

## FEASTING AND ANCESTOR VENERATION AT CHINCHAWAS, NORTH HIGHLANDS OF ANCASH, PERU

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*The present article considers evidence for ancestor veneration and feasting in the North Highlands (Department of Ancash), Peru between A.D. 500–900. The study draws upon ethnohistorical, iconographic, and archaeological comparisons to better understand different lines of data from the ancient Recuay community of Chinchawas (3,850 masl), including public and mortuary architecture, ceramics, faunal remains, and stone sculpture. Two major programs of religious activity can be discerned: one situated within local Recuay traditions (Kayán and Chinchawasi phases, A.D. 500–800), followed by a suite of intrusive patterns associated with Wari expansion (Warmi phase, after A.D. 800). The study argues that, by A.D. 500, special public ceremonies combined ancestor worship and feasting as part of community politics at the site. Chinchawasi practices included subterranean tombs, special architectural enclosures with monolithic sculptures, and evidence for large-scale consumption. Warmi practices appear smaller in scale, focusing on aboveground mausolea, different stone sculptural forms and iconography, and increasing evidence for interregional interaction. The diachronic patterns reflect: 1) flexible sociopolitical arrangements at Chinchawas that accommodated group and entrepreneurial interests, and 2) local sociocultural transformations associated with Wari expansion (ca. A.D. 750).*

*En la contribución presente se expone la evidencia arqueológica para culto a los ancestros y ceremonias públicas en la zona serrana de Ancash, Perú, entre los años 500–900 cal d.C. El estudio utiliza comparaciones arqueológicas, iconográficas, y etnohistóricas para mejor entender la evidencia del antiguo pueblo de Chinchawas—en particular, la arquitectura pública y funeraria, cerámica, óseos de animales, y monolitos grabados. Se determinaron dos patrones principales: uno identificado con la tradición cultural Recuay (fases Kayán y Chinchawasi, 500–800 d.C.), el otro asociado con la presencia intrusiva de los Wari (fase Warmi, 800–900 d.C.). El estudio propone que en unas ceremonias públicas especiales se manifiestan las dimensiones de culto a los ancestros y festín como parte del programa política local. Los patrones Chinchawasi incluyeron tumbas subterráneas, recintos con monolitos Recuay, y evidencia de consumo en gran escala. El patrón Warmi se define por prácticas en menor escala, con innovaciones culturales: estructuras del tipo chullpa, monolitos de nuevo estilo, y nuevas conexiones inter-regionales. Los cambios se interpretan como manifestaciones culturales de: 1) patrones de organización socio-política adaptable en los cuales se trataron intereses de individuos y de la comunidad, y 2) influencia externa por el estado Wari (ca. 750 d.C.).*

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Recent archaeological studies in the Central Andes underscore the roles of funerary ritual and feasting in the development of sociopolitical complexity. Scholars, for example, stress festive labor mobilization as a key mechanism in the formation of institutionalized hierarchy (Gero 1990; Hastorf 1993). Others identify funerary monuments and lavish grave goods as indices of wealth and class-based differentiation (Alva and Donnan 1993; Onuki 1997). Despite their prominence in the literature, however, both mortuary practices and feasting have been treated, for the most part, as independent issues.<sup>1</sup> This seems paradoxical because joint ceremonies involving ancestors and feasting

functioned as vital socioreligious institutions for the Inka Empire as well as small-scale societies during late Andean prehistory, and persist today as important activities for traditional highland groups (e.g., Allen 1988; Dillehay 1995; Doyle 1988; Duviols 1986; Rowe 1946).

The present discussion examines evidence for ancestor veneration and feasting in Recuay groups of Peru's North Highlands, Department of Ancash. I employ fieldwork data from the site of Chinchawas to reconstruct diachronic patterns in local ceremonial practices. Additional data from the archaeological record, Recuay iconography, and ethnohistorical sources will be marshaled to understand the Chin-

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chawas patterns in broader comparative terms and to reconstruct a model of late Recuay sociocultural transformations. I argue that by A.D. 500, special public ceremonies combined ancestor veneration and feasting as part of community politics. Local leaders, in particular, began to employ ancestor ceremonies to legitimate authority and unequal access to goods and labor. Public ancestor ceremonies appear at Chinchawas by the late Early Intermediate period and persist into the Middle Horizon, until about the tenth century A.D. Despite continuities, I interpret changing cultural patterns in funerary architecture, ceremonial activities, and stone sculpture as local responses to internal and external historical pressures. Transformations are especially evident following the period of intensive contact with the Wari state.

### Comparative Considerations

#### *Public Feasting*

In the ethnographic and historical record, the strategy of provisioning food and drink, especially intoxicating alcoholic beverages, in return for labor occurs so commonly that it can be regarded as "a nearly universal pattern" (Dietler 1990:366). By sponsoring feasts, certain individuals derive unequal prestige and labor obligations that confer economic advantage and political authority. In many egalitarian societies, sponsoring feasts provides socially acceptable contexts for competition and wealth display by ambitious individuals (Hayden 1996). Such "aggrandizers," by competitive feasting, strive to secure unequal influence or social credit over a group of followers, as factions or coalitions (Clark and Blake 1994: 20–21). In hierarchical societies, hosting feasts becomes more formalized, often as institutionalized duties of political leaders that serve to legitimate support or asymmetrical relations without the fulfillment or expectation of equal reciprocation (Dietler 1996; Hayden 2001).

Not surprisingly, feasts and alcoholic drink are frequently imbued with ceremonial significance in traditional societies (Dietler 1990). Their use facilitates or heightens the importance of social interaction in pivotal life-history events, such as births, weddings, initiations, funerals, and political succession. Dietler (1996:90) refers to the broad range of feasting practices as "commensal politics," a specialized form of gift exchange that establishes rela-

tions of reciprocal obligation between host and guest.

Salient examples of commensal politics exist for the Central Andes. The organization of labor based on reciprocity served as a customary mode of production for Andean groups (Godelier 1977; Mayer 1974, 1977; Murra 1980). In modern communities, members of households often need to contribute labor in cooperative projects, like canal cleaning or farming of communal lands. In return, the project sponsors organize work-party feasts, catering food and *chicha* maize beer (Allen 1988:116–118). In order to exact labor obligations and palliate exploitative relationships in conquered territories, Inka officials held great feasts at provincial administrative centers under the auspices of state generosity (Morris and Thompson 1985). Archaeologists extend the concept of labor obligation to interpret pre-Inka remains, such as corporate labor projects (Burger 1992; Moseley 1975) or as a prerequisite in the formation of complex societies (Gero 1990; Hastorf 1993). In so doing, scholars demonstrate the political-economic role of corporate feasting in mobilizing labor.

While holding feasts catalyzes potential for social differentiation, communal benefits may also be conferred. Public feasting, by its very nature, occurs under the context of social interaction and hospitality. Indeed, many traditional groups in which festive labor takes place discourage unequal accumulation and displays of wealth, sharing, in lieu, an ethos based more on community and egalitarian priorities (e.g., Clarke 2001). Hence, even if there may be an undertone of self-interest, festivals revitalize communal solidarity amongst their participants (e.g., Urton 1992). For this reason, participation in commensal activities may be at once de rigueur and desirable because it serves as a gesture of group membership.

#### *Ancestor Veneration*

Ancestor veneration refers to the religious practices and beliefs concerning specific deceased kin (Hardacre 1987; Morris 1991).<sup>2</sup> It occurs in many contemporary world cultures and forms the basis of entire religious systems or, more commonly, comprises ancillary practices within more extensive religions, like Buddhism and Hinduism. Forms of ancestor veneration have also been identified in many ancient societies (Chang 1977, 1983; Isbell 1997; McAnany 1995; Marcus and Flannery 1996). Notably, the institution is compatible with sociopo-

litical systems of varying scale and centralization, from egalitarian groups to archaic states. More centralized political systems frequently appropriate veneration traditions established in smaller-scale, kin-based contexts (McAnany 1995).

As many have noted, ancestor veneration should be distinguished from mortuary ritual (Morris 1991) or the general consideration of the dead (Fortes 1965). Ancestor veneration often entails periodic ceremonial practices that may include but also extend beyond interment and funerary rites. The practices center on the notion that specific progenitors, after death, possess supernatural capabilities that continue to directly affect the living descendants. The descendants venerate their ancestors to enable supernatural favor (e.g., success in warfare or production) or to stay misfortune and sickness. Many groups regard ancestors as also having special rights and efficacy over former property (e.g., Goody 1962). Their favor, obtained through propitiation, may affect the sanction and transmission of political authority, land/property, or critical resource rights (Chang 1983; Morris 1991; Renfrew 1983).

In so doing, ancestor veneration reinforces a "genealogy of place" (McAnany 1995). An ancestor cult tends to be the specific religious domain of the descendants; little attempt is made to proselytize outsiders (Hardacre 1987:263). Ancestral influence may incorporate a distinct geographic dimension that coincides with the location of lands/resources used by the venerating group (Buikstra and Charles 1999). Funerary monuments and venues for ancestor veneration may be established in particularly strategic terrain as expressions of territory and the regular presence of a land-holding group (Morris 1991; Renfrew 1972).

Ancestor veneration also serves to reinforce group solidarity and traditional sociopolitical arrangements (Hardacre 1987). Typically, veneration practices reside within the purview of families, kin groups, or lineages tracing descent from known deceased. Myths may provide the genealogical background and charter for participation and/or membership in these practices (Chang 1983; Salomon and Urioste 1991). By tending to uphold the authority of elders, ancestor veneration can be considered a conservative institution that reaffirms the local status quo of existing kin-based relationships and positions (Calhoun 1980). On the other hand, scholars have also argued that ancestral relationships can furnish legit-

imation for claims in political succession and resource entitlement (Helms 1998; McAnany 1995; Morris 1991).

Practices frequently entail individual- and group-administered rites, such as prayers, devotions, and sacrifices. Commonly, the sacrifices entail offerings of food and drink; more elaborate rituals may include processions, dances, festivals, and large-scale feasts (e.g., Ahern 1973; Allen 1988; Dillehay 1995; Fortes 1965; McArthur 1987). Ceremonial objects and architectural spaces are important elements in ancestor veneration practices. Frequently, these make reference to specific ancestors, kin relations, and historical or mythic traditions (Helms 1998). Ancestor tablets in China, for example, are revered symbols of ancestors; they are housed in domestic shrines or ancestral halls of each lineage, reflecting genealogical and economic standing (Ahern 1973; Chang 1983). Ancestor representations—as figurines, statues, and effigies—are also important, especially in contexts of presiding over ceremonies or within special architectural spaces for public events (Bahn and Flenley 1992; McAnany 1995; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Siegel 1997).

#### *Ancestor Ceremonies in the Andes*

One of the major developments in Central Andean religious practice was the veneration of ancestors in the form of portable mummy bundles (Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 1997; cf. Moseley 1999). Spanish chroniclers reported that ancestor mummies played vital roles in festive ceremonies both as objects of reverence and as active participants (Rowe 1946). During special times of the agricultural calendar and at times of need, they were retrieved from their repositories, paraded around, consulted, offered food and drink, danced with, and revered as actors in groups throughout the Inka realm. These rites aimed to propitiate ancestors and other supernaturals who were agents of fertility and agricultural success. Ethnohistorical documents also report that ancestor cults legitimated the transmission of goods and usufruct rights along genealogical lines (Cobo 1990:42 [1658]; Doyle 1988; Isbell 1997). Like other world cultures, the veneration of ancestors continues to be central among contemporary Andean groups where privileges to land and other critical resources are commonly defined on the basis of descent (Allen 1988; Dillehay 1995; Platt 1986).

Ancestor cults were deeply entrenched in tradi-

tional Andean cultures (Doyle 1988). In early colonial times, Spanish officials launched systematic campaigns to extirpate non-Christian religions in the Central Andean highlands; ancestor cults were quickly targeted as the core of traditional religious beliefs and practices (Mills 1997). Many native and Spanish accounts recount resilient practices in highland Ancash, especially in the zones of Recuay, Aija, and Huaraz. Some testimonies identified local *kurakas* (chiefly leaders) as sponsors of “*hecherías*,” or indigenous religious practices, and hosts of communal feasts—labeled “*borracheras*,” or drunken affairs, by the Spanish (Millones 1989:23–37). In addition, Spanish priests prepared descriptions and recommendations detailing how to identify and destroy local objects and places of worship (i.e., “*huacas*”):

[T]hey bring out all the accessories of their idolatry. They are grouped about the plaza . . . and bring out the mummified bodies of their ancestors . . . and it looks like the living and the dead come to judgment. . . . Offerings are prepared for them and they display the garments used in the festivals and the plumage . . . the pots, jugs, and tumblers used to make and drink *chicha* and offer it to the *huacas*; the trumpets . . . and the great horns and other instruments by which they are summoned to a festival. There are also a great many drums of small size, for nearly every woman brings her own for the songs and dances [Arriaga 1968:19 (1621)].

As Arriaga observes, ancestor ceremonies commonly occurred in special architectural spaces that could accommodate greater numbers of people (also Doyle 1988). Hayden (1996) notes that one might also expect that feasting activities, especially when social roles and status are being negotiated, might be associated with special facilities redolent with ritual or ideological significance. For example, in Cuzco, the capital of the Inka Empire laid out in the plan of a great puma, state festivals were held in the city’s principal plaza, the Hawkaypata, or symbolic belly of the feline. At provincial centers, Inka bureaucrats hosted giant work-party feasts in special walled enclosures of classic ashlar masonry, which read unequivocally as emblems of Inka generosity and sponsorship (Hyslop 1990). Similarly, on ridgetops throughout highland Ancash, where Recuay culture developed, Julio C. Tello (1929:45–46) called attention to sacred enclosures distinguished by fine *wanka/pachilla* masonry “al estilo del cerco de

Kalasayasaya [sic] en Tiawanako.”<sup>3</sup> He argued that these enclosures, given their form and craftsmanship, represented the work of corporate labor and functioned as the settings for festive ancestor ceremonies described by the Spanish officials.

### Background: Recuay Culture

The Recuay culture flourished in north-central Peru approximately the same time as the better-known Moche, Nasca, and Tiwanaku cultures. Like their contemporaries, Recuay peoples were renowned for their distinctive cultural traditions that emerged during the early centuries A.D. and persisted at least until Wari expansion by A.D. 750. While important studies exist on mortuary practices and the art style (Bennett 1944; Eisleb 1987; Grieder 1978; Makowski and Rucabado 2000; Reichert 1977; Schaedel 1948, 1952; Smith 1978), little is known about Recuay sociopolitical organization, settlements, or chronology.

Recuay fancy pottery is remarkably sophisticated, characterized by polychrome and resist painting, hand-modeled decoration, and thin oxidized pastes, sometimes of kaolinite (Reichert 1977). Monolithic stone sculpture is the other well-known medium of Recuay art. Artists sculpted both in-the-round and in single-sided bas relief. Many sculptures were probably meant to be engaged as architectural members on high-status constructions (Tello 1929). Alongside the Chavín and Tiwanaku styles, the Recuay style represents one of the most distinctive and prolific sculptural traditions in Andean prehistory (Schaedel 1952).

Although Recuay peoples maintained strong connections to coastal regions, highland Ancash formed the core of Recuay culture (Figure 1). Like traditional groups today, the Recuay populated regions advantageous for the economies of agriculture, herding, and exchange. Crops from lower elevations, like maize, fruits, and coca, supplemented high-altitude staples, like potatoes and grains. Domestic camelids also played key economic roles for their meat, hair fiber, dung, skins, and utility as transport animals.

Naturally, large regional centers for redistribution, craft production, and exchange developed in vital production areas: Huaraz and Caraz in the Callejón de Huaylas, Pomabamba in the Callejón de Conchucos, Aija and upper Nepeña in the Cordillera Negra, and Cabana, near Pallasca. At these locations, archaeologists have identified monumental architecture, corporate labor projects, and marked dis-

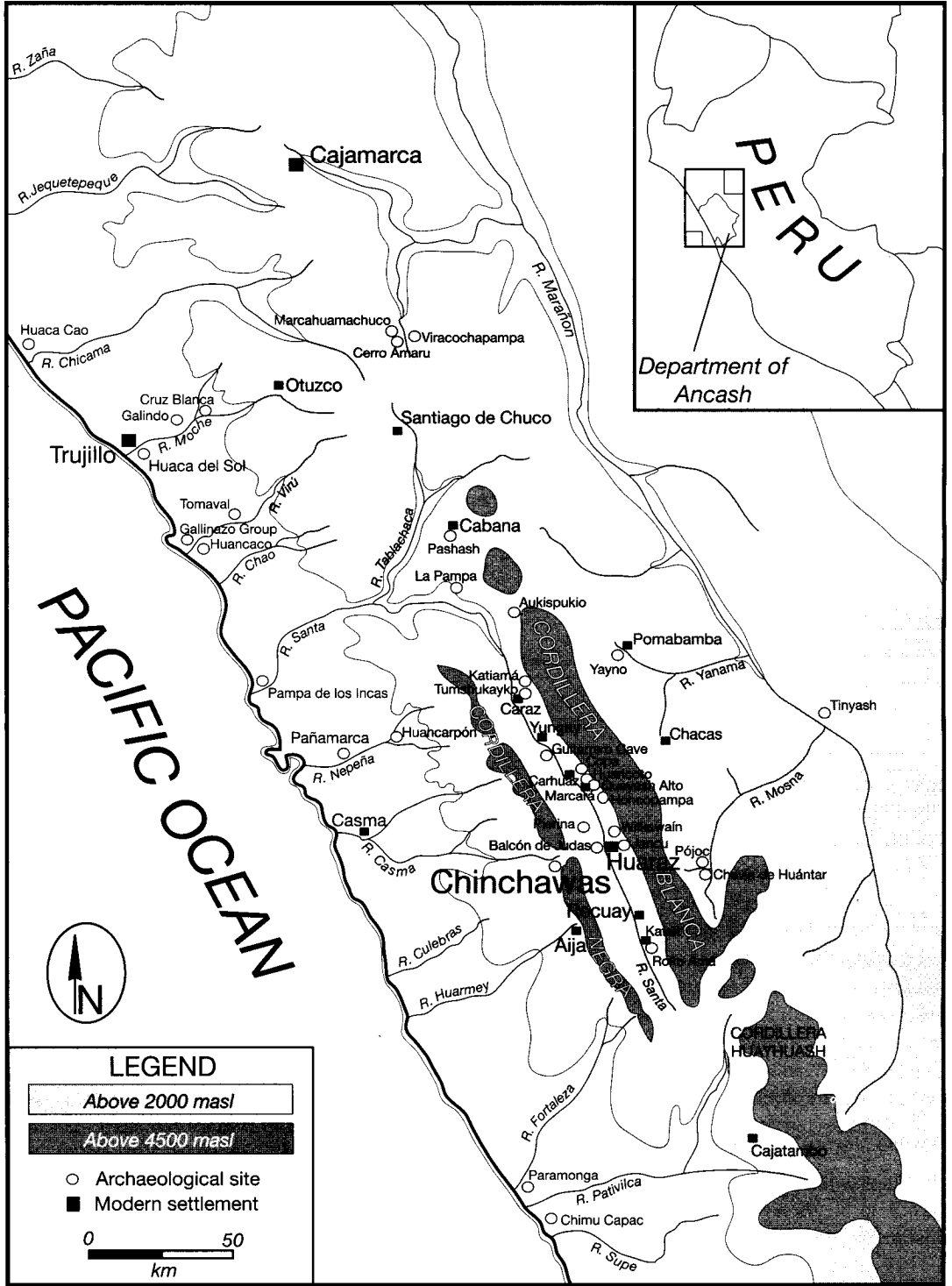


Figure 1. Map of north-central Peru and sites mentioned in text. The Callejón de Huaylas refers to the intermontane valley of the Río Santa bounded by the Cordillera Blanca and Cordillera Negra.

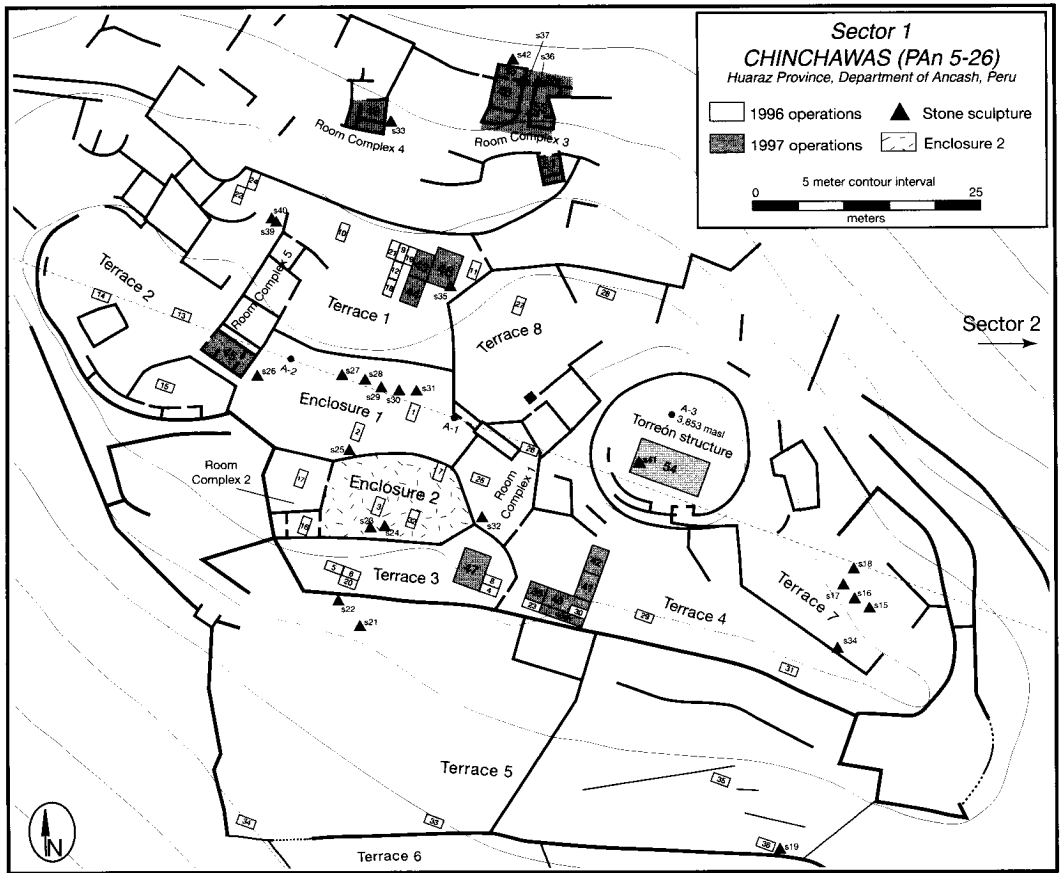


Figure 2. Map of Sector 1, Chinchawas, showing location of architectural contexts, excavations (operations), and monolithic stone sculptures.

inctions in mortuary practice consistent with ranked societies, probably along the lines of large chiefdoms or “*cacicazgos*” (Wegner 1988). In most parts of the Recuay heartland, however, more common social arrangements entailed largely egalitarian communities based around fortified hilltop settlements that served to organize local households, production, defense, and ceremonial activities. Investigations at Chinchawas aimed to elucidate such social arrangements at the site level.

#### Archaeological Investigations at Chinchawas

Chinchawas is located on the Pacific flanks of the Cordillera Negra about a day’s walk due west of Huaraz (Figure 1). At 3,850 m above sea level, the site has a strategic vantage of the surrounding area, perched above a vital route connecting Casma on the coast and the Callejón de Huaylas, one of the most important intermontane valleys of northern Peru.

Although Chinchawas covers only about 4 ha in

maximum extent, it is characterized by a diversity of standing stone architecture, comprising two major zones. Sector 1 (Figure 2) refers to the principal hilltop mound and consists of a series of enclosures, walled terraces, room complexes, and special-use constructions. Sector 2 (Figure 3) lies to the east of Sector 1, and is comprised entirely of small mortuary constructions on low-lying ridges of exposed bedrock. All data indicate that Sector 1 functioned mainly for residential and public activities, while Sector 2 served as the primary cemetery area (Mejía 1941).

During the 1996 field season, 37 1-x-2-m test units were opened in Sector 1 as part of a sampling strategy in the most nucleated and architecturally diverse zone (Figure 2). In 1997, the project expanded to study: 1) horizontal exposures of Sector 1, especially floor contexts, activity areas, residences, and buried architecture, and 2) salvage operations of looted mortuary structures in Sector 2. In total, exca-

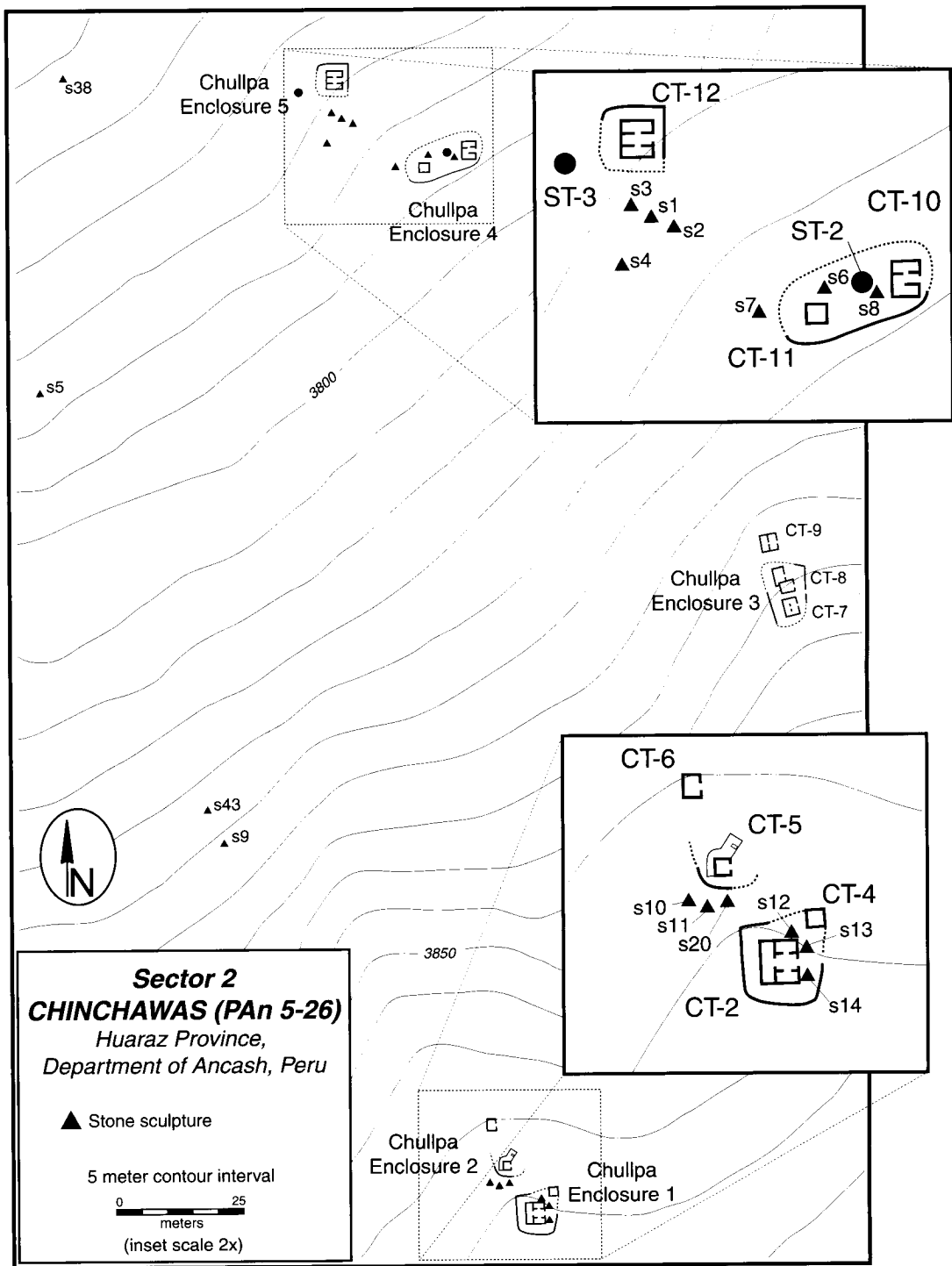


Figure 3. Map of Sector 2, Chinchawas, showing location of aboveground chullpa tombs (CT) and subterranean tombs (ST), chullpa clusters, and monolithic stone sculptures.

ANDEAN SEQUENCE	cal A.D.	Chicama-Moche	CHINCHAWAS
MIDDLE HORIZON	4	Chimú	Chakwas
	3	Early Chimú/ Huari Norteño	Warmi
	2		Chinchawasi 2
	1	Moche V	Chinchawasi 1
EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	700	Moche IV	Kayán
	600	Moche III	
	300		

Figure 4. Cultural sequence of Chinchawas site and relation to Andean chronology.

vations exposed more than 300 m<sup>2</sup> in the two sectors.

A five-phase cultural sequence (Figure 4)—all based on local decorated and utilitarian ware groups—was developed for Chinchawas, spanning the Early Intermediate period and the Middle Horizon (Rowe and Menzel 1967). Ten calibrated AMS radiocarbon dates from different Sector 1 contexts help to provide absolute age ranges for the phases (Table 1). In general, the plainware ceramics show continuity in form, paste, and surface treatment, while local decorated wares show the most innovation and phase diagnostics. The Kayán style is a variant of classic Recuay kaolinite pottery, dating to the mid-Early Intermediate period. Chinchawasi 1, as represented by four ware groups, is a late Recuay style of the terminal Early Intermediate period.<sup>4</sup> Innovations in form and decoration distinguish Chinchawasi 2's three ware groups, and reflect the mixing of earlier Recuay stylistic elements with intrusive attributes; radiocarbon ages and trade pottery associations indicate an early-to-mid Middle Horizon age. The final phase of intensive occupation, represented by two Warmi-style ware groups, witnesses a sharp replacement of local decorated pottery traditions by derivative Wari ceramics, attributable to the mid-late Middle Horizon (Menzel 1977).

Enclosure 2, Sector 1

Enclosure 2 forms part of a high-status architectural

Table 1. Radiocarbon Measurements from Sector 1, Chinchawas.

Site Sample	Lab ID No.	Unit & Level	Phase Association	<sup>14</sup> C Age (Years B.P.)	Age (uncal a.d.)	Age (cal A.D.)	1 - sigma range (A.D.)	2 - sigma range (A.D.)
CW-001	AA32365	OP9J	Kayán	1710 ± 50	240	347, 360, 374	256-412	233-434
CW-005	AA32369	OP19L	Chinchawasi 1	1395 ± 45	555	655	634-669	600-689
CW-007	AA32371	OP49D	Chinchawasi 1	1375 ± 45	575	661	646-677	610-763
CW-004	AA32368	OP31H	Chinchawasi 1	1305 ± 45	645	687	667-776	654-855
CW-003	AA32367	OP4G	Chinchawasi 2	1290 ± 45	660	711, 746, 755	673-781	659-875
CW-002	AA32366	OP21I	Chinchawasi 2	1255 ± 45	695	777	688-861	668-888
CW-008	AA32372	OP26G	Chinchawasi 2	1180 ± 45	770	883	787-953	726-979
CW-009	AA32373	OP36G	Warmi	1170 ± 55	780	886	787-965	718-998
CW-010	AA32374	OP43I	Warmi	1160 ± 45	790	888	827-965	778-991
CW-006	AA32370	OP20F	Warmi	1150 ± 50	800	891	870-973	778-1006

\* Based on radiocarbon calibration program Calib version 3.0.3c (Stuiver and Reimer 1993).



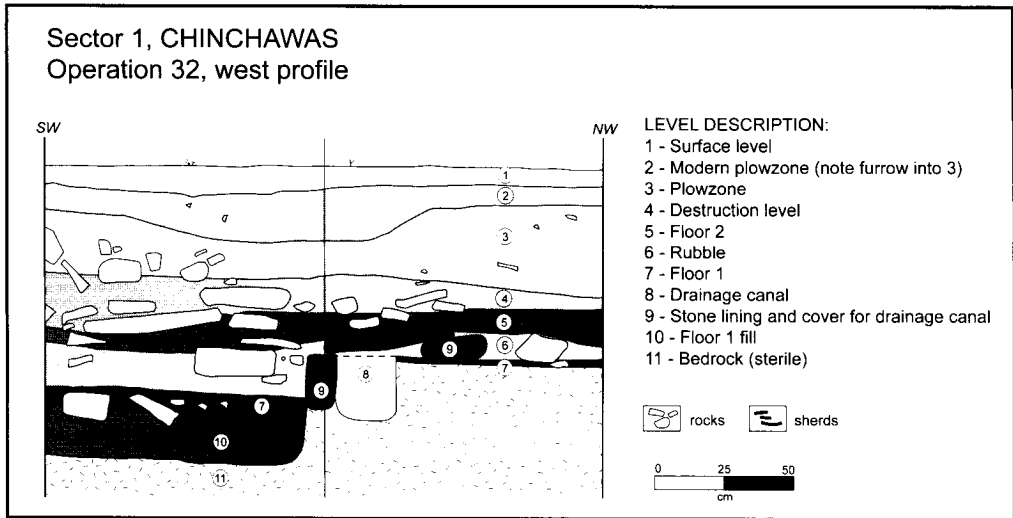


Figure 5. West profile of Operation 32 within Enclosure 2, showing drainage canal and low platform (Floor 1).

complex in Sector 1 and consists of a series of agglutinated rooms and patios, adjoined by a circular tower structure. Fine *wanka/pachilla* walls fully delimit Enclosure 2 in an irregular plan of roughly 17-x-10 m. Within the enclosure, investigations identified two stone sculptures on the surface; ten other sculptures were documented in directly adjacent structures (discussion below).

Three 1-x-2-m units sampled the interior of Enclosure 2. As expected, each pit contained a shallow depth of deposit. None of the pits revealed walls or partitions, supporting the hypothesis that the enclosure served as an open space. In Operation 32, builders exploited a step-like rise in the bedrock, about 70 cm below modern surface, to distinguish a higher platform level in the pit's northern end (Figure 5). The coeval floor in the southern end lies 10–15 cm beneath this rise. A stone-lined drainage canal divides the two levels; this is notable because Inka enclosures often featured drainage channels in which to pour *chicha* during fertility rites (Cobo 1990:40 [1658]; Zuidema 1978). As the canal continues east and west, the platform may have extended to the enclosure walls, possibly forming an interior space with split levels.

In comparison to adjacent areas, Enclosure 2 contained relatively little refuse (Table 2). The extant pottery of the lowest levels, however, does indicate that the construction and primary use of Enclosure 2 date to the Kayán and Chinchawasi phases. Overall, bowls represented 92.9 percent of the decorated/formal

diagnostics, suggesting a bias toward serving pottery. This sample also includes sherds from painted Kayán kaolinite bowls (e.g., Figure 6b–g), which are generally rare at the site. A partly drilled trapezoidal pendant and a copper metal shawl pin fragment were also recovered, but the general lack of material from floor levels suggests that local peoples maintained Enclosure 2 assiduously. During the Warmi phase, similar activities did not continue within the patio; no Warmi floors were identified and walls of the enclosure were re-used for new buildings with cruder masonry along the periphery. Rock debris strata in each pit demonstrate that the upper portions of the enclosure walls were either destroyed or fell into disrepair by the end of the Warmi phase (Figure 5).

Evidence for cooking activities occurs in activity zones adjoining Enclosure 2 (Table 2). Along the far western end of Terrace 3, a test trench (Operations 5, 6, and 20) uncovered several hearths and ashy deposits with calcined bone and large broken in situ ollas, indicating repeated food preparation during Chinchawasi 2. In addition, excavations in dwellings adjacent to Enclosure 2 recovered remains of lighter quotidian activities, including large grinding stones (OP25) and some refuse disposal (OP26).

About 10 m to the southeast of Enclosure 2, a 2-x-2-m unit (Operation 38 in Figure 2) sampled a remarkable refuse deposit with over 102.6 kg of faunal remains in a stratum measuring between .13–.47 m in thickness. In contrast to other Sector 1 middens, the deposit was distinguished by its density and

Table 2. Summary of Ceramics and Faunal Remains from Contexts Mentioned in Text: Sector 1 (A-D) and Sector 2 (E).

	Operation	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Plainware Totals	Decorated Totals	Percent Decorated	Decorated Jars	Decorated Bowls	Percent Bowls	Faunal Remains (kg)
A) Enclosure 2	OP3,7,32	6	1930	33	1.7%	1	13	92.9%	.57
B) Rooms	OP16,17,25,26	8	2726	96	3.5%	13	27	67.5%	3.03
C) Terrace 3	OP5,6,20	6	790	58	7.3%	8	16	66.7%	2.03
D) Midden	OP38	4	2961	258	8.7%	20	78	79.6%	102.6
E) Chullpa Enclosure 1	OP57x	8	80	6	7.5%	1	3	75.0%	0

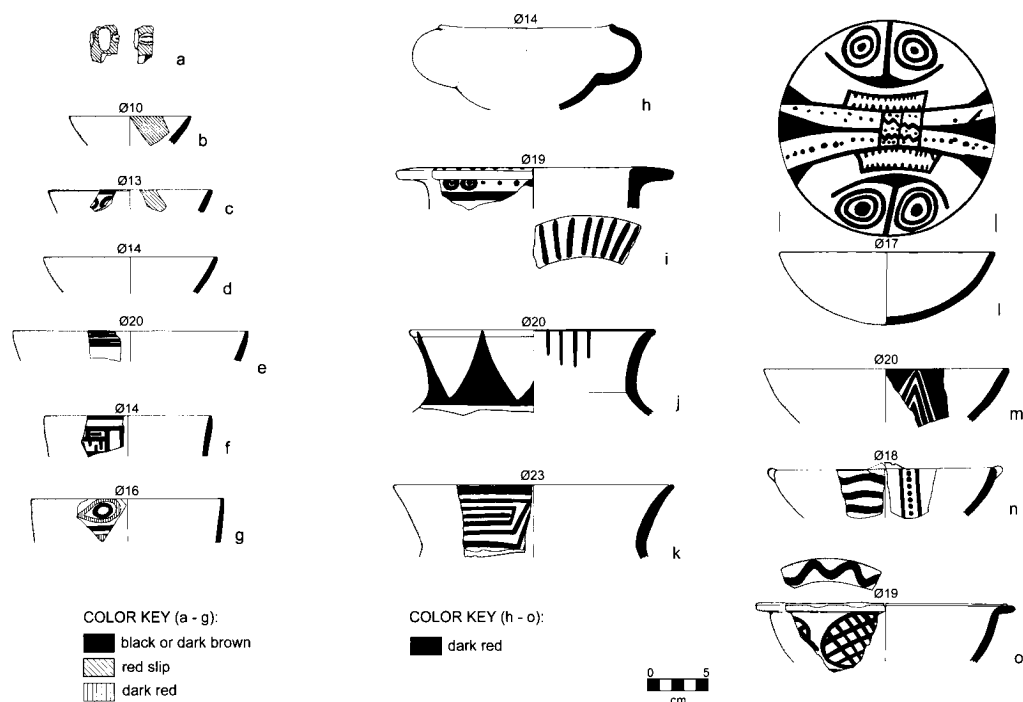


Figure 6. Kayán and Chinchawasi phase pottery from Chinchawas. Kayán phase serving bowls, made of kaolinite, are shown in 6b-g; 6a is a small fragment of a Recuy kaolinite animal figurine, probably of a llama. 6h and 6l-o are fancy Chinchawasi phase bowls, while 6i-k are large decorated jars.

excellent preservation. The faunal remains do not show intensive fracturing, gnawing, or burning one would expect from everyday consumption and disposal patterns (Miller 1979). Further, most of the stratum was still uncompacted and loose to the trowel, with many small pockets containing little soil matrix between the refuse materials, suggesting that its deposition was not a gradual process or that very little time elapsed during accumulation episodes.

The faunal assemblage (Table 3) derived mainly from camelids (MNI = 64) of three categories: small fused ( $n = 35$ ), large fused ( $n = 4$ ), and unfused ( $n = 25$ ). Using an index of usable meat weight (Miller 1979:137), the sample totals 1867.5 kg, or over two tons, of usable meat (96.9 percent of all species). Since the small size category likely pertains to alpacas, as opposed to larger llamas, and the unfused category pertains to younger animals, the sample bears strong bias (87.7 percent of usable meat) toward camelids with more palatable meat. Deer (MNI = 2), small mammals (*Canis* sp. and *Lagidium* sp.), guinea pigs (*Cavia* sp.), and other small rodents were also represented, but the low representation of noncamelid species indicates that the cul-

tural activities responsible for the midden focused mainly on camelids.<sup>5</sup>

The ceramics from the midden consist of Chinchawasi phases 1 and 2, but especially phase 2. A large proportion (8.7 percent) of the midden pottery sample is decorated, which is discernibly greater than the 3.3 percent for the entire site (all phases). Most of the decorated pottery consists of large sherds from fancy jars and bowls (e.g., Figure 6h-o). Notably, the sample of decorated bowls ( $n = 78$ ) is much larger than in adjacent rooms and terraces. The proportion of bowls to jars (79.6 percent) is also higher, only slightly less than the sample from the Enclosure 2 test pits. The comparably high frequencies of decorated open bowls (i.e., eating and drinking vessels) may suggest a functional association between Enclosure 2 and the midden deposit.

Bone artifacts ( $n = 35$ ) were also well represented. Many have serving functions and show clear use-polish on handles or wear on work edges, including a ladle made from a camelid cranium (e.g., Gero 1991), three bone spatulas, a pelvis scraping tool, and eight rib tools. The latter show ground edges or blunt points, and may have been used as scraping tools or

Table 3. Summary of Faunal Remains from Operation 38, Sector 1, Chinchawas.

Bone Element	Camelid (small)	Camelid (large)	Camelid (unfused)	Camelid (indet.)	Total Camelid	Cervid	Small Mammal	Cuy ( <i>Cavia</i> sp.)	Rodentia
<b>CRANIAL</b>									
Maxilla	-	-	-	120	120	-	-	1	3
Mandible	-	-	-	53	53	-	-	2	5
Condyle arch	-	-	-	58	58	-	-	-	-
Antler						14			
<b>FORELIMB</b>									
Scapula (glenoid)	40	21	-	34	95	1	-	2	-
Scapula (misc.)	8	1	-	-	9	1	-	-	-
Humerus (pr. & ds.)	1	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	4
Pr. Humerus	18	11	56	-	85	1	-	-	-
Ds. Humerus	66	16	54	-	136	2	1	1	1
Radio-ulna (pr. & ds.)	2	-	2	-	4	-	-	1	-
Pr. Radio-ulna	52	12	79	-	143	-	-	1	-
Ds. Radio-ulna	31	18	81	-	130	1	1	-	-
Radius							1		
<b>HINDLIMB</b>									
Tibia (pr. & ds.)	-	-	8	-	8	-	1	2	3
Pr. Tibia	40	21	116	-	177	-	-	-	-
Ds. Tibia	30	18	81	-	129	2	-	-	-
Patella	28	10	-	2	40	-	-	-	-
Femur (pr. & ds.)	1	-	3	-	4	-	2	-	8
Pr. Femur	21	17	86	-	124	2	-	-	-
Ds. Femur	37	19	106	-	162	1	-	1	-
Pelvis (acetabulum)	75	36	-	137	248	-	2	2	5
<b>PODIAL</b>									
Carpal	198	50	-	2	250	3	-	-	-
Metacarpal (pr. & ds.)	4	3	12	-	19	2	-	-	-
Pr. Metacarpal	48	12	28	-	88	2	-	-	-
Ds. Metapodial	66	34	199	-	299	12	-	-	-
Metatarsal (pr. & ds.)	10	1	4	-	15	-	-	-	-
Pr. Metatarsal	61	16	19	-	96	2	-	-	-
Tarsal	163	34	-	1	198	4	-	-	-
Astragalus	85	17	-	-	102	-	-	-	-
Calcaneum	39	9	55	-	103	-	-	-	-
Phalanx 1	122	31	147	-	300	6	-	-	-
Phalanx 2	69	35	38	-	142	7	-	-	-
Phalanx 3	38	11	1	-	50	5	-	-	-
<b>AXIAL</b>									
Atlas	25	12	19	-	56	-	-	1	-
Axis	19	8	15	-	42	-	-	-	-
Sternum	12	5	-	-	17	-	-	-	-
Sacrum	13	13	35	-	61	2	-	-	-
Caudal							2		
Total NISP	1422	491	1247	407	3567	70	10	14	29
MNI	35	4	25	-	64	2	2	1	4
Usable Meat (kg)	1137.5	230	500	-	1867.5	55	4.8	.7	.2

Operation 63  
Subterranean Tomb 2 (ST-2)  
CHINCHAWAS

0 1m

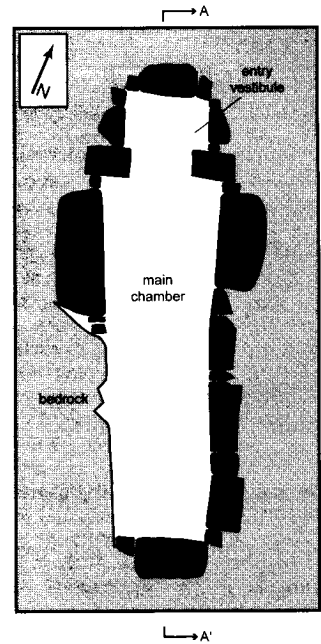
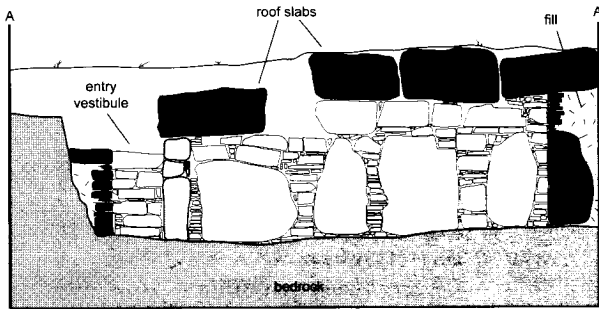


Figure 7. East profile and plan view of Subterranean Tomb 2, Sector 2, Chinchawas.

skewers for meat. There were also two thin bone artifacts: a fragment of a round disk with four perforations and a small effigy in the shape of a fish. Sumptuary items included seven copper metal artifacts: four hammered lamina ornaments and three shawl pins. The lamina ornaments are circular, and two are perforated for hanging. One large example (diameter = 6.5 cm) employs repoussé dots and concentric circles. The shawl pins have narrow tapering shafts and flat discoidal heads. Other rare items include several figurines, a miniature vessel, and beads of stone and shell. Finally, two *taruca* deer crania (*Hippocamelus antisensis*) and 12 antler fragments, of both *taruca* and white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), were recovered. The antler was most likely collected from valley bottoms or the high-altitude puna grasslands for manufacturing tine implements. It should be noted, though, that lowland groups featured *taruca* antlers during ancestor ceremonies (Arriaga 1968:19 [1621]). *Taruca* was also specifically hunted and sacrificed in ancestor ceremonies (Doyle 1988:171).

Viewed together, the quantity and character of the remains indicate that the midden deposit resulted from corporate activities involving large-scale consumption, particularly of camelids, accompanied by the use and display of special accessories (Gero 1991, 1992).

Surrounded by a larger complex of rooms and activity areas with evidence for food preparation and large-scale disposal, I argue that Enclosure 2 may have been a central ceremonial space in Sector 1—distinguished by its openness, fine masonry, stone sculpture, and relative cleanliness—where feasts took place.

#### *Chullpa Enclosure 1, Sector 2*

In the Sector 2 cemetery area, the fieldwork documented 13 aboveground *chullpa* tombs and three subterranean chamber tombs. Of these, seven *chullpas* and all three subterranean tombs were excavated. Each subterranean tomb consists of a primary burial chamber attached to a small entry vestibule entered from above (Figure 7). Each tomb employs bedrock for floors and wall segments, *wanka/pachilla* style masonry, tabular roof slabs, and access from the north or northeast. All the subterranean tombs yielded either Kayán (Figure 8g) or Chinchawasi phase pottery (Figure 8a–f). In addition, several tombs produced ceramics with late Moche affinities (Figure 8h–i) as well as polished blackware fragments attributable to Moche V, suggesting that these tombs date to ca. A.D. 600–750 (Shimada 1994).

All *chullpas*, in contrast, are aboveground constructions of the Warmi phase. Each has a rectangu-

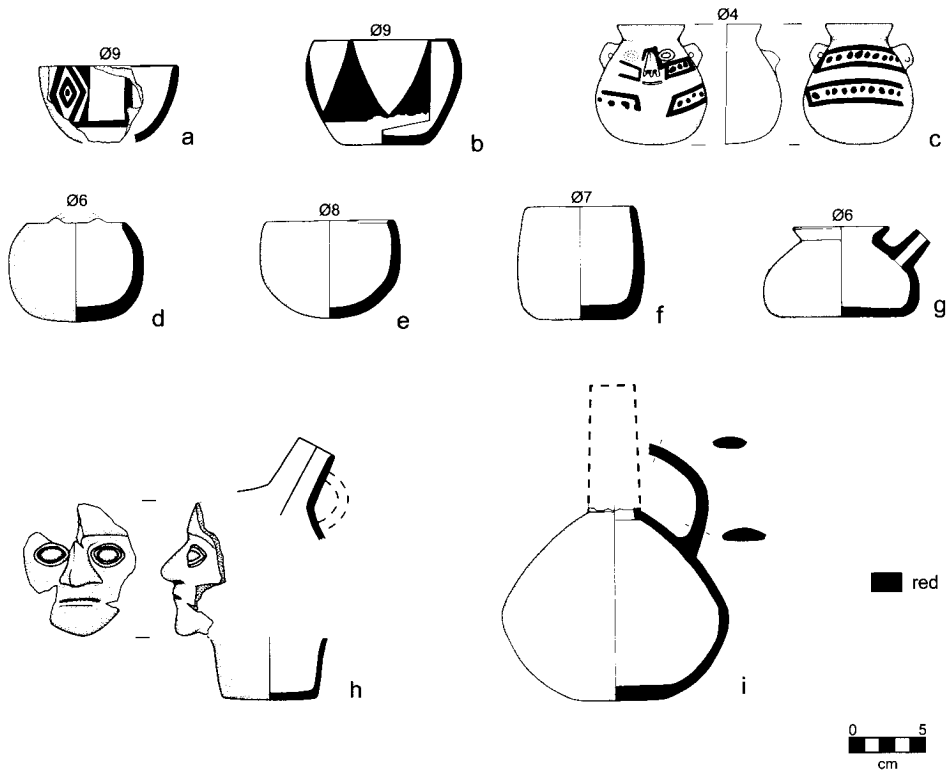


Figure 8. Pottery from subterranean tombs, Sector 2, including Chinchawasi phase vessels (8a-f), a small Kayán jar (8g), and Late Moche imported bottles (8h-i).

lar form, with *wanka/pachilla* masonry, and one or more interior chambers accessed by a single eastern doorway (Figure 9). The *chullpas* contained local Warmi ceramics (Figure 10j-l, n) and/or imported styles, like Wari Norteño (Figure 10a-c), press-molded black- and redwares (Figure 10e-g, m), and Nievería-style bottles (Figure 10d). The ceramic data corroborate mid-late Middle Horizon associations of other *chullpas* in highland Ancash (Bennett 1944; Buse 1965; Isbell 1991; Lanning 1965; Terada 1979; Zaki 1987).

Most human remains in Sector 2 were found disarticulated. *Chullpa* interments likely occurred in the form of mummy bundles, involving as many as 24 individuals in one building (Lau 2001). In contrast, the subterranean tombs contained only one or two individuals, probably in flexed position (Grieder 1978; Wegner 1988).

The use of Sector 2 during the Chinchawasi and Warmi phases indicates continuity in the sector's importance as a cemetery area. Some *chullpas* are located in zones with subterranean tombs or, in several cases, were constructed above them—perhaps

citing or appropriating previous ancestral associations (Bennett 1944; Lau 2000). Both types of tombs are characterized by ease of entry and unsealed doorways, likely to permit periodic access to interiors for post-burial rituals, maintenance, and/or additional interments. In addition, the majority of the *chullpas* appear in clusters, either two or three to a group. Four clusters were identified; each is ringed by a crude low-lying wall, formed in part by large *wanka* uprights, that defines an enclosed space. Variability in pottery style, tomb size, and construction quality support the hypothesis that the clusters grew incrementally as individual *chullpas* were added, rather than as single building programs.

In one cluster of two tombs known as Chullpa Enclosure 1, a shallow 2-x-4-m trench was opened. The excavation (Operation 57x) abutted the northern exterior face of Chullpa Tomb 2 (CT-2) and revealed that the *chullpa* was built on a low platform only 15 cm above bedrock. The operation also recovered a series of broken fancy Warmi phase bowls lying directly above bedrock, some with ring-bases and tripods, and rim fragments of Wari Norteño

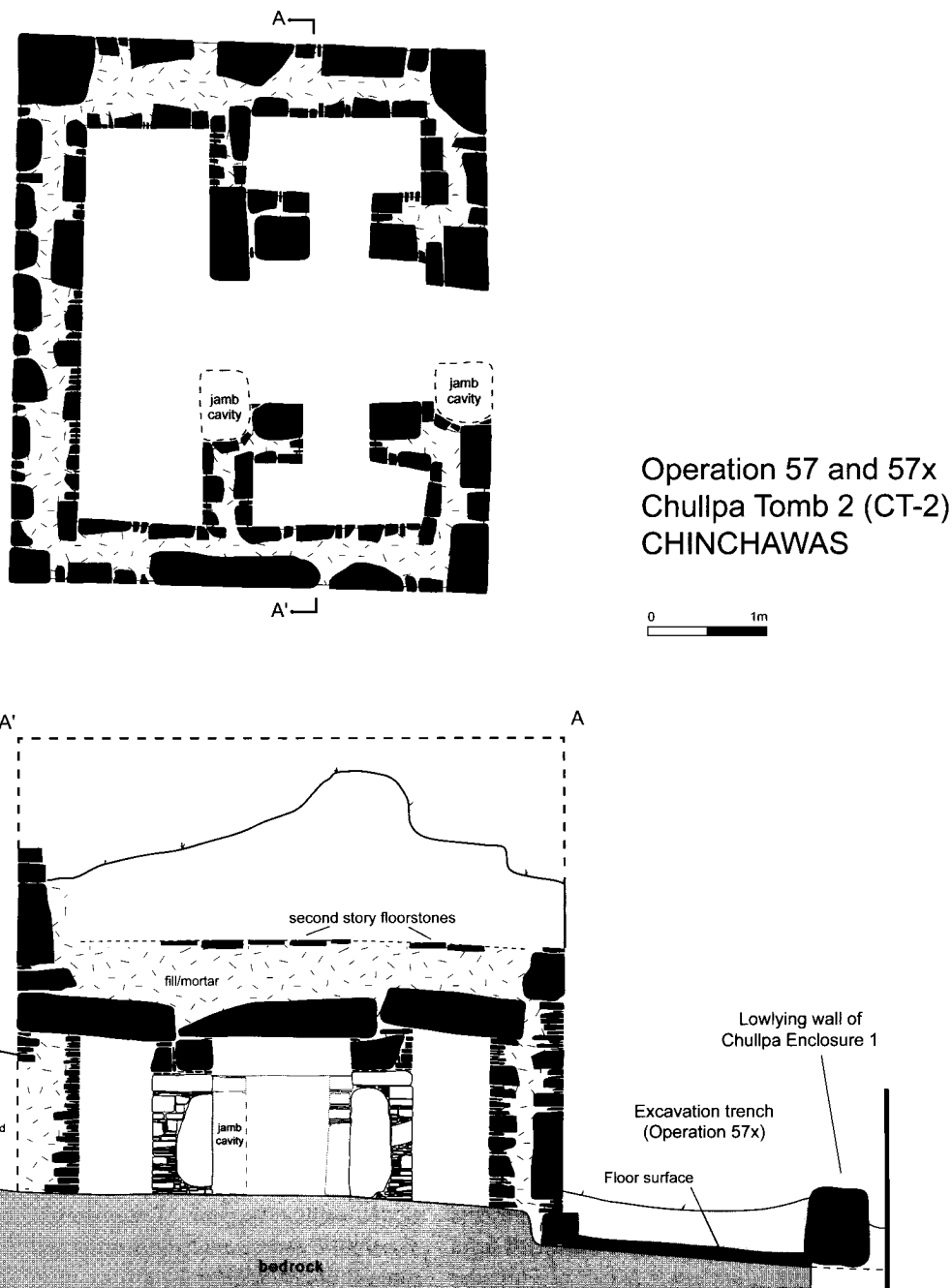


Figure 9. Plan view and west profile of Chullpa Tomb 2, Sector 2, showing location of excavation trench (OP57x). Note interior jamb cavity where a sculpture was removed.

flasks. The plainwares consisted mainly of open vessels, but necked ollas and jars were also represented—most with exterior carbon sooting. In addition, two miniature vessels (Figure 10h–i) were found abutting the northern wall of CT-2, and are

interpreted as small dedicatory offerings. Like the pottery within the *chullpas*, the ceramics from the trench date the use of Chullpa Enclosure 1 to Warmi times. In contrast to Enclosure 2 in Sector 1, excavations recovered no identifiable faunal material or

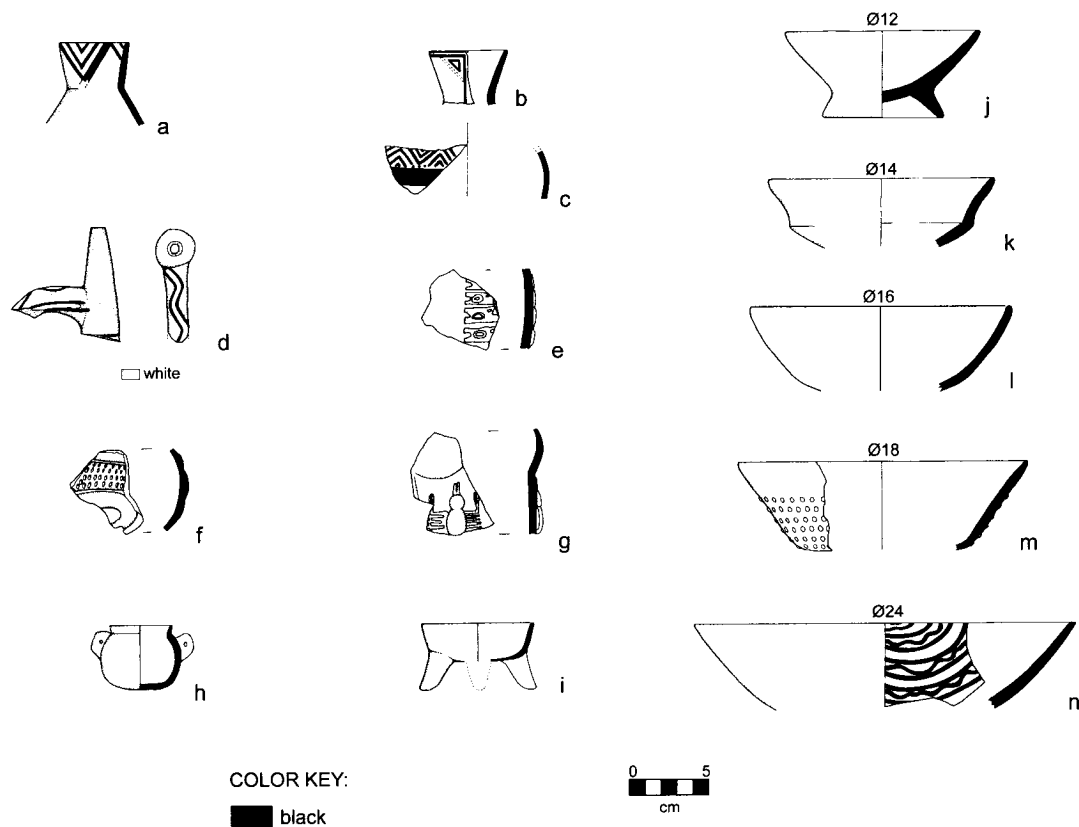


Figure 10. Chullpa tomb pottery includes: miniature vessels (10h-i) and imported coastal Wari-period canteens (10a-c), bottles (10d-g), and bowls (10m). Bowls (10j-l,n) are identical to the local decorated Warmi style of Sector 1, associated with mid-late Middle Horizon deposits and radiocarbon ages dating to the ninth–tenth centuries A.D.

associated nonmortuary architecture. The remains in the enclosure can be understood best as the residue from small-scale episodes of drinking and offering rituals near the graves (Doyle 1988).

#### Stone Sculpture at Chinchawas

In total, 43 different specimens of monolithic stone sculpture were documented at Chinchawas, all rendered in what has traditionally been called the “Recuay style” (Figure 11). Although this represents the largest corpus of sculptures yet identified for a Recuay settlement, Chinchawas is part of a broader pattern of small and large centers actively producing stone sculpture in the Recuay tradition (Schaedel 1952). The following discussion explores the hypothesis that many of the Chinchawas sculptures portray images of ancestors.

The corpus (Table 4) consists of four primary sculptural forms: quadrangular panels ( $n = 8$ ), horizontal slabs ( $n = 9$ ), vertical slabs ( $n = 22$ ), and tenon-

heads ( $n = 4$ ). Two vertical slabs were found in situ as jambs to the entrance of a residential room-complex in Sector 1, but the majority of the sculptures were found on the surface (Mejía 1941). As noted earlier, Enclosure 2 contained two sculptures and ten others were identified in adjacent spaces (Figure 2). All of the Chinchawas sculptures, except the tenonheads, bear decoration on one side only and occur commonly in irregular shapes that cannot be positioned without support. Most were likely objects of veneration and meant to be seen in special architecture (Tello 1929:73).

The horizontal slabs ( $n = 9$ ) are the largest and most prominent sculptures in Sector 1. Eight out of the nine slabs depict a common motif in Recuay art, referred to hereafter as the “central figure scene” (Figure 11a): a frontally positioned human figure flanked by two profile feline creatures with prominent genitalia (Lau 2000). The other horizontal slab portrays a bicephalic creature with two frontally



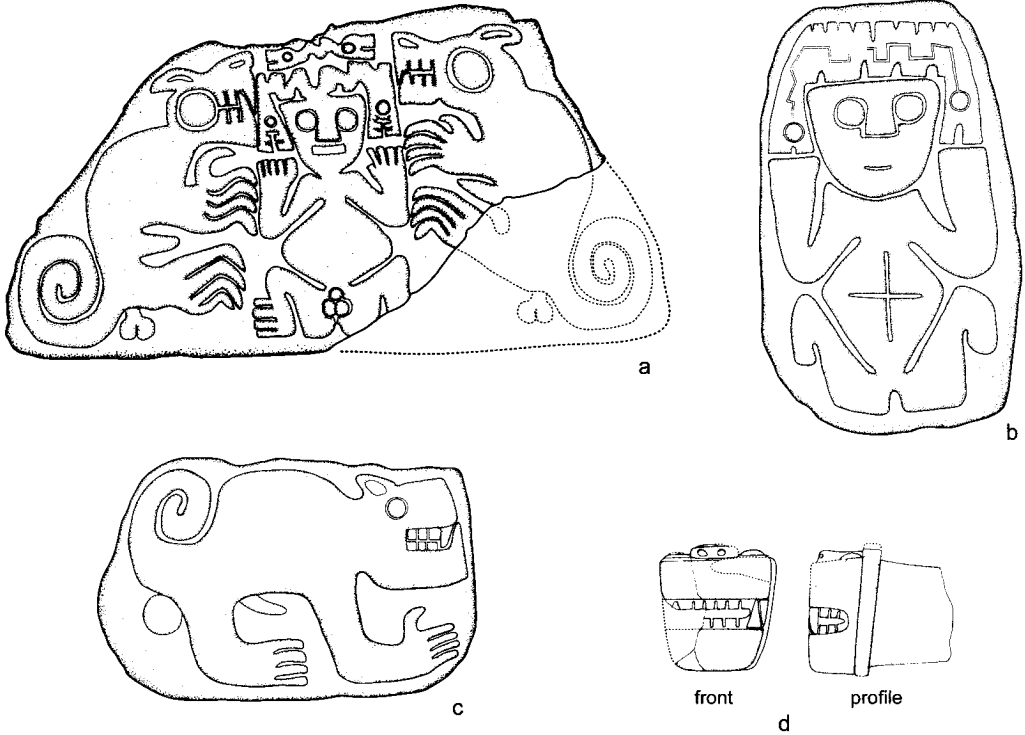


Figure 11. Stone sculptural forms at Chinchawas: a) horizontal slab, Sculpture s21 (length = 128 cm, height = 66 cm), showing “central figure scene”; b) vertical slab, Sculpture s20 (length = 55 cm, height = 86 cm), depicting ancestor figure; c) quadrangular panel, Sculpture s30 (length = 78 cm, height = 50 cm), showing profile feline; and d) feline tenon head, Sculpture s39 (length = 31 cm, height = 27 cm).

depicted feline heads connected by a profile torso, topped by a frontal human head with rayed appendages (see Grieder 1978:Figure 178).

Felines (Figure 11c–d) comprise the most common design on the quadrangular panels (6 of 8) and tenon heads (3 of 4). Vertical slabs predominate in the Sector 2 cemetery zone (16 of 17) and are located within or nearby Warmi phase *chullpa* clusters (e.g., Figure 11b). Given their irregular form, vertical slabs were probably either structural members or propped against walls (see Villar Córdoba 1935:Plate VI). At least one of these came from a *chullpa* (CT-2). In the jamb of the south interior chamber partition, there is a large cavity (Figure 9) with dimensions that match a vertical slab sculpture located just outside.

All vertical slabs, except one, depict a single, frontally positioned individual with a serpent head-dress or head appendages, sometimes with a cross over a diamond shaped torso (Figure 11b). Male genitalia are often rendered as two or three raised dots, while female genitalia may be portrayed as a

narrow groove in the pubis (Carrión Cachot 1959:12–13).

Notably, there is considerable variability in each figure’s form, arm and leg position, and headdress attributes, suggesting that the figures do not represent a single Recuay divinity. Taking into account their unique architectural associations, the sculptures may be plausibly interpreted as representations of important people associated with the tombs, perhaps deified lineage heads or founders. The ethnohistorical sources contain repeated native accounts that regarded stone monuments (*guanacas* or *wankas*) as specific ancestors (Doyle 1988:64–66, 83). One notable testimony—from the Cajatambo region just south of the Callejón de Huaylas—specifies their size, names, and logic for special recognition as ancestors:

[A] large stone *guanca* the height of a person, and it seemed that the stone had a hat on its head, and they called the idol Llacsachuco, who represented a Guari Indian who first opened that irriga-

Table 4. Chinchawas Stone Sculpture by Form, Design, and Location.

Sculpture Form/Design	Sector 1	Sector 2
<b>TENON HEADS</b>		
Feline	3	-
Human	1	-
<b>QUADRANGULAR PANELS</b>		
Profile feline	5	1
Circle of dots	1	-
Concentric circles	1	-
<b>HORIZONTAL SLABS</b>		
Central figure scene	8	-
Bicephalic feline	1	-
<b>VERTICAL SLABS</b>		
Human figure	4	15
Radial lines	-	1
Incised spiral/concentric circles	1	-
Lattice	1	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>

tion canal, and for this reason, they adore him; they also showed another idol called Nuñoyoc guaca, which was a *guanca* two *varas* tall in the shape of a corpse, wrapped in a shroud, and they revered it and had it in the middle of the fields because it represented the first Guari Indian who began to work those fields...and they also showed three *gancas* that were inside the town because they represented three Guari Indians who founded the town. . . [Doyle 1988: 65–66].

At Chinchawas, the human personage of the “central figure scene” (Figure 11a) varies in treatment and adornments, but is often rendered nude and may have trophy heads identifying him as a male warrior or leader. The felines probably represent pumas, but they can often have serpentine and mythological attributes. In many Precolumbian cultures, feline imagery is often charged with associations to virility, strength, intelligence, and supernatural prowess (Benson 1972; Saunders 1998; Tello 1923). The basic design—a central figure commanding the obeisance of two male creatures—appears to establish the individual’s authority by conferring useful leadership associations. It should be noted that the “central figure scene” is particularly common on Recuay funerary pottery; birds, serpents, or women sometimes substitute for the felines (Eisleb 1987). The attendant figures on pottery scenes share the emphasis on presentation and deference found on stone

sculpture (Reichert 1977).

In addition, Quechua traditions of the Cordillera Blanca region relate that felines and ancestors are intimately linked (Walter 1997). Local myths articulate that pumas are considered to be representations of the recently deceased; human essences, upon death, transform and are co-opted by pumas crisscrossing between earthly and supernatural realms. Metaphorical associations between carnivory and death/transformation are also manifested in certain Recuay vessels showing humans being “captured” or being eaten by felines, foxes, or carrion birds (e.g., Makowski and Rucabado 2000:Figures 24,33).

The human personages of the “central figure scene” and the vertical slabs bear strong resemblances to the “Sky God,” a common motif on funerary pottery and painted burial shrouds wrapping late Middle Horizon mummy bundles from the Central Coast (Menzel 1977). Like the “Sky God,” the Chinchawas representations often have serpent appendages emerging from their heads, depicted either as a bifurcated headdress or as emanations that arc over either side of the head. This deity, who is compared to the Inka thunder god, is responsible for rain and weather, and becomes especially important to coastal cultures during the late Middle Horizon (Carrión Cachot 1959). The head appendages, meanwhile, are references to the “Sky Serpent” (Menzel 1977). The serpent has a long tradition in South American cosmology with associations to water, rain (the zigzag form of lightning), and special qualities of fertility and renewal. The use of these elements on the sculptures suggests, for Recuay peoples, that the deceased themselves undergo transformations during the afterlife and reemerge as powerful agents in the world of the living (Salomon 1995).

In general, the depiction of nudity on the Chinchawas sculptures does not follow thematic emphases found in other, better-known Precolumbian cultures. In Moche iconography, for example, nudity often expresses the shame and humiliation of defeat, like the portrayal of captives or sacrificial victims (Donnan 1978; cf. Larco 1965). The commemoration of victories over enemies through monumental reliefs occurs much earlier in the Casma Valley at the Cerro Sechín site (Tello 1956); similar themes are represented on the Danzantes monuments of Monte Albán (Marcus and Flannery 1996).

None of the Chinchawas monoliths, however, depicts figures who are bound, mutilated, or have eyes closed in portraying death. Rather, the specimens portray individuals as alert (eyes emphatically wide open), full-bodied (including genitals), and in conventionalized poses reminiscent of mummy bundles and positions, including a flat ovoid mask-like face, wide eyes, prominent jaw, and in-turned legs. Further, not all the human figures show genitalia. Indeed, the depiction of nudity and elements such as serpent headdresses and trophy heads is selective and may be related to the unique identity, attributes, or achievements of specific personages. As noted earlier, the ethnohistorical texts frequently cite important accomplishments as grounds for ascension to ancestorhood, such as irrigation works, establishment of territory, or exploits in warfare (Doyle 1988; Salomon 1991; Zuidema 1990).

Rather than lifelessness, the sculptures convey sentience and ability, perhaps alluding to ancestral relations that descendants deem ongoing and pervasive in most ancestor cults (Fortes 1965; McAnany 1995). In the northeastern Andean flanks, funerary statues containing mummy bundles are remarkably similar to Recuay monoliths in their rigid postures, mask-like emotionless faces with open eyes, and occurrence in groups (Kauffmann-Doig et al. 1989). The *moai* monuments of Easter Island and the wooden “idol” sculptures mentioned for late Pre-conquest Maya groups appear to treat similar practices; in these examples, scholars share in the interpretation that these images represent ancestors as omnipresent, protecting guardians (Bahn and Flenley 1992; McAnany 1995:25–29). Further, the frequent rendering of felines in Chinchawas sculpture—always with erect phalluses, genitalia, and in active poses—seems incongruous if their nudity is to be taken to signify their defeat, death, or shaming. Rather, their juxtaposition to the human figures seems more comprehensible within a local cosmology for transformation, and as a dimension of an ideology of authority that esteemed feline virtues. Although other interpretations are possible, different lines of reasoning indicate that the human figures rendered on the Chinchawas sculptures portray venerated ancestors.

#### *Recuay Pottery Iconography*

The wide majority of extant Recuay fine pottery and sculpture derives from mortuary contexts, either from

tombs or enclosures associated with public ceremonies (Bennett 1944; Grieder 1978; Gero 1990). Thus, their iconography was meant to be seen and understood, in large part, during Recuay funerary ceremony, especially of local leaders or elites.

Some Recuay vessels, modeled as architectural miniatures, appear to depict festive ancestor celebrations (Reichert 1977:Plates 114, 141). In many cases, small human figures on these vessels conduct their activities within interior court-like spaces, enclosed by verandas, walls, or ledge-walkways. The focus is on a central figure presiding over a number of individuals engaging in formal acts of presentation and reverence. The attendants commonly clutch drinking tumblers, often one in each hand (Reichert 1977:Plate 139). Recuay potters also rendered tenon-heads mimicking monolithic examples as well as ancestor-like statues on rooftops or poised around a central male figure (Eisleb 1987:Plates IV,206).

Provider/receiver relationships in commensal activities become more layered through use of the vessels themselves. Recuay pouring jars commonly depict high-ranking individuals in the act of drinking, raising a cup, or being presented cups amongst subsidiary figures. Often, the small spouts form part of the central figure’s headdress; in some cases, the spout is portrayed as the tumbler itself, held by the central figure (Eisleb 1987:Plate 155). Tumblers and effigy head cups, perhaps portraits of sponsors or their ancestors, would have served as beverage receptacles (Goldstein 1993:Figure 3.11). The very practice of handling such vessels, especially in the contexts of pouring and drinking special beverages, might have conveyed implicit messages of largesse, obligation, and relative social rank to the participants.

In addition to the consumption of food and drink, other festivities should be components of the feasting program. As communal events, both women and men should participate (Gero 1992, 2001). Indeed, Carrión Cachot (1955:69) identified “escenas de danzas y libación” in Recuay pottery, which featured the offering of drinks, dancing, individuals embracing, and playing of music. As described by Arriaga (1968:19 [1621]), women commonly play hand-held drums. Trumpets, flutes, and panpipes, meanwhile, appear to be predominantly male-associated (Eisleb 1987:Plates 134, 209, 213, 223). Often, Recuay male figures are dressed in elaborate apparel and head-dresses, while leading a camelid (Lau 2000:Figure

10). Although some maintain that this represents a pastoral theme, one could argue persuasively that these vessels, given the incongruence between the baroque apparel and everyday herding practice, commemorate the presentation of a camelid during special events, like feasts and sacrifices. In Hernández Príncipe's (1923 [1622]) account of idolatries in the Recuay area, not only did highland groups commonly offer camelids as dedicatory offerings, but the act of sacrificing llamas in ritual contexts was identified as the purview of "upper class" leaders (Zuidema 1973:17).

### Diachronic Considerations

The Chinchawas investigations discerned two distinct religious programs linked to forms of ancestor veneration. The initial Chinchawasi occupation stressed public ceremonies held within patio enclosures on the main ridgetop. Given their location, juxtaposition to high-status residences, and contents, the enclosures served periodically as venues for feasting events, sponsored by local leaders interested in garnering prestige through wealth display and festive labor. Activities included drinking (probably *chicha*), eating large amounts of camelid meat, and display of sumptuary items. Cooking and refuse disposal occurred in nearby rooms and terrace areas. While Chinchawasi graves consisted of modest subterranean chamber tombs, effort was directed at elaborating ceremonial enclosures with fine masonry, drainage canals, and stone sculpture. Bearing images of felines and ancestors, the sculptures may have served as references to descent as well as aggrandizing expressions of political authority.

During the Warmi phase at Chinchawas, earlier practices are overhauled. People invested greater effort in the construction of *chullpa* mortuary architecture, while the building of elaborate enclosures on Sector 1 ceased. Within small enclosures demarcating tomb boundaries in Sector 2, some ceremonies persisted, consisting of dedicatory offerings and ritual drinking. Vertical slabs, portraying single ancestor figures, were created expressly to decorate *chullpas*, while the earlier conventions of the Sector 1 enclosures (horizontal slabs with the "central figure scene") fell out of favor. The focus of ancestor veneration therefore appears to shift from larger-scale events in Sector 1 to smaller-scale enterprises in Sector 2.

As entrepreneurial practice, I argue that ancestor

ceremonies shaped and reinforced status differences of local leaders through the mechanism of festive labor mobilization (Clark and Blake 1994). Both ceremonial programs offered sponsors the potential for personal gain, but there appears to be greater interest in personal aggrandizement through large corporate gatherings during the Chinchawasi phases. During the Warmi phase, local groups focused on smaller and apparently more insular practices. Warmi leaders were also interested in ostentation, as evinced through stone sculpture and luxury items, but evidently on a less conspicuous level. As communal practice, ancestor ceremonies also served to facilitate community prerogatives and social cohesion. During the Chinchawasi phases, ceremonies appear to be larger in scale and perhaps more inclusive in participation (Gero 1991). During the Warmi phase, ancestor ceremonies seem to be confined to smaller groups associated with each *chullpa* or *chullpa* enclosure (Isbell 1997).

In order to draw together the different lines of evidence, this discussion now turns to a trial narrative for the period ca. A.D. 500–900 in Peru's North Central Highlands. The following reconstruction is not meant to be definitive, but, rather, hopes to furnish reasonable observations and hypotheses for future research.

The concern for warfare, as expressed in iconography, fortified sites, and cultural/territorial boundaries, played an important role in shaping Recuay worldview and everyday life (Lumbreras 1974; Proulx 1982). Under internecine and external pressures to maintain power and resources, Recuay leaders became increasingly bent on consolidating authority over groups of followers (Clark and Blake 1994). Strong leadership had particular utility for organizing common defense and cooperative work projects. Leadership positions were also attractive because they offered prestige and opportunity to parlay unequal benefits.

Recuay leaders could become increasingly competitive by exploiting communal, kin-based interests (Gero 1990, 1991). They could do this in a number of interrelated ways: 1) intensify, invent, or co-opt ideologies, 2) increase use and diversity of prestige goods, and 3) alienate production in goods or labor from producers, especially under the familiar contexts of hospitality and reciprocity. At centers like Pashash and Huaraz, given their central location for economic production and exchange, these were

successful strategies and led to the formation of powerful chiefdoms, along the lines of “multi-lineage confederations” described for Huamachuco (Topic 1991). Most other areas were probably like Chinchawas, where social arrangements remained largely egalitarian. Leadership roles were not institutionalized, but founded rather on kinship relations and the ability to marshal political capital through cultivating allegiances, festive hospitality, and ancestral affiliation. Authority likely centered on civil and ritual domains, especially in regards to the agricultural calendar, communal projects, distribution of land and water resources, and defense of territories (Mayer 1974).

During the first centuries A.D. following Chavín’s collapse, new ceremonial patterns emerged in the North Highlands. In particular, highland peoples began to lay greater emphasis on the veneration of ancestors in community-based rituals. Burial customs in the Callejón de Huaylas focused initially on modest subterranean graves (Bennett 1944; Lanning 1965). Later groups, ca. A.D. 400–600, preferred larger more elaborate constructions enabling multiple interments, such as the elite Recuay tombs at Jancu, Pashash, and Katak (Grieder 1978; Tello 1929; Wegner 1988). Most likely, flexed burial position was preferred originally, but by the Middle Horizon, funerary treatment in the form of portable mummy bundles became increasingly pervasive (Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 1997).

Patio enclosures came to serve as venues for festive public gatherings for Recuay groups, especially in hilltop settings. Adjoining higher-status residences, the buildings provided physical connections between commensal events and their patrons (Gero 1992:17–18). As investments, holding feasts brokered prestige, authority, and labor debts to the hosts. Since sponsors, by definition, already carry a measure of surplus to invest in such events, the returns increased the likelihood that they continued to benefit unequally. As labor obligations accumulated, that portion not redirected for community interests could be converted into personal gain, taking the form of exotics, sumptuary items, and stone sculpture.

Ancestors, in imagery as well as in corporeal form, may have played invaluable roles in commensal activities because they could be readily deployed as sources of kin-based authority and entitlement, as well as symbols of fertility during key

times of the year when agricultural labor and supernatural favor would be in high demand (Doyle 1988). The binding relations resulting from hospitality, reciprocity, and festive interaction would also reify the ethos of community and group solidarity. In small egalitarian villages, like Chinchawas, the impermanence of leadership roles might have also kept entrepreneurial interests in check (Mayer 1974).

Mortuary practices at Chinchawas, by about A.D. 800, shifted to housing ancestor mummies in *chullpas*. *Chullpas* become increasingly ubiquitous throughout the Callejón de Huaylas, in areas with or without settlement hierarchy (Mejía 1957; Terada 1979). Wilkawaín, Katiamá, and Honcopampa, a large Wari provincial center, showcase some of the largest known *chullpas* within walled enclosures (Bennett 1944; Isbell 1991; Zaki 1987). Warmi phase practices at Chinchawas therefore form part of broader funerary dispositions in highland Ancash (Lau 2000). Notably, whereas Recuay subterranean tombs were largely hidden underground, the above-ground placement of *chullpa* monuments clearly celebrated their visibility on the landscape. This new practice may have sought to delimit territory by establishing landmarks of ancestry and social-cultural affiliation (Salomon 1995).

The *chullpas* likely represented the funerary repositories and religious foci for corporate groups organized by kin or group affiliation (Isbell 1997). Given variability in form, elaboration, and quality, they were probably built by groups of varying status or economic standing; based on pottery associations, the use of the *chullpas* overlapped in time, suggesting that multiple groups operated simultaneously (Lau 2001). Because mobilizing labor was a primary rationale for holding feasts, the coordination of at least some corporate projects likely occurred at this group level (e.g., building funerary monuments, canals, or fortifications).

Monumental stone sculpture paralleled the new concerns of the Warmi mortuary program. Whereas the earlier focus of decoration had been special public enclosures (Sector 1), the primary contexts for Warmi sculpture were tombs (Sector 2). The sculptures therefore were probably associated with each group’s ancestor cult. The supplanting of male feline imagery suggests that the feline attributes so essential in personal aggrandizement earlier were no longer prized or needed, at least in mortuary contexts. Rather, the emphasis shifted to representing

single ancestor figures treating themes of fertility and transformation.

### Final Considerations

The foregoing discussion focused on poorly known religious practices in the North Central Andes during the first millennium A.D. I argue that ancestor ceremonies provided domains of action where individuals could muster political currency under the dual idioms of descent and hospitality. Data from Recuay iconography and Andean ethnohistory were presented to better understand field investigations at the Chinchawas site. It should be noted, however, that not all feasts required ancestors, nor that all ceremonies need be communal events. Rather, the goal has been to demonstrate that ancestor veneration constituted an important dimension in certain feasting practices in Recuay culture. Further study of ancestor ceremonies promises to reveal new insights into processes and relations of sociopolitical change in ancient societies (e.g., Helms 1998; McAnany 1995).

The Chinchawasi 1 and 2 occupations represented a time of cultural florescence at Chinchawas. The strong local economy culminated during Chinchawasi 2 with unprecedented amounts of camelid remains, fiber processing implements, and long-distance commodities (Lau 2001). Notably, the patterns of economic intensification coincide strongly with larger-scale commensal activities and concentration of surplus, as manifested in sumptuary objects, sculpture, and high-status architecture. By underscoring the authority of leaders, ancestor ceremonies during this time appear strongly linked to increased economic production. At small communities like Chinchawas, I argue that local leaders became increasingly successful in orchestrating public displays of ancestry and hospitality for personal benefit.

Ancestor ceremonies at Chinchawas represent only one part of a broader suite of innovations in leadership ideology and socioeconomic strategies during the Early Intermediate period (Bawden 1996; Gero 1992; Goldstein 2000; Lumbreras 1974; Makowski 1994; Silverman 1993; Uceda and Mujica 1994). More research, however, is needed to clarify whether ancestor ceremonies became formal institutions at more centralized Recuay settlements (e.g., Pashash) and in other contemporary Andean groups at different levels of social complexity. Although potent Recuay elites emerged (Grieder 1978), cur-

rently only iconographic evidence exists to suggest they appropriated ancestral associations for their political authority.

The timing of Chinchawas' growth during Chinchawasi 2 is notable because it overlaps with early Wari expansion into the Callejón de Huaylas. In particular, a large building program commences at nearby Honcopampa around A.D. 700, with patio-groups and D-shaped structures probably of Wari derivation (Lanning 1965; Isbell 1991). Despite a widening of exchange ties and general economic prosperity, there is no evidence for direct control of Chinchawas. On the contrary, the material culture and religious practices (e.g., ancestor ceremonies) manifest marked reinforcement of earlier Recuay traditions, even in the face of state presence at Honcopampa. The patterns of economic and cultural vigor may be more expressive of local autonomy and revitalization, reiterating the strong variability of provincial developments during periods of Andean state expansion (D'Altroy 1992; Schreiber 1992; Stanish 1997). I have argued elsewhere that Chinchawas' early relationships with Wari were likely shaped by mutual exchange interests, probably due to the site's access to plentiful camelid resources and strategic location along a key coast-highland route (Lau 2001).

Important cultural changes occur only later, by about A.D. 800–850. Warmi style pottery represents a drastic break from the earlier Chinchawasi ceramics and can be best compared to derivative Wari styles of the mid-late Middle Horizon (Menzel 1977). Marked economic changes also include decreases in camelid remains as well as a surge in fancy imported pottery, especially press-molded wares from the coast. It seems unlikely that feasting disappears entirely from local practice at Chinchawas but, rather, that scales of participation change and that its prior association to enclosures with Recuay-style stone sculpture terminates. Warmi phase transformations in ceremonial practices, material culture, and regional interaction indicate remarkably different socioeconomic dispositions at Chinchawas.

*Chullpas* and new configurations of ancestor veneration became increasingly important after Wari expansion into the Callejón de Huaylas. During the Late Horizon, Inka expansion triggered uneven social transformations throughout the Andes, such as ethno-genesis, ethnocide, and widespread demographic upheavals (Patterson 1987; Rowe 1946; Sherbondy

1992; Silverblatt 1988; Topic 1998). One might consider, then, whether Wari period interaction led to the emergence of new ethnic identities or the restructuring of cultural traditions. If so, the innovations in North Highland mortuary and ancestor veneration practices might be interpreted as local measures to define more explicitly ties between territory and corporate groups in the face of geopolitical wranglings.

*Acknowledgments.* I would like to thank the National Science Foundation and Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for enabling the field research, under grants SBR-9612574 and No. 6066, respectively. Yale University's Albers Fund and Enders Fellowship facilitated initial reconnaissance and the faunal analysis. Permission for archaeological investigations was provided by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Peru under Resolución Directoral Nacional 419-96/INC; I owe many thanks to the Lima office, especially Jorge Silva, Luis Jaime Castillo, and other members of the Comisión Técnica, for their support of the field investigations and laboratory analyses. I am also indebted to César Serna, Mirtha Antúnez, and César Aguirre of the INC-Huaraz office who furnished research facilities and supervision. Richard Burger, Takeshi Inomata, Ben Diebold, Jeffrey Quilter, Carolyn Tate, Allan Maca, and Steve Wernke provided insightful comments on earlier drafts of this article. Although I remain responsible for any errors, the editors at *Latin American Antiquity* and five reviewers kindly helped to improve the original manuscript. The fieldwork could not have been completed without the dedicated participation of the modern community of Chinchawasi and members of the field crew, especially Martín Justiniano, Jorge Luis Alvarez, Scott Hutson, and James Schumacher. Finally, I would like to express special thanks to Richard Burger, Lucy Salazar-Burger, and Steve Wegner for their wisdom and encouragement throughout the research.

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### Notes

1. Recent work in Huamachuco is a notable exception (Topic and Topic 1985; J. Topic 1991). At sites like Marcahuamachuco and Viracochapampa, it is argued that large halls with niches, some of which contain burials, were used as banquet halls by multiple kin-based lineages. Such collectives operated independently or cooperatively to comprise multi-lineage confederations. The corollary argument is that niched architecture, including halls and D-shaped structures, may have functioned for public ancestor ceremonies throughout the Middle Horizon, like at Pikillacta and Wari (J. Topic 1991).
2. McAnany (1995:11) prefers another definition, "rituals and practices surrounding the burial and commemoration, by name, of apical ancestors of kin groups".
3. "Wanka/pachilla" refers to a distinctive masonry style common in high-status Recuay architecture. Walls are formed by aligning large stone uprights or boulders, known as *wankas*, while joints and interstices between the *wankas* are filled with small, usually flat, chinking stones, known as *pachillas* (for example, see Figure 7). The masonry is typically set in a sandy, mud-clay mortar.
4. "Chinchawas" refers to the archaeological site (Mejía 1941), while "Chinchawasi" refers to the ceramic phases, named after the modern community of Chinchawasi (or Chinchayhuasi).
5. Camelid MNI is based on left distal humerus. Deer MNI is based on right distal tibia. Using antler elements would give a deer MNI of five, but it unlikely that all antler elements should be attributed to consumption activities.

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Submitted January 8, 2001; Accepted February 4, 2002;  
Revised April 6, 2002.