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THE CEMETERY AT TAMBO VIEJO, ACARÍ VALLEY, PERU

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Introduction

Following three seasons of fieldwork and analysis, we can summarize the results of excavations at the Tambo Viejo (PV 74-1) cemetery in the Acarí Valley (Figure 1). We recovered several intact grave lots. Some lots included a hitherto undescribed class of locally manufactured funerary wares. These vessels, and other ceramics from the lots, will eventually help to establish a significant portion of the local ceramic sequence. Furthermore, the excavations revealed stratified deposits that provide new data for interpreting the nature of the Early Intermediate Period (EIP) to Middle Horizon (MH) transition on the south central Peruvian coast,¹ as well as on highland-coastal interaction during that time.

The Setting

The Tambo Viejo region suffers from extreme aridity beyond the boundaries of the perennial Acarí River (Figure 1). Settlements are along the terraces above the floodplain, most probably to minimize interference with the agricultural productivity of the floodplain itself. Similarly, burial of the dead appears to have been always above and away from floodplain agricultural fields.

Population expansion in the town of Acarí has resulted in strong incentives to use every available hectare of land above the floodplain. Irrigation networks are expanding to augment the amount of land that can be cultivated. This is the same terrain in which prehistoric peoples had built their residential, ceremonial, and burial sites, and these sites

are now threatened, and in some instances, destroyed.

Background

In 1954 Dorothy Menzel and Francis Riddell carried out a partial investigation of the Acarí Valley (Menzel and Riddell 1986 [1954]). When Riddell returned to the area to restart fieldwork in 1985, he observed that most sites in the Acarí Valley were experiencing various destructive impacts at an increasing rate. He resolved to carry out intensive archaeological investigations in the middle and lower portions of the valley, and formed the California Institute for Peruvian Studies (CIPS - See Preface, this volume).

One of the sites to be adversely affected was Tambo Viejo (Figures 1 and 2), reported to have both residential and cemetery areas (Menzel and Riddell 1986 [1954]). In the first months of 1987, a farmer residing on the land identified as the cemetery portion of the site had used heavy machinery to prepare his field for planting at the end of the wet season (February-March). The Tambo Viejo cemetery is west of the modern paved road leading from the Pan-American Highway to the town of Acarí, and is south of town. It is also west-southwest of the residential portion of the site.

Preparing the field for planting involved grading of the terrain following cultivation of the rock-laden soil. In the process, a great number of human bodies, textiles, ceramics, and tomb roof coverings had been churned to the surface and partly destroyed. The farmer had flood-soaked the terrain and was obtaining funds to buy seed. The combination of churning, grading, and flooding was about to destroy the cemetery forever.

Field work began in the cemetery (Figure 2) due to this threat to the integrity of the

¹ No dates have been assigned here to the periods and horizons used by many archaeologists to mark time, style, and cultural influences in ancient Peru. This reflects the authors' opinion that temporal divisions, and the transitions between them, are, at present, subject to necessary reevaluations.

site.² In 1987, the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) was notified of the problem, and they in turn requested that CIPS undertake emergency excavations. The potential wealth of information that could be discovered in undisturbed portions of the terrain led to an arrangement with the farmer to delay planting until archaeological work could be completed. A program of mapping and of identifying and excavating graves that had been exposed by the heavy equipment began in March of that year. Although we realized that the cemetery might extend beyond the farmer's modern field boundaries, this disturbed area was the primary focus of investigations due to its impending destruction.

The tombs excavated in 1987, represented by numbered dots in Figure 2, were in the northeastern portion of this field. This is the area where exposure by heavy equipment had been the greatest, and there were surface indications that valuable archaeological information could still be obtained from intact grave lots. Tombs excavated during this first season varied in form, size, content, and dating. There were circular, semicircular, rectangular, and ovoid tombs, with size varying from 50 to 150 cm in diameter and up to a meter in depth. The degree of elaboration also varied, with the more elaborate tombs having straight walls plastered with mud only, or mud plastered over river cobbles. Several of the tombs excavated during this first season contained *in situ* offerings of ceramics, textiles, plant and animal remains, bone tools, weaving implements, and basketry.

During initial presentation of the results of the 1987 field work in the Tambo Viejo Cemetery at the 1988 meetings of the Society

for American Archaeology in Phoenix, we reported that the 1987 Tambo Viejo cemetery excavation included 39 pit and shaft graves, cist tombs, and empty cists which revealed a considerable late Early Intermediate Period presence, probably datable on the basis of ceramic styles to EIP 7/8 (Niles-Hensler *et al.* 1988). We also reported some differences between male and female, and adult and subadult skeletal completeness (based on Jurmain *et al.* 1988). Subsequent excavations and more detailed analyses of the recovered materials have modified this earlier interpretation of the cemetery as a whole. Our new data suggest that the earlier interpretation, especially with regard to the dating of the cemetery and the use of the terrain, was too limited. These new developments form the principal focus of this paper.

While the first season centered on isolated tombs in the northeastern portion of the cemetery, the 1988 and 1989 excavations were extended in various directions (Belan F. and Kent 1989; Shumate 1989). The purpose was to test the extent of the cemetery and to provide stratigraphic information relevant to the degree of destruction caused by heavy machinery within the farmer's field (Figure 2). An additional 191 m² were excavated using a combination of test pits, trenches, and areal excavations. The base map shows the locations of these units (Figure 2).

We estimated the limits of the site on the basis of surface artifact scatter. The size of the cemetery is 16,000 m². Approximately 1.2 percent was excavated. However, the actual extent to which heavy machinery artificially extended the limits of the artifact scatter could not be determined, and, hence, the boundaries on our base map are both approximate and incomplete.

Although our excavation covered only a little more than one percent of the site as defined by surface remains, the northern and central portion of the site did contain the majority of the tombs. Despite repeated probes, only two graves were found south of the dirt road, both within 20 m of the road. No tombs were located to the east of the main Chaviña-to-Acarí road. It is thus probable that our grave sample represents at least the

² Field work was directed at various times by Kent, Kowta, Francis Riddell, Vern Hensler and Kathy Niles-Hensler, and Scott Shumate. Laboratory work, including textile conservation, was under the supervision of T. Rose Holdcraft, textile conservator at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Anne Bond, Curator of Material Culture at the Colorado History Museum, and Grace Katterman. They were ably assisted by Stacy Greenwood (Trent University). Co-principal investigator on the project was Augusto Belan Franco of the Universidad Católica Santa María de Arequipa.

majority of surviving graves in the cemetery, although precise quantification is not possible.

The upper stratum of most of the cemetery portion of the site was disturbed by heavy machine leveling, plowing, and looting. Stratigraphically below the recent disturbance are numerous depressions and trampled adobe areas. When swept, these areas turned out to be additional tombs, storage pits, and adobe walls and floors. In many cases these features overlay or intruded through still earlier features, thereby creating some complex, but decipherable, stratigraphy.

Burial Components and a New Vessel Type

We now believe that several components are represented by the remains in the cemetery. The majority of graves are assignable to the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period and the early Middle Horizon, probably no later than MH 2. There is a single burial dated to the early part of the Early Intermediate Period (described below) that may mark the start of the use of this site as a cemetery. There is also evidence for a still undated post-MH 2 use of the site as a residence and storage area.

Acarí Valley Effigy Jars

Intact ceramics were abundant in many of the grave lots. The combination of motif and form on one class of late Early Intermediate Period to early Middle Horizon effigy vessels (Figures 3-5, 16) comprises a vessel type that we believe is found only within the Acarí River Valley and which, before our excavations, had not been found in context.³ This

³ The previously published examples of this style include: (1) Eisleb (1977:136-137, figure 255), where its provenience is given only as southern Peru; (2) a figure in Rye (1981:10, figure 3) which shows a vessel in the Smithsonian's collection used as an example of salt damage to pottery and which, in the Smithsonian's records, has a provenience "Peru, South Coast"; and, (3) various sherds from surface collections at numerous sites in the Acarí Valley itself (Menzel and Riddell 1986 [1954]:figure 23f, and probably figures 22f-g; Riddell and Valdéz C. 1988). It is interesting to note that in spite of sherds of this

unique vessel type may be described generally as follows:

Overall. These vessels are effigy jars with three-dimensional appliqué modeling of the nose. Painting of faces and other motifs on the vessel body overlies a deep reddish-brown to reddish-orange paint. The design motifs described below are usually restricted to the upper two-thirds of the vessel and separated from the lower one-third by a horizontal dark brown or black painted band.

Form. They are roughly bag-shaped and neckless. When viewed from below, the bottoms are almost circular. The nearly straight sides are only slightly convex and taper toward the rim. Above the base, the vessel is compressed in front and back. This gives the vessel an unusual shape. From the front the pot is wider than it is from the sides. The tapering creates an ovoid shape at the mouth of the vessel (Figure 16b). The degree of compression varies so that in some vessels the mouth is gently ovoid. In others, the front and back compression is so marked that the mouth almost comes to a point at the sides, resembling a football. The average maximum diameter is 12 cm, normally at the lower one-third of the jar. The average height is 18 cm (range = 15-20 cm). Wall thicknesses range from 0.5-0.7 cm and walls are thicker at the rim than at the base (Figures 3 and 4).

Primary motif. The face is the dominant motif and is enclosed in a semicircular, frequently beige-colored, painted area. This face area is normally outlined with a very dark brown or black line, the same kind of line used for the lozenge-shaped eyes, eyebrows, and mouth, if present. Similar, but distinct, faces are sometimes called *chinas* in Peru. The orientation of the eyes varies from horizontal to slanted slightly downward toward the nose. This latter is an innovation of Nasca 7 (L. Dawson, personal communication, 1989). The details of the face are few.

style having been found at many Acarí Valley sites such as Gentilar (PV 74-5), La Oroya (PV 74-8), and Chaviña (PV 74-22), they have not been reported outside the valley, nor have they been found in good contexts prior to this work [*e.g.*, they are not mentioned by Lothrop and Mahler (1957)].

Some of the faces have painted mouths (Figure 3), but the majority lack mouths completely. Above the semicircle forming the face is a painted, enclosed band. Its position suggests it represents a headband. The bands in this position contain mostly geometric motifs in several colors. In most of the vessels with geometric headbands, the motif is a step-fret. The step-fret headband is useful for dating these vessels (see below and Menzel 1964, 1968; Knobloch 1991).

vessels, or as sherd offerings in graves.⁴ Eight more or less intact effigy jars and one sherd from an effigy jar form our Tambo Viejo cemetery sample of this type of vessel. All were found in graves. Tomb 1 (our Lot 35) had four complete jars, Tomb 2 (Lot 36) had one complete jar, Tomb 4 (Lot 38) had one complete jar, Tomb 18 (Lot 53) had two complete jars, and Tomb 30 (Lot 65) had one effigy jar sherd (Table 1).

Table 1. Tombs with Acarí Valley Effigy Jars and Associated Skeletal Material (Skeletal data from Jurmain et al. 1988).

<i>Tomb</i>	<i>Lot</i>	<i>N° of effigy vessels</i>	<i>N° of individuals</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age (years)</i>
1	35	4	1	a. male	50+
2	36	1	2	a. indeterminate b. indeterminate	1-2 3-4
4	38	1	0	---	---
18	53	2	3	a. male b. indeterminate c. indeterminate	39-50 infant child (7-10)
30	65	1 (sherd)	5 or 6	a. male b. indeterminate c. indeterminate d. indeterminate e. indeterminate f. (?) indeterminate	30+ adult adult 3-4 12 (?)

Secondary motifs. These motifs are found on the sides and rear of the vessel. A variety of geometric, realistic anthropomorphic, realistic zoomorphic, and fantastic or mythical forms of plants or animals are found. These motifs, too, greatly aid in relating these vessels to dated motifs described in the literature.

Technical. Temper is very fine, and the bright orange to light reddish-orange color of the paste suggests oxidation firing. The painted pigments appear to be of mineral origin. They are probably a combination of magnesium and ferrous oxides.

In the cemetery, Acarí Valley Effigy Jars are found either as a solitary, whole vessel grave offering, in graves along with other

All of the skeletons that could be *both* aged and sexed and are associated with these face jars are adult males (Jurmain *et al.* 1988; Niles-Hensler *et al.* 1988). This may imply some status differences between males and females, the status being symbolized by the inclusion of these effigy jars in the grave of the individual(s) interred. As shown in Table 1, however, these vessels are also found with infants and children. If these vessels are indeed markers of high status, then status may have been ascribed. Of course, their inclu-

⁴ Patrick Carmichael (1988:214-216) calls attention to the practice of placing a sherd from a single vessel in more than one grave within a cemetery. He speculates that sherds may have been retained by living members of a community for later placement in other graves.

sion in tombs may indicate other relations besides high social status, such as membership in a sodality or kinship grouping.⁵

In general, male skeletons are more complete than those of females. This may reflect preservation factors because it is also the case that adult skeletons are more complete than those of sub-adults. The health of the population appears to have been good, although some pathologies are present in older individuals (Jurmain *et al.* 1988).

Some jars are characterized by a band with step-fret designs in the forehead area (Figures 3-5, 16). Other jars have different design elements in the same area. Table 2 summarizes the design motifs in the area above the face.

as the laterally elongated x's, occur in the Pacheco offering of the Nazca Valley, according to D. Menzel who assigns the offering to MH 1B (personal communication, October 1992). This would imply that the tombs containing Acarí Valley Effigy Jars are MH 1B or later, or that the design element appears earlier in the Acarí Valley than at Nazca. Following Menzel (personal communication, October 1992), we prefer the second alternative. Indeed, in referring to these and other vessels from the cemetery both discussed herein and illustrated in earlier reports (Riddell 1986; Riddell and Valdéz C. 1988; Shumate 1989), Menzel states

"... In none of the reports is there a piece from this particular site datable to later than Middle Horizon Epoch 1A . .

Table 2. Summary of forehead designs on Acarí Valley Effigy Jars.

<i>Tomb N°</i>	<i>Lot N°</i>	<i>Item N°</i>	<i>Forehead decoration description</i>
1	35	1	Band with step-fret
1	35	2	Band with step-fret
1	35	3	Band with step-fret
1	35	8	No step-fret in headband; instead white, laterally-elongated X's on a deep red background
2	36	2	Band with step-fret
4	38	1	Band with step-fret
18	53	42	Band with step-fret
18	53	43	No headband at all; instead hair hangs down over forehead in "bangs"-like arrangement
30	65	70	Sherd, missing forehead area

The data shown in Table 2 make it clear that the vessels decorated with step-frets on headbands are contemporaneous (being in the same grave lot) with the vessel on which there is a headband containing laterally elongated x's and with the vessel on which the hair motif is present on the forehead instead of a headband. Some of these elements, such

My impression is that most or all of the material illustrated from this site is datable to Middle Horizon Epoch 1A, although one piece illustrated in an earlier report would, on stylistic grounds, be attributed to the Nasca 8 style" (personal communication, October 1992).

Although the effigy jars share some attributes with Nasca 7 through Nasca 9A vessels from the Nazca Valley, they are sufficiently distinct that no direct derivation of the style from the Nazca Valley need be entailed. Patrick

⁵ Further statements on the issue of status as marked by Acarí Valley Effigy Jars may be forthcoming through the detailed analysis of the textiles from the cemetery being conducted by Stacy Greenwood of Trent University.

Carmichael (personal communication, January 1991) has suggested using the term Early Intermediate Period instead of Nasca for this relatively independent phenomenon, and his idea is incorporated here.

A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 reveals that in Tomb 1, there is a single individual with four effigy jars, and one of the jars has a different headband treatment than the other three. It seems unlikely that there is a direct correspondence of effigy jars to individuals. This is also true for Tomb 18 in which there are two effigy jars associated with three individuals. Here, too, the effigy vessels show differing headband treatments. If such a direct correspondence did exist, we would expect that each interred individual would have his own effigy jar. Instead, the number of effigy jars and their decoration are not related to the number of individuals in the tombs, and thus we postulate that the number of jars and their decoration are being determined by other, perhaps ideological, cultural rules. We can as yet offer no suggestion for what these rules may have been.

So far, we have been able to document the use of Acarí Valley Effigy Jars only in funerary contexts. Excavations and surface collections in the residential area of Tambo Viejo, Chaviña (PV 74-22), and Gentilar (PV 74-5)⁶ produced sherds of these effigy jars, but not in reliable stratigraphic contexts. Thus, we further posit that they were manufactured specifically to accompany the dead.

These effigy vessels are found not only here in the Tambo Viejo Cemetery, but at the EIP 7/8 site of Gentilar, at La Oroya (PV 74-8) in heavily disturbed strata with mostly early Middle Horizon ceramics, at Hacienda Amato (PV 74-19) where they were collected by the landowner, and at several other Acarí Valley sites. As mentioned earlier, other published and unpublished examples of this class of vessel are described as coming from the south coast of Peru or from private col-

lections. Thus, where any specific provenience data exist on this type of jar, they indicate that the jars are found only at Acarí Valley sites.

It is most likely that effigy jars of this type were actually manufactured within the Acarí Valley. There are two lines of evidence supporting this contention. First, there is the exclusive Acarí Valley distribution of this vessel type, mentioned above. Second, in at least one vessel (PV 74-1-53-42, Tomb 18; Figure 16) there is clear evidence for a firing defect on the face side of the jar (possibly the result of overfiring or unintentional direct contact with fuel). As can be seen in Figure 16a, the defect appears as a large, rounded, slightly rough indentation on, or collapse of, the surface of the vessel. It seems unlikely that a vessel in such a condition would have been acquired by exchange if it had been manufactured elsewhere. However, as mentioned, there is not even any evidence for these jars' presence, much less manufacture, elsewhere. It seems justifiable, therefore, to posit localized, Acarí Valley manufacture of these effigy jars.

This style is probably only one of several locally made styles within the Acarí Valley. Future research may demonstrate other instances of unique, Acarí Valley styles during the Early Intermediate Period as well as during other periods.⁷ Both stylistic and paste characteristics must be considered in future analysis.

In spite of the fact that this jar type was most likely of local manufacture, the motifs on some of these vessels are coastal, while others exhibit highland-derived, Wari designs. Nevertheless, the vessel shapes remain essentially the same (see Figure 3 for some clear examples). The apparent highland relationship adds to our knowledge of highland presence on the south Peruvian coast, specifically in the Acarí Valley.

⁶ The site PV 74-5 was referred to as Hacienda Colorado in Menzel and Riddell (1986 [1954]; see Valdéz C. 1989). This is distinct from the site, ceramic style, and late prehistoric phase of northern Chile, also called Gentilar (Kolata 1983:280-281; Museo Antropológico de Arica 1985:29, 61).

⁷ Patrick Carmichael has planned a research project to examine the origin of this and other Early Intermediate Period ceramics in the Acarí Valley by looking at paste composition (Carmichael, personal communications, September 1992, December 1993).

Mummies and Features

The earliest, securely dated burial in this cemetery was discovered in 1988 when a tomb containing one extended mummy bundle was revealed (located at 5N/3W, see Figure 2). The mummy was lying on his back with the legs loosely flexed. The head was oriented to the east and was turned to the individual's left. The outer wrapping of the body was a plain-weave cloth. A guinea pig was found by his left shoulder. At the head was a small bundle containing fishing nets of various gauges (Figures 6-7). Two composite wood and bone tools were also included in this bundle. These tools may have been used as implements for opening mollusks or prying them loose from rocks.

Resting on top of the bundle was a ceramic shell-shaped object with a hole in one side, possibly a whistle (Figure 8). A similar but much smaller shell-shaped ceramic whistle was found in the Casma Valley at Pampa de las Llamas Moxeke in contact with the floor of an Initial Period structure [structure C1B2-R8 (Rhodes 1988:140, figure 52)]. Similar whistles are somewhat larger and more common in sites on the north coast after the Initial Period, but, to our knowledge, this example is the first one in a documented context south of Lima.

Other artifacts included with the body were a wooden and *algarroba*⁸ spine comb, slings around the neck, maize cobs, two balls of yarn (*ovillos*), a wooden dowel, various cloths, and a loincloth (*pañete*). We are provisionally interpreting this to be the burial of a male fisherman or someone who repaired fishing nets. In view of the fact that the cemetery is 25 km from the coast, representing a seven or eight hour walk each way, we may postulate an interdependence of coastal and mid-valley activities during the early Early Intermediate Period. Whether or not actual coastal communities were involved in this relationship may be determinable from future surveys and excavations along the coast near the mouth of the Acarí Valley.

Charcoal was recovered from the fill of the tomb and the C-14 determination (Table

3) suggests a date of around A.D. 20. In other words, this tomb contained an EIP 3 burial (Menzel 1977:89). At the nearby residential area of Tambo Viejo, with one of its primary occupations dating to EIP 2-3 times (Menzel and Riddell 1986 [1954]), the burials seem to have been below the floor or in the corners of structures. There is frequent evidence for cranial deformation, decapitation, and urn burial. Although the fisherman mummy was not unwrapped, a visual and tactile examination of the tightly wrapped cranium suggests that no such physical alteration characterized this burial. Perhaps this individual had a different status than those buried in the residential sector of Tambo Viejo.

The upper portion of the fisherman mummy and the upper grave goods were encrusted with caliche (either CaCO_3 or KCO_3). The caliche-rich, compact soil served as a convenient marker separating this EIP 3 use of the terrain from later ones. The later occupants, however, frequently constructed features that penetrated the caliche horizon or reused earlier pit features. Included among the features in the northern part of the cemetery are numerous burial pits, midden deposits, storage pits, and two floors of adobe or compacted yellowish brown mud.

Compacted adobe floors are surrounded in places by surviving portions of mud and stone walls. The main cemetery map (Figure 2) shows a large area that was excavated between 6N-7N and 3.6W-4.2W. A detail of this area is shown in Figure 9. Here, large amounts of cane fragments in fill deposits suggest the common use of *quincha* (wattle-and-daub) construction in combination with adobe, but few remnants of structures remain. The extant remnants of *tapia* or adobe walls are shown in black. The most apparent walls are those forming right angles. These walls, in turn, are surrounded by a number of either unlined or mud-lined pits. In the northern portion of this area is a series of six pits forming an arcuate pattern (Figure 9, pits C-1 through C-6). Some of these pits contained food remains, in most cases only a single commodity. This distribution suggests a storage function. For example, some indi-

⁸ A tree legume.

vidual pits contained only lima beans, only maize, or only common beans. One pit contained only guinea pigs (*cuy*). Single *cuy* skeletons are also found in many other pits used as burial chambers, suggesting that the guinea pigs were grave offerings. In one case, however, skulls and miscellaneous body parts of ten *cuy* were found in a recessed area within a pit. This recess may have been used (or reused) as a guinea pig hutch or a convenient place for disposing of the bones of a meal. However, none of the *cuy* skeletal parts showed burning, nor discoloration due to boiling.

A rather ephemeral compacted mud floor (6.75N/4W) lies to the south and east of this series of pits. This is marked as unit 2 on Figure 9. The exact stratigraphic relationship between this arcuate pattern of pits and the

curred outside the boundaries of the floor (Figure 9). Seventeen burials are located in this area. Of these, eight were adults and nine were infants or juveniles. Seven of the eight adult burials were either in disturbed fill or not in reliable stratigraphic associations. Only one adult burial could be related stratigraphically to the adobe structure. It, and the nine infant/juvenile burials, were all stratigraphically below the adobe structure and so pre-date it.

Adult Burial

The single pre-floor adult burial (Figure 9, marked with an "a") is flexed and accompanied by two complete vessels and other ceramic fragments that appear to be of Middle Horizon date. One of these (Figure 10), is virtually identical *in form* to the Acari Valley

Table 3. Tambo Viejo (PV 74-1) Cemetery Carbon-14 Determinations.

<i>Lab N° and material</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Cat. N° PV 74-1-</i>	<i>¹⁴C years ± 1 sigma</i>	<i>Uncorrected calendar equivalent</i>
Beta-34364 Charcoal	5 N/3 W, 27-39 cm below datum, associated with "fisherman" mummy bundle	-155-20	1930 ± 80	A.D. 20 ± 80
Beta-34366 Charcoal	Trench 3, Section C, Extension 2, Level 1, above false-headed mummy bundle	-210-1	1510 ± 70	A.D. 440 ± 70
Beta-34365 Charcoal	1 S/6.5 W, Test Pit N° 2, 40-60 cm below datum, lower stratum	-166-109	1490 ± 50	A.D. 460 ± 50
Beta-34367 & ETH-6062 Charcoal	Trench 3, Section C, Extension 6, Level 2, 7-32 cm below datum, sample from adobe block	-225-2	1330 ± 60	A.D. 620 ± 60

floor was not determinable, due to the extensive removal of soil by heavy machinery.

Further to the south of this floor and pit complex, a second compacted floor and associated walls were found in 1989 (Figure 9; Shumate 1989). This floor sealed several midden-filled pits and burials. Other pits oc-

Effigy Jars from farther east in the cemetery, but there is no evidence for a painted face. It seems to be painted with Middle Horizon motifs.⁹ A second vessel from this grave lot

⁹ The combination of a late Early Intermediate Period form with Middle Horizon motifs has implications

(Lot 332; Figure 11) seems quite similar in shape and motif arrangement to the Maymi site (middle Pisco Valley) ceramic vessels from MH 1B/2A contexts reported by Anders (1988:figure 16, bottom and perhaps figure 20, center).

A third vessel from this lot (Figure 12) is a bowl depicting, on its interior, what seems to be a toad or toad-like anthropomorphic figure, complete with warts and a single eye. This bowl is likely attributable to the early Middle Horizon, perhaps MH 1B or 2A. Thus, if the burial ceramics are MH 1B/2A, then the adobe floor and walls that seal this burial pit are stratigraphically later than MH 1B/2A.

Sub-adult Burials and Status

The other pre-floor burials (marked with an "s" in Figure 9) are single or multiple interments of infants or young juveniles. On the basis of their stratigraphic positioning, we tentatively associate these burials with the same period as the single adult. The high ratio of infants/young juveniles to adults, *i.e.* 8:1, may indicate that this area of the cemetery was largely reserved for the young. We hypothesize that the spatial separation of sub-adult burials may well indicate an age-graded society. We also suggest that adult status in this MH 1B/2A society was likely *achieved* rather than *ascribed*. This idea is supported by the fact that none of the juvenile or infant burials contained grave goods, such as ceramics, fine textiles, or other symbolic markers of high status.

for the nature of the end of the Early Intermediate Period on the coast. For example, Silverman (1988) argues that Nasca 8 belongs in the Middle Horizon. Although possibly true for the Nazca Valley, in the Acari Valley we see that Middle Horizon motifs and forms merge with coastal Early Intermediate Period ones. The implications of these two positions are very different. In Silverman's view, it would seem that it is erroneous to maintain a distinctive Nasca coastal designation beyond the end of the sixth century A.D. In our position, we hold that distinctive late Early Intermediate Period design elements are retained during this time but are gradually merged with, and eventually replaced by, Middle Horizon design influences originating in the highlands near Wari.

Other Burials

Approximately 33 meters to the northeast, in an excavation designated Trench 3 with extensions (T3 on Figure 2), another group of burials was found in circumstances that help define the cemetery's chronology. Here, four pits were dug through a compact clay. Into one was placed a false-headed mummy bundle in an upright position. The pit, shown in profile in Figure 13, was lined with coarse sand. At the person's shoulder was a small textile bag (not visible in the drawing). One large, undecorated sherd was found directly underneath the mummy (also not visible in Figure 13).

The false-headed mummy is wrapped in a blue and white textile with a fine, multicolored selvage. The bundle conforms to what Kauffmann Doig referred to as a *fardo con cabeza postiza* (false-headed bundle), a form which becomes common on the central and south central Peruvian coasts from Middle Horizon 2A times onwards (1978:450-452; page 450, figure 2). This temporal attribution was initially confirmed by the style of the weaving on the small bag associated with the *fardo con cabeza postiza* (Agusto Belan Franco, personal communication, 1990). D'Harcourt (1975:plate 26A) shows a fabric almost identical in motif, and virtually the same in terms of weaving technique, as this bag. The plate caption states that this is a fabric with supplementary warp and weft yarns. D'Harcourt's example is a navy blue wool fabric, executed in plain weave, and the supplementary warp and weft weaves are cotton (D'Harcourt 1975:154). The bag with the *fardo con cabeza postiza* is of brown camelid fiber, executed in plain weave, and the supplementary warp and weft yarns are cotton.¹⁰ D'Harcourt's example is provenienced to the central coast of Peru, and no date is suggested. The association of this bag with the early Middle Horizon *fardo con cabeza postiza* in the Tambo Viejo cemetery provides a date for this weaving technique in the Acari Valley, and perhaps for a broader

¹⁰ This bag was recently reexamined by Grace Katterman and Stacy Greenwood who provided this detailed description. Greenwood also supplied references to D'Harcourt and to Rowe (personal communications, September 1993).

geographical area as well. Previous research, such as that by Rowe (1986), has demonstrated the use of supplementary weft patterned bags in a purchased lot of material from the Monte Grande site in the Nazca Valley. The bags are dated, on the basis of their presumed association with ceramics and mummies in the lot, to either MH 2B or MH 3 (*ibid.*:151-152, 156). The bag from the Tambo Viejo cemetery predates the examples from Monte Grande in Nazca, and we suggest a MH 2 date for this weaving technique, based on the association with the *fardo con cabeza postiza*.

Additional Data on Chronology

To the east of the pit containing this *fardo con cabeza postiza*, another pit, Cist 9 (*Cista* 9), was excavated and found to contain a second mummy (Figure 14). It was badly disturbed, once in prehistoric times and once during our excavation season. First of all, a later pit, possibly for trash deposition, had been excavated into the top of the earlier burial chamber partly damaging the upper portion of the body. Second, after we exposed the bundle, but before we could remove it, vandals or looters disturbed it, so other possible associated offerings may have been removed. Nevertheless, below the bundle was a complete, wide-mouthed *olla* (cooking pot) 30 cm in diameter. Inside the *olla* was a textile-wrapped bundle containing the remains of an infant.

As shown in Figure 14, Cist 9 partly intrudes through Cist 8, an adobe-lined pit. Cist 8 was mostly covered by the same soil as that covering the pit containing the *fardo con cabeza postiza*, and is thus possibly contemporaneous with it. If so, then the intrusion of Cist 9 through a part of Cist 8 would imply that Cist 9 was constructed later than both of these other pits. The fill of Cist 8 contained trash ranging in date from the Middle Horizon through the historic period. The historic trash suggests a disturbance of Cist 8 in historic times, but perhaps only a partial disturbance since there was no historic trash in Cist 9.

A charcoal sample was obtained from the loose fill above the *fardo con cabeza postiza* pit. The age determination (Table 3) yielded

an uncorrected date of A.D. 440 ± 70 . If the *fardo con cabeza postiza* is indeed Middle Horizon in date, then the determination is too early for its context. One explanation is that there was substantial mixing of the deposits in this later fill. But, as mentioned, construction of Cist 8 was stratigraphically equivalent to the Middle Horizon *fardo con cabeza postiza* pit, even though its upper portion contains later, mixed fill.

The wall of Cist 8 was formed of loaf-shaped adobes. One of these contained charcoal which we extracted from its matrix. This charcoal was likely to have been accidentally incorporated into the adobe brick when it was made, and so provides a date after which the adobe was formed. The sample was dated to A.D. 620 ± 60 (Table 3) and, as suggested, comes from a pit that may have been contemporaneous with the pit containing the *fardo con cabeza postiza*. This date, when combined with the contextual and stratigraphic data from elsewhere in the cemetery, seems to us to relate to the Middle Horizon use of the cemetery as a whole. It is a date that is also consistent with the appearance of highland Middle Horizon ceramic traits elsewhere on the coast (Silverman 1993:40; Paulsen 1983).

Related evidence comes from an isolated test pit (*pozo de sondeo* no. 2; P2 in Figure 2), excavated on the top of a rise some 80 meters SW of the main portion of the cemetery. There were two very distinct strata of refuse in this test unit. In the upper stratum was a sherd (Figure 15) very similar in motif to those found in MH 2 contexts at Azángaro, near Ayacucho, by Anders (1987:figures 7.19 and 7.20). Anders referred to this motif with the term "hooks", and her hooks are matched by those on our sherd from the cemetery. A charcoal sample from the lower stratum (Beta-34365) yielded an uncorrected date of A.D. 460 ± 50 (Table 3). The upper stratum, then, would postdate this, and the MH 2 attribution for the sherd is not contradictory. Some connection with the Azangaro region of the highlands may be implied by the similarity of motif.

Various datable ceramics were found in other grave contexts within the cemetery. In Tomb 6 of the cemetery (our Lot 39), for ex-

ample, is a single-handled face-neck jar (Figure 17). This handled vessel is very similar to one discussed by Eisleb (1977:139-140, figure 263). Eisleb identifies his example as a Nasca 8 style vessel, and it was from the Valley of Nazca.¹¹

Nevertheless, the face-neck jar from Tomb 6 may not date to EIP 8. Another vessel similar to this same face-neck jar comes from Strong's excavations at Cahuachi in what he calls a "Huaca del Loro Phase burial" (Strong 1957:figures 15E and 15 F). Strong suggests that this phase should be placed in his Epoch of Fusion, that is ". . . following the Late Nazca culture" (*ibid.*:36). Thus, while some published accounts place similar face-neck jars in the late Early Intermediate Period, others see them as a post-Early Intermediate Period phenomenon.¹²

Chronological Summary

The cemetery had been used initially during the early part of the Early Intermediate Period (probably EIP 3) for burial of at least a single individual, possibly a fisherman. During a subsequent hiatus, a caliche cap had accumulated over the terrain. Beginning in the latter portion of the Early Intermediate Period (EIP 8 perhaps), the field was again used as a cemetery, seemingly continuously to MH 2 times. This last, MH 2 use of the terrain as a cemetery is best dated to early in the seventh century A.D. At some point after this, the use of the terrain changed from

mortuary to residential, and adobe structures were constructed over the earlier graves and cists. Some of the cists may have been used for storage of individual commodities at this later time.

Speculation on Ideology

We will permit ourselves one final speculation relating to ideology. We again turn our attention to the shallow bowl with the anthropomorphized toad design on its interior (Figure 12). As mentioned, it was found in association with early Middle Horizon (perhaps MH 1B or 2A) ceramics in the pre-adobe floor adult burial. However, from an ideological perspective, the toad design itself is of interest. In his study of Andean cosmology, Urton (1981:102, 180) reports that one of the most widely recognized of the "dark-cloud" constellations (those formed by dark areas where visible stars are absent) is that of the toad, *hanp'atu* in Quechua. He relates the constellation to the Andean toad *Bufo spinulosus*, distinctive in having a well-marked mid-dorsal spine. As can be noted in Figure 12, the toad from the cemetery is depicted with a prominent dorsal spine, and thus may be identified tentatively as representing *B. spinulosus*.

One population of this toad, known as the *B. s. spinulosus* group, is found from central Peru, in the Ayacucho and Cusco provinces, to Lake Titicaca (Ceï 1972:83). Members of the *spinulosus* group are very resistant to dryness and altitude and prefer drier, less vegetated environments (Vellard 1955-1956:147). They also breed principally at the onset of the rainy season, in permanent bodies of water, and have an altitudinal range of 1,200-5,000 m (Ceï 1972:83). This is well above the elevation of the Tambo Viejo cemetery, but does encompass that of Azan-garo, just 15 km from Wari, at an elevation of 2390 m (Anders 1986:203). Also, the burrowing habits of these toads associate them with the earth in a special way, and they are referred to as "the children of the earth", or *pachawawa* in Quechua (Urton 1981:180). Their behavior is observed for modern divinatory purposes, and if

". . . in the months of September and October they croak day and night in

¹¹ We are grateful to Patricia Knobloch for pointing us to the Eisleb source and for several other ceramic date attributions for material from the 1987 cemetery excavations.

¹² Comments on a draft of this paper by reviewers continually echoed this lack of agreement, with some placing Acarí Valley Effigy Jars at the end of the late Early Intermediate Period, while others argued for an early Middle Horizon (probably MH 1A) placement. Indeed, the contemporaneity of MH 1A with Nasca 9A, or of Nasca 8 with early, less fancy Chakipampa 1A, is still debated (Patricia Knobloch, personal communication, August, 1993). As one reviewer pointed out, we are dealing with periods of probably fewer than 50 years' duration. Our position is that we see the residents of the Acarí Valley integrating or manipulating both highland, Ayacucho area, motifs and coastal, mostly Nazca area motifs in their own way.

great numbers, it is an augury that there will be much rain and, as a consequence, the crops will be abundant . . ." (*ibid.*:181, translation of Roca W. 1966: 58-59).

We assume that as a harbinger of the rainy season, these toads' breeding behavior would not have gone unnoticed by Andean natives of the western slopes. This relationship may well account for their importance in Andean cosmology (Urton 1981:180). Thus, we not only have evidence for a highland connection in this vessel, but also for a highland belief system that may have existed in the Middle Horizon Acarí Valley culture.

Implications

An important result has emerged from our analysis of these data. This result is the discovery of evidence for the existence of a separate ceramic manufacturing tradition within the Acarí Valley during the late Early Intermediate Period, and probably continuing without interruption into the Middle Horizon. In our sample, such a tradition was associated with funerary practices. If subsequent paste analysis of these ceramics is successful (see Note 7), then other localized ceramic traditions with other functional associations may be discovered.

The existence of localized ceramic manufacturing traditions, at least partially independent of those of the Nazca Valley to the north, has the important implication of helping to explain the nature of society in this portion of the south central coast of Peru. Independently produced ceramic traditions may imply a certain degree of political and socio-economic autonomy as well. No evidence of any Nazca Valley-based political structure or intervention is presently known anywhere within the Acarí Valley during the late Early Intermediate Period. In fact, there is little to suggest any polity organized beyond a local village level. Such villages were few at that time. The only one excavated was Gentilar (PV 74-5), by Valdéz C. (1989). It consisted of some 25-30 *quincha* houses in no apparent pattern, spread out along a low ridge (*ibid.*:37-38, unnumbered figure). No evidence exists for a centralized community structure. Nor were there any differences

among the houses in terms of size or function. Lacking such evidence, we suggest that the society of the later Early Intermediate Period Acarí Valley inhabitants was not stratified. The only evidence for ranking at that time is in the form of age, and perhaps sex, grading of burials in the Tambo Viejo cemetery.

As mentioned, the last dated use of this terrain as a cemetery had been by people who had a material culture and burial wrapping methods similar to those found in the Pisco area and as far north as Pachacamac during the Middle Horizon (Kauffmann Doig 1978:450-452). Based on motif similarities found on a ceramic sherd from test trench (*Pozo de Sondeo*) No. 2, it is possible that these people had maintained ties with people originally from the Azangaro area. Perhaps they had been *mitmaq* (members of a state-controlled work group) from the highlands. Also, given the possibility that Acarí Valley Effigy Jars incorporate highland motifs as early as MH 1A times, the arrival of highland peoples, or at least some of their ideas, may have occurred by then.

There is no reason to assume that the movement of highlanders or their ideas to the Coast during the Middle Horizon necessitated any deployment of military force. Our excavations suggest that their use of the terrain had been no different from that of the EIP 8 peoples before them. This similar use of space may reflect a certain degree of shared belief between the Middle Horizon people of this area and the EIP 8 people. Indeed, if only the movement of ideas is involved, then it had been the same people who had continued using the terrain as a cemetery. The gradual incorporation of highland Middle Horizon motifs on locally-produced fine ceramics (the Acarí Valley Effigy Jar form with Middle Horizon motifs, for example) supports this interpretation. The later occupants appeared to have respected, or at least to have understood, the sacredness of the ground of their predecessors' cemetery and had continued to use the terrain in much the same way.

After the Middle Horizon use of the area as a cemetery, the builders of adobe structures employed the terrain in a very different way, possibly as a residential and storage

area. Tantalizing questions remain to be answered by future analysis and field investigations. When did the cemetery terrain undergo this dramatic shift in function? Why did such a shift occur?

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their continuing gratitude to Francis A. Riddell and Augusto Belan Franco, the co-directors of investigations in the Acarí Valley. Riddell guided the first season's excavations at the cemetery after realizing the need to carry out rescue operations. Belan provided storage facilities and work space. He was primarily responsible for helping us secure permission from the Peruvian government to carry out the work, and provided advice on the significance of various materials excavated. We thank F. Iriarte, director, and the other members of the Comisión Técnica of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura for realizing the potential importance of the site and for facilitating the necessary permit.

Our inferences on stylistic dating were greatly enhanced by Patricia Knobloch, John Rowe, and Larry Dawson, who freely gave their time and expertise to aid in our ceramic studies. Other valuable comments were provided by Patrick Carmichael, Dorothy Menzel, Donald Proulx, Helaine Silverman, and Theresa Topic. Carmichael's insights on regional styles of the south central Peruvian

coast played a large role in our evolving thoughts on the significance of the cemetery.

Many of the illustrations of the ceramics, other materials, stratigraphy, and plans were done exquisitely by Lidio Valdéz C., Herbert Valdivia, Milagros Ratti, and David Fleming. Photography on the project was expertly accomplished by Carol Howell. Valdéz, Valdivia, Ratti, and Howell also pitched in to carry out field excavations. Howell assisted in the preparation of earlier versions of this paper.

Over the past several seasons in the cemetery, our field and lab work benefited from the labors and skills of dozens of project participants, both Peruvian and North American. Students and recent graduates of the Universidad Católica Santa María de Arequipa and the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, worked side by side with North American participants.

Finally, no project can function adequately without logistical support, and our heartfelt thanks go to the Noriega family and to Juan and Pupuna Nemi who helped us by providing housing, personnel for cooking and cleaning, access to vehicles, and by smoothing the connections between the project and the people of the town of Acarí. They all made us feel welcome and treated us as family, and we will always regard them the same way.

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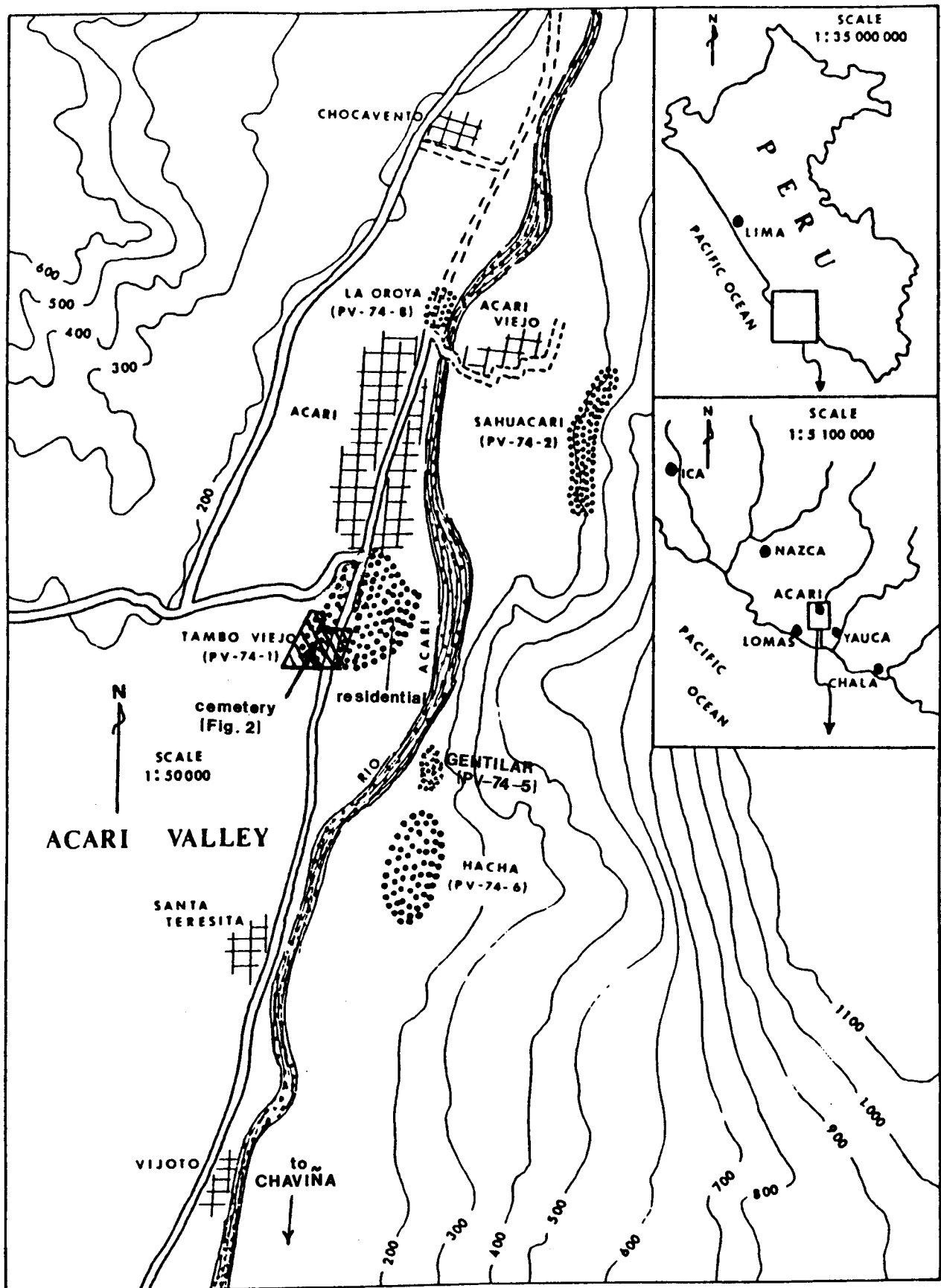


Figure 1. Map of Acari Valley locations mentioned in the text. Cemetery portion of Tambo Viejo (PV 47-1) is outlined. After Menzel and Riddell 1986.

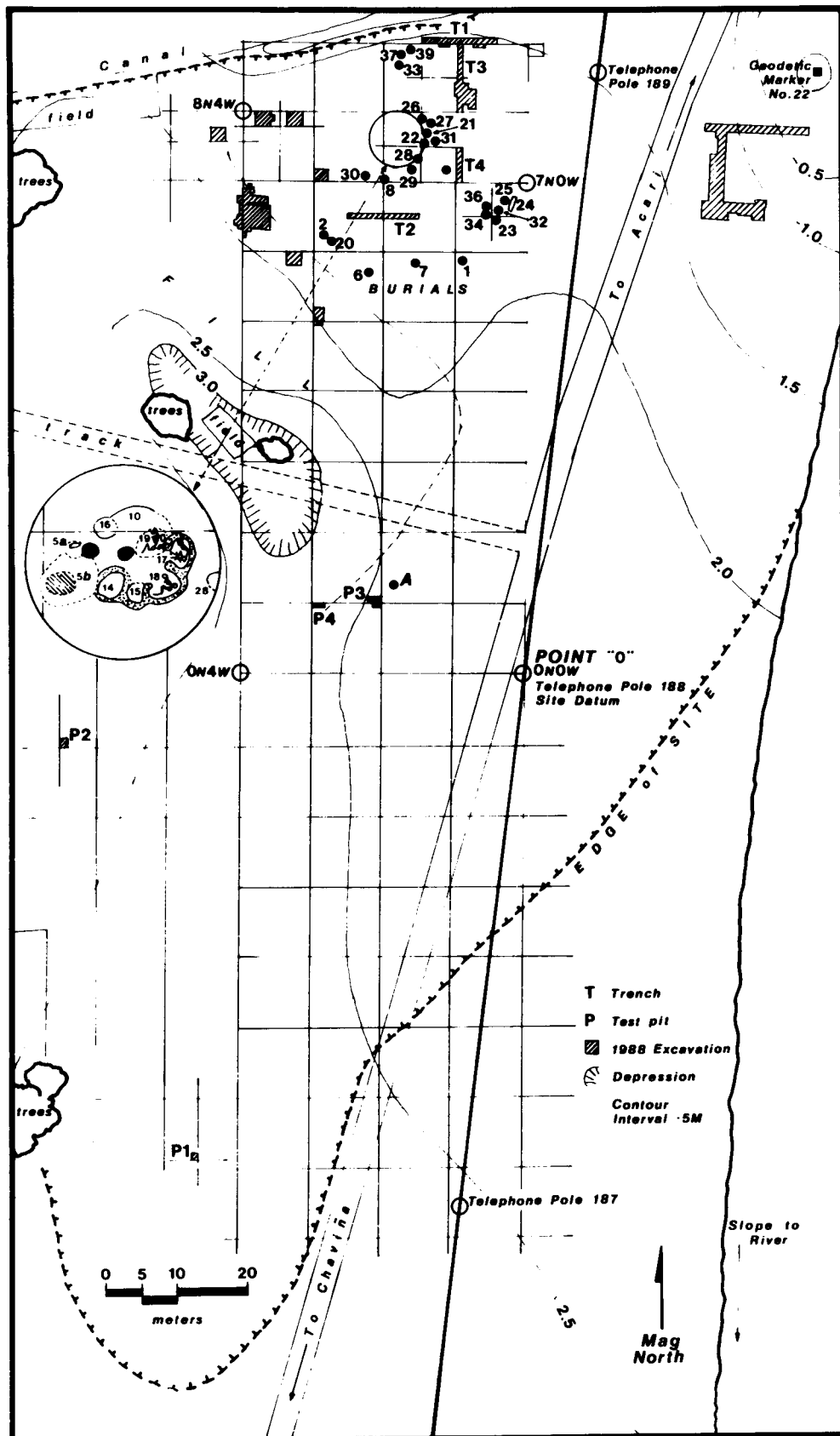
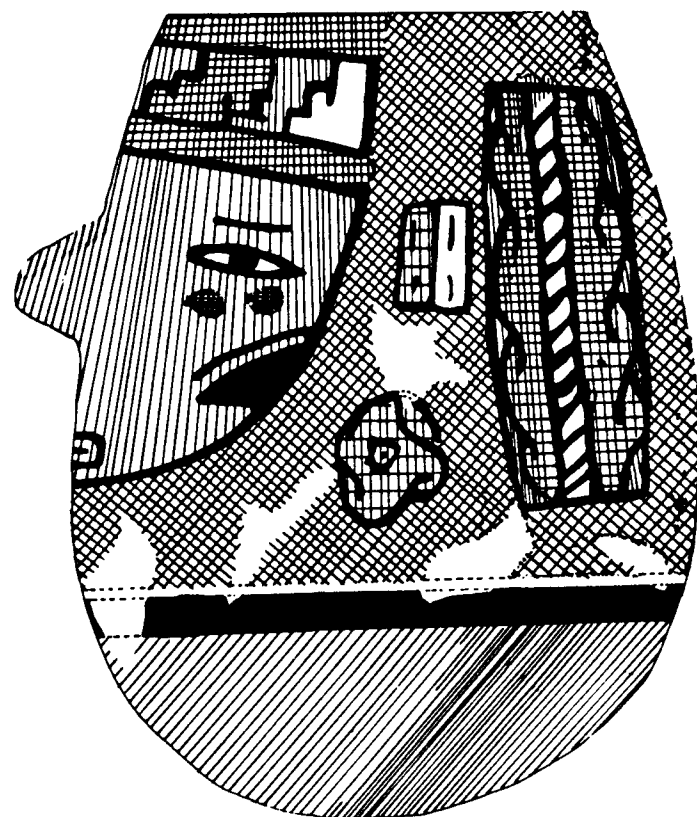
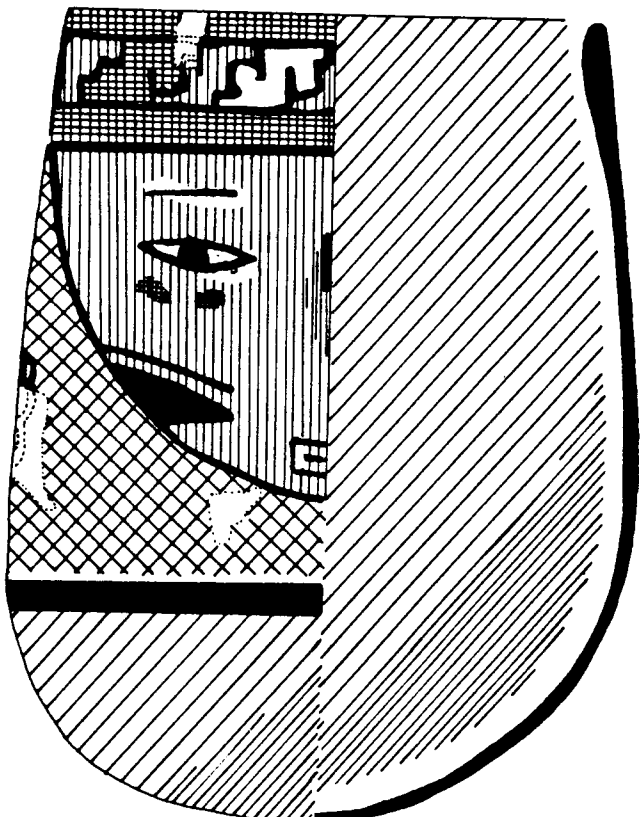


Figure 2. Plan of Tambo Viejo Cemetery showing areas excavated and area of tomb concentrations.



B

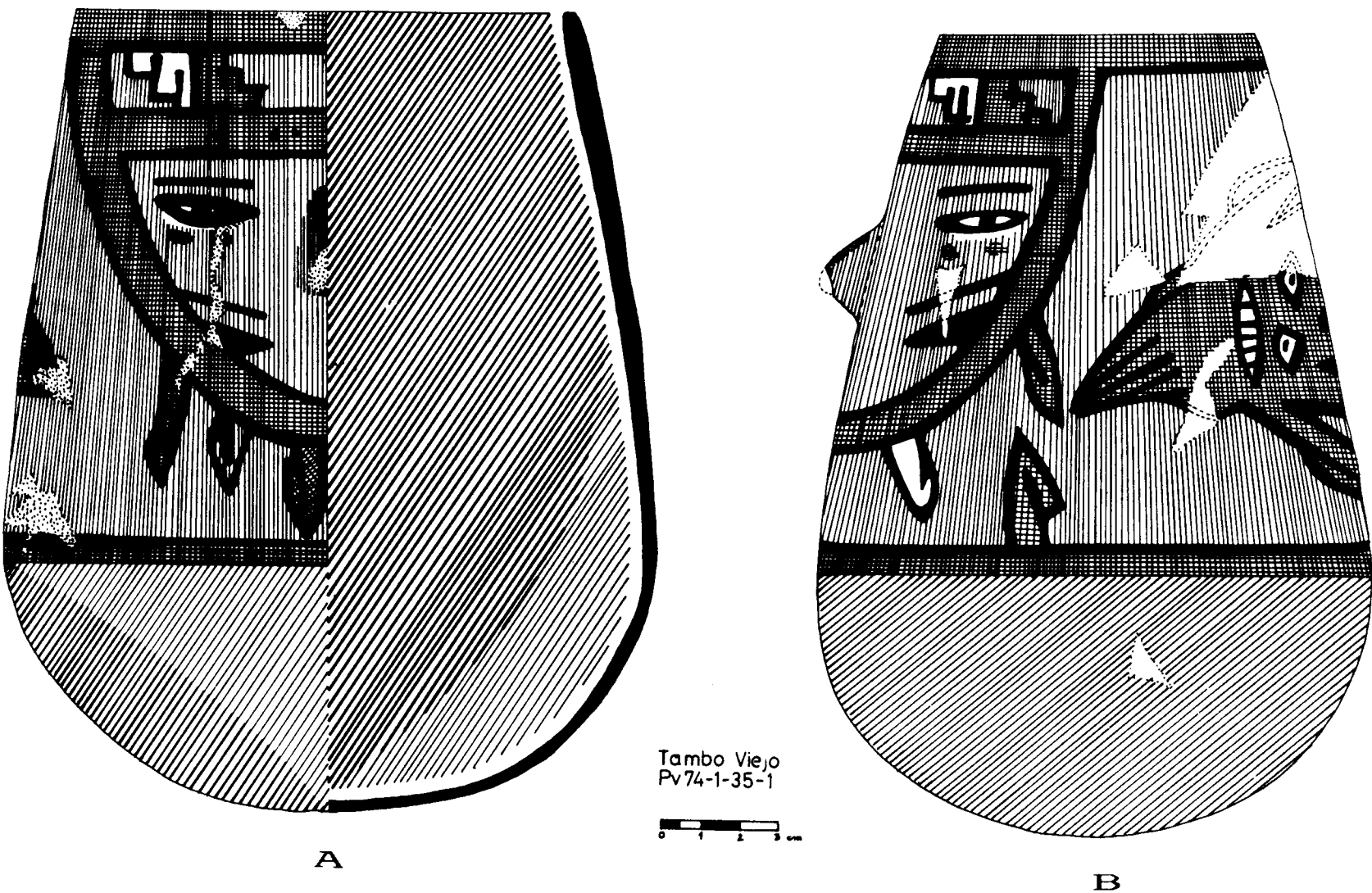
Tambo Viejo
Pv 74-1-35-3



A

WHITE			REDDISH ORANGE
BEIGE			DARK RED
BLACK			LIGHT BROWN

Figure 3. Acari Valley Effigy Jar. Cutaway front and side views.









WHITE			REDDISH ORANGE
BEIGE			DARK RED
BLACK			LIGHT BROWN

Figure 4. Acari Valley Effigy Jar. Cutaway front and side views.

Figure 5. Acari Valley Effigy Jar. Front and side views.

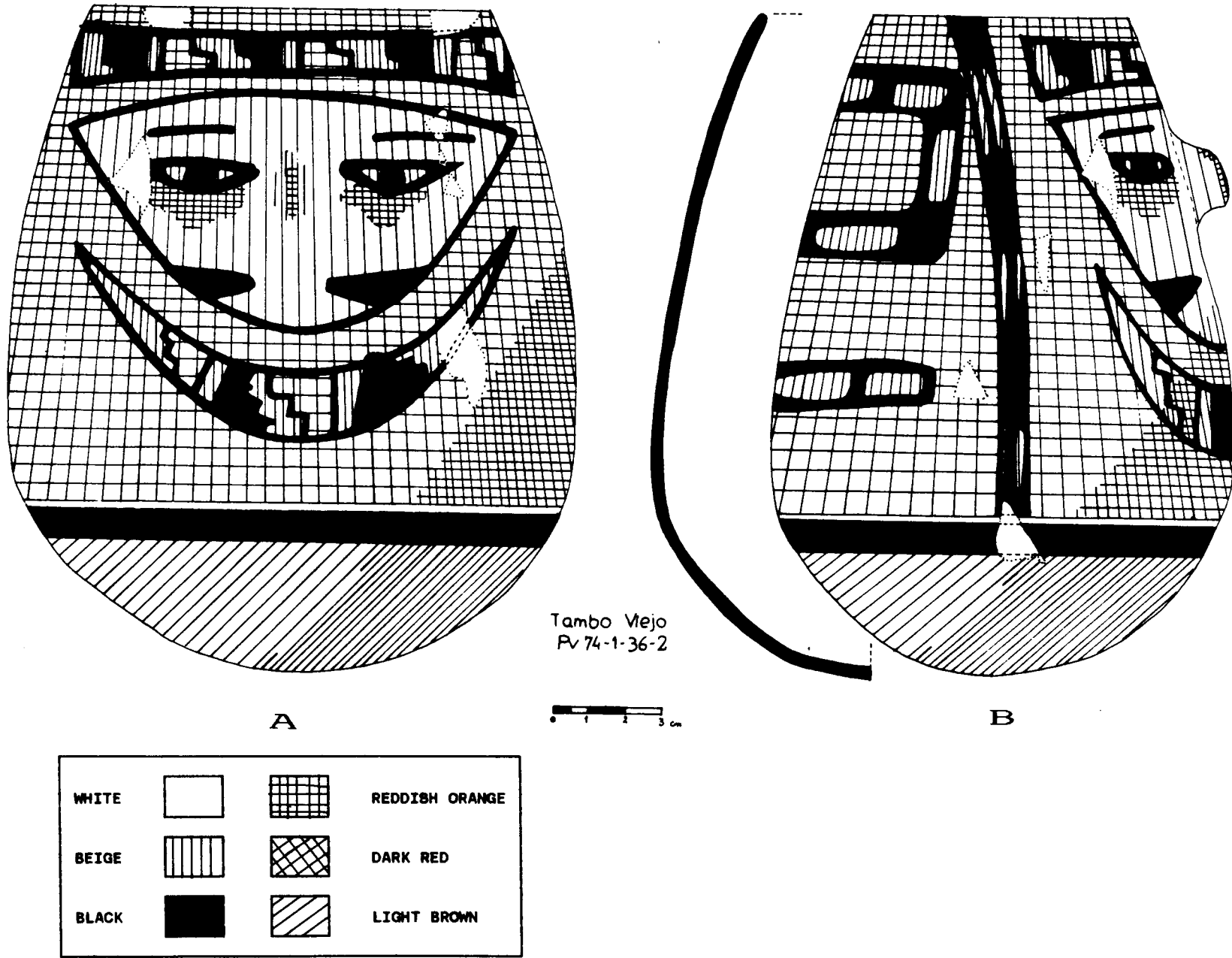




Figure 6. Photo of bundle of yarns, fabric, composite wood/bone tools, and cords associated with EIP 2-3 “fisherman” mummy and the ceramic shell-shaped whistle shown in Figure 8. Compare with Figure 7.

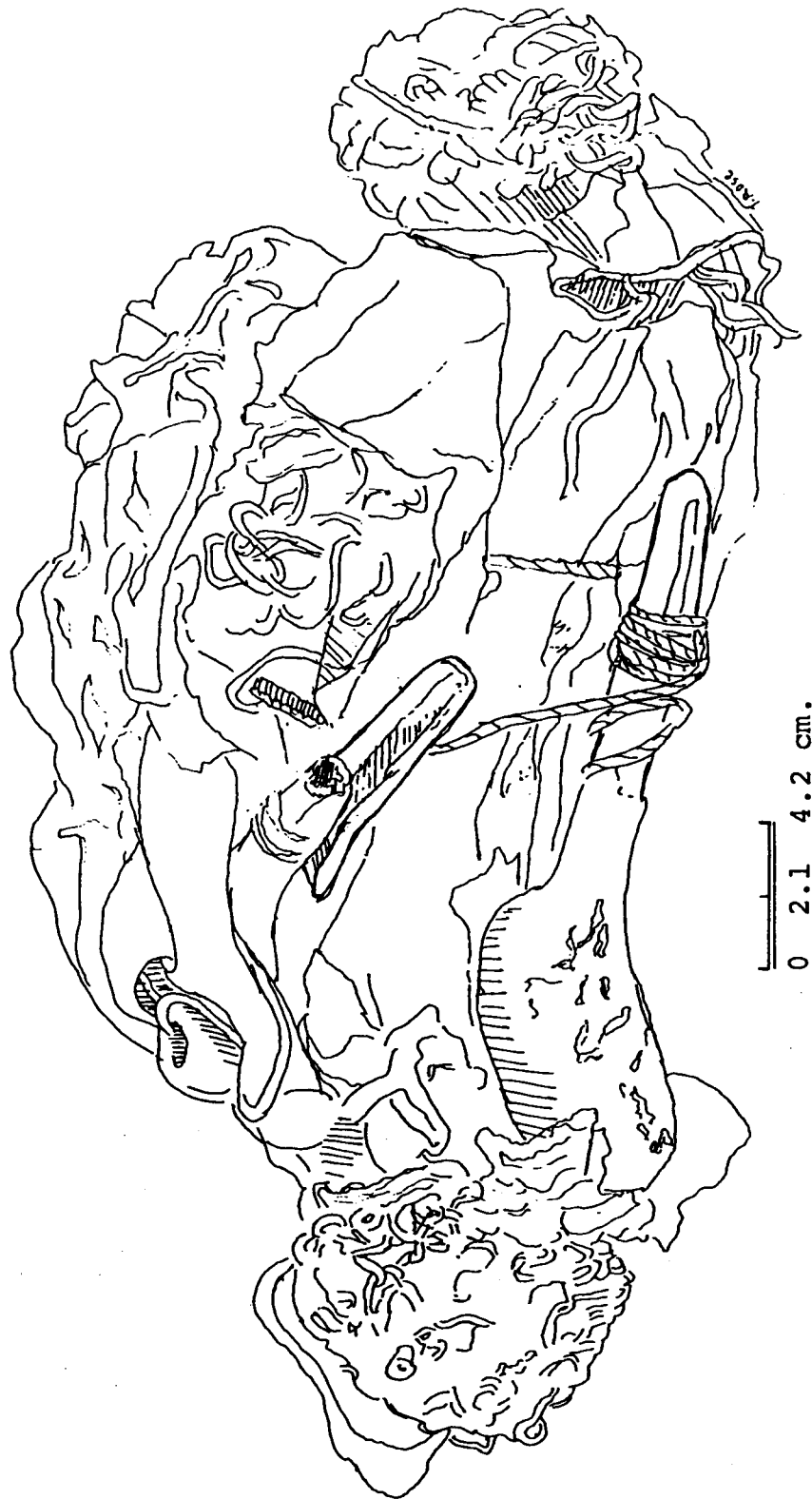


Figure 7. Drawing of bundle of yarns, fabric, composite wood/bone tools, and cords associated with EIP 2-3 "fisherman" mummy and the ceramic shell-shaped whistle shown in Figure 8. Compare with Figure 6.

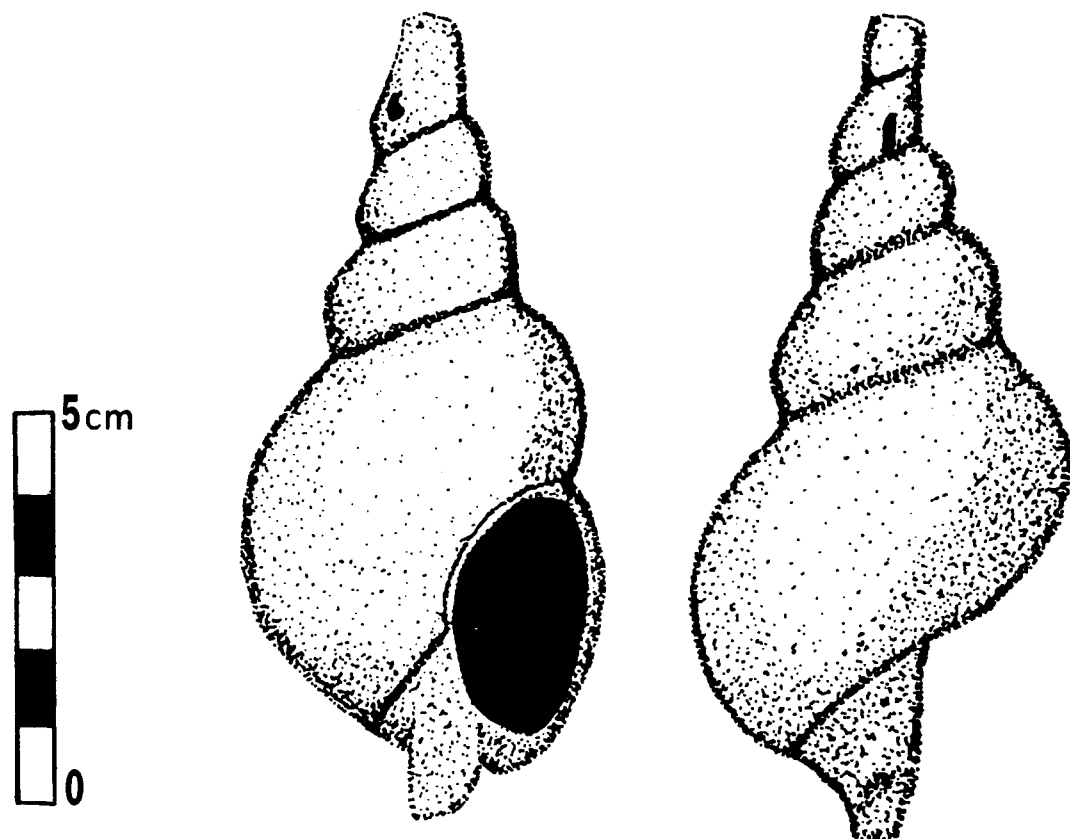


Figure 8. Ceramic shell-shaped whistle associated with EIP 2-3 “fisherman” mummy and bundle shown in Figures 6 and 7.

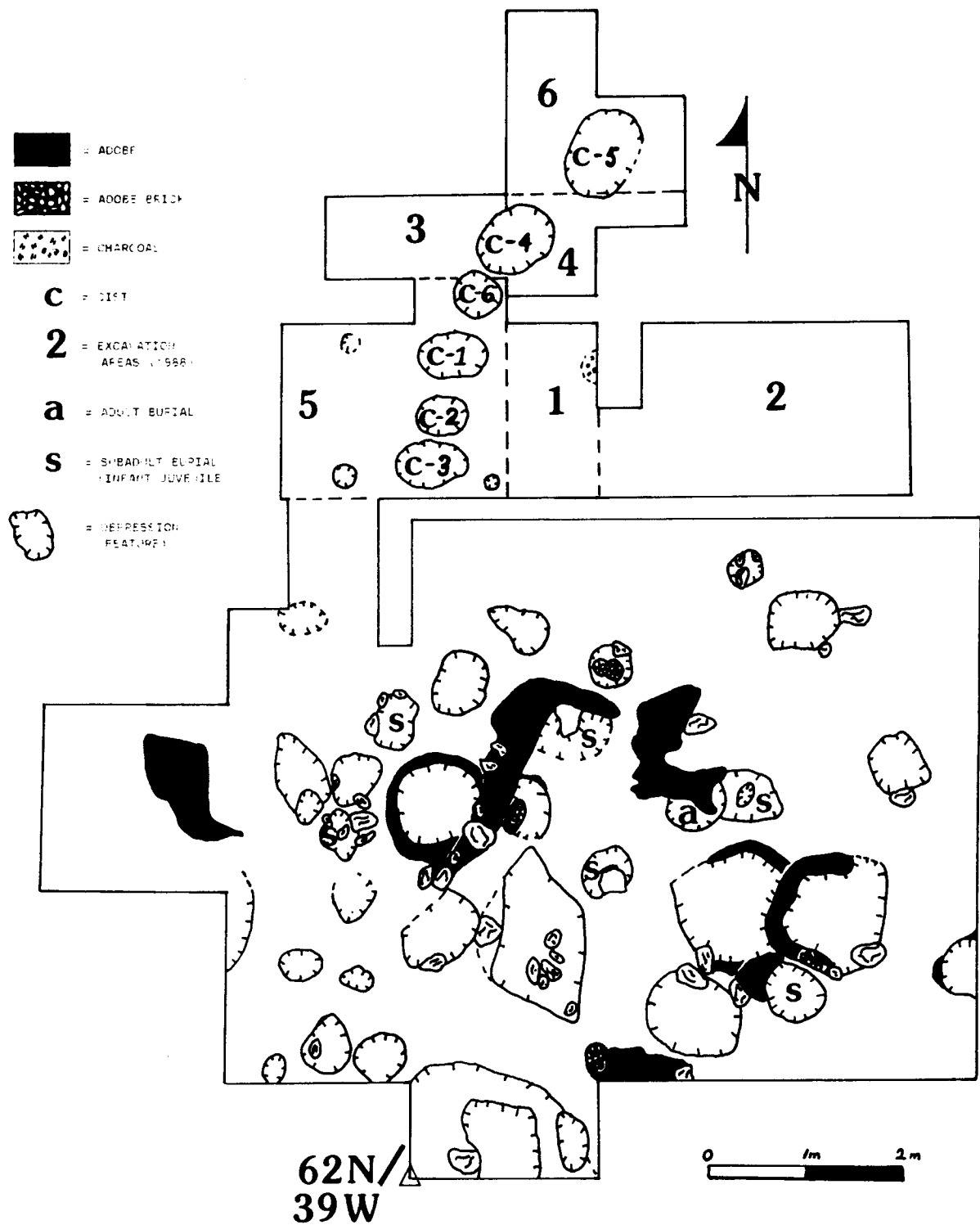
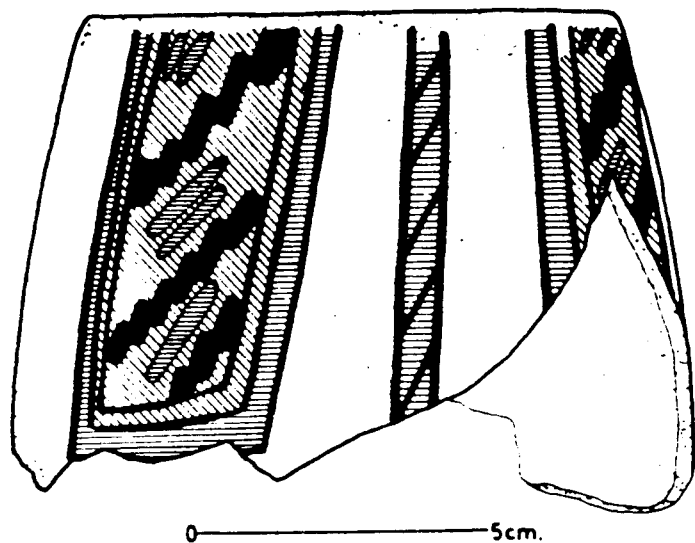
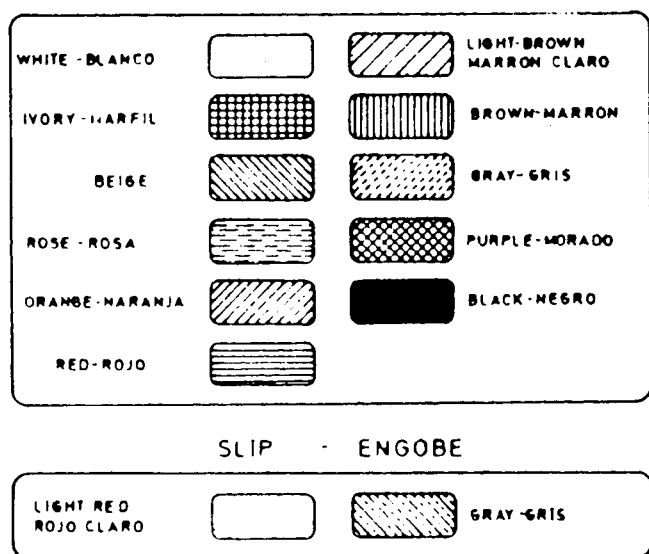


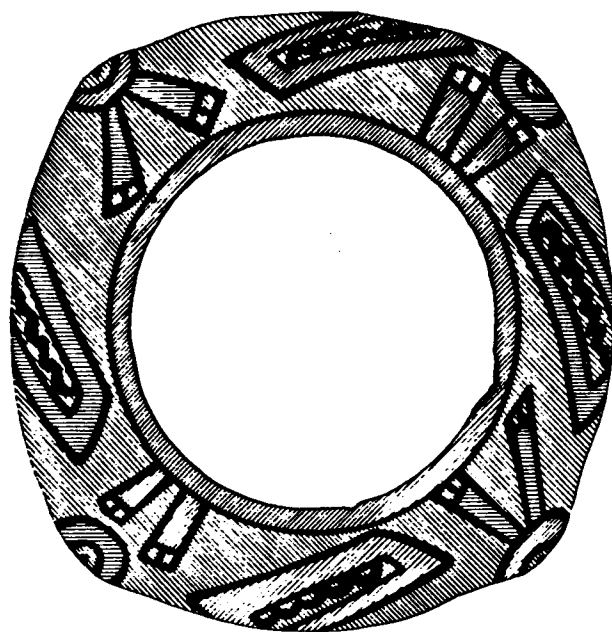
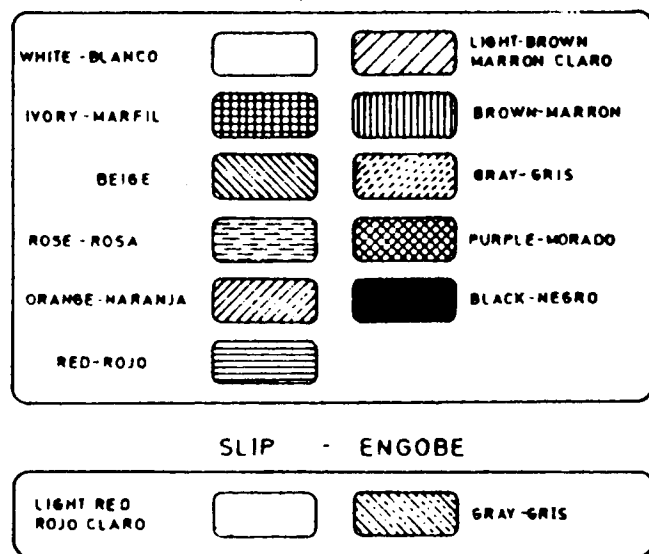
Figure 9. Detail of area excavations between 6N and 7N and 3.6W-4.2W. Black areas are adobe. Note arcuate pattern of pits C-1 through C-6 and locations of adult (= "a") and subadult (= "s") burial pits. Based on Shumate 1989:figure 10).



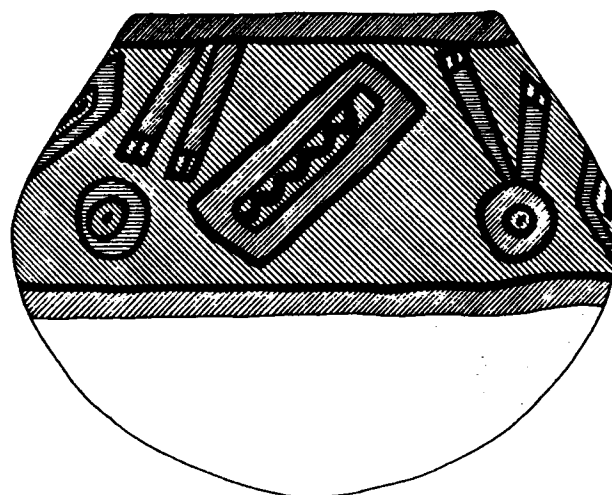
0 ————— 5cm.

PV 74-1-332-(2-3-4-8)

Figure 10. Jar with MH motifs on Acarí Valley Effigy Jar form from adult burial ("a") shown in Figure 8 (see Figures 11 and 12 for associated vessels). From Shumate 1989:figure 51.

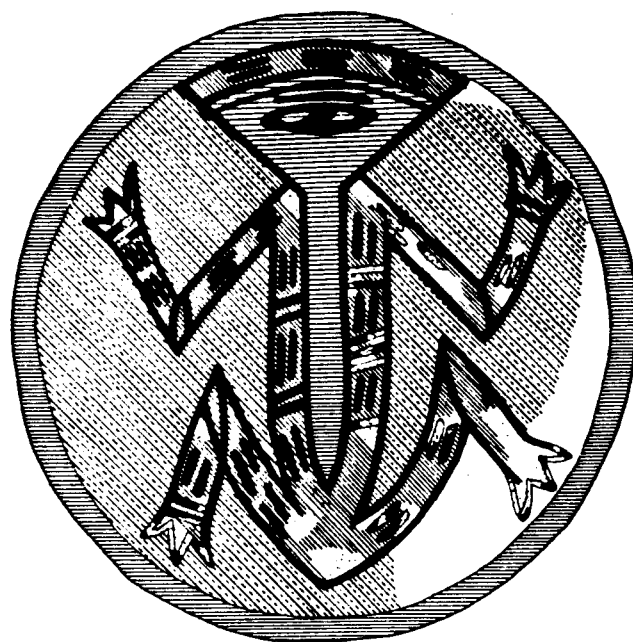
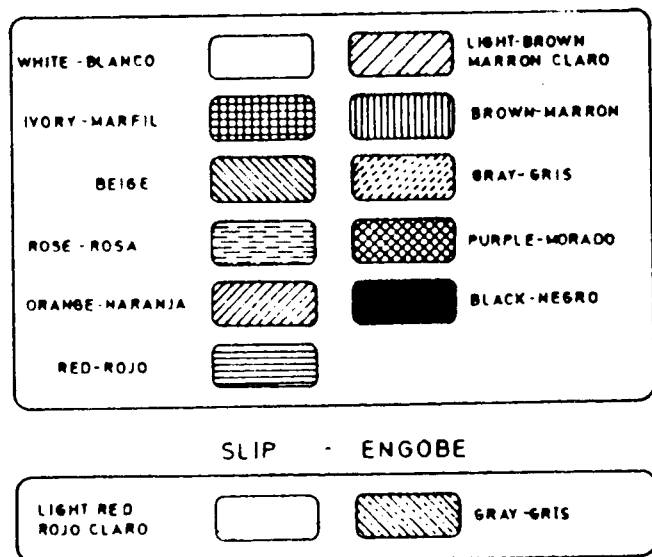


0 ————— 3 cm

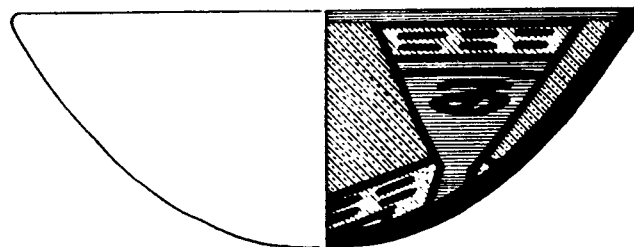


PV 74-1-332-50

Figure 11. Bowl associated with the same MH adult burial as vessel in Figures 10 and 12. Top and profile views. From Shumate 1989:figure 54.



0 ————— 5cm.



PY 74-1-332-25

Figure 12. Bowl associated with the same MH adult burial as vessel in Figures 10 and 11. Interior and profile views. Motif on bowl interior seems to be an anthropomorphized toad. From Shumate 1989:figure 50.

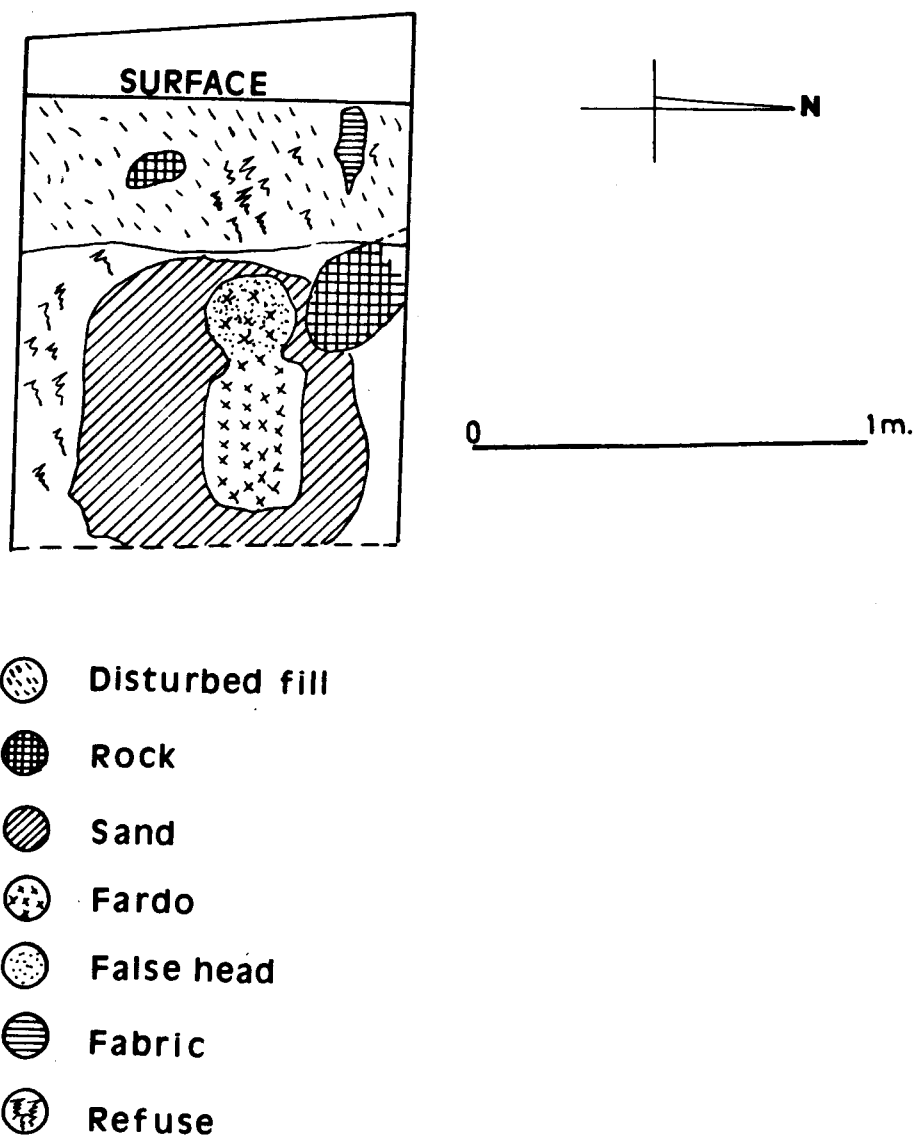


Figure 13. Profile of pit containing false-headed mummy (*fardo con cabeza postiza*).

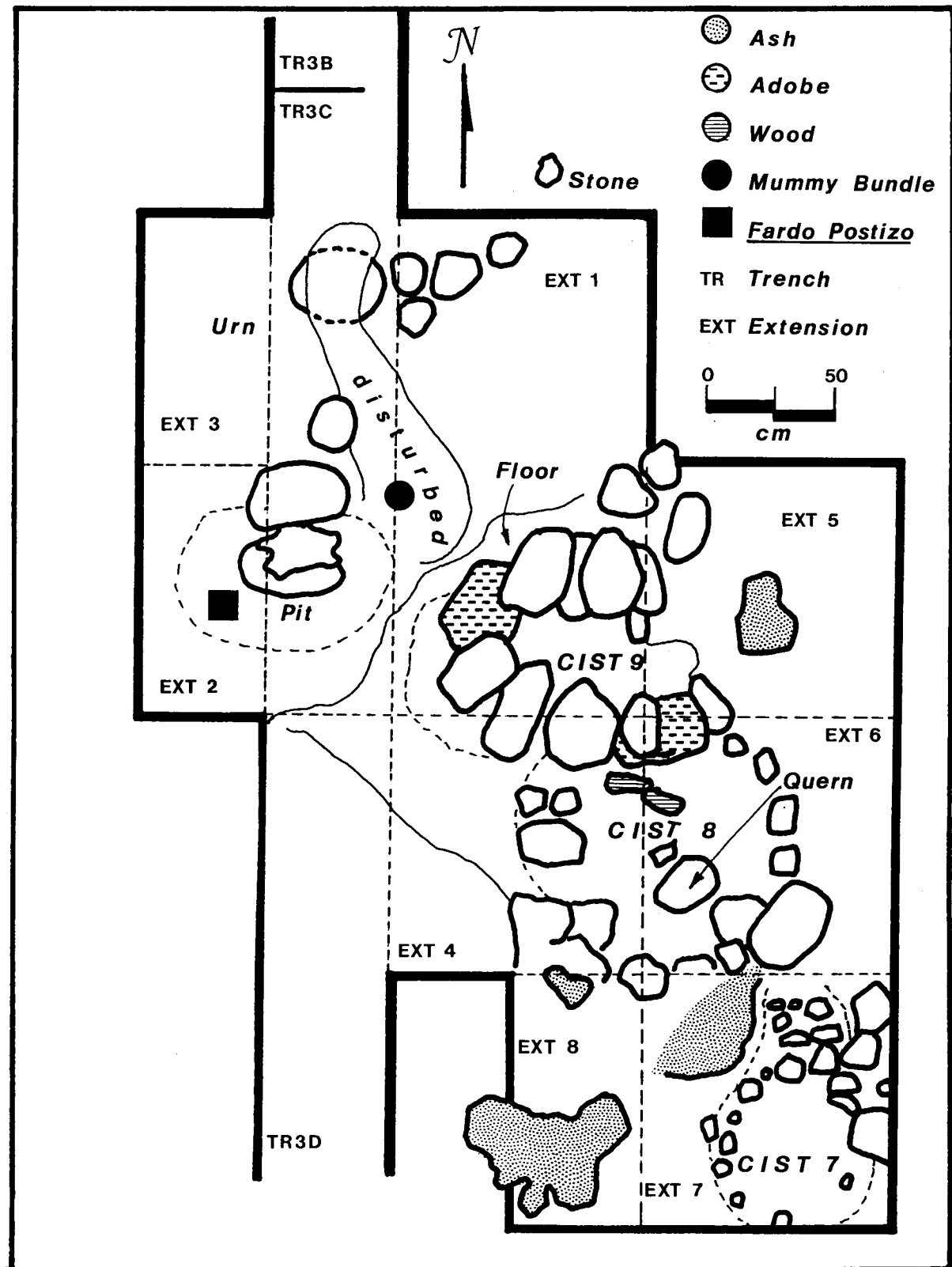


Figure 14. Plan of area within Trench 3 showing locations of *fardo con cabeza postiza*, Cist 8, and Cist 9.

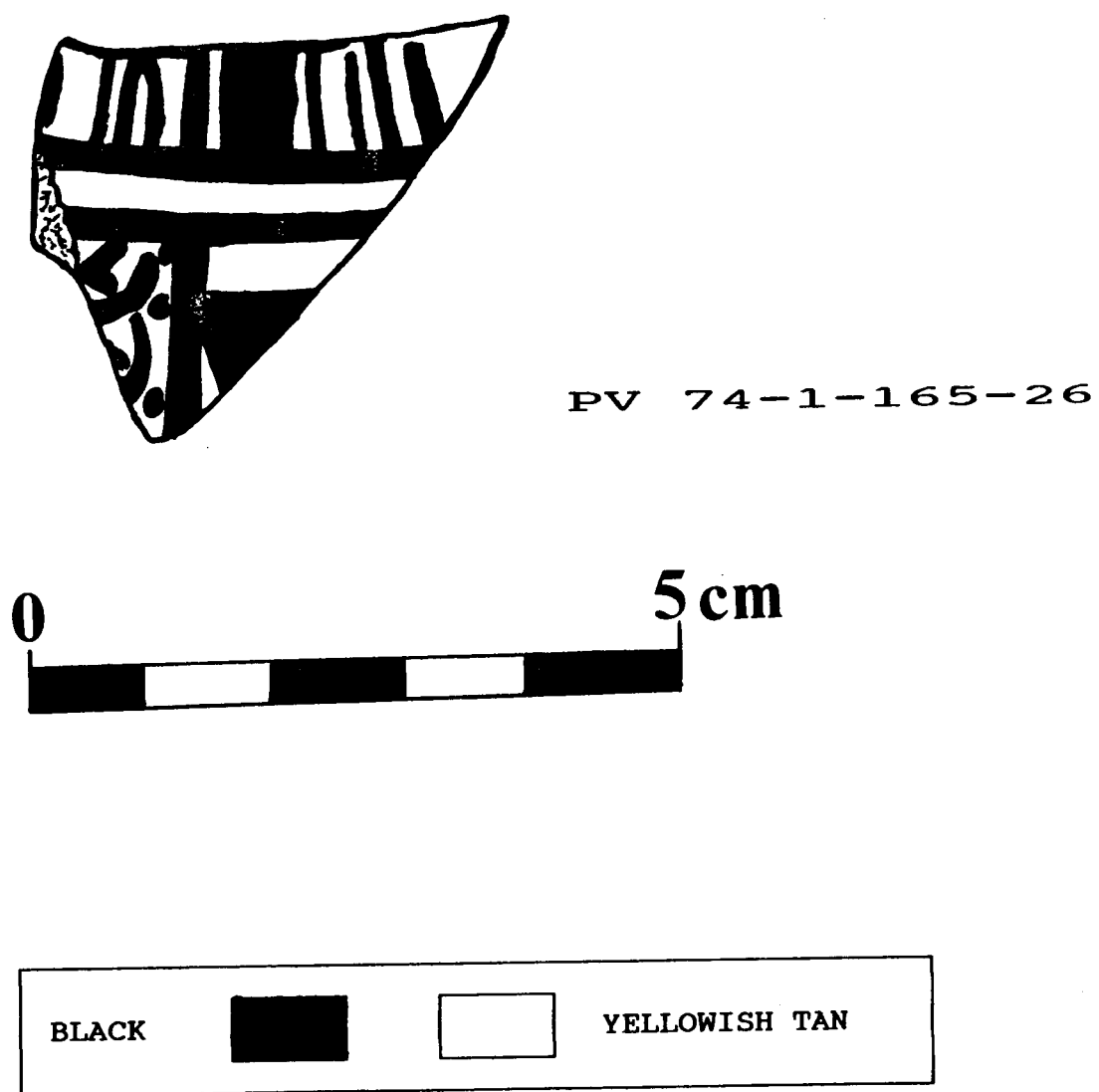


Figure 15. Sherd from upper stratum of test pit (*pozo de sondeo*) 2 with “hooks” motif.

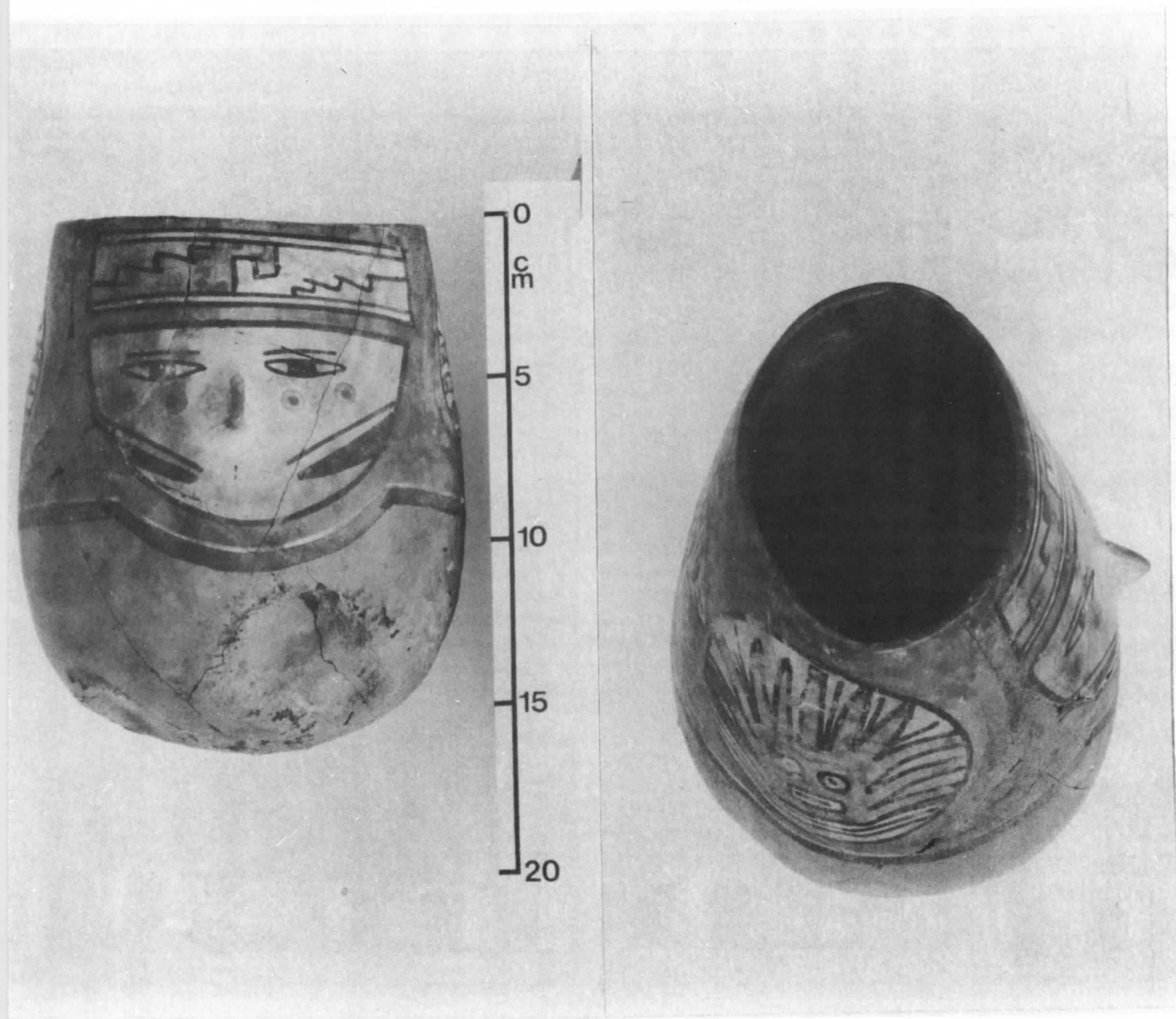


Figure 16. Acarí Valley Effigy Jar with firing damage to face side of vessel. Front and oblique top/side views.



Figure 17. Face neck jar (PV 74-1-39-1). Side and front views.