edge of the frontal bone” (*ibid.*). The nose

is reconstructed with a light spongy wood, covered externally with a white stucco, which looks as if it were principally made with lime; with the same kind of stucco are reconstructed on the left side the upper lip and the cheek; I believe over all this the skin was formerly stretched. . . . In the left orbit is embedded a disk of dark wood with a circular opening corresponding in size and position to the eye in the centre (*ibid.*).

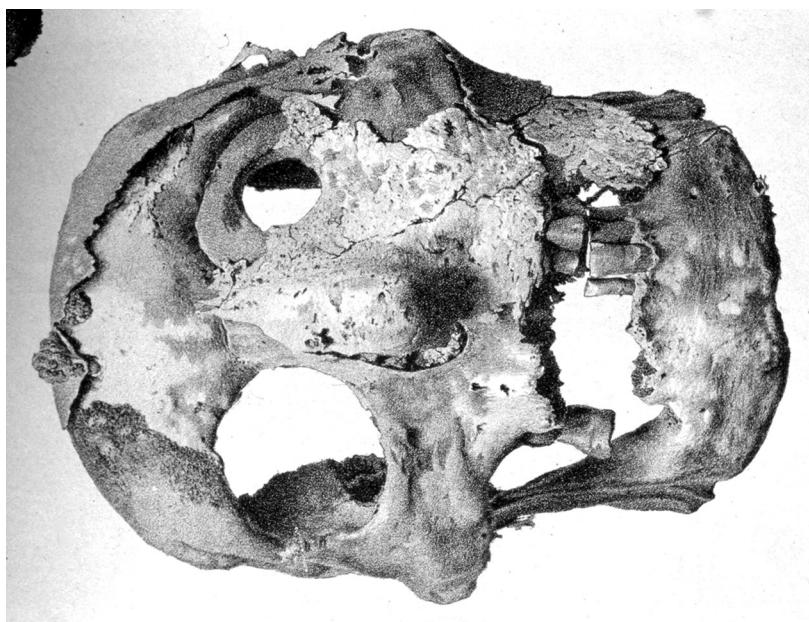


FIGURE 9.1A. Frontal view of mask made from ancient Peruvian facial bones. Photo by F. Salomon of public domain illustration by H. Giglioli.

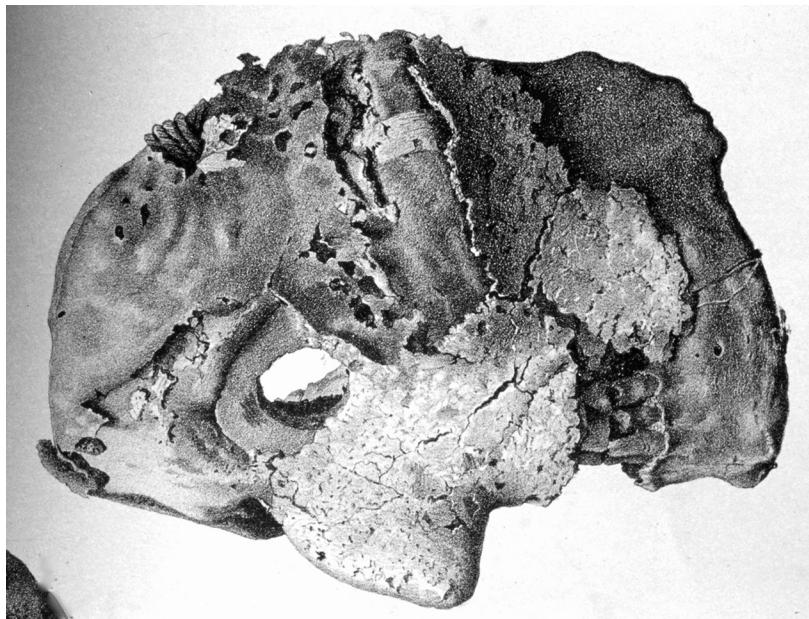


FIGURE 9.1B. Side view of mask made from ancient Peruvian facial bones. Photo by F. Salomon of public domain illustration by H. Giglioli.

Giglioli concluded convincingly that “this was a true mask and used as such” (ibid.) because, unlike ancient Peruvian trophy heads, which have only one rope hole (Proulx 2001, 124), the Matucana specimen was pierced doubly at the center top of the frontal bone with small holes 2 cm apart and 3 mm in diameter, and once at each temporal edge of the skull. “There are yet the remains of the cords which evidently were used to tie on the mask” (ibid.). Traces of red coloring were visible on the right articular condyle of the mandible and on the inner portion of the maxilla. Ligatures made with tendons could be seen on the left zygomatic arch and on the mandibular ramus on the same side. The Matucana mask measured 16.5 cm in height and 13.5 cm in breadth by rectilinear measurement.

The other mask was smaller and less well preserved. It was from a *huaca* (sacred place or object) at “Chacoy near Huacoy and Caudevilla, also in the province of Lima.” This seemingly refers to Huacoy, a chronologically deep site (called “ceremonial center”) in the Chillón Valley (Ludeña 1975). The second specimen is missing its mandible but seems to have been similar in manufacture to the first. In Giglioli’s judgment, the second was an adult female, not of advanced age.

Giglioli had no way to guess what the masks were, only that they “were . . . connected with mystic rites and ceremonies” (Giglioli 1891: 86). He remarks rightly on their rarity; up to the present nothing similar seems to have been reported in other collections. He was also right in inferring that they are not to be classed with the false heads and faces now abundantly known from mummies, but that rather they belonged to the living.

Today we know that what Mazzei had collected were two *huayo* (a colonial spelling, whose modern Quechua equivalent would be *wayu*). The term *huayo* in the sense of “facial-bone masks” pierced for hanging on a living head is known from the 1608 Quechua-language Huarochirí Manuscript (sometimes known by its *incipit* “Runa yn[di]o ñiscap,” meaning “of the people called Indians”). The Jesuit Jacinto Barraza ([1609] cited in Arguedas and Duvíols [1966, 247]; see also Polia Meconi 1999, 278–79) reported the same practice but without the name. The word *wayu*, however, is not rare. *Huayo* corresponds to a verb root *wayu-*, meaning “to hang” (intransitive). It occurs with very similar senses and numerous derivatives in both Quechua and Aymara of the era (Gonçález Holguín 1989 [1608], 196; Bertonio [1612] 1984, 158–59; Santo Tomás [1560] 2006, 645).

Talismanic hangings are a persistent Andean way of displaying fecundating objects. The related pan-Andean modern word *wayunka* or *wayunga* means a crop talisman consisting of twinned or otherwise extraordinary maize cobs or tubers hung on a rafter. Modern sense of *wayu* as noun include “fruit of a tree,” “cord that serves for hanging clothes” (Carranza

2003, 278), and “produce something in abundance” (Cerrón-Palomino 1976, 150; Parker 1976, 193).

The Checa *ayllus* of central Huarochiri, whose members narrated much of the 1608 Quechua text, remembered a time, then not long past, when villagers celebrated their origins by dancing and singing with a very special huayo. It was the facial-bone mask of a heroic ancestor. The occasion was their festival Masoma, the *yunka*-oriented half of a four-year cycle dramatizing the joint Yunka-Yauyo constitution of Checa villages. Masoma is documented only from the area of San Damián and Tupicocha in central Huarochirí. As they danced and sang, the celebrants relived their emergence and proliferation from the remote shrine of Vichi Cancha. Part or all of their ritual honored a person of that dawning time, apparently a founding ancestor, called Ñan Sapa. The text first tells about Ñan Sapa’s facial-bone mask:

The one called Ñan Sapa was a human being [i.e., a mummy or *mallki*]. Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself. But they made another one to be his proxy. This is the one which we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.

They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. In ancient times, these were made of pure gold. The Inca carried off that gold. His staff was named Engraved Rod. And the seashell named *cori cacya* came with it.

Saying, “He is our origin; it was he who first came to this village and took charge of it,” people cut off his face and made it dance as if in his own persona.

Up to this point, the teller has explained that there once was a curated dead person, presumably a mummy or *mallki* named Ñan Sapa, but the Inka took him and his golden regalia. A substitute stood in, and Father Francisco de Avila took that one as well. It is not obvious from the text whether the villagers made the mask they had retained during original mummification or by way of retaining a body part when the Inka took away the bundle. But now, thoroughly focused on the mask theme, the narrator goes on to tell about the origin of other bone masks seen during Ñan Sapa’s festival; these were made from war prisoners. This practice is reminiscent of Hans Staden’s famous passage (Métraux 1948, 122–26) about captives of the Tupians on the far Atlantic shore of the continent. Captives of the Checa would elevate the honor of their own deaths by speaking nobly to those who were about to butcher them:

If they captured a man in warfare, they would first cut off his face, and then make it dance, saying, “This is our valor!”

And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, “Brother, soon you’ll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you’re about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first.”

A display of such facial-bone masks, trophies attesting Ñan Sapa’s greatness as embodied in his progeny, looked down over this ceremony. The five days of Masoma included a two-day cycle where the *huayo* of Ñan Sapa, including the celebrant who wore it, rode in a litter. The *huayo* was then honored with festoons of food.

Obeying this, they’d offer food and drinks to the other *huayo*, saying, “This day you shall dance with me on the plaza.” They used to bring out the *huayo* and carry him in a litter for two days. On the following day, they’d hang their maize, potatoes, and all the other offerings.

About this hanging people remarked,

“[The *huayo*] will return to the place where he was born, the place called Uma Pacha, carrying these things along with them.”

The quote about Uma Pacha is the passage’s apparent punch line, and it is crucial to the purposes of this book. It explains the point of wearing an ancient facial-bone mask and killing people to make new ones. The class of semidivine beings called *huayos*, each constituted by a human mask and its wearer, could go to Uma Pacha and deliver offerings, which would in turn help the senders merit future plenty.

Uma Pacha, “Water Place” by a Jaqaru etymology (appropriate for this region, whose ethnic tongue belonged to the Aymara family), was a class of holy places associated with primordial plenty in the form of irrigation water from the heights. Taylor (1999, 323 n. 74) explains:

Omapacha is the generic or regional name for a *huaca* associated, on the one hand, with valor and warlike strength (conferred upon the various communities’ warriors by the masks made from faces of ancient heroes and from great *camascas* [persons charged with superhuman force] captured in battle), and, on the other hand, with rites of fertility (the procession of the *huayos*, the making of *chutas* [target dolls, proper to a different rite which complements Masoma], dances, and prayers). . . . The name of Omapacha corresponds very well to the land of lakes—land of water *par excellence* on the slopes of the Pariacaca mountain range, from whence came the Checa and the Concha.

In chapter 31, the invaders of a village secure their access to water by investing a surviving aboriginal boy as priest of Uma Pacha. Apparently

any given community referred to its most important water shrine as *Uma Pacha*. A similar usage is attested from modern Arequipa by Valderrama and Escalante Gutiérrez (1988, 187–89).

The text goes on to explain that the festival lasted five days (as most festivals of the region did) and that it was practiced as well by the tellers' opposite-moiety counterparts the Allauca. Chapter 31 explains that the festival with *huayos* was likewise practiced by the more separate but similarly constituted segment called the *Concha*. This, plus the mask from the Chillón Valley, suggests that this particular way of "living with the dead" was generalized in the Sierra de Lima fringes of the old Yunka orbit.

But how particular was it? The high-dwelling Huarochiranos who fêted facial bone masks were very much influenced by the legacy of Yunka ritualism. They associated it with the hallowed traditions of valley-based agriculture and especially with *Pacha Kamaq*, whose shrine center is situated a short journey downslope at the Pacific end of their own hydrographic basin. So it is not surprising that *Checa* rituals exhibit the central tendencies newly explored in papers of this book. In taking the *huayo* as an emblem, we seek to underline these commonalities and their theoretical implications.

Sergio Barraza Lescano argues that the *wayu* was both widespread and chronologically deep. He cites a 1614 testimony about inhabitants of San Francisco de Muscu, in the Checras Valley (a part of the Huaura drainage, not close to Huarochirí), dancing with "guayo" (2007, 14). He considers that

huayo-type masks registered in the Sierra de Lima at the beginning of the 17th century show a strong likeness to some of the so-called "scalp heads" [*cabezas escalpes*] of the much earlier Lima culture; these were made from the face of the skin and the hairy top of the head. In the case of the "scalp heads" recovered by Louis Stumer at Playa Grande, the flayed skins of two individuals' faces were sewn onto straw basketry to form funerary masks. (Barraza Lescano 2009, 109)

At first glance, the empirical findings gathered in this volume are surprising, and the interpretations offered, though tentative, also imply changes of framework about how Andean societies reproduced and changed themselves. The evident keynote throughout is the mutability of tombs. As Klaus and Tam argue, *requies æterna*, "eternal rest," was hardly the fate of the Andean dead, for the ancient dead were intensely occupied with the work of ongoing society. This was apparently an extremely durable cultural disposition. Dulanto (2002, 99) suggests on the basis of Late Initial and Early Horizon findings at the Lurín Valley site of Pampa Chica that ca. 700–200 BCE, well before the cases studied here, the ethnohistorically

known pattern of postmortem activity was already underway; “they [the dead] were frequently manipulated and, in a sense, used as an important piece of ritual paraphernalia.” And if it has ceased—perhaps it has not—it ceased only recently. Encased heads in display boxes of recent manufacture (Salomon 2002, 493) were Huarochiri family heirlooms as recently as the 1990s. Modern use of ancestral body parts is a touchy ethnographic matter, because people are hypersensitive to the danger of ridicule about such intimate tokens of identity.

“Disturbance” of tombs here acquires new meaning. What once looked like “noise” in the funerary record now looks like primary “signal.” One can gauge recent changes in understanding of Andean mortuary and its archaeology by taking as benchmark the 1991 papers edited by Tom Dillehay as *Tombs for the Living* (1995). The change of viewpoint includes a shift of emphasis away from the sociology of death, which required focus on corporate groupings and relationships (hierarchy, segmentation) that the dead were made to embody, toward actor-oriented foci: the ongoing assembly and disassembly of the dead as virtual persons, rather than preservation of individuals occupying ever-stable roles. This change cannot be attributed to any particular empirical discovery. The remains were there all along, of course, and “disturbance” was always before the researcher’s eyes. What changed is the demands researchers make upon the evidence. Although only Buikstra’s and Weismantel’s contributions make the matter explicit, this volume’s overall emphasis on turbulence in tombs as a record of agency at the heart of Andean mortuary seems related to a recent curve in the paths of cultural anthropological theory.

The demand for ethnographies of culture as agency—as pattern-making or pattern-breaking deeds of persons in the world—rather than as code or competence or habit hovering inferentially behind behavior, has given momentum to inquiries into the nature of persons, as such. In 1995, the makers of tombs, like most sociological persons, were imagined as atomic persons, each with interests and roles in the ongoing game of using the dead to shape a world for the living. By 2000 the British sociocultural anthropologists Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing, who hold fairly robust views of the individual nature of agency, counted “individuality” as one of the “key concepts” worth defending against corrosive critiques deriving from, *inter alia*, social-psychological role theories, such as those of Peter Berger (2000, 185–95). But by 2005, ethnographers professed disquiet about the assumption that the body corresponds to one unitary person. Archaeologists correspondingly were freer to wonder whether a putative, culturally recognized person needed be identified with one body. If ancient Americans saw fit to rearrange parts of the dead, could one still assume they were operating with any such premise as the atomic person? After all, one did not have to look farther than Amazonia to find funerary complexes

whose ideology asserted the departed to be the assembled sum of material and nonmaterial exchanges, rather than skin-enclosed monads. Their disassembly by endocannibalism asserted the mingled social substance of all in each (Conklin 2001, McCallum 1999). One must inquire, it was held, into who or what the thinkable, creditable subjects of action in a given society were.

Taking a leaf from Strathern's much-discussed *The Gender of the Gift* (1988), Weismantel suggests thinking of "the 'dividual' which posits human beings who are internally composed of multiple social selves, and whose external relations open out into multiple ties of reciprocity and shared identity . . . [so as to] build a South American version of Strathern's model—with regional variations." What might such a view be like? The folk psychology of personhood as composed of multiple souls is, of course, a long-documented "regional variation" known from the study of Amazonian cultures. Shuaran peoples furnished the canonical case with their trophy-head discourse of captured *arutam*, *muisak*, and other parts of personhood. For the early twentieth-century Shuar different persons' component souls had different destinies, with sharply drawn correlates in the material treatment of the body. Proulx argues that Nasca trophy heads, which have some physical likenesses to Shuar shrunken heads, were nonetheless different in their roles as virtual persons. Shown with plants issuing from them, they "were symbolic of, or a metaphor for, regeneration and rebirth" (2001, 135). Frame (2001, 69–72) amplifies the point with textile icon examples. Does this kind of imagery then posit a "vegetative soul," and is its locus particularly the head? Those who explained the huayo in Huarochirí seem to have been thinking along rather similar lines, although their Late Intermediate cultural background is rarely compared with Nasca.

The papers assembled here often resonate together with cultural anthropological discussion of the multiplicity of ways a "person" can come into or out of being. This way of phrasing the "person" problem has clearer affinities to archaeology than the synchronic, sociological way of analyzing each life as partible by virtue of the heterogeneous, simultaneous bonds of social existence. In the recent synthesis "The Anthropology of the Beginnings and Ends of Life," Kauffman and Morgan (2005, 318) examine "the making and unmaking of persons and relationships . . . [and] varied ways that humans constitute and disassemble themselves and their social worlds." They emphasize that the beginnings and endings of life are particularly fecund occasions on which to produce varied kinds of persons. The matter jumps to the attention of the most future-oriented, least archaeological ethnographers because current technology increasingly confronts us with humans in states lacking clear or complete Western personal standing: zygotes in vitro, embryos and fetuses in pregnancy, stem cells, the comatose or "brain-dead," or the severely demented. Nonetheless in

the archaeological studies at hand, we seem in a surprisingly similar way to see peri-mortuary practice as the theater in which varied kinds of persons were constituted: the hybrid mortal *cum* mummy-like personage called huayo, the mortal-like but indefinitely durable mallki, the trophy head bridging animated and vegetal existence, and so on.

In entertaining this notion, we need not posit fanciful exotic psychologies. There is no need to suppose that ancient thinkers flattened all kinds of personhood onto one ontological plane any more than we confuse the juridical personhood of corporations or the (contested) ethical personhood of fertilized cells with the “natural” personhood of flesh-and-blood humans. In current ritual practice among the descendants of those who made huayos, the *curcuches*, or sacred buffoons of the rain festival (January 5–8), are masked protégés of the divine mountains sharply marked off in ritual as ancient, mummy-like or hybrid half-human persons. It is, of course, well known which villager’s body is for the moment invested in the virtual being created by a mask-plus-body combination and the role it performs. What, then, might have been the personal status of the dead composed out of bones from multiple organic individuals, or the dead as reconstituted with heads and long bones retrieved from tombs?

One inescapable conclusion to be drawn from the studies gathered here is that it is overly loose to speak of the preserved dead in such general terms as “ancestors,” or conversely of the despoiled or disassembled, or otherwise unenshrined dead as beings so destroyed as to annul any ancestral status. The emphasis on genealogical order and inheritance characteristic of earlier syntheses about the cemetery as a “place of the ancestors in the space of the living” (Silverman 2002, 4) is not wrong, but it may be partial. Some of the remembered dead were not in cemeteries and others were not ancestors (in Meyer Fortes’ definition, 1965, 124): “An ancestor is a named dead forebearer who has living descendants of a designated genealogical class representing his continued structural relevance. In ancestor worship such an ancestor receives ritual service and tendance directed specifically to him by the proper class of his descendants.” Mortuary practice apparently encoded multiple orders of society. Views of “partible self” would emphasize that the perceived component “souls” of a person emerge in the course of varied relationships. Among them genealogy is only one, and not necessarily the most germane. Others include, for example, relations of enmity or healing. A landscape studded with differently disposed, *differently dead* folk (the entombed, the trophied, the destroyed) would have been one marked out for the many relationships that explain, uphold, and sometimes endanger order among the living. The question expands beyond the genealogical matters which Bloch and Parry (1982), in the Hertzian tradition, saw as the core of mortuary practice. A territory imagined this way would have constituted a vast information

base, as well as a social web locking its tenants into untold obligations; it would have been a treasure and a terrible burden.

As Millaire underlines in his report on a “new hybrid religion” contemporaneous with Middle Horizon impacts on the North Coast, information about or from the dead was not inherently conservative. The meanings of “the past in the past” were perhaps understood at times as discoveries rather than patrimonies. According to Millaire, residents of several Middle Horizon North Coast settlements saw fit to sacrifice young people and animals upon the remains of what were then already archaeological structures (some apparently of no particularly sacred import in their own ages). Millaire asks whether they did so on the basis of specific archaeological knowledge via oral traditions, interpretations of sacred space, or fresh “discovery” of a “bequest from the ancestors.”

Although it is an anachronistic comparison, Millaire’s findings bring to mind the attitudes of a much later people, the Inkas, who also honored the still-impressive sacred legacy of the Middle Horizon (Conklin 2004). We know about this thanks to Juan Diez de Betanzos, who was among the first Spaniards to occupy Cuzco, and who enjoyed privileged access to elite Inka tradition via his Inka wife’s kin. In the first and second chapters of a recently recovered complete manuscript, Betanzos explained that the Inkas regarded the already-ancient shrine of Tiwanaku as the ur-shrine of all Andean peoples. There the deity Contiti Wiracocha had at a remote time fashioned stone “prototypes” (*dechados*, the term meaning a studio rough-out for a statue or a cartoon for a mural) of all the peoples of the Andes. He kept the prototypes at Tiwanaku and dispatched his demiurges to proceed on straight, *ceque*-like lines (a Quechua term for line or ray; in Inka Cusco). Forty-one hierarchically ordered imaginary *ceques* radiated out of its sun temple and served to order and symbolize calendrical, ritual, social and political aspects of the city. Similarly, the paths of the demiurges marked out all the points where future ethnic groups in their likeness would live. Betanzos writes:

And as he had finished making them he ordered all his people to depart[,] all those that he had with him there[,] leaving only two in his company[,] whom he told to watch those forms,² and [told them] the names that he had given each kind of those [people,] showing them and telling them[, “]These will be called so-and-so, and they will come from such-and-such spring in such-and-such province[,] and they will settle in it, and there they will be increased, and these others will come out of so-and-so cave and will be called the whichever[,] and they will settle in so-and-so place[,] and just as I have them painted and made of stone here, just so they are to come out of the springs and rivers and caves and hills in the provinces which I have thus told you and named[,] and then

all of you will go in this direction[,"] showing them toward where the sun rises[,] and separating out each one by himself and showing each the straight line he was to follow (Diez de Betanzos [1551] 1987, 11–12).

According to Betanzos, the messengers from Tiwanaku then spread across the earth calling forth the different peoples:

They went through the provinces which the viracocha had told them of[,] in each province calling out³ as they arrived[,] each one of them through the place they traveled to the particular province, [to] the ones whom the viracocha in Tiaguanaco showed them in stone[, saying] that in the designated province they would come out[,] putting each one of these viracochas there next to the place where the particular people from there had to come out[,] and seeing this viracocha there in this way he would say:⁴ [“]So-and-so [people,⁵] come out and settle this land which is empty[,] because the Contiti Viracocha who made the world orders it so[,”] and as soon as these [persons] called⁶ [,] them[,] the designated peoples came out of those parts and places which were mentioned for them by the viracocha[,] and so they say these went along calling forth and bringing out the peoples from the caves[,] rivers[,] springs[,] and high mountains (Betanzos [1551] 1987, 13–15).

Those who credited such a myth, then, would have seen the ethno-geographical landscape in a way that was perhaps revelatory in its day; the distribution of peoples over land would no longer appear as the accumulated haphazard consequence of struggles among heterogeneous huacas and their peoples but rather the reflection of an all-embracing cosmogony ordained from the start. A 2008 book relevant to this one, Arnold and Has-torf's *Heads of State*, makes a related argument contrasting “centripetal” to “centrifugal” systems of power (as characterized by the Amazonianist Carlos Fausto). The former refers to systems that concentrate on vertical lines of inheritance around fixed central ancestors, for example, foundational mummies. The latter refers to systems that acquire and innovatively coordinate funerary objects of power. The captive-into-huayo process works this way physically, while the dechado argument in Betanzos does so conceptually.

For pre-Columbian thinkers, ancients in the earth, whether of human bone or of stone (stone being taken as the highest stage of permanence), would likewise have become interpretable as signs of underlying regularity, or intelligible “traces of creation.” This may have given practitioners of Middle Horizon cult motive to respect ancient remains more assiduously than members of localistic cults would have.

But what, then, was the theory about the nature of the enduring dead? We already know from earlier studies (Urioste 1981) that the entombed

dead were thought to be mature products of a process inherent in the whole lifecycle. As Duviols (1977, 317–18) and Catherine Allen (1982) concluded, life's course could be imagined in the likeness of plant reproduction, as a progression from the tender, wet, and fast-changing to the stiff, dry, and durable, with the mature plant yielding a small seed of life before passing to rigid permanence. The present group of studies underlines the ongoing social business of managing human association with the dead, who, it now appears, were (also like plants) taken as partible beings whose parts might be managed and cultivated. It is logical, in the context of the disassembled dead, that Allen emphasizes the semantic complex *rakiy*, whose common denominator is the idea “division of a whole.” The scope of the term includes the division of a product in portions (hence *rakiy* as the name of the apportioning pot), of a canal in branches, or of a Cuzco Quechua person into her or his inner durable, part (*alma*) and her fleshly outer part (*animu*).

The many approaches to partibility of the person, and of the formation of nonordinary persons by the compounding of human parts, beg a question neither ethnography nor archaeology has yet answered. The question is, if a person is divisible, what then holds the elements of life together at all? And if *rakiy* is what happens in death, when the departure of the seed-like soul from the enduring and remaining structure of the body points toward future generativity at the expense of wholeness, then what is it that happens to bring a person into being or to reconstitute one?

Since Dillehay's 1995 compendium, César Itier has edited and translated with careful linguistic apparatus the 56 fragments of Quechua sacred speech caught and transcribed by the extirpators of idolatry in Cajatambo during the mid-seventeenth century. Many, if not most, of these are invocations to *mallkis*. Some address whole mummies, and others address the “burned fathers” or sacred cineraries which Cajatambinos made from the ashes of ancestors whom the Catholic persecutors had torched. Their wording occasionally gives clues to worshipers' notions about what binds elements of life. An important verb in these passages is *ratay*. The great oracle of the *mallkis* Hernando Hacas Poma used it—and a translator accidentally let it stand in the text—while he was explaining the inward state he felt while dialoguing with ancestors:

[In the presence of the ancestors] this witness [Hacas Poma] experienced ecstasy, was deprived of his senses, and heard inside himself that the said *malqui* was speaking to him . . . having made the sacrifices he embraced the idol *Guamancama*, and he experienced another ecstasy and he said that the *camaquen* [forceful spirit] of the said *malqui ratacurca* [Quechua: adhered to him] and descended to his heart and told him what to do in the matter on which they were consulting him. (Duviols 1986, 143)

The “adherence” or “sticking” of the forceful spirit (Duviols 1978, Taylor 1974–1976) to the “heart” of a human is one of a cluster of glosses for this word. When the villagers of San Francisco de Cajamarquilla appealed to their burned parents Raupoma and Chuquirunto, invoking them as “flower of fire, tongue of fire,” the ancestors replied with a warning:

Kunka ratakunqa, mana mikuy kanqaču.
 Las gargantas se estrecharán, no habrá comida. (Itier 2003, 784)
 Throats will constrict [from thirst], there will be no food.

In San Francisco de Mangas, the extirpators captured some songs to the unburned mummies Coya Huarmi and her brother Condortocas (Itier 2003, 810–11), celebrating how they came from water to dwell on land:

Cusi qayanman
 Llaclla qayanman,
 Pasarcutaman,
 ratamurqanki,
 quyawarmi,
 pallaywarmi
 Turiykiwan,
 Mamaykiwan
 ratamunkitaq kay mama qućapita.

En el *qayan* de *Cusi*,
 en el *qayan* de *Llaclla*,
 en *Pisarcuta*,
 viniste a posarte,
 reina,
 princesa,
 con tu hermano,
 con tu madre,

(The unglossed *qayan* often means a stone-edged plaza.) There then follow three mutually similar invocations to Condortocas, male counterpart of the female mallki Coya Huarmi. All three use forms of *ratay* the same way. The third (Itier 2003, 810–814) says:

Cussi qayanman
 Llaclla qayanman
 Pisarcutaman
 Ratamurqanki
 Apu Condortocas
 Tiqši mama qućapita,

*quya paniykiwan,
palla paniykiwan*

En el *qayan* de *Cusi*,
En el *qayan* de *Llaclla*,
En *Pisarcuta*

Viniste a posarte
Señor *Condortocas*,
Desde el mar subterráneo
con la reina tu hermana,
con la princesa tu hermana.

Gonçález Holguín, who lived into the beginning of central-Peruvian extirpations but who was more southern in linguistic orientation, noted several derivatives of a root *ratta-*: “for something to stick to something else[,] to make something stick to the hand, that is, to steal[,] for someone to always go around sticking with [someone or somebody].” A “rasttak-handed” [sic] person was “a little thief with hands that anything will stick to,” and *rataratay* was a burr (1989 [1608], 314). In the Cuzco region in modern times Jorge Lira (1941 [1982], 248) compiled the following usages: “RATAY Seizure, act and effect of seizing. To seize, catch, take hold of. To hold one thing in the grip of another.” RATAYKUY, for one thing to stick very strongly to another, for an adhesive material to catch or stick very well.⁷ Lira then gives concrete examples: a flame that catches and keeps spreading (see also Parker 1969, 188), a plant that strikes roots, or a disease that infects contagiously. Hornberger and Hornberger (1983, 215) mention an additional sense for *ratakuy*, as to “get along well, be comfortable with someone.” Guardia Mayorga (1967 [1953], 151) exemplifies the verb with the perching of a butterfly on a branch. For Central Quechuas (Quechua I), which are relevant to the sites of extirpation, one finds the senses “to be lit, to take fire, to fall, to reach, to get to [in sense of raise a subject]” (Adelaar 1977, 472). For *ratakuy*, it is “to hide or seek a hiding place” (Carranza 2003, 196). The common Quechua I phonetic alternation r/l produces *latay* “for something to stick immobile to a wall,” as a bird might (Cerrón-Palomino 1976, 77). With a cislocative suffix, *ratay* yields a central Peruvian verb meaning for the sun to come out (Parker 1976, 150). These give vivid suggestions of how Cajatambinos might have imagined such an entity as the *kamaq* or “forceful spirit” attaching itself to the body of its deceased owner or to that of an oracle. These usages help us imagine the energetic and perhaps intense or even consuming action needed to bring together the objects that we find in the earth merely juxtaposed. Many of these examples have in common a suggestion that objects that hold together *rataspa* are not in stable association

as, for example, one object held on another by gravity, but rather that energy is expended and kinetic balance asserted.

Thus the position of the dead and their composition as persons may have been anything but a “hewn in stone” matter. Lira’s examples all concern one entity propagating itself by invading and then occupying, changing and/or consuming another. Such, too, might have been the experience of the person who donned the *huayo*. Awareness that to assume the virtual “life” of the dead was to offer up a part of one’s own substance may help us understand the emic or ideological side of “dead body politics” (in Buikstra and Nystrom’s phrase)—a political economy partaking of struggle and inequality. The apparent shift from secondary burial to mummy curation among the Chachapoyas of the Inka era would, as they suggest, entail “fundamental changes in the concept of the ancestors and therefore of social memory.” The standout difference between the two funerary customs is that the latter prevents the kind of bodily reassembly characterizing the coastal cultures studied here. It suggests, therefore, a tilt toward enshrining and dogmatically preserving identities and relations. Perhaps those under Inka rule incurred more “expense of spirit” and matter to create a past more determinate than would be the case in a society where relations among the dead and the living remained chancy and, literally, mobile.

Shimada’s group found at Pachacámac traces of mummies who had been removed from spots in a select cemetery. They also see indications that densely emplaced burial pits awaited those without access to prime graves. The placement of the dead, therefore, echoed the territorial rivalry common in such land-scarce, inheritance-oriented societies as Andean and coastal irrigation zones. In some extirpation trials, we learn that *upay marca*, the imagined farm of spirits where life-seeds released from mummies returned to germinate, seemed (perhaps due to epidemics) so crammed that the new dead could find but a fingernail’s breadth of ground. For the dead, then, to ratay, to take root, to consume, and exert themselves in mutuality with a given place, entailed a costly commitment for the living. Management of such expenses could have implied decisions about defense of interred persons, or withdrawal from them, and perhaps in some form extinction. “Structural amnesia” and the logic of “ancestor obliteration” were long-standing concerns of structural-functionalism African ethnography (Fortes 1965). The prospect of the portable ancestor, and, in Klaus and Tam’s findings, the absence of an immense quantity of otherwise expectable bone, may allow speculation that ancestors of decreasingly urgent integrity could be folded by metonymic gestures into more general shrines.

Over the past two decades, which included a boom period in both North Coast archaeology and Middle Horizon studies, scholars have

become more wary about positing “Andean” generalities that override great regional differences in culture. Yet in highlighting practices that were apparently deep rooted and far flung across many regional traditions by the Early Intermediate, the contributors in this book more than hint at what Weismantel calls a generalized South American “metaphysical system.” The papers gathered here probe at unsuspected commonalities. But whether the turbulence of tombs expressed enduring and hegemonic propositions, or particular beliefs and contingencies that arose in tense conjunctures, or a long-standing tension and alternation between coexisting ideals about how to live with the dead is a question that the ancients have yet to unseal. The very fact that living pre-Columbian people now appear to us as never-resting manipulators and consumers of the goodness of the deceased makes them more interesting as our human peers.

Notes

1. <http://www.phthiraptera.org/phthirapterists/giglioli/giglioli.htm>.
2. I.e., the “models” mentioned above.
3. “Llamando en”: sense not certain.
4. Colon in M. R. transcription.
5. Supplied to convey plural form of imperative verbs.
6. Past subjunctive verb.
7. “Prendimiento, acto y efecto de prender. Prender, coger, asir. Hacer presa una cosa en otra. . . . Inflamar una llama en otra, empezar a arder. Arraigar una planta. Contagiar, pasar con contagio una enfermedad. . . . Pegarse muy fuertemente una cosa en otra, prender o coger muy bien una material adhesiva.”

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