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Victor Ponte

*University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, vmonte@uwm.edu*

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# AN ANALYSIS OF THE ISABELITA ROCK ENGRAVING AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT, CALLEJÓN DE HUAYLAS, PERU

VÍCTOR MANUEL PONTE ROSALINO  
*University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

## INTRODUCTION

Isabelita is the name of an impressive Early Horizon rock engraving in Peru's Callejón de Huaylas. It was discovered in 1999 at the Amá II site (Pan 5-49) while I was conducting an archaeological study in the vicinity of the modern Pierina Gold Mine (Ponte 2005:247, 1999b). The rock stood in the upper part, or Cotojirca neighborhood, of the village of Mareniyoc in the Jangas district, Huaraz province, Ancash region (Figures 1, 2, 12-15). Its iconography consists of a human being holding a trophy head, accompanied by four animals (Figures 1, 3).

In modern Ancash Quechua *amá* means "darkness" but is also a prohibitive grammatical element more or less equivalent to the English word "don't". In this context it most likely refers to the shadows formed by large boulders because Isabelita, in its original placement, was near funerary chambers constructed in the shelter of overhanging rocks (Figures 4-10).<sup>1</sup> However, in the Callejón de Huaylas, *amá* may be derived from *amay* (the Spanish plural is *amayas*), found in seventeenth century court trials and official inspection tours from Cajatambo relating to idolatry (Duviols 2003:178, 186). Here it seems to mean a mortuary structure. Individual *amayas* are characterized in the Cajatambo documents

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<sup>1</sup> Initially Isabelita was the name given to a mapping control point atop a boulder. We later discovered petroglyphs lower down on its flat surface.

as "a modo de casilla" (in the form of a little house), as "muy pintado" (heavily painted), and with doors (*ibid.*:186). An important funeral chamber within a circular structure may have been associated with the Isabelita Rock during the middle and late parts of the Early Horizon (c. 600-100 B.C.).

The village of Mareniyoc occupies a large mound composed of the remains of an Early Horizon occupation (Figure 11). For millennia Mareniyoc was a primary center within a locally integrated settlement pattern. This pattern included defensible sites that I believe maintained independent status and economic systems, but shared a powerful religious ideology manifested by Isabelita's iconography, and present in other areas of the Andes.

In this paper I analyze the iconography of the Isabelita Rock, establishing its relative chronology and meaning through comparisons with other Early Horizon sculptures. An analysis of the engraving must center on the role and purpose of religion as an institution, as well on its sociopolitical impact within the community.

The location of the Isabelita Rock in a space where mortuary rituals were performed connects the image to the ceremonial architecture enclosing the nearby Great Stone, another large man-modified boulder. A human burial with offerings was under the Great Stone, within a funerary space constructed with fieldstones (Figures 5-7, 9). This context can be related to the Andean

notions of *machay* and *malqui* documented for late prehispanic and colonial times (Arriaga 1999 [1621]:21; Doyle 1988; Duviols 2003). The Great Stone constitutes the *machay*, a Quechua concept of a natural rock shelter or cave suitable for ritual performances. *Malqui* is the burial, the mummy of the principal ancestor of the local community. Its people may have gathered in the terraced space next to the Mareniyoc mound to venerate it. In the central Andes no ancestor cult has been detected in any context earlier than that associated with the Isabelita Rock.

The cult there is probably contemporaneous with the Capilla Style (600-200 B.C.; Table 1) of the Huaricoto site (Figure 12; Burger 1985), the nearest Early Horizon site in the Callejón de Huaylas that has been investigated. Although more religious practices and human burials have been detected in the temperate Quechua ecozone<sup>2</sup> of Mareniyoc, they belong to later periods, confirming the long tradition of ancestor veneration, especially in the Recuay culture (Table 1) and in later times (Lau 2002; Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1622]).

I postulate that Mareniyoc was integrated with other Early Horizon sites in a shared vertical domain extending from the warm floor of the Santa River Valley to the cold puna of the Cordillera Negra (Figures 13, 14). This perceived linkage led me to focus on the development of a local sociopolitical subsystem. I suggest that settlements in different ecological zones participated in a social interaction sphere that was centered in the area where ideology took material form. If ideology is a source of power and can be controlled by the dominant group (De Marrais *et al.* 1996), the area of Mareniyoc may have been the place where the economic resources and subsistence pattern

were organized through cooperation, trade, and interrelationships with other areas. Even though the primary site is defined only by its magnitude and its connection with the religious and mythical personage represented on the Isabelita Rock, I suggest that during the Early Horizon Cotojirca Phase I (Table 1), the foundation was laid for a regional economic model that was duplicated by later groups without any substantial changes.

The local religious tradition was stimulated and influenced by important ceremonial centers like Chavín de Huántar, Pallka in the upper Casma Valley, Cerro Blanco and Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley,<sup>3</sup> Pacopampa in the Department of Cajamarca, Puemape and Tembladera on the north coast (Figure 12, Table 1), and Paracas on the south coast. In other words, the Chavín religious cult spread. The development and management of similar ceremonial practices, including the representation of common symbols, support arguments for the interaction of the Callejón de Huaylas with much of the rest of the Andes. Before explaining the archaeological context and the interconnection of sites in detail, I will outline the Early Horizon in the Callejón de Huaylas.

## THE AREA OF STUDY

The Callejón de Huaylas is a large intermontane valley delineated by two mountain ranges. To the west is the Cordillera Negra. To the east is the Cordillera Blanca (Figure 13). The latter is the highest range of snow capped mountains and glacial lakes in the Central Andes. Within it are thirty peaks higher than 6000 meters. It also contains the Huascarán National Park, one of Peru's important nature

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<sup>2</sup> For a definition of the Quechua ecozone see "The Area of Study" below.

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<sup>3</sup> For discussions of Punkurí in *Andean Past* see Bischof (1994):172-173, figures 2,3, 12, 14c, 31 and Falcón, this volume, pp. 109-129. For Cerro Blanco and Punkurí see Daggett (1987).

preserves, and the goal of thousands of mountain climbers every year.

The perennial Santa River flows from the Cordillera Blanca and through the Callejón de Huaylas. It is, by volume, the largest Peruvian river that empties into the Pacific Ocean (Wilson 1988:32). The Callejón de Huaylas was one of the centers of plant domestication in the central Andes. Evidence from Guitarrero Cave has shown that maize and beans were important staple foods in the region and *Phaseolus* may have been consumed there since the beginning of the third millennium B.C. (Kaplan and Lynch 1999:265). The study area discussed in this paper is in the eastern foothills of the Cordillera Negra. The study area includes four ecological zones (Figure 14):

(1) *The floor of the Callejón de Huaylas* (at an average elevation of 2800 masl) is heavily cultivated, especially to the north of Jangas and Taricá. Currently, fruits and flowers are grown for export. Tree crops such as Pacay, avocado, and lucuma may have been gathered there by early societies. The existence of a modern community of potters in the small town of Taricá has some implications for past practices.

(2) *The Quebrada Cuncashca/Llancash system* (average elevation 3615 masl; Figure 14) is a natural pass to the puna, and to the western slopes of the Cordillera Negra and beyond to the coast. It has perennial water and includes the best agricultural land.

(3) *The Quechua ecozone* (average elevation 3500 masl) is where maize, tubers (oca, olluco [*Ullucus tuberosus*], potatoes) and some trees are grown. There is evidence of agricultural terraces and irrigation canals. However, the area does not offer much space for cultivation and the soil is not rich in nutrients.

(4) *Puna pastureland* (average elevation 4000 masl) consists of relatively flat grasslands dominated by ichu and used today, as in the past, for maintaining herds.

The ecological zones are integrated by an ancient road that connects archaeological sites belonging to several periods (Figure 14). The road extends from Jangas (2800 masl) on the Santa Valley floor, to Cuncashca on the puna (4000 masl). Walking from Jangas to Mareniyoc in the Quechua ecozone at 3050 masl can be accomplished in about two hours. From there it takes another two hours to reach Cuncashca. Control of these various ecological zones may have been maintained in the past, as first postulated for the Andes by John V. Murra (1975:62-70). The major center was the Mareniyoc site. Its position in the middle of the vertical ecological zones permitted economic control by the local elite and the consumption of the products of all four zones.

#### THE EARLY HORIZON IN THE CALLEJÓN DE HUAYLAS

During the time when the Isabelita Rock engraving may have been created, important ceremonial centers functioned in the Callejón de Huaylas. One of them is the temple of Huari-coto (Figure 12), a large mound where the oldest ceremonial architecture dates to the Preceramic Period. It served as the setting for ritual practices related to the Kotosh Religious Tradition (Burger 1992:42, 45, 49-50). Rites were performed in small public buildings, circular in plan. Ceremonies included the incineration of offerings in central stone-lined fire pits. Another ritual construction, associated in the Callejón with the Capilla Style, was a circular plaza. This suggests that the sunken plaza of Chavín de Huántar was not necessarily the sole model for Early Horizon religious structures in the Callejón (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1985:131-132, among others). Other contempo-

raneous public monumental centers also existed in the Callejón and are said to belong to the Chavín Style (Tello 1960:36). They are defined by their magnitude, but have not been sufficiently studied. One such is Pumacayan (3100 masl), a large mound on the southern side of the Santa River, and within the modern city of Huaraz (Figure 12). Incised Black-and-Red Style ceramics, carved slabs, and tenoned heads have been found there, but without contextual data. The Pumacayan building was remodeled repeatedly, specifically in Huarás and Recuay times (Table 1). Long galleries, passageways, and funerary chambers like those at Chavín are hidden under Recuay structures (Tello 1943: 155).

Another important center in the Callejón de Huaylas that has public architecture is the Tumshucaico site (2295 masl) on the northern side of the city of Caraz (Figure 12). It shares both its plan and style of masonry with monuments in the Nepeña Valley (see Proulx 1985: plates 15a, 16a, b). However, Bueno (2003:75) has recently studied the site, concluding that there are architectural connections with La Galgada. Bueno dates Tumschucaico to the late Preceramic Period. Both Pumacayan and Tumshucaico were densely occupied by post-Chavín cultures, including the Inca. It will take additional study to determine whether those sites had a central and articulated role in the diffusion of the Chavín religious cult, or whether they functioned independently in so far as ceremonies are concerned, with religion serving to congregate people.

Within the Callejón de Huaylas there must exist many other sites which were occupied during the Early Horizon or prior to it. One problem in identifying them is that much of their architecture was buried and/or re-utilized during later occupations. Chupacoto (Figure 12), another small Early Horizon mound, was mentioned by Thompson (1962). He docu-

mented two carved stones in a clear Sechín Style dated to the Initial Period by comparisons. However, there is no direct evidence linking the site and these carved stones found in isolation and without context. The existence of any pre-Chavín occupation will be clarified with future findings of Initial Period sites in the Cordillera Negra. I predict that these will contain cultural elements from the coastal valleys.

North of the Santa River in Corongo province, a team headed by Terada (Terada 1975, 1980; Morris 1981:961) excavated the La Pampa site (Figure 12), a platform mound complex with retention walls and non-domestic rooms from the Initial Period Yesopampa Phase (Table 1). Yesopampa Style ceramics have some affinities with the Initial Period Pandanche Style ceramic assemblages from the Cajamarca region, while the artifacts of the successive occupation, the La Pampa Period (Table 1), have greater affinities with Chavín Style. A stone lintel with Chavín feline-serpent attributes probably belongs to this period (670-540 B.C.).

It seems that at the same time, different religious practices existed in the highlands, with some autonomy expressed in the ceremonies performed. Likewise, the economic organization of highland communities reflected territorial differences. Nevertheless, the essence and requirements of ritual forged inter-regional connections through the procurement of goods and raw materials both from the coast and from the eastern tropical forest.

In the Marcará River Valley Gary Vescelius recorded about 125 sites (Burger and Lynch 1987:1; Lynch 1970:12). Among them, the Ucush Punta site yielded Chavinoid artifact types such as incised and rocker stamped sherds (*ibid.*). In the same area Gero (1992) excavated the site of Queyash Alto, a ridge-top site at the confluence of the Marcará and Santa Rivers. Although it belongs to the Early Intermediate

Period, its earliest levels are related to the Huarás White-on-Red Style ceramics (200 B.C.-A.D. 250; Gero 1991:132). The site plan of Queyash Alto features two small stone mounds, each longer than it is wide, at the extremities of the ridge. A linear arrangement of rectilinear rooms and courtyards fills the entire ridge. Terraces follow the contours of the long east and west sides of the ridge (Gero 1991:130, 2001:19-20, figure 2, left). The layout of this site is similar to those of Chonta Ranra Punta and Maquellouan Punta, both sites in the Mareniyoc area that are described below (Figure 13). Those sites have produced Early Horizon and Huarás White-on-Red Style ceramics. Marcum, near the city of Huaraz (Figure 13), is another site with the same sort of plan. It also has yielded middle and late Early Horizon sherds.

#### MARENIYOC AREA

The modern village of Mareniyoc stands on an artificial mound consisting of deep cultural deposits. The site measures 1200 by 800 meters. The mound is a series of stepped platforms and large habitation areas where people carried out ceremonial and domestic activities, as indicated by the thick black midden deposits shown in profiles (Figure 11). Judging from artifacts disturbed by modern house construction and remodeling, Mareniyoc's first occupation probably occurred during the Early Horizon. A common Recuay settlement pattern in the Callejón de Huaylas and in the Nepeña Valley (Ponte 2000:223; Proulx 1985:285) is the reoccupation of Early Horizon villages by modifying their scattered structures surrounding a high central mound. The mound was the architectural focal point where celebrations took place. The mound is always formed by fill containing artifacts such as sherds, animal bones, lithic instruments, and garbage mixed with earth. This fill, contained by stone blocks, constitutes the mound. The fill could have accumulated during the first occupation of the site during the Early Horizon. Over

time, Mareniyoc grew as a local elite population center, but it was also the focus of cyclical ceremonial activities, as was the religious center of Huaricoto (Burger 1993:54). The Mareniyoc area, including the Amá site, has been occupied many times, from the Early Horizon to the Late Horizon. During the Early Intermediate Period (c. 100 to 600 A.D.), Mareniyoc was probably a center for the Recuay population. Recuay funerary structures surround the center in a dispersed pattern.

The Amá II site is at an altitude of between 3500 and 3550 masl (Figures 15, 16). A central trail crosses a large ridge with houses and agricultural lands on both sides. The site has a very irregular and abrupt topography that includes boulders used today, as in the past, as rock shelters. The boulders are natural formations that create shadows and dark spaces. The steep slopes of the hill are leveled and contained by retention walls forming terraces. These are said by today's Mareniyoc farmers to have been built by earlier farmers. The modern terraces are filled with agricultural earth and are divided into segments of land called *parcelas*. Eucalyptus is grown for its wood. Prehispanic deposits and funerary structures were found in the lees of the big boulders, under approximately 1m of modern fill (Figures 4-7, 9, 10). The prehispanic terraces were constructed in relation to the big boulders, following the contours of the slope (Figures 6, 8-10). They were poorly preserved, with walls standing only to a height of about 0.7m.

#### EXCAVATIONS AT THE AMÁ II SITE (COTOJIRCA PHASE I)

For purposes of excavation, the site was divided into sectors according to local agricultural plots and terrace divisions (Figure 6). This was useful for determining the spatial distribution of features and for assessing differences between ceremonial and funerary spaces as constructed and used during the Cotojirca I

Phase (755-170 B.C.) of the Early Horizon and the Cotojirca II-III Phases of the Early Intermediate Period (Table 1).

Archaeological excavations were completed on three levels of modern terraces consisting of *pirca* (unmortared stone walls), irrigation channels, and planting surfaces (Figures 2, 4, 6-10). Today these are also used as household dumps. The area studied was limited to the north side of the Jangas-Pierina road. Five separate Cotojirca I Phase contexts were identified: (1) the Isabelita Rock (Figures 1-3, 8); (2) the ceremonial structure surrounding the Great Stone (Figures 4-7, 9); (3) the Amá II Tomb E (Figures 4-7, 9); (4) the Amá II Tomb R or offerings (Figure 6); and (5) an area of domestic refuse containing Early Horizon artifacts (Context 49IV30; Figure 6).

#### *Isabelita Rock*

The Isabelita Rock depicts a human figure and animals engraved with a hard and sharp instrument on the flat surface of the boulder (Figures 1-3). The rock is andesite, according to an identification made by geologists of the Pierina Mine (personal communication, Enrique Garay, June 1998). It measures 3.0 by 2.5 meters and the entire rock weighs approximately 8 tonnes. This was estimated by the relation of density and weight (according to the geologists). It was probably in its original position when found, laid horizontally with the flat face bearing the petroglyph forming a table-like plane (Figure 2). The rock was threatened by construction of a road to the Pierina Mine. Therefore, this huge petroglyph was relocated to the lithic park of the Regional Archaeological Museum of Huaraz. Now it stands vertically, providing a greater visual impact to the public. The incised boulder was between adobe houses (Figures 2, 6, 8). The Great Stone (see below) is 20 m to the east (Figures 4-7, 9). The principal design on Isabelita is a dancing man carrying a

human trophy head in his left hand (Figures 1, 3). The full figure human is depicted in frontal position, while the animals, shown in profile, appear to the right of the principal image (from the viewer's perspective). The animals represented are a reptile, a deer or fox, a snake, and some sort of bird.

The engraved man has rectangular eyes, a triangular nose, and an open mouth (Figure 3a). The rectangular ears are similar to those in Sechín Style sculpture, although Tello (1960: figure 79) also found a stone slab with a frontal human face resembling the Isabelita man at Qaicho, a site near Chavín de Huántar. On the top of the Isabelita human figure's head there are four long and symmetrical appendages that seem to make up a kind of ornament. These could be interpreted as simplified snakes in agreement with John Rowe's comparison of hair to snakes (1970:78). In the Paracas pottery of Ica a specimen with "head appendages" also exists, but in that image there are only two long appendages. On the Isabelita Rock, the human figure's left arm is exaggeratedly long, and only three fingers are shown holding a trophy head by its hair. The hair is represented by four ovoid incisions, a convention that has been observed in the iconography of Cerro Sechín (e.g. Tello 1956: figures 83-84). The trophy head is circular with round eyes, and has a close relationship to the Chavín trophy heads seriated by Peter Roe (1974:17). The main figure's right arm is less visible because of the natural fractures of the boulder and the stepped flat surface of the rock surface into which the main figure's right side is carved. The Isabelita man's chest is rectangular in form and ends in a rectangular belt decorated with cross-hatching. There are parallels to this belt in the corpus of Sechín stone sculpture, but the belt decoration per se does not exist within Sechín's "Sacrificial procession" (Bischof 1994:176). The geometric figures on the belt have similarities to the incised resin-painted designs on bowls and cups from Phase 9 of the

Paracas pottery of Ica (Menzel *et al.* 1964: figure 53e, f, g, I, k). Roe (1974:18) also showed a “cross-hatched decoration” as feature 147 from the EF Period of John Rowe’s Chavín seriation that is exactly the same design as that of the Isabelita man’s belt. There is a slight bending at the knees of the Isabelita man. The feet are shown facing in different directions, giving the impression of movement. I interpret this position as representing dancing.

The profile of a reptile or serpent head is above the true left shoulder of the human figure (Figure 3b). It has a round eye with an incised central dot. Two ovoid bands that extend from each corner of the eye may represent tears. There are many parallels to this kind of eye, in a variety of media including clay sculpture (Tello 1960:2 29), clay mural art (Pozorski and Pozorski 1986: figure 5), engraved bones (Bischof 1994: figures 18, 27a; Tello 1956: figures 19, 22) and stone slabs (Burger 1992: figure 184; Tello 1960: figures 62, 72, 74). It is found on monuments in the Casma Valley and in the Chavín de Huántar region. These two areas seem to have shared a common tradition. Other examples of eyes with similar bands have been reported on Cupisnique Style bottles carved in the form of serpents (Burger and Salazar-Burger 2000: figure 39) and on modeled ceramic vessels with Cupisnique associations (Donnan 1992: figure 26). Bischof calls this a “bi-corned eye” (1994:225). Roe called the same iconographic motif a “double wing eye” (1974: 18), and Tello (1956:49) related it to the wrinkles of felines and caymans, an interpretation that seems salient to an understanding of the meaning of this motif. I will call the mouth of the cayman head “saw-toothed, with a slightly raised snout”. The reptile mouth is depicted as similar to a cat’s mouth in an association interpreted by Rowe as a sign of supernatural power (1970:81). This attribute is shared with the being engraved in a bone from the Pallka temple (Tello 1956: figure 22). There is a strong

similarity between the reptile head on the Isabelita Rock and the Pallka bone representation, although the former has been simplified. Another similarity is found in the clay frieze from Garagay, an Early Horizon temple within metropolitan Lima. Here a cross-hatched band encircles the head of a fanged supernatural being (Burger 1992: figures 43-44).

A second animal, almost completely depicted in profile, is in the upper right of the flat boulder (viewer’s perspective). This could represent a deer or a fox with angular legs, a long snout, and erect ear(s) (Figure 3c). Its mouth is open, showing serrated teeth less visible than those of the reptile. A similar animal, also with erect ears, is depicted on a carved slab adorning the New Temple of Chavín de Huántar and was interpreted as a viscacha (Burger 1992: figure 184).

A third animal on the Isabelita Rock is a bird with extended wings and a long beak (Figures 1, 3d). It most closely resembles some type of seashore bird. Punctuation indicates an eye and the tail feathers are rendered with a simple zigzag line. There are many examples of birds in the iconography of the Early Horizon but they are usually stylized versions of eagles and falcons. The simple design of the bird on the Isabelita Rock is more similar to bird representations on Paracas Phase 10 artifacts from Ica (*cf.* Menzel *et al.* 1964: figure 61c).

The fourth animal engraved on the Isabelita Rock is a simplified snake which appears in the bottom right corner (from the viewer’s perspective) beneath the bird. The snake is drawn in profile with a triangular head and curved body. The simplicity of snake representations was used by Peter Roe (1974) to support John Rowe’s seriation of the Chavín stone sculpture.

When seen in its full cultural context, the principal figure, a dancing man carrying a trophy



and accompanied by animals, constitutes an important key to understanding the religion and ritual related to mythical beings that spread during the last part of the Early Horizon.

#### *Ceremonial Structure around the Great Stone*

Around the Great Stone there was an almost circular masonry ceremonial structure (Figures 4-7, 9). A single course of masonry and a long, rather weak retaining wall connect this feature to the Isabelita Rock which is at roughly the same elevation. Objects were arranged in a cultural deposit at the Great Stone. In excavations of the platform, the topmost strata contained modern utilitarian ceramics manufactured in Taricá, a town of potters on the Santa Valley floor (Figure 14). These ceramics were found mixed with prehispanic artifacts. The frequency of the latter increased with depth. An artificial fill of stones and ceramic fragments that covered an earlier structure characterized the second stratum. This earlier feature was a double-faced wall, 0.65 m wide by 0.50 m high. It formed an ovoid enclosure around the large stone. This irregular stone seems to have been the center of ceremonial performance. It formed a rectangular shelter aligned to the north within which a bundle of human bones was found. This feature is called the Amá II Tomb E. The orientation of the Great Stone is towards the snowy peaks of the Cordillera Blanca and it defines an almost direct line to Huascarán which, with a summit at 6768 masl, is the highest peak in the Cordillera Blanca.

The ovoid structure around the Great Stone created an inner offering space where we found two groups of poorly preserved deer and camelid bones. On the southern side we uncovered a small bowl with an exterior red slip surface and flat base. Several blue beads were left inside of this as an offering (Figure 17). On the western side, two little structures shaped as altars were each created by four rock slabs, with the open

side facing NNW. Altars imply the idea of arranging objects in a ritual setting. One altar supported two crossed long bones of a young deer and seashells of *Mesodesma donacium*, while another smaller one contained a bundle of young camelid bones, not arranged in any particular order. Bones were placed into the structure, on top of the middle slab.

#### *Amá II Tomb E*

The chamber below the Great Stone was 0.85 m high and 2.15 m long. The funerary space was delimited by a wall of undressed field stones built against the Great Stone (Figures 4-7, 9). The space contained the incomplete remains of an adult. The skeleton was in an extended position with the head to the south and the feet to the north. The bones were badly preserved because of the acidity and humidity of the soil. Only a few fragments of the skull, a femur, and metatarsals were recovered. There were several items associated with the burial, including guinea pigs placed in a spondylus shell, 81 chrysocolla beads (Figure 17), and 136 spondylus beads. Near the feet of the skeleton the presence of ash indicates that ritual burning may have taken place. We found ceramic offerings here. These consist of fragments of two bottles, one jar, and three bowls. We also found two 17 cm long copper pins (*ticipis* in Ancash Quechua; for the metallurgical analysis of the pins see Ponte 1999a: chart 4).

One bottle was almost completely restored. It is dark gray with a round body and a long neck with an everted rim (Figure 18). The other was red, and only the long tubular neck (7cm) was recovered. The gray bottle was 17cm tall and is similar to a bottle found in a Tomb (G-Tm4) from the Kunturwasi site in Cajamarca assigned to the Copa Phase, 380-200 BC (Table 1; Onuki 1997: 112, figure 53), although the latter has a flat base and a thickened external rim. There is some resemblance between the

bottles found in the Amá II Tomb E and bottles from the Huaricoto site (Figure 12), which dates to the Early Capilla Phase (Burger 1985: figure 22). These comparisons suggest an Early Horizon date for the tomb. Significantly, similarities to the late Initial Period are less marked. There is also a slight difference between the Cotojirca I Phase bottles with round bases and the flat-based bottles registered by Tello (1956: figure 10c) from the Pallka temple in the middle Casma Valley (Figure 12). Some relationship with the Cupisnique ceramic assemblages can be suggested because of the long tubular necks (Tellenbach 1986: plates 131,4; 132,2).

The bowls from the Amá II Tomb E are 16 cm in diameter and 6 cm tall with divergent sides (Figures 19-20). Both internal and external surfaces have orange-to-light-brown burnished surfaces. One of them is decorated with dark-red horizontal bands. Red-on-Orange Style ceramics similar to the bowls found in the Amá II Tomb E have been found at the Pacopampa site in the Cajamarca Department (Figure 12). Daniel Morales has assigned these to the Capilla Expansiva Phase (1998:119; Table 1). This local Early Horizon ceramic phase is roughly coeval with the Copa and Early Capilla Phases. If the Tomb E construction can be dated by its associated ceramics, then, given its proximity to the Isabelita Rock, a similar date may be extended to the rock art itself (Ponte 2005:249).

#### *Amá II Tomb R*

Digging into a modern terrace we uncovered a large rock about 1.05 m below the surface. To call this a tomb may be over-interpreting the feature. I suggest that human bones, now poorly preserved, were left as part of ritual offerings. Although this feature was recorded as Amá II R, it could have been associated with Context 49IV30 (see below) because it was in the same stratum and the components were similar. In the lee of this large rock were fragments of a

human skull and two bowls (Figures 21, 22). The latter were useful in further clarifying the diffusion of ceramic styles. One, an open bowl, has 4 mm horizontal incisions in the exterior, repeated around the vessel (Figure 21). This semi-hemispheric bowl is 9 cm high. Incised lines were colored by orange pigment, as was its flat base, while the rest of the surface has a red polished treatment. An identical example found in the Pallka Temple in the Casma Valley (Figure 12) has been illustrated by Tello (1956: figure 11y).

The other bowl from the Amá II R context is short and globular, with white wavy band designs on the upper part of a red polished surface (Figure 22). This can be identified as an example of Huarás White-on-Red. This style was defined primarily by Bennett (1944:75) from materials at Willcawain and Chavín de Huántar. Recently Lau (2004:181, figure 2) has analyzed a new set of radiocarbon dates for the Huarás White-on-Red Style and suggests that this style was in use between 400 and 100 B.C. Lau assigns the Huarás Style to the early part of the Recuay tradition, while other archaeologists (Ponte 2000:223; Wilson 1988:295) define Huarás as a late Early Horizon and early Early Intermediate Period culture with socioeconomic relations of varying intensities, and probable interregional warfare. Whether the Huarás Style is a reflection of a social group that later produced the totally different ceramics in the Recuay Style, or was a distinct group that vanished at some point in time remains a subject for discussion. However, it is clear that the Huarás Style existed during the decline of Chavín de Huántar and the rise of Recuay. Looking at the Amá II R Context with the new radiocarbon data in mind, it appears not incongruent that two different styles form part of the same deposit. Both styles shared the same territory and probably overlapped in time. Both are found above Chavín components. Archaeologists (Burger 1985:125, 1992:165; Lumbreras

1993:314) have confirmed the Huarás Red-on-White Style's position immediately over Janabarriu Phase (390-200 B.C.; Table 1) strata, but in some cases it has been found to be contemporaneous with the Janabarriu Phase (Burger 1992: 228).

Domestic structures that yielded Huarás White-on-Red Style ceramics spread over the Circular Plaza building of the Old Temple of Chavín de Huántar. There are many differences between the Chavín architectural styles and those of the Huarás culture. The quality of Huarás structures is poor and their masonry is of a different type from that of the temple. The White-on-Red Style) has been identified in several regions of the Andes, always above Early Horizon levels. It existed during the probable rise of interregional warfare and interregional socioeconomic relations of varying intensities (Wilson 1988:295).

*Domestic Refuse Area with Artifacts:  
Context 49IV30*

A retention wall running east-west supported a platform near the Isabelita Rock into which a 3 m by 1 m excavation unit was dug. Within Strata 2, Context 49IV30 was isolated from the rest of the excavation unit (Figure 6). This context consists of a 30 cm deposit of loose silty clay soil with abundant mid-size gravel (5-8 cm). This is a cultural fill, as is indicated by the great quantity of diagnostic ceramic sherds found mixed with the soil. Bones from an adult and an infant were also found in the refuse area, along with neckless ollas, shallow bowls, and open bowls (Figures 23-27). The open bowls are hemispherical and have flattened rims. Surface treatment consists of burnished patterns and circular stamped impressions made by a tubular instrument (6-7 mm average; Figure 25). The impressed portions are in the upper part of the vessels, and the impressions are arranged in horizontal rows. Similar bowls were found in the

Nepeña Valley by Donald Proulx (1985:325, plate 1A), and correspond to the Early Chavinoid Phase. Tello encountered Chavín ceramics with incised decoration or stamped circles in the subsoil of buildings A, E, and test pit 1 in the Chavín de Huántar temple complex (1960: figure 151) and at the Pallka temple (1956: figures 161, 4, u). Carinated bowls with red slip burnishing were also identified (*ibid.*: figure 15b). Richard Burger (1998:424, figure 333) found the equivalent in the Janabarriu Phase of the Chavín de Huántar settlement. A small group of bowls with wide red bands decorating the rim and the upper part of the vessel are among the recovered materials from this context at Amá II (Figures 23d, 24).

There are numerous brown ollas and gray globe-shaped neckless ollas with incurving rims found in the refuse area. One fragment has red pigment along the rim, while the body of this sherd is a natural orange clay color and has a fine incised diagonal punctated decoration that may have been made with a cactus spine. This fragment was found beside the Isabelita Rock. Burger encountered a similar style of decoration in the Chakinani Phase (460-390 B.C.; Table 1) ceramics found in the presently occupied town of Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1998:407, figure 229). Tello illustrated a similar specimen which he assigned to the Chavín ceramic sequence (1960: figure 159b). These parallels corroborate the Early Horizon date of the Isabelita Rock.

Complementary to the aforementioned styles are short-necked ollas with everted rims, burnished red surfaces, and decorated olla and jar body fragments with parallel red lines on a yellowish brown polished surface. Finally, one eroded rim with small punctated decoration in a double row (Figure 25c) can be compared with the late Initial Period Urabarriu Phase of Chavín de Huántar that is associated with the Old Temple (Table 1; Burger 1998: figure 137).

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOCAL SUBSYSTEM (COTOJIRCA PHASE I)

As mentioned above, a prehispanic road connected Mareniyoc, a major Early Horizon local sociopolitical center, with other contemporaneous sites. These include valley bottom settlements as well as sites in the puna. Here I discuss two puna settlements, Chonta Ranra Punta and Maquellouan Punta. I then describe Urpay Coto, a site located at the valley bottom of the Callejón de Huaylas and Quitapampa C (Table 1, Figure 13), a Recuay funerary chamber in the upper part of the Cotojirca neighborhood of Mareniyoc.

### *Chonta Ranra Punta*

Within the steppe environment of the puna a fortified site, Chonta Ranra Punta (PAn 5-1; 4291 masl) stands at the top of the hill of the same name (Figure 28). A 2 m wide perimeter wall surrounds the site. Chonta is divided into three sectors: a natural rocky elevation on the north, an intermediate flat open area where storage rooms were built, and a rectangular low platform with residential rooms. Although excavations in the rectilinear-to-apsidal rooms did not uncover plant remains or artifacts, these rooms were probably used for the deposit of food products. The isolation of the area, the consecutive linear pattern of structures, the cold environment which naturally preserves food, and the necessity of foodstuffs for the people who remained in the site support this interpretation. The residential area measured 27 m by 31 m and was delineated by a low, square platform supporting a rectangular grid comprised of four rooms, each 2 m by 3 m in plan, plus a trapezoidal structure standing alone and an apsidal room attached to the platform wall. The rooms are constructed of dressed stone masonry. Test pits in one of the rooms revealed scattered ceramics associated with charcoal.

The diagnostic ceramics recovered are fine open bowls with red polished slip on both surfaces. They are related to the Early Horizon styles of the Nepeña (Proulx 1985:341, plate 9B), Casma, and Santa Valleys. In spite of the small number of artifacts found, I suggest that domestic activities took place in these rooms. A radiocarbon date obtained from the charcoal found in the excavated room produced a calibrated date range between 390-210 B.C. (Table 2). No artifacts associated with warfare were found. The lithic inventory is composed of only three projectile points recovered from excavations and two polished points collected from the surface. Point 109 (60 mm at maximum dimension) was found in the room and was associated with ceramics and charcoal. Point 108/119 (41 mm at maximum dimension) comes from one of the probable storage structures. Malpass (1983: figure 43) recorded similar points from Casma sites associated with ceramics.

Two D-shaped structures added to the northeast platform wall may have restricted access to the rooms. The position of this site had strategic advantages because from here it is possible to control the movement of people from the western coastal valleys to the Callejón de Huaylas. Also, the site is near the natural water divide of the Cordillera Negra, between the Santa Valley to the east and the highland puna elevations to the west.

### *Maquellouan Punta*

At the southern edge of the Quebrada Cuncashca, 200 m below Chonta Ranra, is another hilltop site, Maquellouan Punta (PAn 5-4). This had a different function, but shared aspects of site planning with Chonta Ranra Punta. Maquellouan Punta was built along the slope and top of a limestone rock formation at 4118 masl. Its location, with a good view of the Callejón de Huaylas, could have been a factor in choosing this place for settlement. Maquellouan was

connected to the Santa Valley floor by a prehistoric road (Figure 14). The occupants lived on terraces, and the summit was used for ceremonial activities. The site plan shows an artificial platform with complex architecture, a central plaza with a rectangular room, and a northern platform based on a natural mound that supports a residential sector (Figure 29). The plan of Maquellouan Punta shares some common features with that of Chonta Ranra Punta. However, while Chonta Ranra Punta is bigger, Maquellouan contains much denser archaeological deposits. Retention walls were used at this site because of its very steep cliff, especially on its northern and southern sides. The rectangular room built in the plaza measures approximately 13 m x 4 m and yielded information about ceremonial practices.

Sixty-seven percent of the tools made from faunal parts that were recovered in the Pierina area have been found at the Maquellouan Punta site. Thirty-two percent of the artifacts made from faunal parts found there were recovered from the rectangular structure. The most common tools are made of camelid bones or *taruka* (the northern Andean deer, *Hippocamelus antisensis*) antlers used as graters and for soft-pressure lithic flaking. Eleven projectile points, six of black chert, four of fine shale, and one of a porphyritic igneous rock (point 400-7) were also found with minimal indication of flaking (Grimaldo 1999:216). In general these projectile points share similarities with those from the Chonta Ranra site. The igneous point has unique features including ferro-magnesium crystals, a rectilinear distal base, and larger size (64 mm long and 23 mm wide) compared to the shale points. The shale and chert points have polished surfaces, beveled edges, and flat sections (points 400-6 and 426). Similar points were found in the debris of buildings A, E, and F at Chavín de Huántar and were associated with Recuay ceramics (Tello 1960: figure 142). Ground stone points seem to be found above

triangular black chert points in excavation contexts. Most of the ground stone points were collected on the surface, except point 466 which was associated with a biface. Point 400-2 can be compared with Lynch's Lampas Type 16 (Lynch 1980: figure 9.3, r). Cutting tools such as coarse denticulate implements, or scrapers (n=433), a uniface (lithic 400-5), and utilized flakes complete the lithic inventory.

A large number of Early Horizon ceramics were found here (Figures 30, 31), as well as deer and camelid bones. A silver pin was found in the second patio next to the northern platform. This item of personal adornment, as well as an incised deer bone and fine ceramics, tells us something about the social organization of the people who lived at the Maquellouan site. A three meter square excavation pit (Unit A) placed perpendicular to the thick wall that dissects Platform I yielded information about the constant remodeling and construction at Maquellouan. The foundation of Platform I was a series of large, cut stones with a loose dirt and refuse fill between them. Considerable labor was necessary to build such platforms because of the two meter deep fill and the structure's many remodelings.

At about 30 to 40 cm below the ground surface of the artificial platform I encountered a circular structure corresponding to the late Cotojirca V (A.D. 1200-1400) occupation of Maquellouan Punta. This was, perhaps, a domestic structure. Ceramic fragments dispersed throughout the site are associated with the Cotojirca Phase V. Below this was an Early Horizon structure. The lower structure clearly forms a circular room. Its masonry is elaborate with carefully chosen cut stones arranged over a limestone calcite soil associated with the core Early Horizon occupation of the site. The structure is related to the Janabarriu Style and to Huarás White-on-Red Style ceramics (Cotojirca I Phase). At the bottom of Unit A was a deposit

resting in the small natural hollows in the upper surface of the limestone bedrock.

### *Urpay Coto*

The Urpay Coto site (PAn 5-39, Figure 32) is on the upper part of a natural hill at 2938 masl. At this altitude the climate is warmer than it is at sites on the puna or *suni* ecozones.<sup>4</sup> The site includes two levels of retention walls that also could have had a defensive function. Rooms and other structures on the top of the hill can barely be seen because they are covered by bushes. However, in the central part of the site excavations uncovered a terrace wall that separated a complex of small structures associated with camelid bones and ceramics (Unit C, Figure 32). Camelid bones consisted of limb parts of one adult alpaca, one adult llama, and two young camelids (Rofes 1999:167). These finds suggest that camelid consumption occurred here. A radiocarbon sample was taken from a ceramic fragment (register number 3924) and yielded a very early date of 1410-1265 B.C. (Table 2). This measurement is problematical. It is possible that the calcitic soil in contact with the ceramic produced a contaminated date.

In the central part of the hill, I excavated a 2.20 by 2.90 m rectangular room with high masonry walls. It had a narrow door and a low bench inside. Its function was probably related to habitation, although no domestic features or artifacts were found inside. Most of the archaeological structures of Urpay Coto remain buried and covered with vegetation. Therefore, the map presented here must be regarded as preliminary. Nevertheless, the portion of retaining walls investigated reveals a fortified site where

camelid meat was consumed and where neckless ollas with spouts were used (Figure 33: 3913). The Cotojirca I Phase ceramics are similar to those found at Maquellouan, but compared to the subsequent Cotojirca IV/Ancosh occupation (A.D. 650-950) their presence is minimal at the site.

### *Quitapampa C*

Test excavations in the terrace 5 m east of Quitapampa C (Pan 5-50), a Recuay funerary chamber in the upper part of the Cotojirca neighborhood, revealed a feature consisting of a small, U-shaped stone structure with a different function from that of the Recuay mortuary structure. It is 1.46 m long and 0.79 m high and was built with rustic masonry of mid-size stones joined with mud mortar. The structure delineated a cist-like chamber filled with silty clay soil to a depth of 0.56 m. Within this soil were small pieces of charcoal and sherds of a neckless olla which show clear indications of having been exposed to fire. The floor of the cist is composed of burnt clay soil 0.06 m thick. A radiocarbon sample was taken from the charcoal deposited on the floor. It yielded a date of 480-230 B.C. (Table 2), which would place it within the Early Horizon. The structure resembled an earthen cooking oven or *pachamanca*. The utilitarian ollas share some features, including sandy paste, white inclusions, and orange color. Surfaces are greatly eroded. The ollas lack parallels with the Cotojirca Phase I Style. We could not continue excavations in this area because of hostile reactions from the landowner. This zone may contain an Early Horizon component.

## DISCUSSION, INTERPRETATION, AND CHRONOLOGY

### *Assessing the Cotojirca I Phase*

The stylistic elements that comprise the Cotojirca I Phase come principally from the

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<sup>4</sup> According to the classification of Peruvian geographer Javier Pulgar Vidal, who drew upon indigenous concepts, the *suni* zone is between 3200 and 4000 meters in elevation in the central Andes (Pulgar 1946:105) and is suitable for the cultivation of tubers and *Chenopodium* (ibid.:113-118).

Amá II Tomb E. The ceramics associated with the burial constitute examples related to the Early Capilla Style (600-400 B.C.). Bowls with Red-on-Orange decoration and divergent side-walls like that found in context 49N11 are common in the Huaricoto and Early Capilla Styles, but there is a slight difference in the decorative painted band. The same Red-on-Orange decoration appears on neckless ollas in the refuse area context 49IV30 and is comparable to the Capilla Expansive Phase of the Pacopampa site dated by Morales (1998:118) at around 400 B.C. From the same refuse context decorations of circular and dash-like punctations confirm the correlation of the Cotojirca Phase I with the Huaricoto Style.

Another piece of evidence key to accessing the early chronology of the Cotojirca I Phase comes from the pair of bottles found in the burial. The gray bottle from the Amá II E mortuary context resembles a bottle found in a tomb at the Kuntur Wasi site that corresponds to the Copa Phase (c. 500-250 B.C.). Proulx (1973: plate 1a-c) shows a group of long-necked, single-spout bottles whose origin is in the Nepeña Valley. Because long-necked bottles have not been found in the Callejón de Huaylas, one could argue for an exotic or imported provenance. Generally, long-necked bottles are found at north coast sites within the Cupisnique tradition. Furthermore, the extended position of the human body in the Amá II Tomb E conforms with coastal mortuary customs during the Late Cupisnique (c. 500-200 B.C.; Elera 1994: 248) and with those of the Puerto Moorin Phase (350 B.C. to A.D. 1) at the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period for the Virú Valley (Grieder 1978:51; Wilson 1988:149). A long-necked bottle with modeled and incised decoration depicting a reptile with the same attributes as the reptile from Isabelita Rock has been recovered from an unknown context at the Tembladera site (Pasztory 1998:98). The vessel has post-fired red resin paint and circular

stamped decoration. This amazing example is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and has been dated to between 400 and 200 B.C., within the range I have proposed for the Isabelita Rock.

An incised broad line bowl found beside the White-on-Red bowl in the Amá II R burial context suggests a longer chronology than has been assumed for the Huarás White-on-Red Style. Lumbreras (1993:417) obtained radiocarbon dates from the temple of Chavín de Huántar from Huarás domestic contexts and burials within a range from 780 to 150 B.C., but all of these dates are uncalibrated. Surprisingly, the Huarás White-on-Red Style is found in association with other styles from the Early Horizon such as the incised bowl from the Amá II R context. Similarities to the incised Amá II R bowl may be found in Proulx's (1985:198) "Nepeña Broad Lined Incised" type dated to the Early Horizon Chakinani Phase.

Circular stamped decoration on rounded bowls has also been found in the refuse deposit context 49IV30. This is a feature consistently associated with the Janabarru Phase, a late Early Horizon manifestation. Observing the variability of the styles from the 49IV30 context, a chronological gap seems to exist among the artifacts deposited with it, probably caused by disturbance. A more refined classification would distinguish more than one phase. The Isabelita Rock engraving and the whole Amá II site were located in a special place according to a sacred geography.

#### *Settlement Pattern*

The evidence presented for interaction of settlements during the Cotojirca I Phase is deduced from similarities in artifacts, site planning, and dependency on agriculture and pastoralism exploiting a number of vertical ecozones. The sociopolitical organization cen-

tralized in Mareniyoc permitted the multiplication of rites and ceremonies at other, subsidiary, sites on the puna above it as well as within the lower warm valley ecozone near the Santa River. Nevertheless, Mareniyoc is distinguished from the rest of the sites in the area by its management and production of symbols. The large funerary area is next to the religious site, Amá II. Furthermore, ethnographic data from the local farmers support the idea that during the Early Horizon Mareniyoc was already a central place controlling the Cuncashca puna where today townspeople conduct their animals to dry season grazing lands (Sergio Vergara, personal communication, 1998). Transhumance among various ecological zones at different altitudes within the Callejón de Huaylas has been occurring since preceramic times (Lynch 1971).

The settlement pattern with the distribution of open spaces as patios between artificial or natural platforms reflects a desire to congregate people in limited areas. The social activity developed at the Maquellouan site seems to have included ceremonies and rituals where feasts were important to group coherence. Information recovered from Queyash Alto has indicated the role of celebration sponsored by recognized social and political authorities (Gero 1992:18). Our data concur in that the community organized its collective life around celebration and drinking, thus affirming social relations and reciprocity.

Fortified constructions at high altitude sites such as Chonta Ranra Punta may be explained by the need to install an outpost or refuge that could control the puna and the Cuncashca Quebrada. Both sites coexisted with similar settlement plans. Furthermore, the communication with the primary center (Mareniyoc) in a complementary economy was a means of integrating a region where attacks may have come from people occupying the western slopes of the Cordillera Negra. Wilson's (1995) work in the

Casma Valley indicates warfare as a reason for the profusion of fortresses during the Patazca Period (350 to 1 B.C.). The increasing population and the need for more agricultural land forced chiefdoms to fight among themselves.

#### *The Amá II Ritual Area of Mareniyoc*

As I mentioned in the introduction, the simple architecture around the Great Stone and its human burial beneath may have ceremonial meaning related to the ritual of burial and reverence paid to the interred individual. Doyle's definition of the Cusco Quechua *machay* as a sacred space formed by natural or modified caves, with openings that were intentionally blocked to reduce the size of the entrances (1988:110) exactly matches the Amá II Tomb E.

Another factor that demonstrates the ceremonial aspect of the Great Stone is its orientation to the highest mountain peaks of the Cordillera Blanca. This is related to the well-known Andean practice of showing reverence to mountains through rites performed with sea products (Rostworowski 1986:87). A monolith, Piruro II (PAn 5-9; Figures 34-36), with similar ceremonial attributes was found on the upper ridge above the Amá II site, at the boundary between the puna and *suní* ecozones (3930 masl). This stone was modified to a cubical form. It was made of tuff (silica), is 1.22 meters high, and is enclosed by a nearly circular structure composed of irregularly shaped rocks (Figure 36). The faces of the cubic stone were carved with simple designs, possibly depicting a human face, but not in any particular style (Figure 35). Piruro II faces north, towards the Huascarán peak. Only two tubular kaolinite beads, each 5 cm long, and one spherical metal bead were found in the structure surrounding the stone. Neither ceramics nor bones were among the offerings. In summary, the structures around sacred rocks may have had the function of shrines, where the



members of the local communities celebrated ceremonies on special occasions, as they currently do throughout the year at small Catholic shrines in Andean communities.

*Isabelita: Assessing the Art Style*

Although the incision technique on flat surfaces of rock was used in the sculptures from Cerro Sechín (Burger 1989:552), the representations on the Isabelita Rock are quite different. The frontal position of the man with a trophy head, as represented on the Isabelita Rock never appeared at Sechín. The artist who made the Isabelita image could have inherited the Sechín technique, but his or her cultural expression differs from the Sechín Style. The reptile head on the Isabelita Rock is similar to the engraved bone from Pallka and may have been intended to represent the same being. Almost all the diagnostic ceramics of the Cotojirca I Phase found at the Amá II site have their counterparts within the Pallka temple ceramic assemblage, which may have been the center of diffusion at this time.

The principal element of the Isabelita Rock is the frontal man holding a trophy head. This image represents a ritual human sacrifice intended to ensure a good harvest or success in some other project (Benson 1997:11). This image's central position may indicate that it is a deity, as seen in Cupisnique petroglyphs (Guffroy 1999:136). The mammal represented in full body profile, if intended to represent a fox, evokes the metaphoric significance of such animals in the Andes in connection with agricultural cycles and productivity (Urton 1985:267). Today deer are considered to be the cows of the *apus* or sacred mountains. They belong to them and when humans kill them they always have to deposit offerings in exchange for them (*ibid.*: 258-259). Both foxes and deer are currently seen in the Cordillera Negra in the puna near outcrops.

A possible connection between the iconography of the Isabelita Rock and the manipulation of religious power in circular structures is the representation of the cat mouth in the images of the reptile and the feline. Rowe (1970:81) argued for a relationship between the jaguar mouth and the religious ritual associated with important mythological beings. Furthermore, in the Cupisnique region a powerful religious ideology appeared that featured human trophy heads, a feline/bird/reptile triad, fish, and spondylus imported from what is now Ecuador, among other elements (Von Hagen and Morris 1998:57). All of these concepts are expressed on the Isabelita Rock. Without doubt some kind of generalized ritual must have existed in the Andes when the late Chavín Style was current, and aspects of this ritual seem to have been both expressed by the Isabelita Rock and performed there.

When Menzel and her colleagues studied the ceramic sequence of Ica, based on artifacts from Ocucaje and Callango, they recognized innovations introduced in Phase 9 that were derived from Phase 8, the latter still under Chavín Phase EF influence (Menzel *et al.* 1964:259). The principal innovation, according to Menzel *et al.*, is a mythical personification of the Oculate Being, represented as the full figure of a man, with a trophy head, appendages on the top of this head, angular arms and legs, and incised lines marking off the fingers (*ibid.*: figures 44b, 52c, figure 40 from Willey 1974: plate 359). All of these attributes are exhibited by the human-like being depicted on the Isabelita Rock. Whether this figure is the same mythical entity as the Oculate Being, or is the representation of a man with a trophy head and hafted knife, remains unclear, but the figure appears elsewhere in the Andes (*ibid.*: 259). In this respect, Grieder (1978:183) suggested a Paracas influence on elements of the Recuay Style ceramics. Whether true or not, long distance interactions were occurring at the same time.

The appearance of the trophy head theme in two distant regions at the same time confirms the decline of the Chavín Horizon, the demise of its cult, and the emergence of sites such as Pallka and Kuntur Wasi (Burger 1989: 561) and the beginning of the White-on-Red Horizon Style.

Elements of the iconography expressed on the Isabelita Rock persisted in the art of societies such as Recuay and Wari. Examples of Recuay art showing full frontal humans are common in the media of petroglyphs, bone carvings, and ceramics (Ponte 2005). In the corpus of Callejón de Huaylas rock sculpture produced during Wari times, one frequently finds depictions of a central human being flanked by felines. This is a Recuay theme appropriated by the Wari imperial apparatus as part of their efforts to control ideology.

## CONCLUSIONS

This discussion of the Isabelita Rock engraving focused on its meaning in its archaeological context and elucidated its relationship to concepts of space-time during the Cotojirca I Phase. It also revealed its association with funerary rituals that may have established the foundation of the Amá II site through a cult of ancestor veneration expressed on a sacred rock. The Isabelita Rock engraving is contemporaneous with the EF Phase of Chavín de Huántar rock sculpture seriation (late Early Horizon) while the rounded structure and the burial is earlier, as shown by ceramics in the mid-Early Horizon Huaricoto and Capilla Styles present. Amá II, a component of the Mareniyoc site, was the focus of worship by a local community, or *ayllu* established on the eastern flanks of the Cordillera Negra. Religion and its rituals were extremely important to the sociopolitical organization of the community. Ceremonies had to be performed, and their symbols reproduced cyclically in a sacred landscape. Other sites located on the

puna and valley floor interacted with the Mareniyoc center in a pattern of vertical ecological control. The Cotojirca I Phase shows the development of a kin-based chiefdom in a circumscribed mountainous territory within the Callejón de Huaylas.

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Chronological Chart: Ceramic Styles of the Northern Highlands of Peru									
Time Scale	Cajamarca		Callejón de Huaylas				Nepeña Valley	Casma Valley	
	Pacopampa	Kunturwasi	La Pampa	Huaricoto	Pierina	Chavín de Huántar			
EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD	400								
	300								
	200								
	100								
EARLY HORIZON	AD								
	100								
	200	Sotera	Stamped circles						
	300		Red-on-Orange						
	400		Expansiva						
	500	Copa	Copa						
	600								
	700								
	800	Kunturwasi	Modeled, Incised						
	900		Pacopampa						
1000	Ídolo								

Table 1: Chronology and ceramic styles of the northern Highlands of Peru.

Lab No.	Site	Register No.	Sector	Unit	Material	$\delta^{13}C$	F	$^{14}C$ BP	$1\sigma$
AA32484	PAn 5-1	137	3	A	Charcoal	-24.1	0.7575±0.0053	2,230±55	390-210 BC
AA32480	PAn 5-4	443	Platform I	A	Charcoal	-26	0.9211±0.0044	660±40	AD 1280-1390
AA32492	PAn 5-39	3924	Area 2	C1	Ceramic	-23.7	0.6834±0.0041	3,060±50	1410-1265 BC
AA32488	PAn 5-50	5025	II		Charcoal	-24.6	0.7504±0.0053	2,305±55	480-230 BC

Table 2: Radiocarbon dates for Chonta Ranra Punta (PAn 5-1), Maquellouan Punta (PAn 5-4), Urpay Coto Site (PAn 5-39), and Quitapampa C (PAn 5-50), calibrated according to Stuiver and Becker 1986:863.



*Figure 1: Isabelita rock.*



*Figure 2: Isabelita rock seen from above (from Ponte 2005: figure 2).*

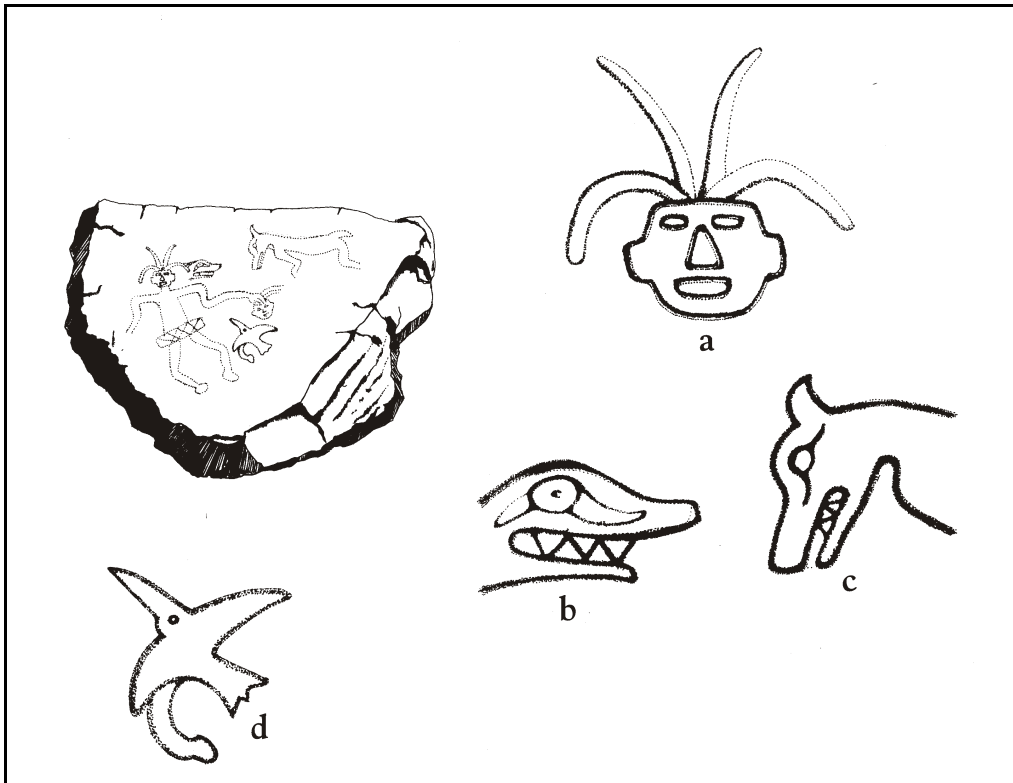


Figure 3: Isabelita Rock motifs.



Figure 4: Great Stone.



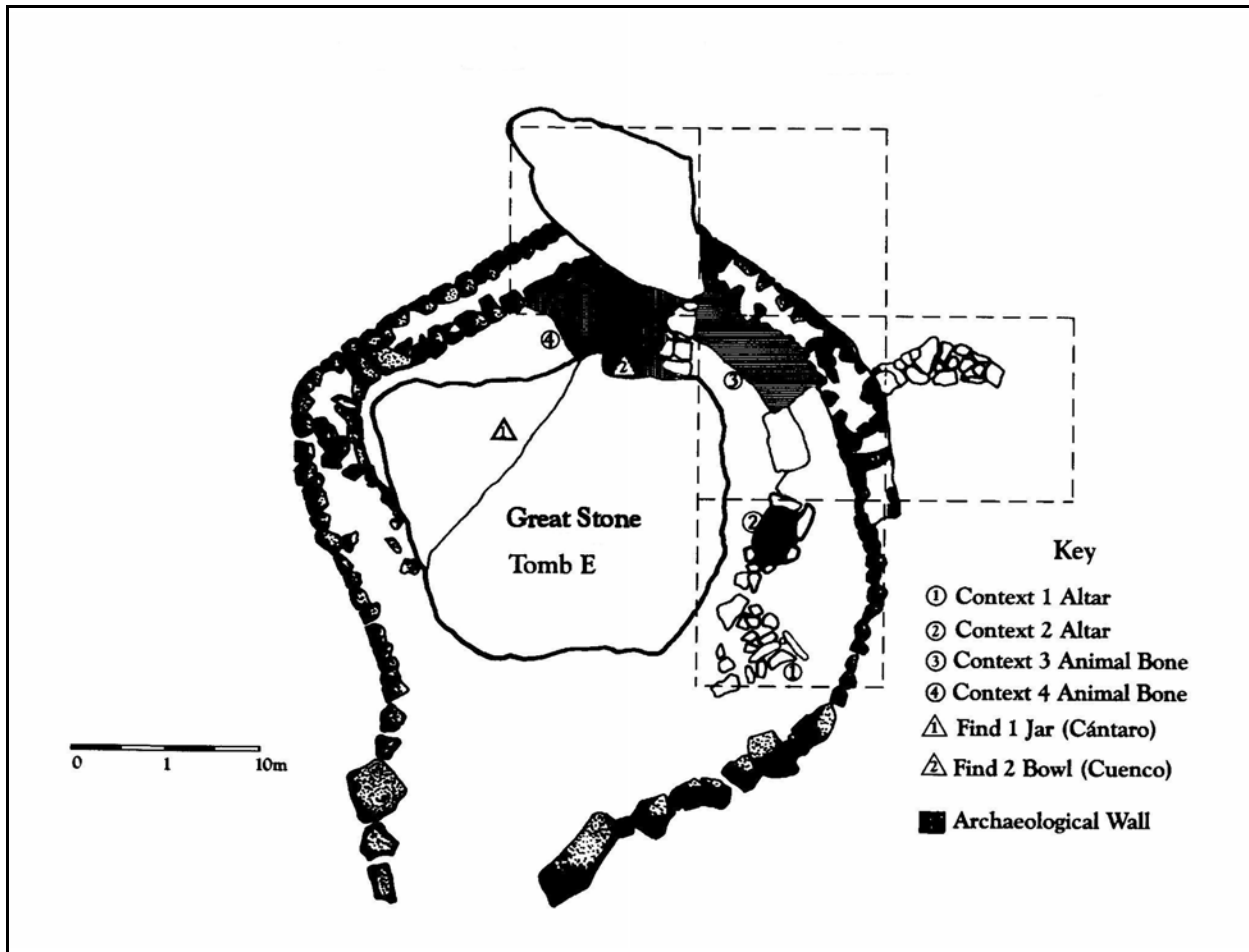


Figure 5: Plan of Great Stone and surrounding circular structure (after Ponte 2005: figure 4).

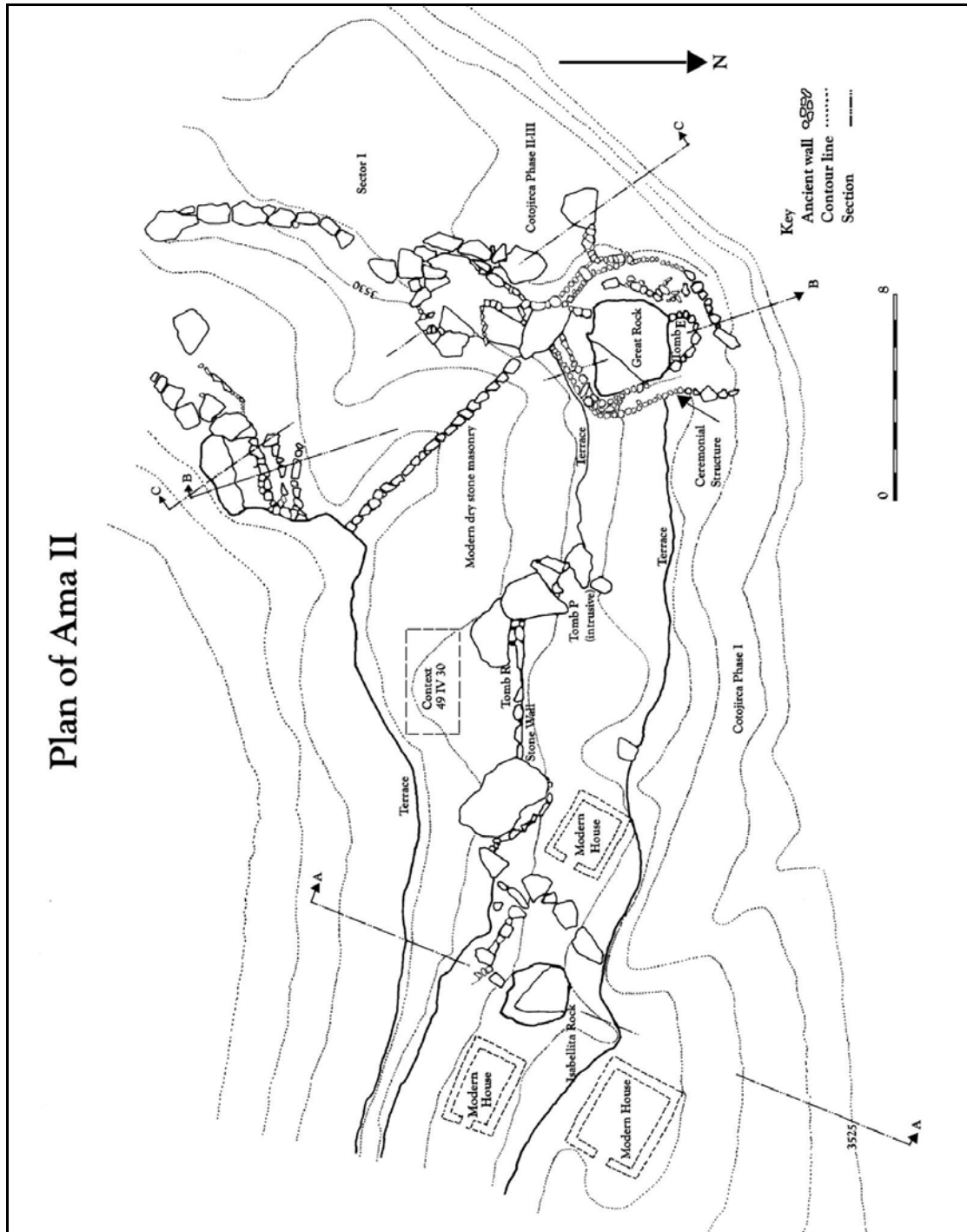
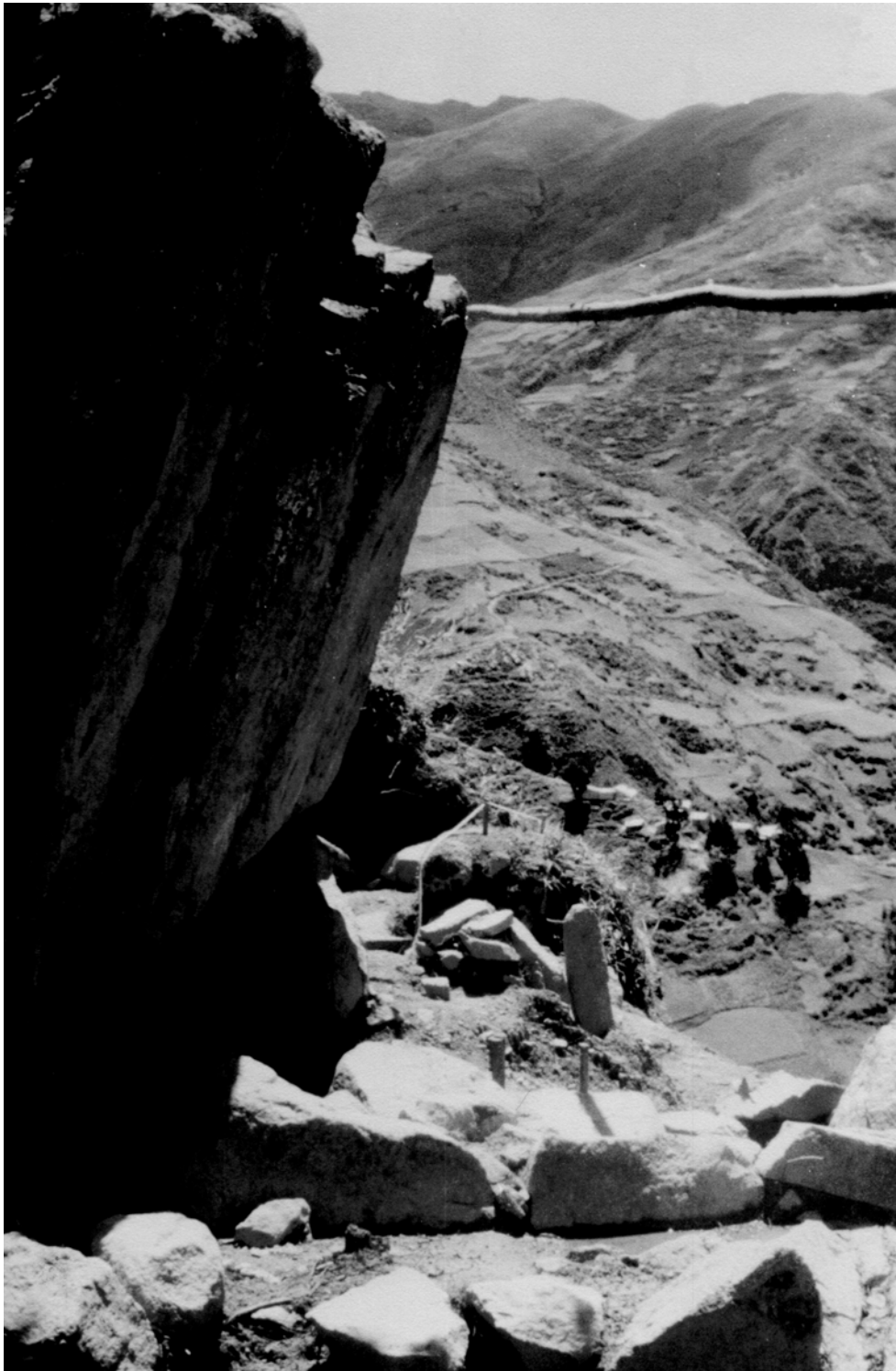


Figure 6: Plan of Amá II site (for “Great Rock” read “Great Stone”).



*Figure 7: Dark Space underneath Great Stone looking east, where offerings were found.*

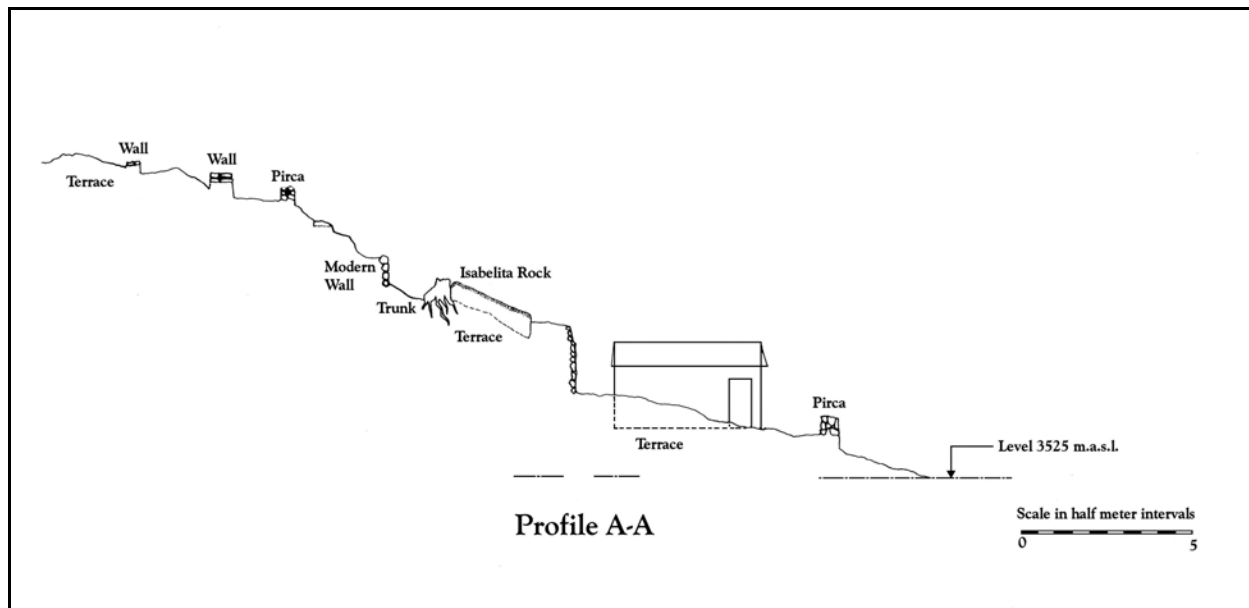


Figure 8: Profile A-A, Amá II site. See Figure 6.

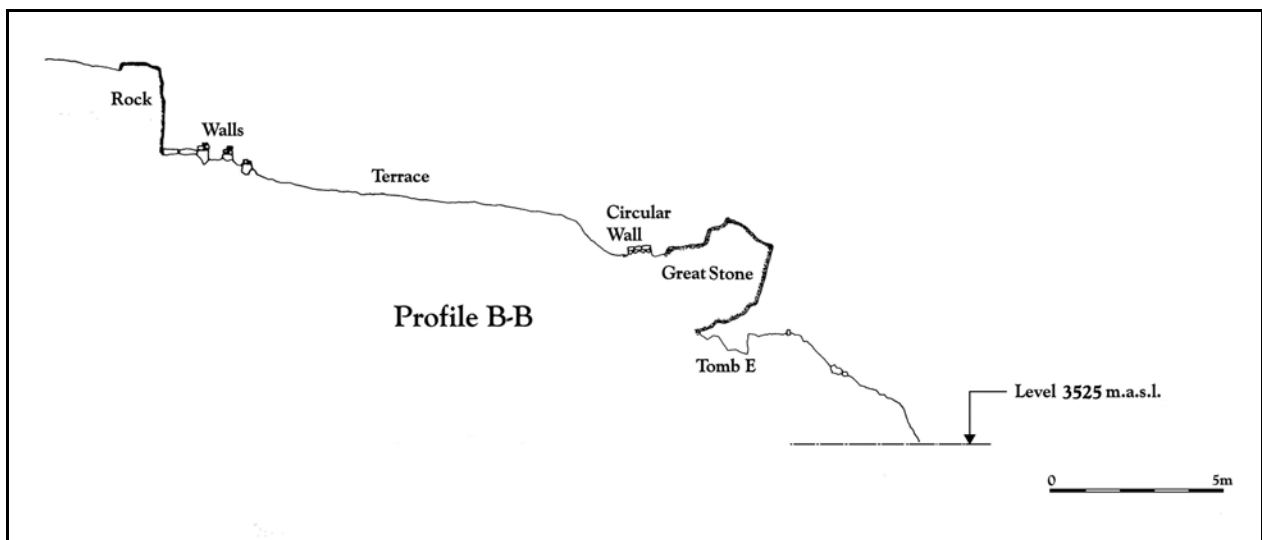


Figure 9: Profile B-B, Amá II site. See Figure 6.

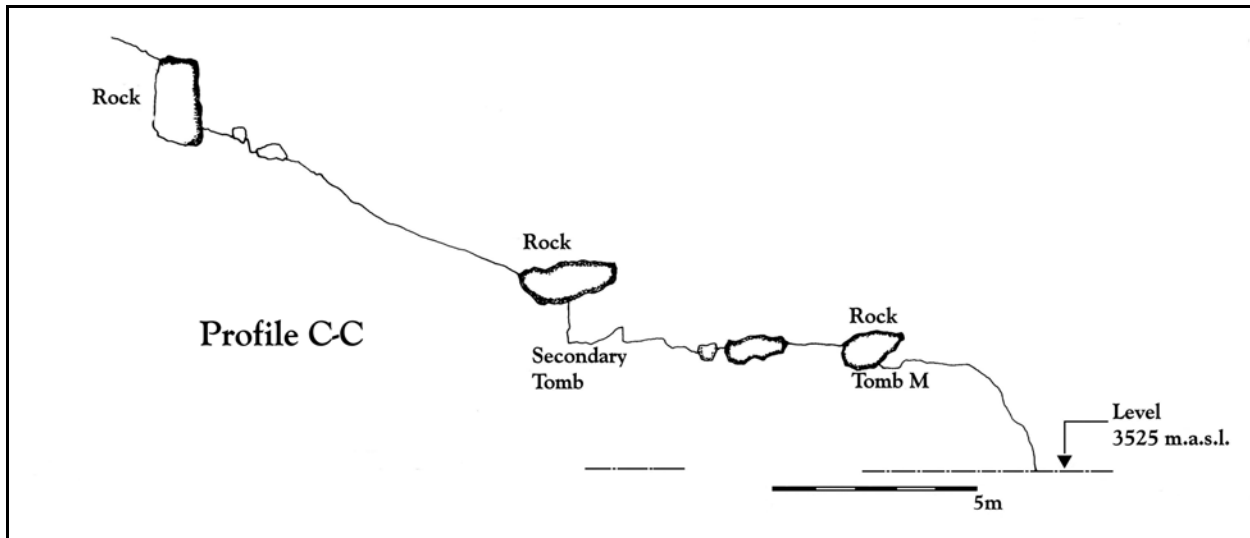


Figure 10, Profile C-C, Amá II site. See Figure 6.



Figure 11: Section of Mareniyoc mound made by local people during house construction.

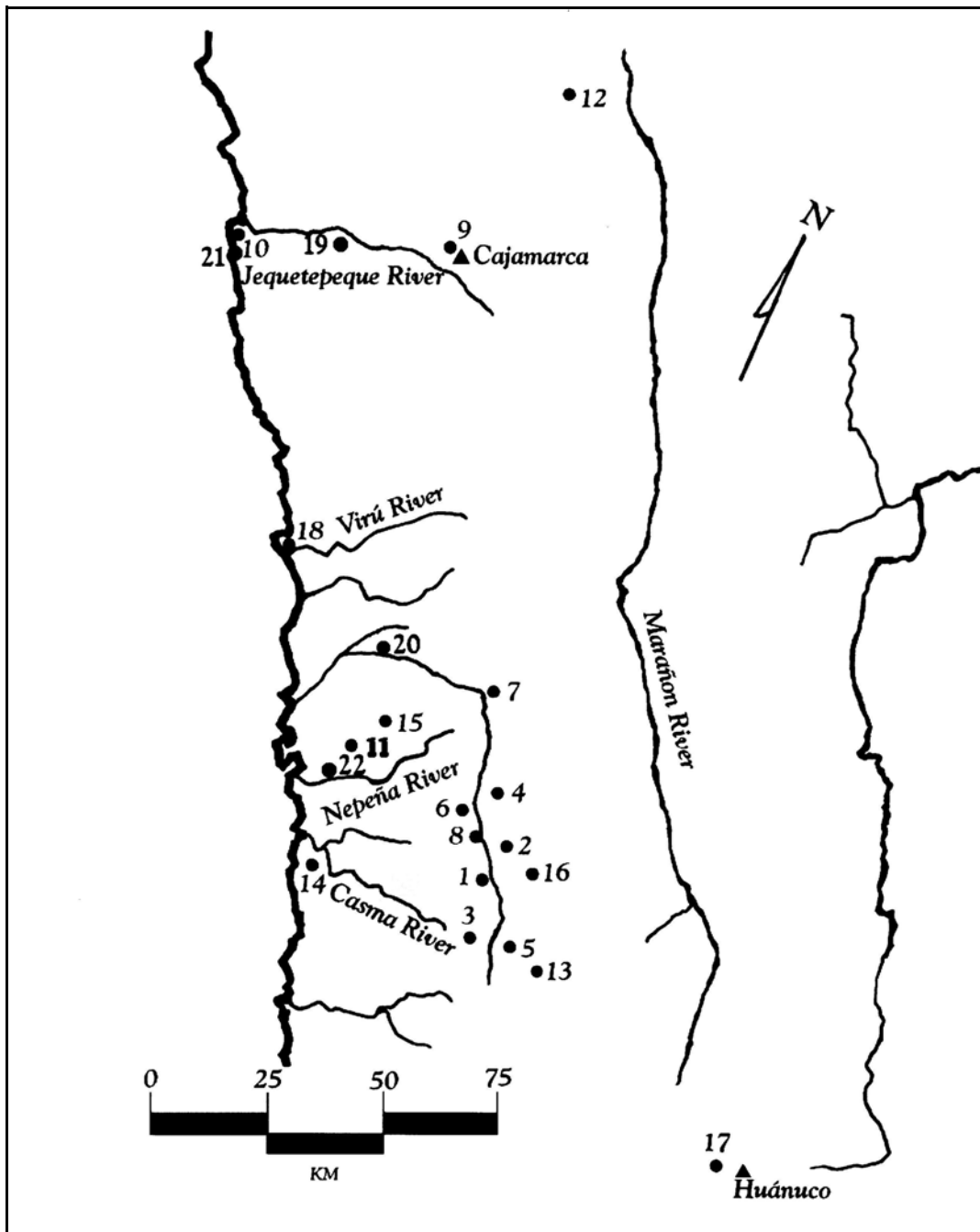


Figure 12: Map of Peru showing Formative sites mentioned in the text. 1. Mareniyoc; 2. Huaricoto; 3. Pallka; 4. Tumshucaico; 5. Pumacayan (Huaraz); 6. Chupacoto; 7. La Pampa; 8. Guitarrero Cave; 9. Kunturwasi; 10. Puemape; 11. Piruro; 12. Pacopampa; 13. Chavín de Huantar; 14. Cerro Sechín; 15. Punkurí; 16. Queyash Alto; 17. Kotosh; 18. Puerto Morin; 19. Tembladera; 20. La Galgada; 21. Cupisnique; 22. Cerro Blanco. Garagay, Paracas, Callango, and Ocucaje are off the map. Garagay is within metropolitan Lima. The Paracas sites are on the Paracas Peninsula on Peru's south coast. Callango and Ocucaje are in the Ica Valley, also on the south coast.

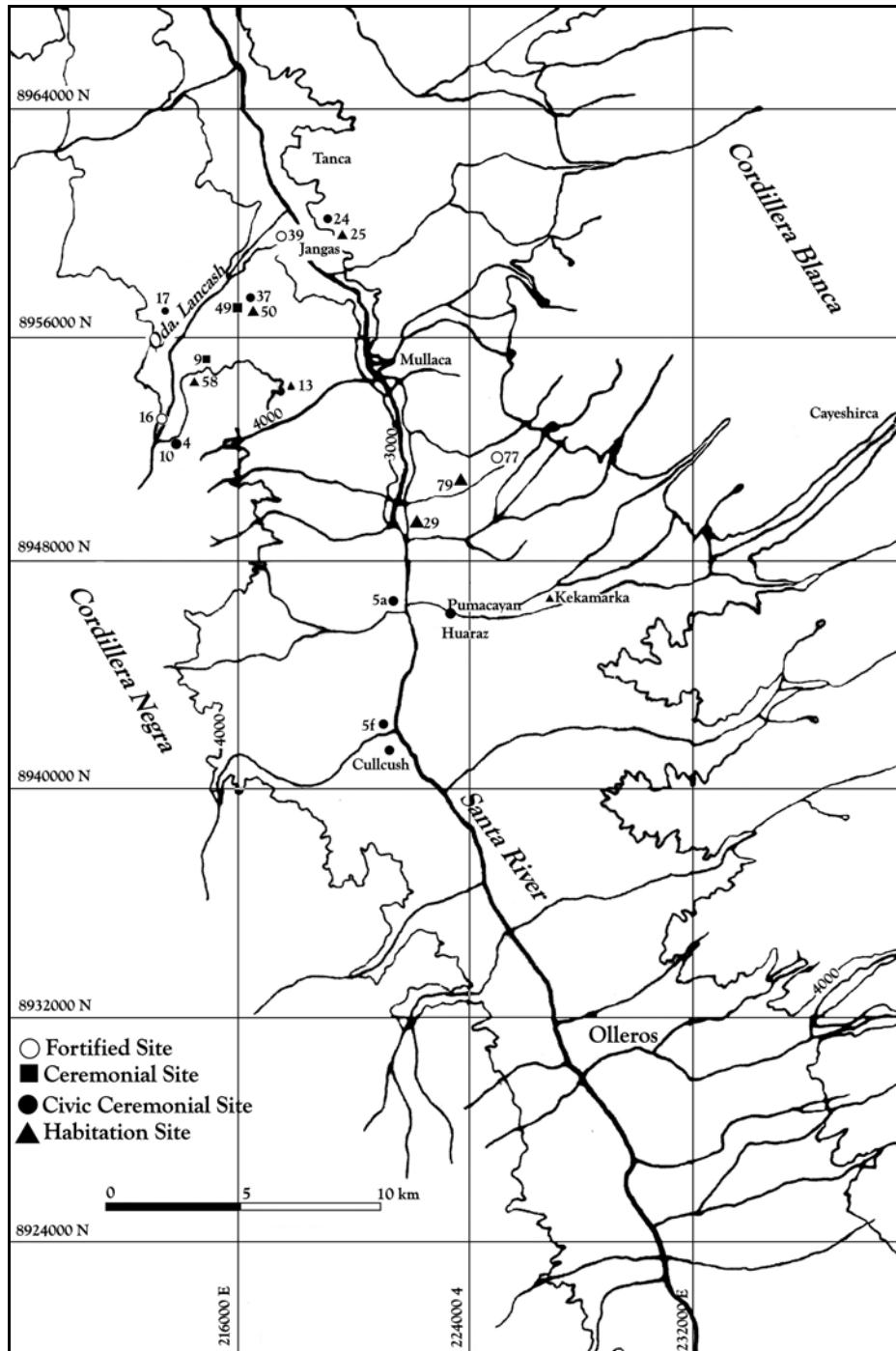


Figure 13: Map of the Callejón de Huaylas showing the distribution of Early Horizon sites.  
 Key: 1 = Chonta Ranra Punta, PAn 5-1; 4 = Maquellouan Punta, PAn 5-4; 5A = Balcón de Judas, PAn 5A; 5F = Marcum, PAn 5F; 9 = Piruro II, PAn 5-9; 13 = Tapa Punta, PAn 5-13; 16 = Wiñaq Punta, PAn 5-16; 17 = Quenapun Punta, PAn 5-17; 24 = Shucsha Punta, PAn 5-24; 25 = Racrish Punta, PAn 5-25; 29 = Oshku, PAn 5-29; 37 = Mareniyoc, PAn 5-37; 39 = Urpay Coto, PAn 5-39; 49 = Amá II, PAn 5-49; 50 = Quitapampa C, PAn 5-50; 58 = Llaca Amá, PAn 5-58; 77 = Ainá, PAn 5-77; 79 = Castilla Coto, PAn 5-79.

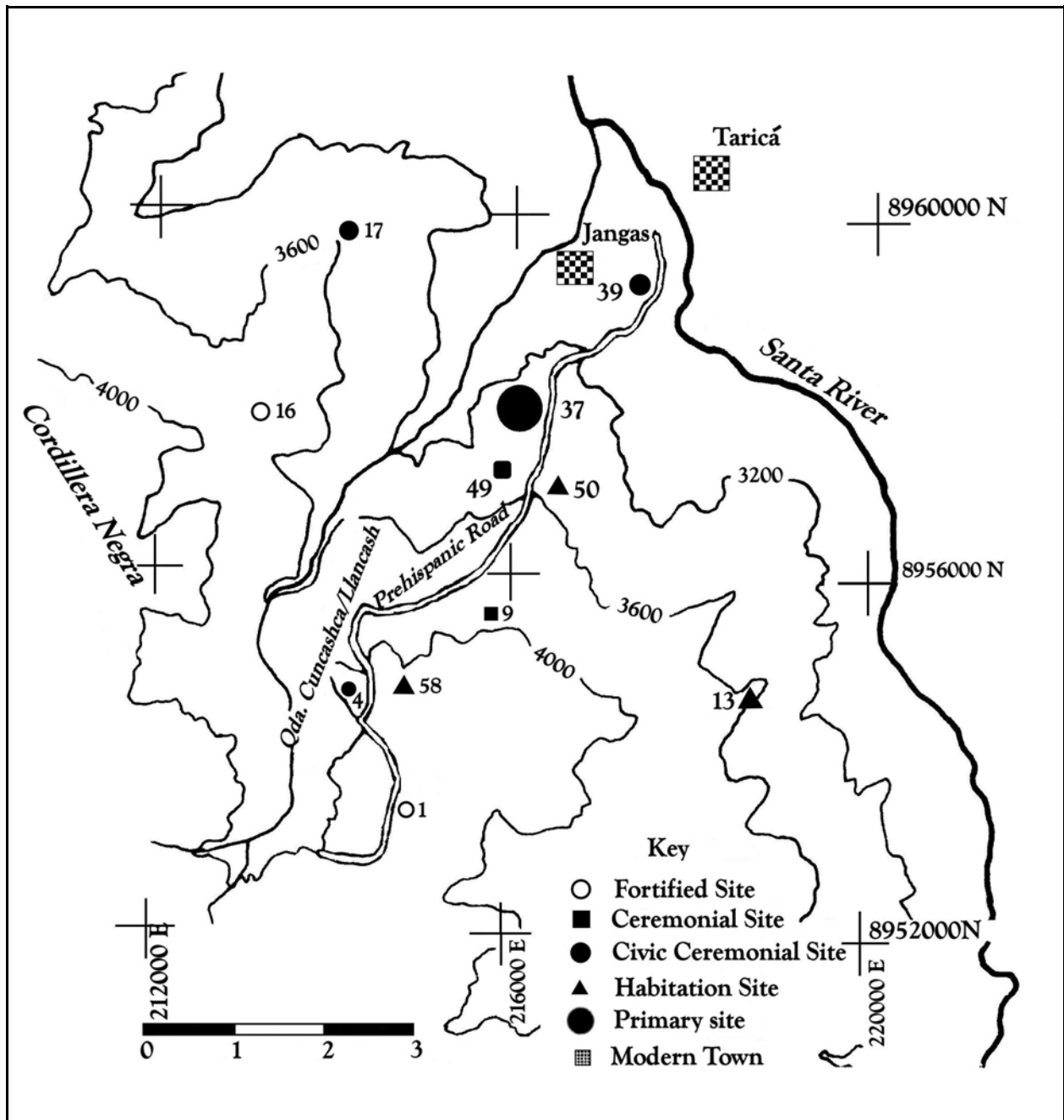


Figure 14: Map of sites in study area. Key: 1 = Chonta Ranra Punta PAn 5-1; 4 = Maquellouan Punta, PAn 5-4; 9 = Piruro II, PAn 5-9; 13 = Tapa Punta, PAn 5-13; 16 = Wiñaq Punta PAn 5-16; 17 = Quenapun Punta, PAn 50-1; 37 = Mareniyoc, PAn 5-37; 39 = Urpay Coto, PAn 5-39; 49 = Amá, PAn 5-77; 50 = Quitapampa C, PAn 5-50. Scale in kilometers.



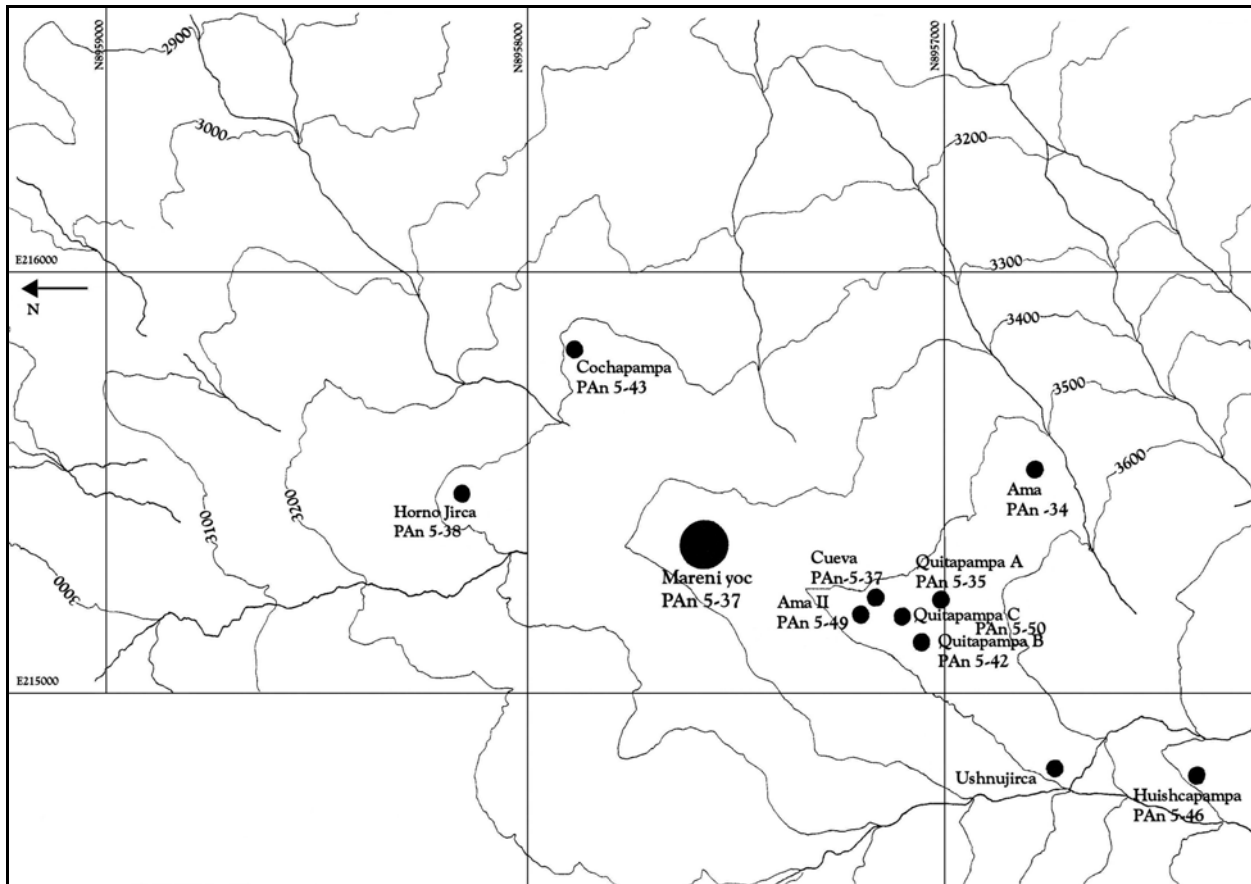


Figure 15: Distribution of funerary chambers in the Pierina area.



Figure 16: View of the setting of the Amá II site. The site stands on the ridge to the viewer's right and is covered by trees. The Santa River is in the middle ground.

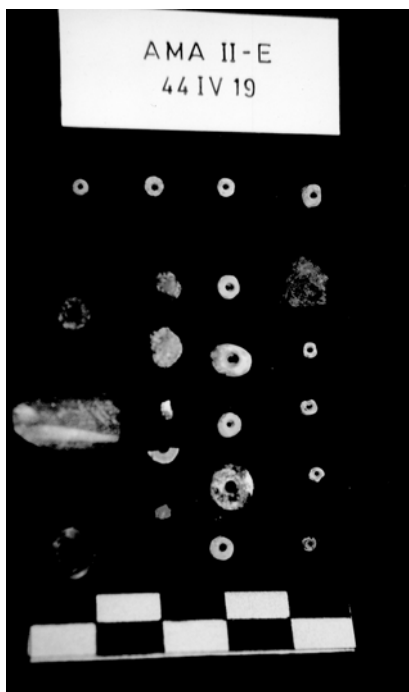


Figure 17: Some of the lapis lazuli and green chrysocolla beads found in the Amá II E Tomb (scale in one centimeter intervals).

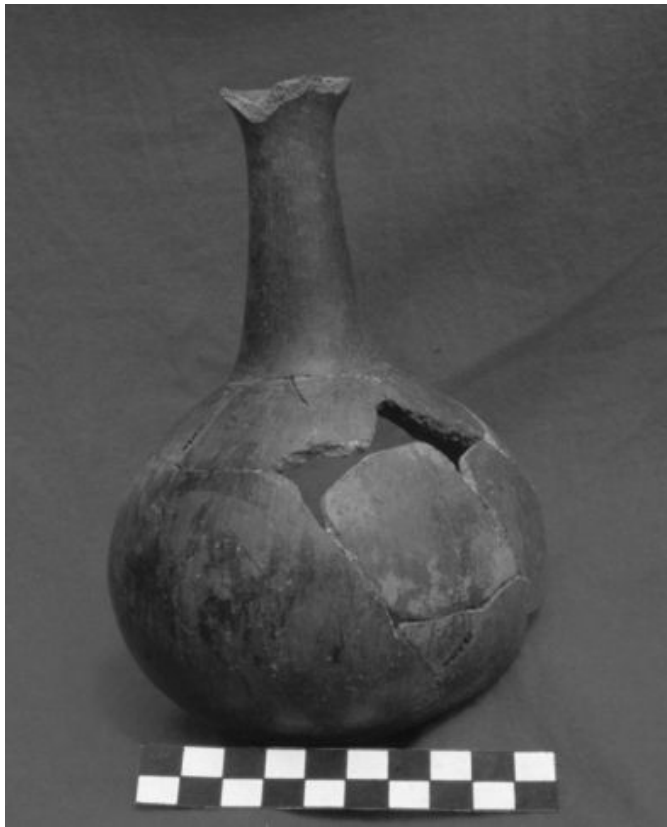
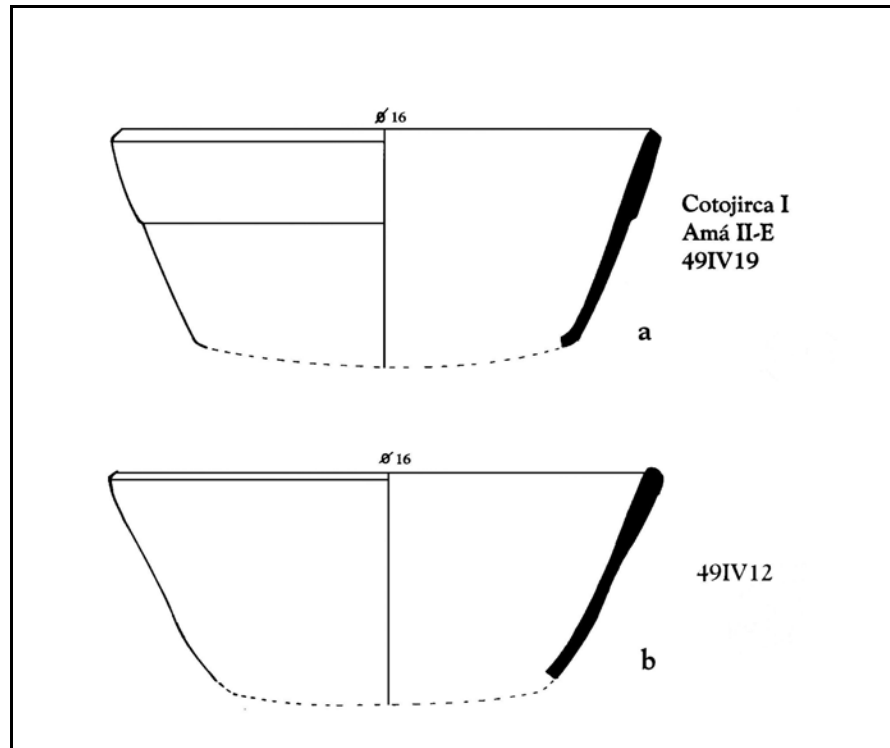


Figure 18: Reconstructed gray bottle from Tomb E, Amá II site, context 49IV2. Scale is in one centimeter intervals.

Figure 19: Cotojirca I bowls from Tomb E at the Amá II site.



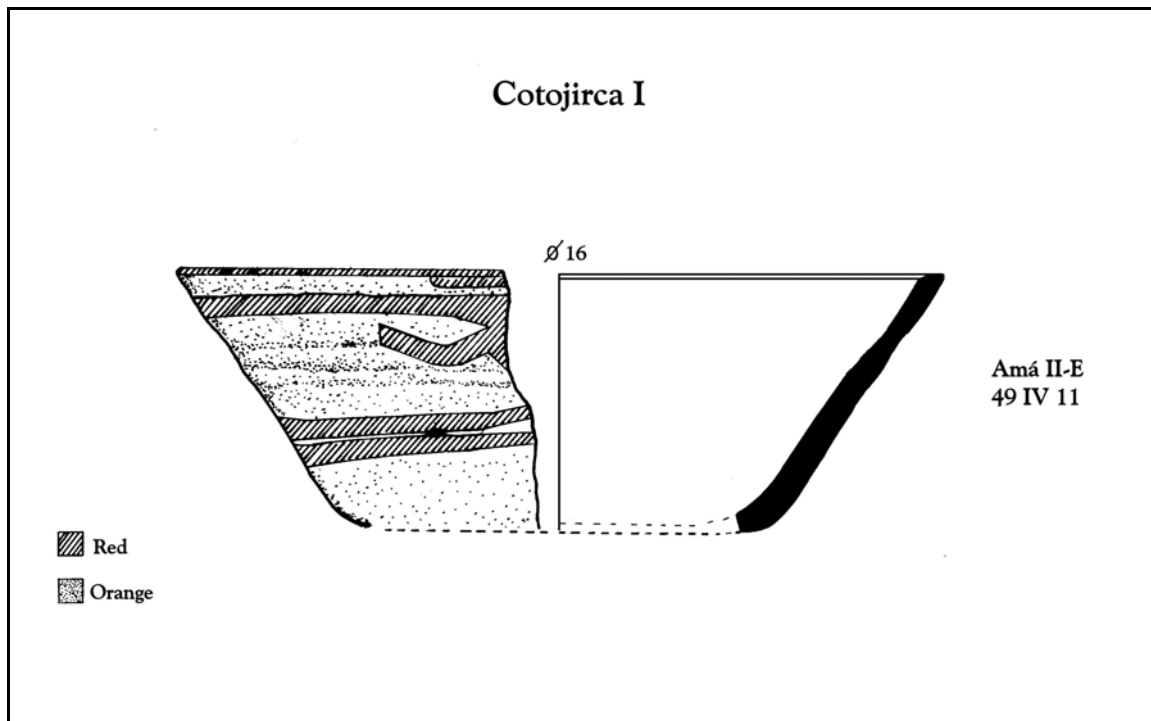


Figure 20: Cotojirca I decorated bowl from Tomb E at the Ama II site.

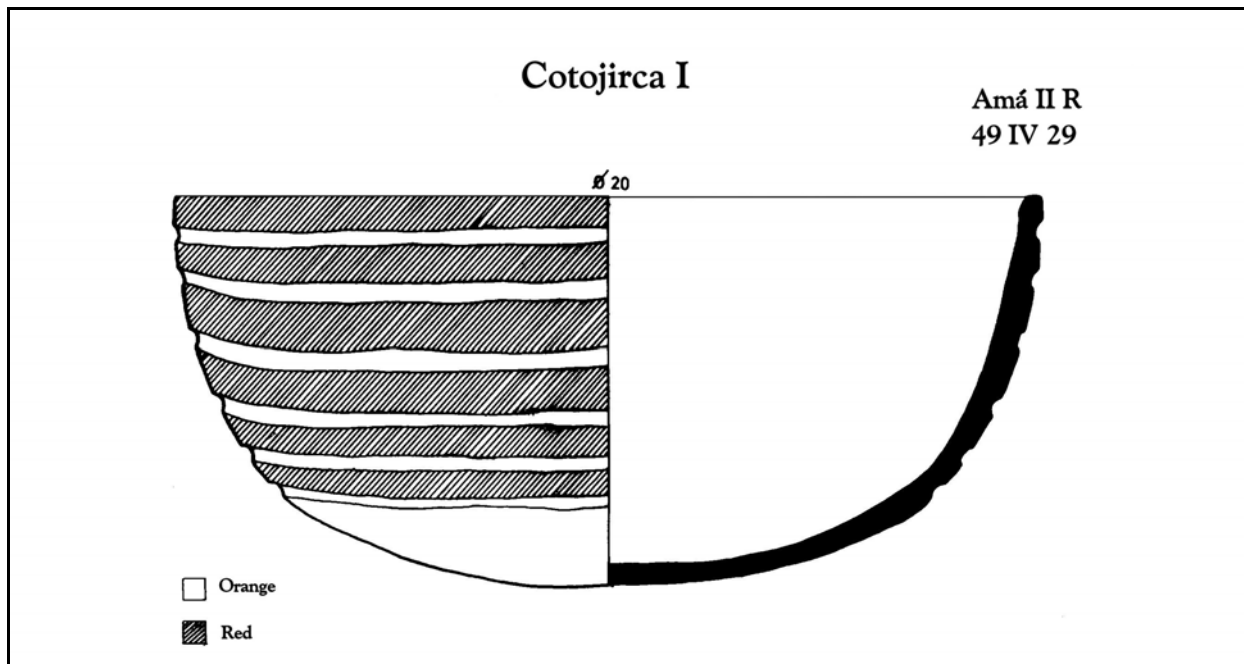


Figure 21: Cotojirca I decorated bowl from Tomb R at the Amá II site.

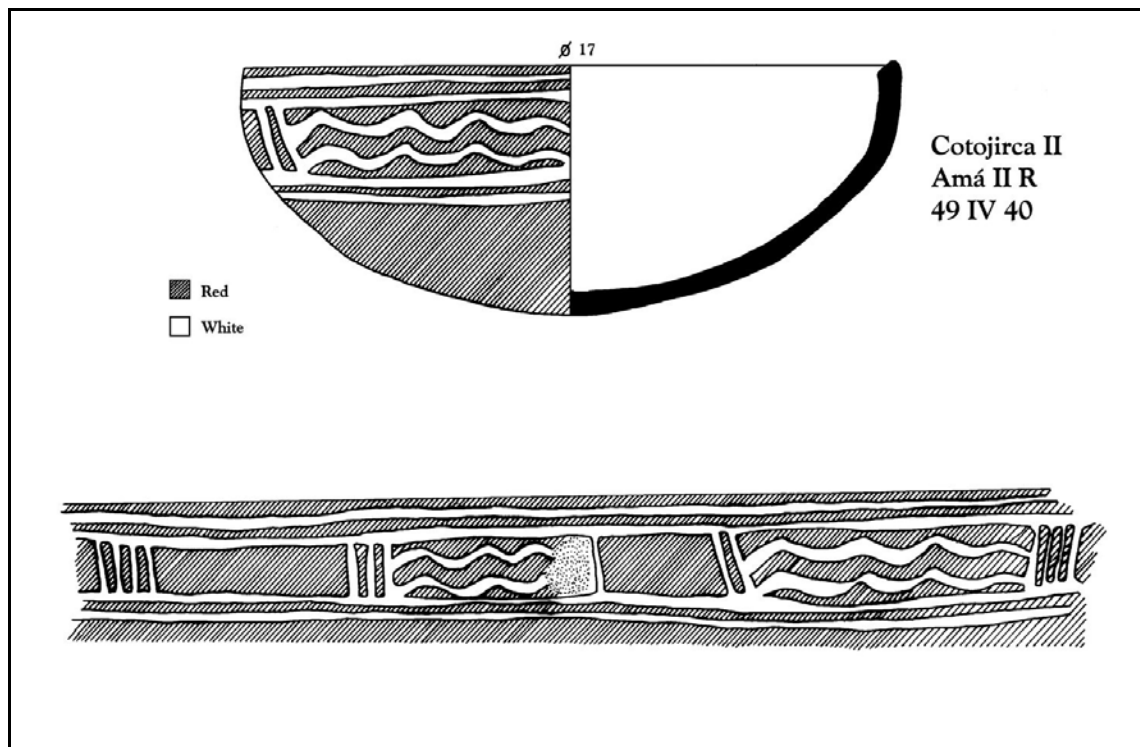


Figure 22: Cotojirca II decorated bowl from Tomb R at the Amá II site.

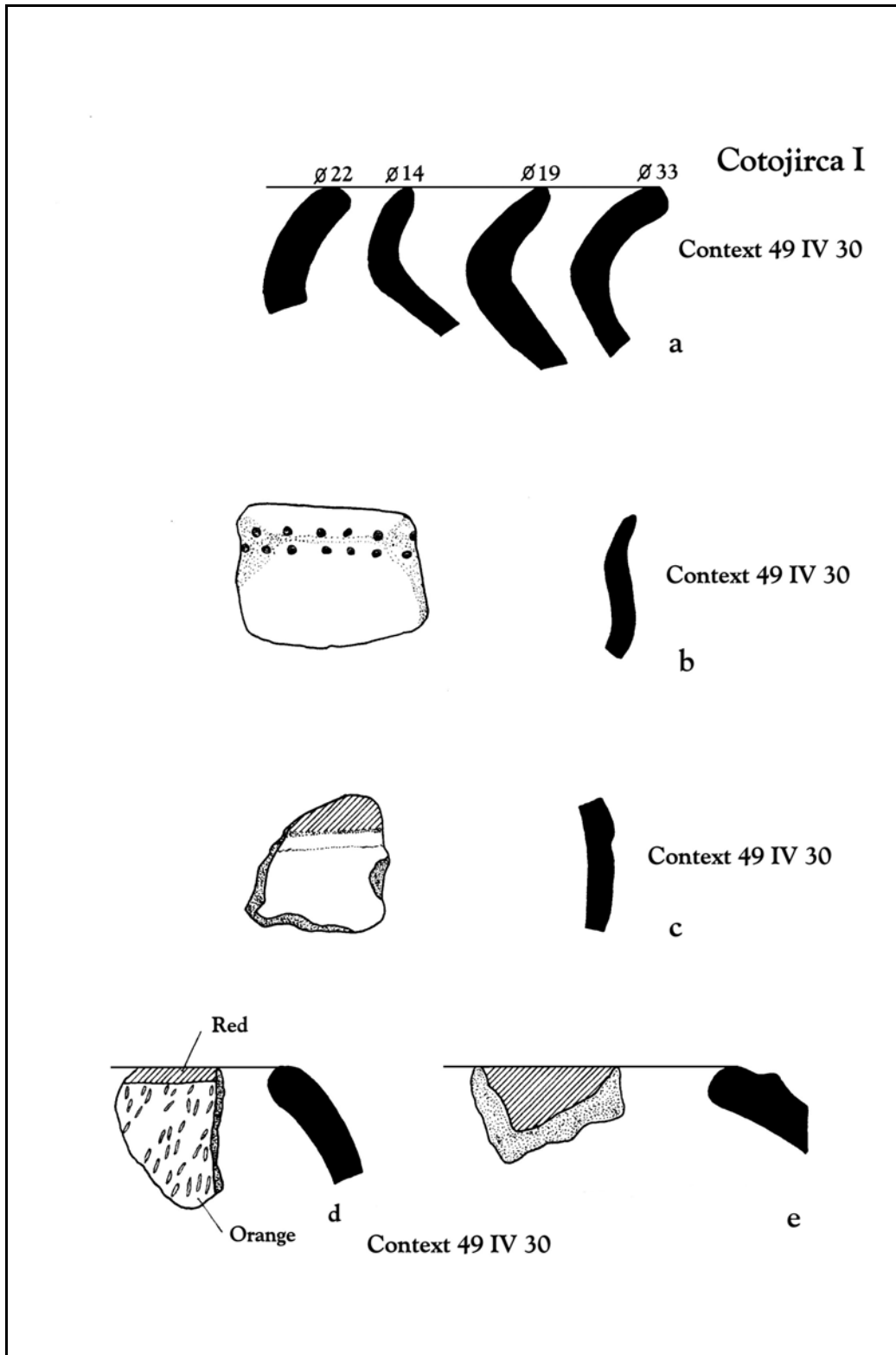


Figure 23: Cotojirca I sherds from the domestic rubbish heap at the Amá II site.

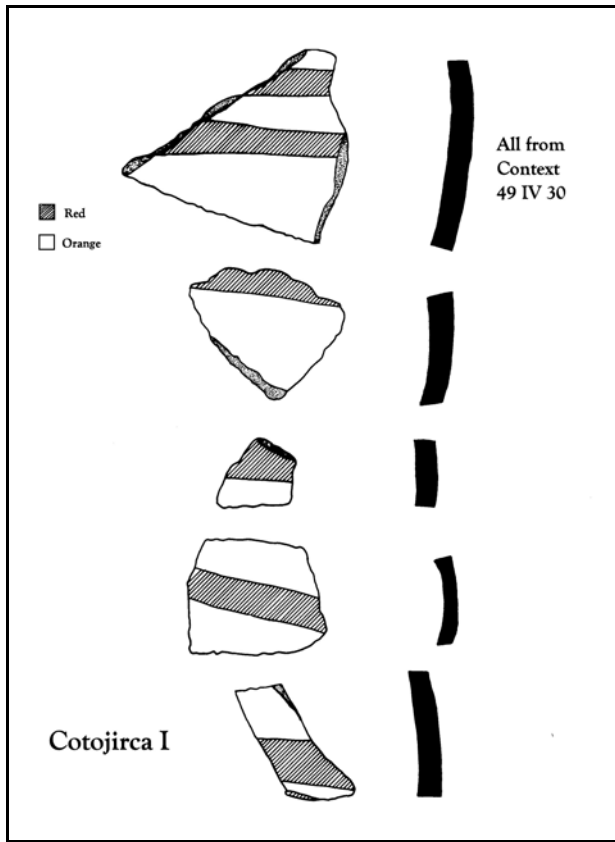
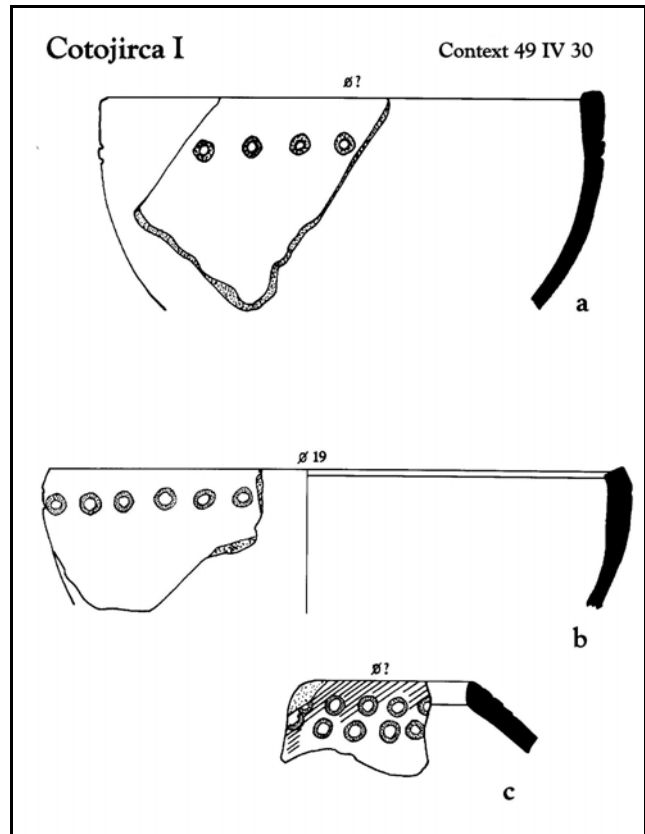


Figure 24: Cotojirca I sherds from the domestic rubbish heap at the Amá II site.

Figure 25: Cotojirca I ceramics from the domestic rubbish heap at the Amá II site.



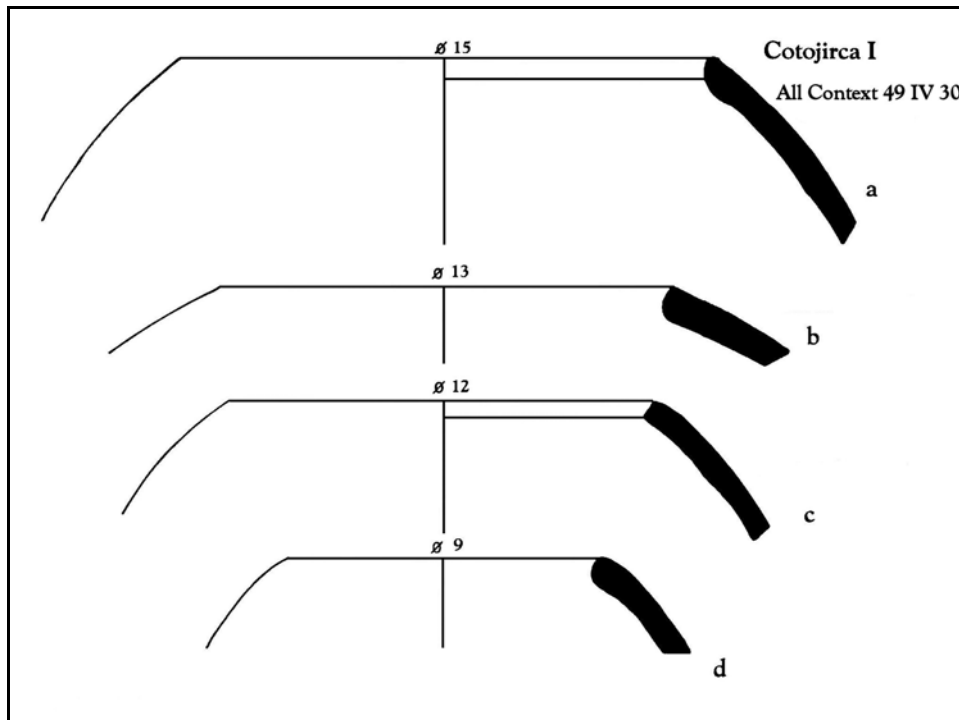
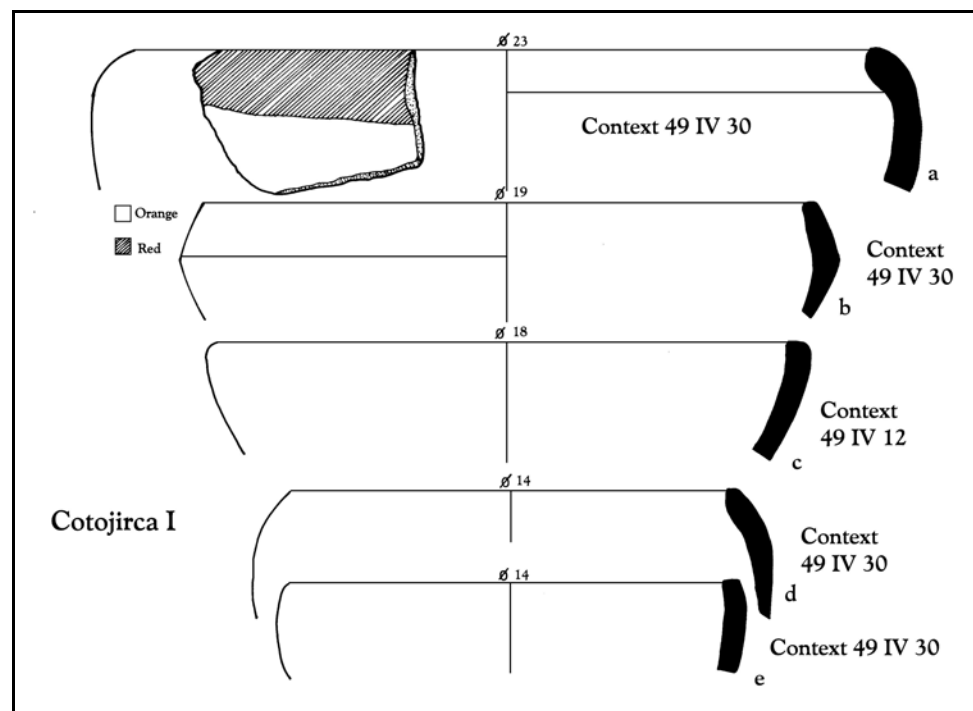


Figure 26: Cotojirca I ollas from the domestic rubbish heap at the Amá II site.

Figure 27: Cotojirca I bowls from the domestic rubbish heap at the Amá II site.





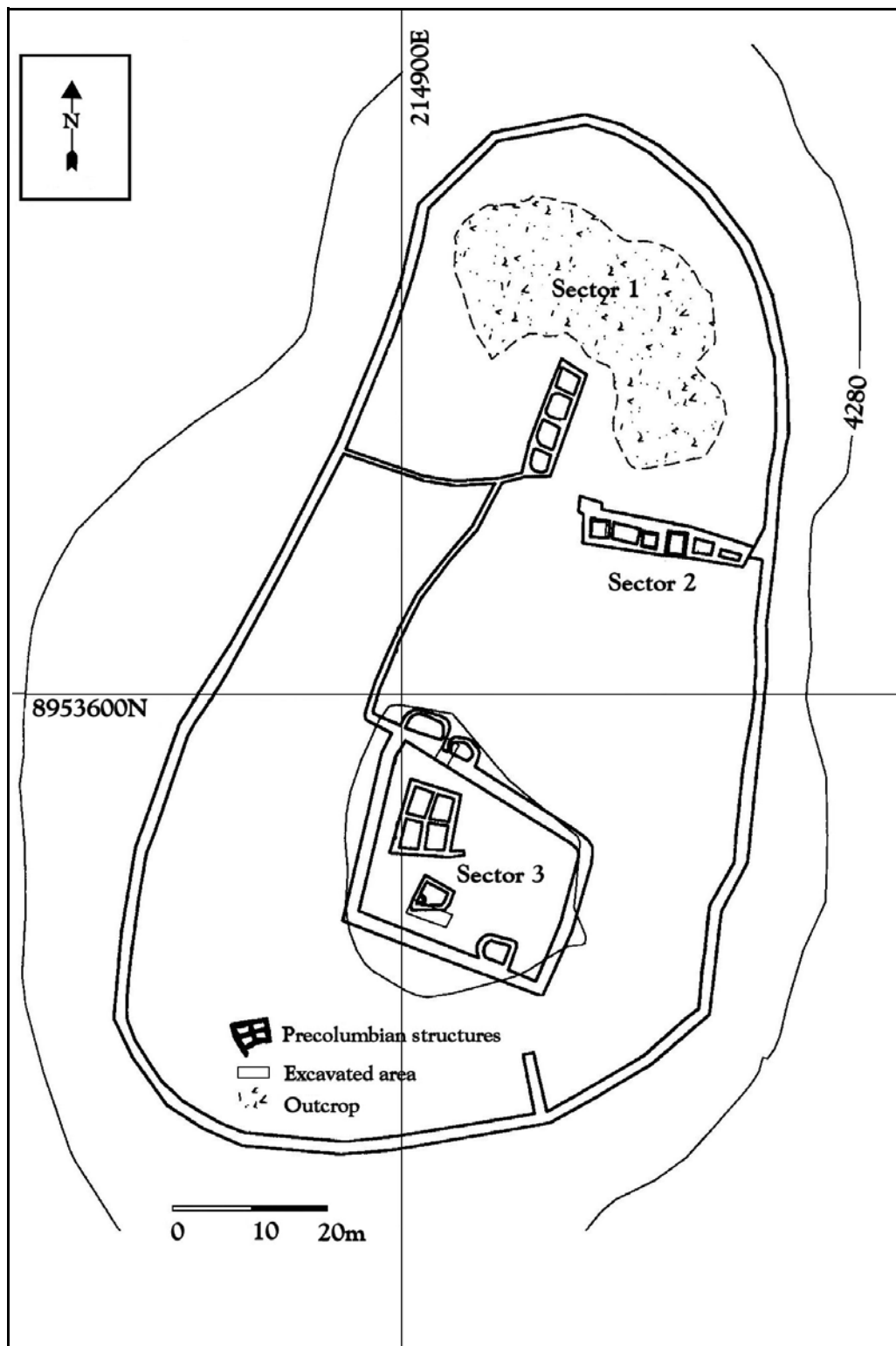


Figure 28: Plan of Chonta Ranra Punta (after Ponte 2000: figure 3).

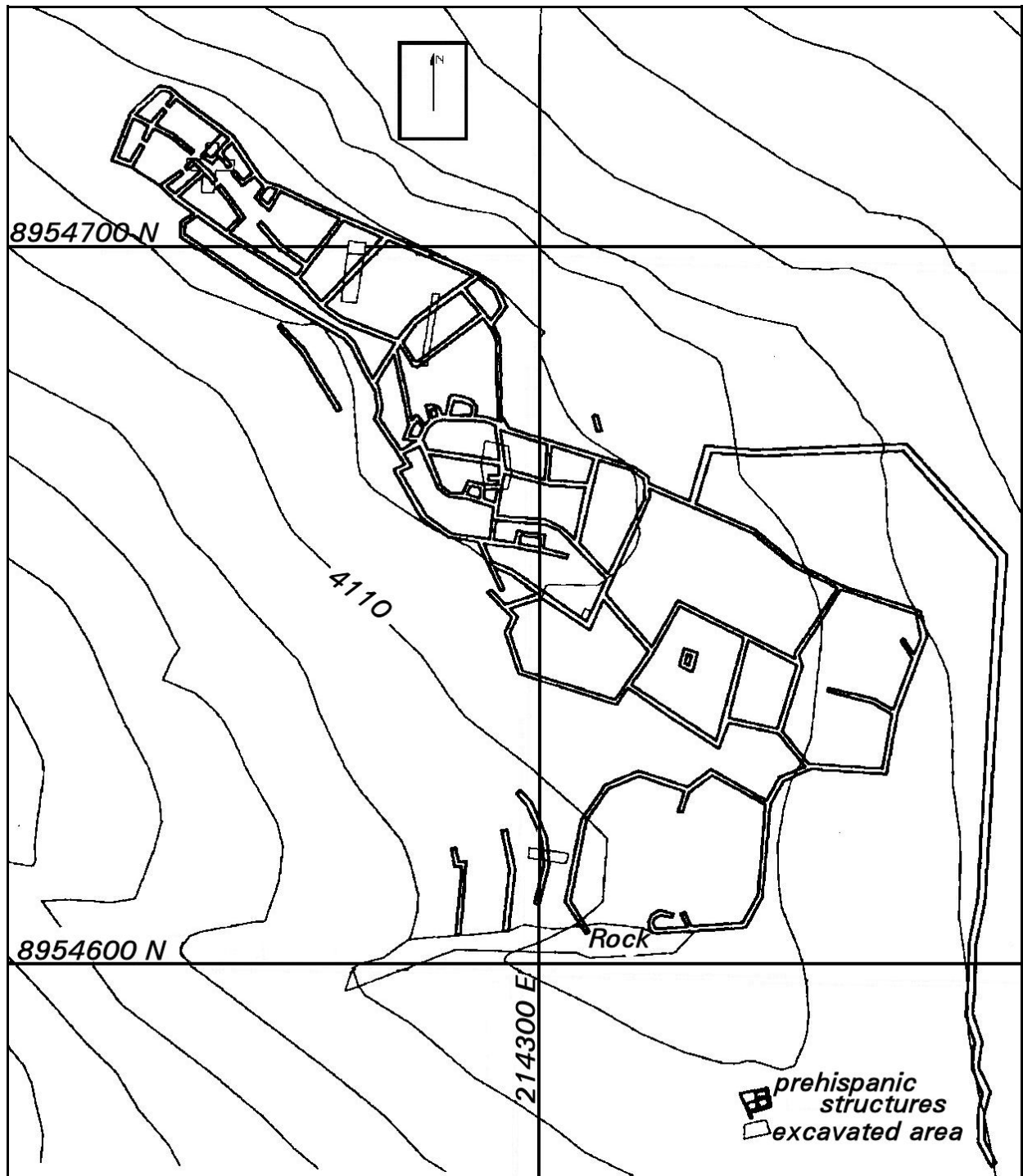


Figure 29: Plan of Maquellouan Punta (after Ponte 2000: figure 6).

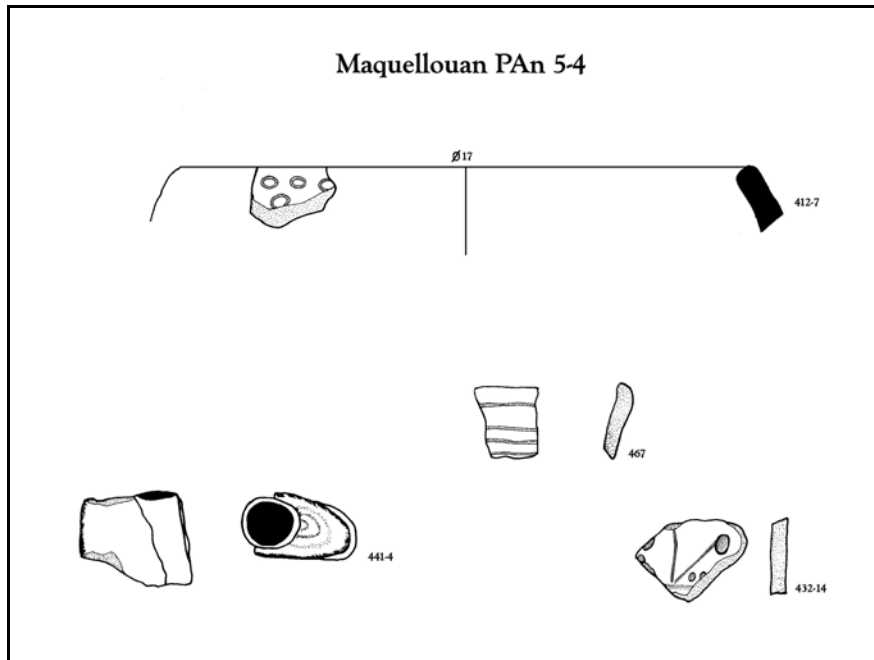


Figure 30: Ceramics from the Maquellouan site.

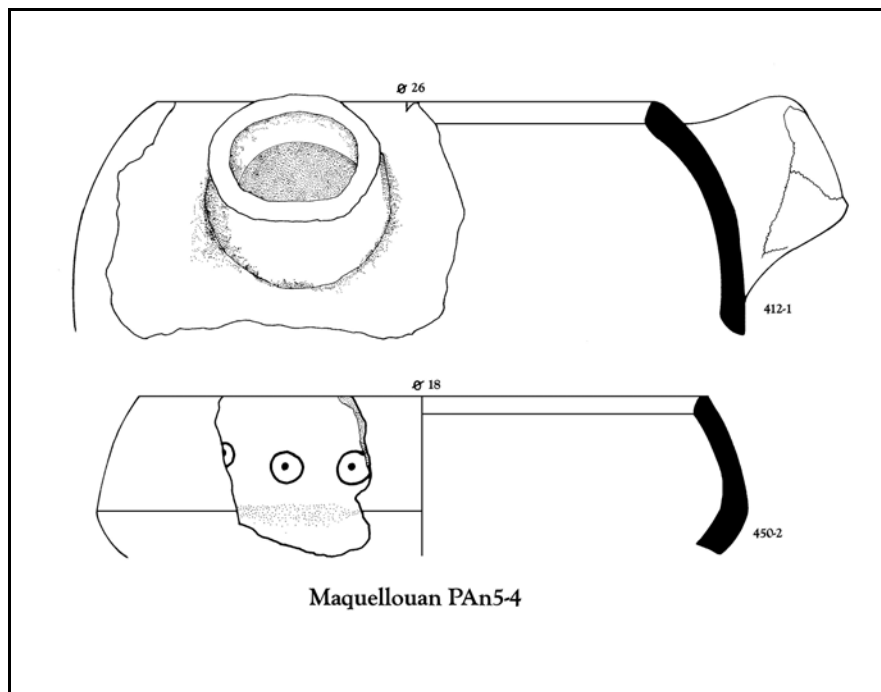


Figure 31: Ceramics from the Maquellouan site.

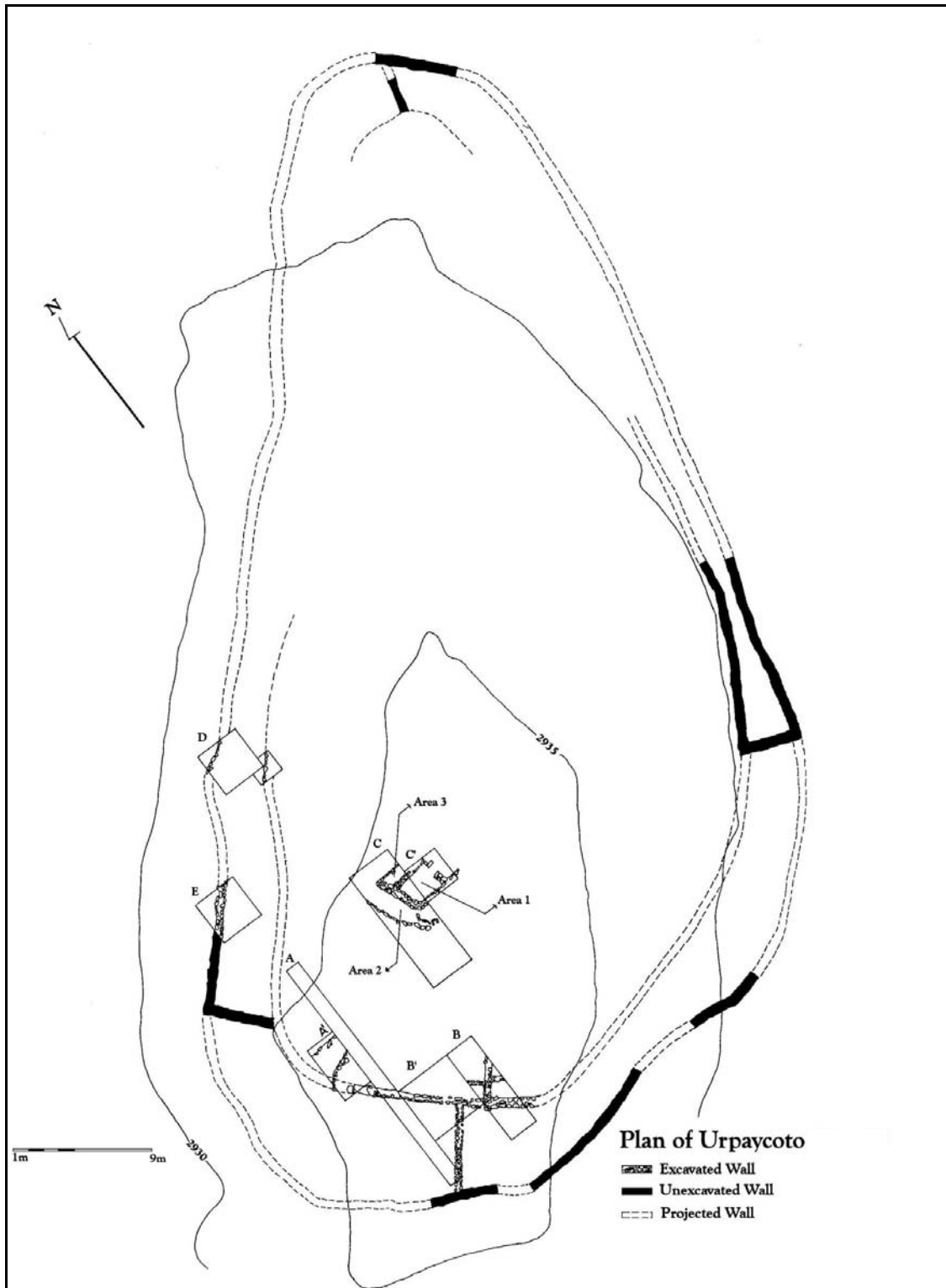


Figure 32: Plan of Urpay Coto. PAn 5-39.

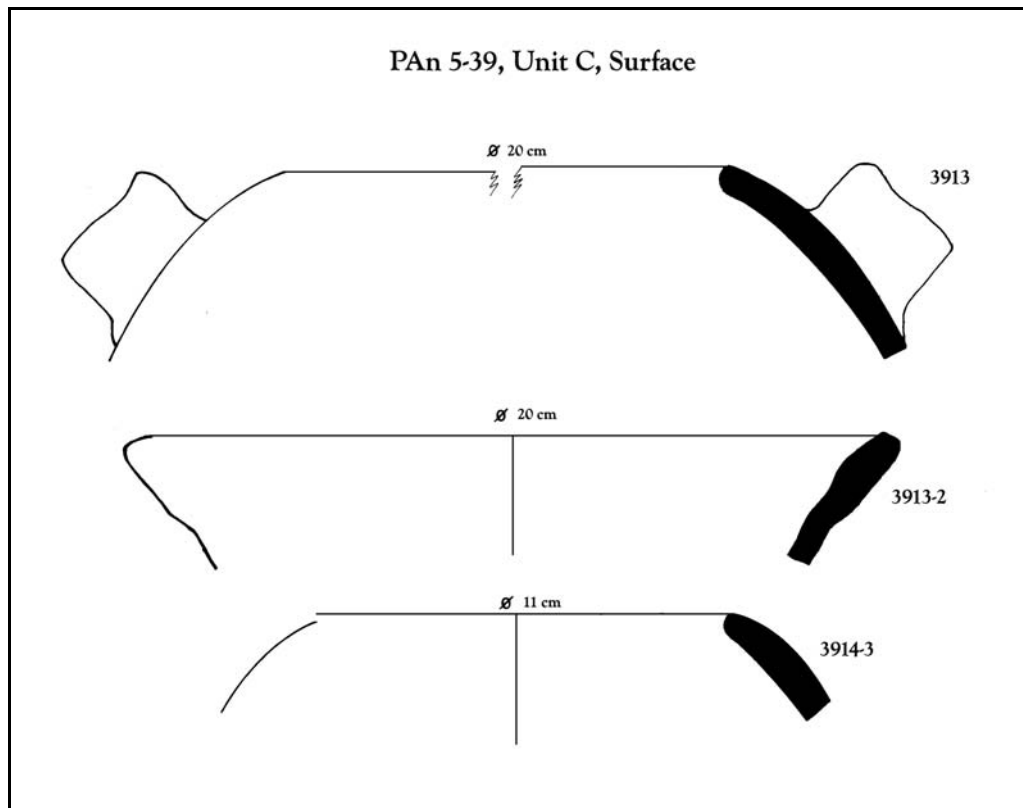


Figure 33: Ceramics from the Urpaycoto site.



Figure 34: The Piruro II monolith in its original setting looking towards the 6,768 m Huascarán peak.



Figure 35: A human face is barely discernable on the north side of the Piruro II monolith.

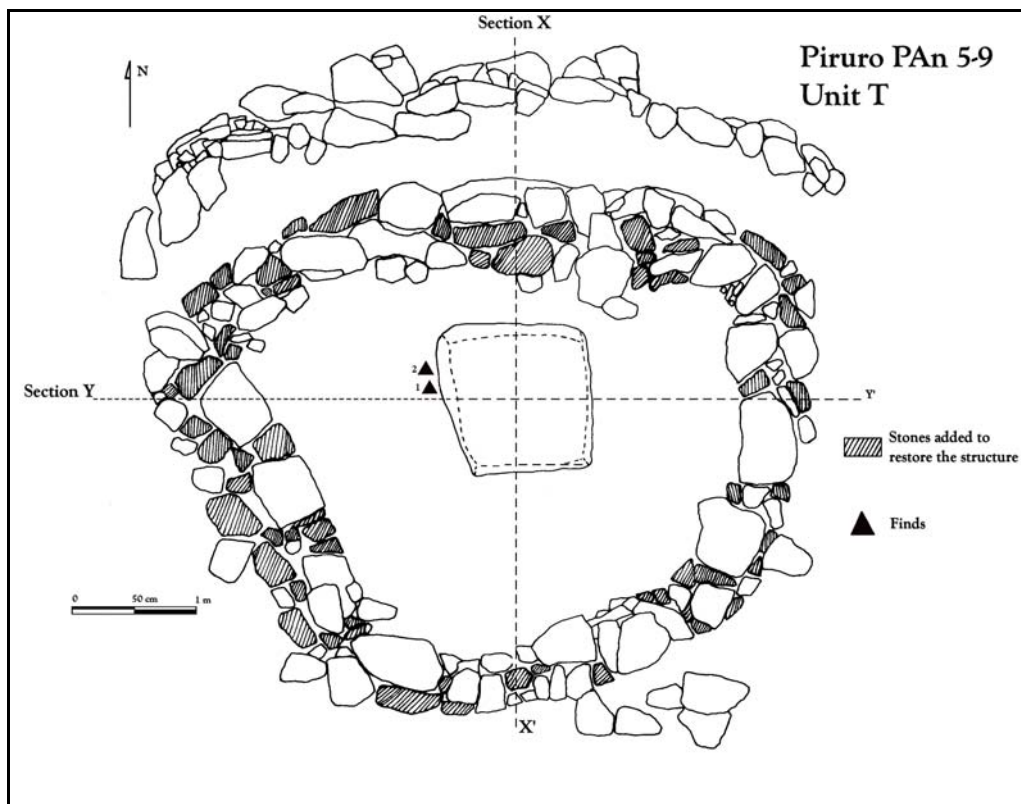


Figure 36: Plan of Piruro II monolith and surrounding structure.

