An Analysis of The Early Cultural Sequence In The Nepeña Valley, Peru

Donald A. Proulx

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY CULTURAL SEQUENCE IN THE NEPEÑA VALLEY, PERU

by

Donald A. Proulx

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1
   Changing Perceptions of the Peruvian Formative .................. 4
   Goals of the Initial Period and Early Horizon Research ....... 14
   Goals of the Early Intermediate Period Research ............... 15
   The Organization of This Monograph ................................. 17

BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT ........................................... 21
   Geographical Setting ................................................. 21
   The Archaeological Record ......................................... 24
   The Chronological Sequence ......................................... 24

THE 1979 FIELD SEASON: METHODOLOGY .................................. 27

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITES .............................................. 33

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING OF THE SITES ............................. 183
   Introduction ........................................................... 183
   The Ceramic Analysis ................................................ 183
   Architecture .......................................................... 215
      Initial Period Architecture ...................................... 216
      Comparisons and Dating ........................................... 219
      Early Horizon Architecture: The Early Period ............... 221
      Ceremonial Sites ................................................ 222
      Comparisons and Dating ........................................... 223
      Hilltop and Habitation Sites ..................................... 225
      Comparisons and Dating ........................................... 227
      Fortresses .......................................................... 228
      Comparisons and Dating ........................................... 229
      Early Horizon Architecture: The Late Period .................. 230
      Comparisons and Dating ........................................... 233
   Early Intermediate Period Architecture: Recuay ................... 235
   Early Intermediate Period Architecture: Moche .................... 238
   Polished Stone Projectile Points and Knives ..................... 239
   Comparisons and Dating ............................................. 241
   Spindle Whorls ....................................................... 242
   Pan Pipes ............................................................... 243

THE EARLY CULTURAL SEQUENCE FOR THE NEPEÑA VALLEY ................. 247
   The Initial Period ................................................... 247
      Definition .......................................................... 248
      Artifacts .......................................................... 252
      Settlement Patterns ............................................... 254
      Summary ............................................................ 256
   The Early Horizon: The Early Period ............................... 257
      Definition .......................................................... 257
      Artifacts .......................................................... 258

iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

Map 1: The North Coast of Peru
Map 2: Archaeological Sites of the Nepeña Valley Through 1979, (including valley configuration and location of major population centers)
Map 3: Preceramic and Initial Period Sites, Nepeña Valley
Map 4: Early Horizon Sites, Nepeña Valley: The Early Period
Map 5: Early Horizon Sites, Nepeña Valley: The Late Period
Map 6: Moche and Recuay Sites, Nepeña Valley

Tables

Table 1: Nepeña Valley Chronological Sequence
Table 2: The Sites and Their Characteristics
Table 3: Site Location and Frequency of Polished Stone Projectile Points and Knives
Table 4: Distribution of Early Horizon Pan Pipe Fragments

Figures

Figure 1: Plan of Punkurí (PV 31-10), an Early Horizon Temple
Figure 2: Plan of Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36)
Figure 3: Plan of the ruins of Pañamarca (PV 31-38)
Figure 4: Plan of the Fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46) after Squier
Figure 5: Overall plan of the San Juan ruin (PV 31-47)
Figure 6: Plan of the stone pyramid at San Juan (PV 31-47A)
Figure 7: Overall plan of the Motocachy Ruin (PV 31-48)
Figure 8: Detailed plan of the Motocachy Ruin (PV 31-48)
Figure 9: Cross Section of the Motocachy Ruin (PV 31-48)
Figure 10: Plan of PV 31-50
Figure 11: Plan of the Kushi-Pampa Site (PV 31-56)
Figure 12: Plan of the site of Huancarpon (PV 31-59)
Figure 13: Plan of the pyramids and ceremonial area of Huancarpon (PV 31-59)
Figure 14: Cross-section of Huancarpon ceremonial area. 92
Figure 15: Plan of PV 31-60 97
Figure 16: Plan of the Ruins of Paradones (PV 31-64) after Squier 101
Figure 17: Plan of Huaca Partida (PV 31-125) 114
Figure 18: Plan of Chilhuay alto (PV 31-157) 117
Figure 19: Plan of PV 31-159. 121
Figure 20: Plan of the Fortress of Chilhuay bajo (PV 31-162). 125
Figure 21: Plan of Cerro Huarcos (PV 31-175). 129
Figure 22: Plan of the site complex of PV 31-234-237. 148
Figure 23: Plan of PV 31-238. 153
Figure 24: Plan of the site complex of PV 31-253-254. 167

Plates

Plate 1A: Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot (plain circles). 325
Plate 1B: Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot (multiple dots). 325
Plate 1C: Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot (size variation) 325
Plate 2A: Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot (multiple circles) 327
Plate 2B: Nepeña Triangular Zoned Punctate 327
Plate 2C: Nepeña Banded Lozenge. 327
Plate 3A: Nepeña Banded Lozenge. 329
Plate 3B: Nepeña Sinuous Zoned Punctate. 329
Plate 3C: Nepeña Angular Zoned Punctate. 329
Plate 4A: Nepeña Cylinder Stamped. 331
Plate 4B: Nepeña Broad Lined Incised 331
Plate 4C: Nepeña Plain Black 331
Plate 5A: Nepeña Applique Nubbin 331
Plate 5B: Nepeña Painted Incised 333
Plate 5C: Miscellaneous Incised and Engraved 333
Plate 6A: Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished. 335
Plate 6B: Kushi-Pampa Pattern Burnished. 335
Plate 6C: Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched 335
Plate 7A: Huancarpon White Painted 337
Plate 7B: Huancarpon Negative Painted. 337
Plate 7C: Huancarpon Grey Painted. 337
Plate 8A: Huancarpon Orange Plain. 339
Plate 8B: Huancarpon Textile Impressed 339
Plate 8C: Huancarpon Textile Impressed 339
Plate 9A: Ridged Applique Technique. 341
Plate 9B: Serrated Edge Technique. 341
Plate 10A: Polished Stone Projectile Points 343
Plate 10B: Stone Projectile Points. 343
Plate 10C: Stone Projectile Point in Matrix 343
Plate 11A: Spindle Whorls 345
Plate 11B: Figure Head (front). 345
Plate 11C: Figurine Head (reverse). 345

vi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12A</td>
<td>Early Horizon Hilltop Site (PV 31-349B)</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12B</td>
<td>Caylán (PV 31-30). Agglutinated Rooms.</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12C</td>
<td>Caylán (PV 31-30). Terraced stone pyramids.</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13A</td>
<td>Early Horizon Fortress of Chilhuay Bajo (PV 31-162).</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13B</td>
<td>Early Horizon Fortress, Chilhuay Bajo (PV 31-162) view of Bastions.</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13C</td>
<td>Varieties of adobe bricks at Punkuri (PV 31-10).</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Aerial Photograph of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and PV 31-60.</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15A</td>
<td>Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), megalithic enclosure wall</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15B</td>
<td>Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), interior walls and courts</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15C</td>
<td>Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), carved lintel stone.</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16A</td>
<td>Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), corner of enclosure.</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16B</td>
<td>Paradones (PV 31-64), section of megalithic wall</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16C</td>
<td>Motocachy (PV 31-48), megalithic wall.</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17A</td>
<td>Paradones (PV 31-64), megalithic portal.</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17B</td>
<td>Santa Valley Megalithic Fortress, Structure 28</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17C</td>
<td>Santa Valley Megalithic wall construction, Structure 28</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18A</td>
<td>Pañamarca (PV 31-38), pyramid and walled courtyards.</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18B</td>
<td>Pañamarca (PV 31-38), walled courtyards.</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18C</td>
<td>Pañamarca (PV 31-38), Kushi-Pampa Phase megalithic walls</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This present volume is the third in a series of monographs written on the results of research conducted in the Nepeña Valley on the north coast of Peru. The previous reports have focused on producing a systematic archaeological survey of all the sites in the valley, placing the sites in their proper chronological niches, and studying the settlement patterns for each cultural period. The initial fieldwork was undertaken in the summer of 1967 during which time 110 sites were recorded and analyzed (Proulx 1968a). Another season of fieldwork was completed in the summer and fall of 1971, resulting in the discovery of sites 111 through 220 (Proulx 1973). In these earlier volumes new ceramic styles were described, changing architectural patterns analyzed, ancient roads, canals, walls and agricultural fields described, related clusters of sites identified, and a cultural history attempted for the valley.

In the course of those earlier surveys, two cultural periods attracted my greatest interest: the Early Horizon (1300-375 B.C.) and the Early Intermediate Period (375 B.C. to A.D. 540). The Early Horizon witnessed the rise and spread of a cultural manifestation known as Chavin, named after the type site of Chavin de Huantar in the northern highlands. Chavin was the major culture during the Early Horizon, directly influencing most of northern and central Peru and indirectly affecting the south coast and southern highlands. Although Chavin has been recognized for over 60 years, researchers still do not know the basic nature of this cultural manifestation. It has been described variously as a civilization (Tello 1942, 1943 and 1960), an empire (Carrión Cachot 1948), a religious cult (Patterson 1971) and a "horizon style" (Willey 1951). The origins of Chavin have been placed in the highlands (Tello 1943), on the coast (Larco Hoyle 1941), in the tropical forest (Lathrap 1971), or from Mesoamerica (Coe 1962; Badner 1972). The spread of Chavin influence throughout much of Peru has been attributed to military conquest (Roe 1974), to missionary activity of a religious cult (Patterson 1971; Cordy-Collins 1974), or to trading networks needed to obtain exotic materials (Paulsen 1974; Odell 1977). As of yet no one has tested these models in a rigorous manner.

One of the major problems in dealing with the Early Horizon in Peru has been the lack of an adequate data base. A number of individual Early Horizon sites with "Chavinoid" iconography have been excavated in coastal Peru: the Cupisnique cemetery (Larco 1941), the Ancon middens (Willey and Corbett 1954), Huaca de los Reyes (Moseley and Watanabe 1974; Pozorski 1975), Garagay (Ravines and Isbell 1975) and Cerro Sechin (Bueno 1970/71) among others. However, few studies of Early Horizon habitation sites have been made, nor have complete valley settlement systems been analyzed for this period. Gordon Willey's classic settlement pattern study in the Virú Valley (1953) and
the allied work of his colleagues on the dating of the ceramic styles (Stong and Evans 1952; Collier 1955) provided useful data on site patterning and dates, but the Virú Valley was not a major locus of Early Horizon culture as was the Nepeña Valley.

The eminent Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello was the first to recognize Chavin as a distinct culture, and one which predated most other known early Peruvian cultures. Following his excavations at the site of Chavin de Huantar in 1919, he subsequently worked in the Nepeña and Casma valleys on the north coast of Peru, excavating the sites of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley and Moxeke and Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley (Tello 1933a, 1933b, 1933c, 1933d, 1942, 1943, 1956 and 1970). He also studied a number of megalithic ruins in the Nepeña valley, comparing them to the architecture of the highland site of Chavin de Huantar. As a result of his work, Tello hypothesized that Chavin first developed in the Peruvian highlands (having been stimulated through contacts with the tropical forest area) and had spread from there to the coastal valleys through a migration of peoples (Tello 1942; Willey 1951:106). He considered Chavin to be a "civilization," the "mother culture" of all later Andean civilizations.

Once Chavin had spread to the coast, Tello felt that it had undergone certain modifications or adaptations to its environment. For example, the sites of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí were constructed in several stages, the earliest two of which may belong to the Early Horizon. The lowest level at each site was constructed of fieldstone covered over with clay plaster and decorated with carved clay figures in relief. Later the temples were rebuilt using a mixture of stone and conical adobe. Tello hypothesized that the earlier architecture was an attempt to imitate highland models, but as time passed and stone resources became scarce, the culture adapted to the coastal model of adobe architecture.

Tello argued that the center of this coastal manifestation of Chavin was the Nepeña Valley, along with its neighbor, Casma, to the south. It was in these valleys that the most elaborate architectural manifestations of coastal Chavin were found, and the close proximity of these two valleys to the site of Chavin de Huantar in the highlands suggested a strong and continuous contact.

A contrasting theory of Chavin origins and spread was presented by another prominent Peruvian archaeologist, Rafael Larco Hoyle (1941). Willey summarizes his theory as follows:
In 1933 Larco Hoyle found Chavin-like polished black incised and relief decorated pottery in the Cupisnique Quebrada of the Chicama Valley. Larco sees stylistic resemblances linking this Cupisnique pottery, the Chavin de Huantar stone carvings, and the mud reliefs of the Nepeña Valley temples. Unlike Tello, he believes that the genius of this art style was coastal, not highland or Amazonian. Larco conceives of early coastal populations as constituting the base upon which was propagated the idea of a religious cult characterized by feline symbolism. The center of this cult he would place in the Nepeña Valley. In brief, Tello's highland center of Chavin de Huantar is Larco's later colony, settled by migrants from the coastal valley of Nepeña.

Larco approaches the distributions of Chavin, or Nepeña, more cautiously than Tello. He remarks on the similarities to Paracas and Chongoyape, but ranges no further. Of the temple and stone carvings of Cerro Sechin, Casma Valley, he sees a developmental connection with Punkurí and Cerro Blanco of Nepeña; but he would place Cerro Sechin as the earliest of these developmental stages, apparently prior to the advent of the feline deity...

Functionally, as stated, Larco interprets the Nepeña (or Chavin) style as the imprint of a religious movement which spread a complex art form among peoples of a generally similar, but regionally varied, culture. (Willey 1951:107)

Thus Larco not only argued for a coastal origin of the Chavin style, but interpreted it more as an art style and religious cult rather than as a culture or civilization. Similarly Wendell Bennett (1943) regarded Chavin as a pan-Peruvian horizon style, marking the earliest point of the then known Peruvian chronological sequence. Gordon Willey (1951) took a similar view of Chavin representing an art style that could be used as a time marker because of its widespread distribution.

Tello's and Larco's earlier work had thus established the Nepeña Valley as an important center during the Early Horizon. With this as a background, I paid particular attention to the sites which Tello had designated as "Chavin" during my surveys of 1967 and 1971. By the completion of the 1971 field season, over 20 sites dating to this period had been recorded.

Frustrated by the lack of an adequate data base regarding the origin, nature and spread of the Chavin Culture, I decided
to devote the 1979 field season to collecting data and testing hypotheses regarding the Early Horizon sites in the Nepeña Valley. Nepeña seemed to be a perfect laboratory to test the many ideas about how and why Chavin influence spread into the region. At the same time, as I was formulating my research plans, I was aware of current research being done on Formative sites elsewhere in Peru and on new debates that had erupted regarding the emergence of civilization in Peru and the role of Chavin in this process. Before I discuss how this affected the research design, let us review some of these recent developments.

Changing Perceptions of the Peruvian Formative

The past decade has seen a revolution in our knowledge and understanding of the Initial Period and Early Horizon in the Central Andes. New sites have been discovered and older ones excavated, adding much new knowledge and a greater range and complexity to our earlier sample of early sites. On the coast the sites of Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley (Pozorski 1975, 1976, 1980 and 1983; Moseley and Watanabe 1974; Conklin 1985), Garagay on the outskirts of Lima (Ravines and Isbell 1975), and Las Haldas (Fung 1969; Grieder 1975; Pozorski 1981) have been excavated. Surveys yielding early sites have been made in the Lambayeque Valley (Shimada 1981), the upper Zaña Valley (Dillehay and Netherly 1983), the Jequetepeque Valley (Ravines 1981 and 1982; Keatinge 1980), the Moche Valley (yet unpublished), the Santa Valley (Wilson 1981 and 1983), the Nepeña Valley (Proulx 1968a, 1973; Proulx and Daggett 1980; Daggett 1984), the Casma Valley (Pozorski and Pozorski 1981; Fung and Williams 1977), and the Huarmay, Supe and Fortaleza area (Tabio 1977; Williams 1978-80)—to name only the best known of these surveys.

In the highlands the site of Chavin de Huantar has been re-excavated in part (Lumbreras 1970, 1972, 1974b, 1977; Burger 1978, 1979 and 1981) yielding new data on chronology, architecture and general settlement pattern. Pacopampa has also been re-examined (Rosas and Shady 1970). Terence Grieder and Alberto Bueno Mendoza have excavated the important site of La Galgada in the upper reaches of the Santa Valley (Grieder and Bueno 1981 and 1985). The Japanese have continued their important excavations of formative sites which began with the work at Kotosh and Silliccoto in the Huallaga Basin (Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972; Izumi, Cuculiza and Kano 1972). More recently they have excavated at La Pampa in the upper reaches of the Santa Valley (Terada 1979) and at Huacaloma in the Cajamarca area (Terada and Onuki 1982 and Terada 1985). In the Callejon de Huaylas Richard Burger and Lucy Salazar-Burger have
excavated the early site of Huaricoto (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1980 and 1985). These examples give some idea of the amount and range of fieldwork that has recently been undertaken on formative sites.

Our changing perceptions of the Peruvian Formative have been the focus of a major conference at Dumbarton Oaks in 1982 entitled "Early Ceremonial Architecture in the Andes" (See Donnan 1985) as well as a session at the 1982 meetings of the American Anthropological Association entitled "The Origins and Development of the Andean State." All of these activities demonstrate the strong interest in the origins of complex society in the Central Andes and the current theoretical fascination with the formation of the state. However, despite all the new data that are coming to light, many fundamental questions remain unanswered.

One of the major reassessments that has taken place during this period of changing paradigms has been the attitude toward the nature and role of the Chavin Culture in the formation of complex society on the coast of Peru (see Burger 1985). As described above, the Chavin Culture was first defined by Julio C. Tello who argued that it was a "civilization," the "mother culture" of all later civilizations (Tello 1942, 1943 and 1960). Tello's successor as director of the National Museum in Lima was Dr. Rebecca Carrion Cachot, who enlarged on his theory using the term "Chavin empire" (Carrion Cachot 1948:166). This was described as a religious, not a political empire, yet a civilization homogeneous in its arts, rites, religion, race and probably language (Willey 1951:107).

Alternative interpretations were proposed by Rafael Larco Hoyle, among others, who argued that Chavin was a religious movement which spread a complex art form among peoples of a generally similar, but regionally varied, culture (Willey 1951:107). Similarly Wendell Bennett (1943) regarded Chavin as a pan-Peruvian horizon style, marking the earliest point on the then known Peruvian chronological sequence. Gordon Willey (1951) took a similar view of Chavin representing an art style that could be used as a time marker because of its widespread distribution.

The origins of the Chavin "manifestation" have been placed in the highlands by Tello (1942, 1943) who saw it strongly influenced by the tropical forest area, especially in religious iconography. Larco, on the other hand, saw a coastal origin for the Chavin style, arguing that the simpler artistic and architectural forms of the coast were ancestral to the more complex manifestations in the highlands which he saw as dating later (Larco 1941, 1948; Willey 1951).
More recently Donald Lathrap (1971) has argued that civilization, as well as the roots of the Chavin Culture, are derived directly from the tropical forest area. He sees Chavin as an early state which spread through much of Peru. Finally, we must mention several specialists who see possible external origins for the Chavin Culture. Michael Coe has pointed out a number of similarities between the Olmec Culture of the Gulf Coast of Mexico and the Chavin Culture of Peru (Coe 1962). Since both cultures are at least in part contemporary, Coe argues that a connection existed between the two, with ideas flowing from one to the other. A similar argument has been made by Badner (1972).

Putting aside the arguments for the origin of the Chavin "manifestation," much has been written on the spread of its traits. Tello felt that the Chavin Culture spread from the highlands to the coast by means of migration and colonization (Tello 1942). Following a period of adjustment, these migrants adapted to the coastal environment, substituting local building materials (adobe and clay) for their highland counterparts (stone).

The nature and spread of the Chavin style has been the subject of a paper by Thomas Patterson (1971) who argued that Chavin was a religious cult that spread much like Christianity at the beginning of our era. Using the 10 phase sequence for the Early Horizon devised by Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964), Patterson argued that Chavin probably became a pan-Peruvian religion in Early Horizon 1 with its sphere of influence increasing greatly at this time as people outside the core area accepted all or part of the religious teaching of the cult (1971:43). In Early Horizon 3 and 4 the Chavin cult broke up into regional cults, and by Early Horizon 8 to 10 warfare had increased, judging from the number of hilltop forts. Patterson said that the cult was not spread through military conquest, but that militarism increased toward the end of the period, probably as a result of raiding by groups competing for scarce resources.

This theory was recently given some support by the discovery of a large cache of painted textiles in pure Chavin style found at Karwa near the Ica Valley on the south coast of Peru. Alana Cordy-Collins, who studied the textiles (1974; 1976), feels that the textiles served as a catechism for the transference of Chavin religious iconography to distant locations.

In contrast to Patterson's vision of a relatively peaceful spread of a religious cult, other researchers cite evidence for the militaristic orientation of Chavin and its forceful expansion over a wide territory. Chavin iconography depicts warriors in full regalia with clubs, spears, spear throwers, and trophy heads (Roe 1974, figs. 4b, 5, 26, 27, 28a, 28b, 28c and 31). Peter Roe, who has studied Chavin iconography in detail, argues that the earliest phase of the Chavin style, AB, was confined to the high-
lands, but that an expansion to the coastal area occurred during Phase C. The iconography of this phase depicts the sudden appearance of warriors, weapons and a "trophy head cult" (1974:38). John Rowe (1962a, Figs. 35-38) illustrates a group of stone war clubs from Cupisnique on the north coast. Willey and Corbett (1954:144) found skeletons with fractured skulls and healed wounds at Supe on the central coast--dating to the Early Horizon occupations there. Roe (1974:38) concludes that the purity of the style, the cultural homogeneity of the artifacts, and the strong evidence of military force in the coastal Early Horizon sites, argue for some degree of political control uniting the various Chavin centers. He suggests, then, a highland origin of Chavin with a militaristic expansion to the coast.

Other interests in the Chavin style have focused on iconographic and chronological studies which form the framework in which other developments can be described. John H. Rowe (1962a and 1967), for example, was the first to attempt a seriation of the Chavin style using as a base Chavin influences present in the ceramic tradition of the Paracas Culture of the south coast of Peru (Menzel, Rowe and Dawson 1964). Using primarily the sculpted stone reliefs at Chavin de Huantar, Rowe developed a four-phase sequence for the Chavin style which he labeled AB, C, D and EF, the double lettered phases being those which can likely be subdivided with future evidence. The anchor point in this sequence is Phase D, which is associated with the sculpture of the "Black and White Portal" of the "New Temple" at Chavin de Huantar. Phase C is represented by the carving of the "Tello Obelisk," and the "Smiling God," or Lanzon stone of the "Old Temple" at Chavin is dated to Phase A3. The Raimondi Stone, or "Staff God," is dated to Phase EF.

More recently Peter Roe (1974) has elaborated on John Rowe's original seriation, and Alana Cordy-Collins (1976 and 1979) and William Conklin (1971) have studied a group of painted Chavin textiles recently uncovered on the south coast which have greatly added to our knowledge of Chavin iconography.

A number of attempts have been made to develop a relative chronology for the Early Horizon based on ceramics. In the highlands Lumbreras (1972, 1974b) and Lumbreras and Amat (1965/66) have made several attempts at a chronology based on the isolation of sherds in the subterranean galleries at Chavin de Huantar. More recently Richard Burger (1978) has undertaken stratigraphic excavations at Chavin de Huantar and worked out a three-phase sequence for the Initial Period and Early Horizon. Chronologies have also been established for the sites of Pacopampa (Rosas and Shady 1970) and Kotosh (Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972). On the coast Burger (1972) has developed an eight-phase sequence for the Early Horizon occupation at Ancon; Menzel,
Rowe and Dawson (1964) a 10 phase sequence for the Ica Valley; and Lanning (1960) a sequence for Curayacu.

A great deal of re-evaluation is currently taking place regarding these conflicting models. It is now well documented that religious architecture of exceptional size and complexity was present on the coast and in the highlands long before the temple of Chavin was built. Current fieldwork has revealed two architectural traditions, one for the coast and the other for the highlands, which began in the late Preceramic Period and continued into the Initial Period. In the highlands this tradition consists of the use of ritual hearths, often sunken into the floor of a small one-roomed structure, in which ritual offerings were burned (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1980 and 1985). First discovered at the site of Kotosh in the upper Huallaga River Basin, the use of ritual hearths has now been documented over a wide range of sites in the central and northern highlands of Peru: Kotosh and Shillicoto in the Huallaga Basin, Huaricoto and La Galgada in the Callejon de Huaylas area, and Huacaloma in the Cajamarca Basin. Ritual at these sites appears to have been confined to a limited area (no plazas are present at any of the sites) and to a small number of people (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1980). The rooms associated with the hearths have niches in the walls at those sites in the Huallaga Basin. The architecture at the other sites is less well known. Burger has named this tradition the Kotosh Religious Tradition.

On the coast a quite different religious tradition is present. Religious architecture typically consists of a large artificial mound with lateral arms extending from it to enclose a large open courtyard. In many cases this enclosed area contains a sunken circular plaza (Williams 1978-80 and 1985). These sites are much larger and more massive than their counterparts in the highlands. Ritual appears to have involved the entire populations rather than being restricted to a privileged few. Carved clay facades, often painted, are found at many of these sites. Included in this inventory are sites such as Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley; Sechin Alto and Pampa de los Llamas/Moxeke in the Casma Valley; Las Haldas; numerous sites in the Huarmay and Supe area; Garagay and La Florida in the Rimac Valley; etc.

All of this is related to Chavin because in the early 1970's a sunken circular plaza was discovered between the flank-mounds of the U-shaped "Old Temple" at Chavin de Huantar (Lumbreras 1974b). The form of this sunken plaza was exactly the same as those associated with earlier temples on the coast such as Garagay, the Supe and Huarmay Valley examples, Las Haldas and Sechin Alto. The temple at Chavin de Huantar, there-
fore, appears to be in the "coastal tradition" rather than the "highland or Kotosh tradition" described above. This has touched off a debate between specialists working on the coast who argue for the primacy of ceremonial architecture in that region, with Chavin seen as a late highland development stemming from coastal stimuli, and those specialists working in the highlands who point to the distinct tradition found there and the presence of early sites such as Kotosh, Shillacoto, La Galgada and Huacaloma. This debate is far from over.

Another major controversy has arisen over the true relationship of Chavin de Huantar to coastal "Chavin" sites. Tello was the first to see a strong iconographic and architectural connection between Chavin and a number of sites he discovered on the coast: Cerro Blanco and Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley, Cerro Sechin and Moxeke in the Casma Valley (Tello 1943). Later archaeologists followed his lead, arguing for the relative position of each site vis-à-vis Chavin. Kroeber (1944:47-50) discusses the relationship of the Casma and Nepeña sites with Chavin, noting that stylistically they are not "Pure" Chavin but rather "Chavinoid" or related to Chavin. Collier and Thompson date Moxeke and Cerro Sechin rather early--to the Initial Period (Collier 1960:414). Lanning (1967:93) concurs, arguing that "on the grounds of the stone-carving style, it cannot date earlier than the very beginning of the Early Horizon . . . the elements of the carving style make Sechin the most likely ancestor of the Chavin Cult . . ." Peter Roe, on the other hand, gives a much later date to the Cerro Sechin carvings. In his 1974 monograph he states: "It is a proposition of this paper that a re-examination of Rowe's Chavin seriation coupled with a new seriation of the human figure in Chavin art supports the proposition that the sculpture of Cerro Sechin is late rather than early" (Roe 1974:35-36). Roe places the sculpture in Phase EF (the last phase) of Rowe's (1962) Chavin seriation.

Today some specialists are questioning the stylistic relationships between Chavin de Huantar stone carving and such diverse and variable forms as the carved clay facades of Cerro Blanco, Moxeke, Garagay and Huaca de los Reyes, the clay sculpture of Punkurí and Moxeke, and the stone carvings of Cerro Sechin. While Peter Roe (1974) does not hesitate to use these in his seriological refinements, others discount the possibility of a direct stimulus on these art forms from Chavin (see Samaniego, Vergara and Bishoff 1985, for example). Clearly a better definition of what is meant by the Chavin Style is needed in the future (see Moseley 1985 and Burger 1985).

The whole concept of a "Chavin Horizon" and the absolute chronology for that Culture is also undergoing re-examination. The concept of a pottery "horizon" was best developed by Bennett (1943), Willey (1945) and Kroeber(1944). Kroeber defined a
horizon style as "... one showing definably distinct features some of which extend over a large area, so that its relations with other, more local styles serve to place these in relative time, according as the relations are of priority, consociation or subsequence" (Kroeber 1944:108). Willey states that two simple criteria are fundamental to the horizon style: "First, that there shall be resemblance among the style groups so classed; second, that there be uniformity in relative position in the sequence on the part of the style as it occurs from region to region" (Willey 1945:49-50). Horizon styles are widely distributed over a fixed, usually short, period of time.

Rowe defines the Early Horizon as

"... a period, probably of some centuries' duration, in which pottery was fired under conditions that it was incompletely oxidized and generally dark in color, with a series of characteristic decorative techniques including incision and pattern burnish. It was in this period that the Chavin art style, used as a horizon marker by Bennett and Willey, spread over a large part of northern and central Peru" (Rowe 1960:627-628).

In a later paper (1962b) arguing against the use of stages in archaeological chronology, Rowe developed a relative chronology for the Peruvian area based on the local sequence in the Ica Valley of the south coast. In this sequence the Early Horizon is dated to the appearance of the first Chavin influence in the local pottery from the Ica Valley (Rowe 1962a:49). This time period was thought to have lasted almost 1000 years (Rowe 1967b), from 1400 to 370 B.C.

Pozorski (1983) is skeptical that a "horizon," defined as a style that spread widely over a relatively short period of time, could last for 1000 years and still be called a horizon. However, Rowe never claimed that Chavin exerted a continuous and strong contact with the Ica Valley throughout the entire Early Horizon. Indeed, as Patterson points out

"... the detailed analysis of Paracas pottery by Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964:257-62) showed that the nature and intensity of Chavin influence varied considerably in the development of this south coast style. Close resemblances existed between the two styles in Early Horizon 1 and 2 and again in Early Horizon 4 and 5 when a number of new Chavin features made their appearance on the south coast. Chavin also shared general stylistic trends from Early Horizon 1
to §. . . [but] no new Chavin features were incorporated after that time" (Patterson 1971: 39-40)

What many people fail to understand is that Rowe's use of time Periods and Horizons (as opposed to stages) is different from Bennett, Willey and Kroeber's use of pottery horizon styles. It is an attempt to use the cultural sequence in a well known valley to establish a relative chronology which can in turn be used to cross date other parts of the Peruvian area. Although Chavin influence is a major aspect in the definition of the Early Horizon in the Ica Valley, it is only one of a number of events/traits that are used. The end of the Early Horizon is a somewhat arbitrary point in time—when slip painted pottery replaces post-fired painted ware.

The dating of the Early Horizon in general and the Chavin Culture in particular is yet another problem that must be addressed. There are two ways of securing chronologies in archaeology: (1) by relative dates (those which merely indicate which object or group of objects is older or more recent in time than another), and (2) absolute dates (those which date an object or group of objects in years). Relative dating began with Max Uhle in the early part of this century and has been used effectively for building regional chronologies ever since. Perhaps the best relative chronology has been developed for the south coastal valley of Ica. Gravelots collected by Uhle were used by Alfred Kroeber and, later, John Rowe and his students to work out a precise chronology for this valley. Using associations of pottery form and design elements, changes taking place over a short period of 25 years have been noted by researchers (Proulx 1968b). Rowe has used the master sequence in the Ica Valley to develop a refined general chronological framework for the entire Peruvian area, using a system of periods and horizons (Rowe 1962b). Other sequences for the Peruvian area were tied into the Ica Valley master sequence through the use of trade pieces (cross-dating) and stylistic influences.

In Peru, as elsewhere, the most widely applicable absolute dating technique has been carbon-14 dating. Since its development in the late 1940s by Willard Libby, radiocarbon dating has undergone a series of re-evaluations. First the half-life was modified from 5568 years to 5730 years. Next, new methods of preparing samples for running dates were developed. More recently, one of the major assumptions underlying the technique, the constant ratio of carbon-14 to carbon-12 in the atmosphere, has proven to be false. The amount of carbon-14 has fluctuated, a fact discovered by comparing objects dated by the more accurate technique of tree ring dating, or dendrochronology,
with their radiocarbon dates. New correction tables have been devised to recalibrate the dates, but many of the older dates have not been recalibrated. Specialists are often unclear whether a published date has been corrected or not.

In the mid-1960s John Rowe noted that radiocarbon dates run on samples from the Peruvian area showed two patterns of consistency: groups of samples run before the year 1962 (mainly at the Lamont Geological Observatory at Columbia University) showed dates younger than those run after 1962 (Rowe 1966). After analyzing the patterns of consistency he opted for the older dates, which he called his "long-scale dates" as opposed to the "short-scale dates." Using dates derived from south coastal artifacts, he dated the Initial Period between 2050 B.C. and 1400 B.C. and the Early Horizon from 1400 B.C. to 370 B.C. Other authors, such as Edward Lanning (1967) and Gordon Willey (1971), preferred a modification of these dates, placing the Initial Period between 1800 B.C. and 900 B.C. and the Early Horizon between 900 and 200 B.C.

In the last few years a number of contradictory dates have been proposed for the site of Chavin de Huantar and for Chavin-related sites elsewhere (see Pozorski 1983 for a review). Although seldom discussing absolute dates, Rowe suggests that the site of Chavin de Huantar was first occupied between 1400 and 1500 B.C. Lumbereras (1970:133) and Amat (1976:544) obtained early dates from Chavin ranging between 1420 and 940 B.C. Richard Burger, on the other hand, feels the samples for these dates were contaminated. He has devised a three phase sequence for the site of Chavin consisting of Urabarriu which he dates from 850 to 460 B.C. and places in the Initial Period; Chakinani from 460 to 390 B.C. and Janabarriu from 390 to 200 B.C., both of which he places in the Early Horizon (Burger 1981). The Janabarriu Phase is the time period when Burger feels the Chavin influence spread over a good portion of northern and central Peru (Burger 1978 and 1981).

Many specialists feel that Burger's dates are far too young. At the site of Kotosh the Japanese have a series of dates corresponding to the time of Chavin influence at the site (Kotosh-Chavin Period) which range from 1200 to 870 B.C. Similarly, on the coast, sites which have traditionally been called "Chavin-related" have dates that tend to cluster between 800 and 700 B.C. New dates recently obtained from the Cajamarca Basin of the northern Andes tends to support an earlier date for the Initial Period and Early Horizon than that proposed by Burger. The Late Huacaloma Period, corresponding to the Early Horizon, yielded a date of 820 B.C. There are three dates for the following Layzon Period, corresponding to the end of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early
Intermediate Period, of 1040 B.C., 730 B.C. and 510 B.C. (Terada and Onuki, 1982:253-254). Thus, additional dates will be needed before the site of Chavin de Huantar can be securely dated or the time frame for the spread of Chavin influence to other parts of Peru can be determined.

A number of major problems, most of them addressed by Pozorski (1983), still remain regarding the nature and role of the Chavin phenomenon during the Early Horizon. Ceramic decorative elements once thought to be part of a complex that diffused as part of the Chavin spread can now be separated into those definitely related to Chavin and those which were independent or local manifestations. Pottery decorated with stamped circles with dots, pattern burnishing, generalized incision and punctation is not necessarily related to the Chavin style. Local cultures utilized these techniques apparently without any stimulus from Chavin. Recognition of the diversity of shape and decorative attributes of Inidial Period and Early Horizon pottery has aided in a better understanding of the Chavin style.

Another major problem, still being debated by scholars, is the definition of what constitutes the "Chavin style." Classic Chavin stone sculpture from the site of Chavin de Huantar was first used to define the Chavin style. When Tello discovered the temples of Cerro Blanco in the Nepeña Valley and Moxeke in the Casma Valley, each having facades with carved clay images, he noted the similarity between them and the stone carving at Chavin. He concluded that these motifs were coastal manifestations, in another medium, of the Chavin de Huantar stone carvings. Other types of artifacts—pottery, textiles, engraved shell and bone, gold objects—were also discovered on the coast as well as in the highlands, all decorated with "Chavinoid" motifs. Some were more closely related to the stone sculpture than others. Rafael Larco Hoyle, who saw the origin of the Chavin Culture as coastal, called the "Chavinoid" pottery he discovered in a cemetery on the north coast "Cupisnique" to distinguish it from the style found at Chavin de Huantar (Larco 1941). Some later Andeanists called it "Coastal Chavin."

More recently, other sites have been found with motifs that some call Chavin but which others feel are either ancestral to Chavin or independent local styles quite different from Chavin. The best known of these sites are Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley (Moseley and Watanabe 1974; Pozorski 1975), Garagay in the Rimae Valley (Ravines and Isbell 1975) and Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley (Tello 1956). The motifs found incorporated into the architecture of these sites have been hotly debated, and no consensus regarding their relationship with Chavin has yet been reached. Until the Chavin style as exhibited in various media can be better defined, this debate
will continue. The exchanges that have occurred between scholars have made them all aware of the complexity of the style and the role of local cultures during the Initial Period and Early Horizon.

Finally, a major problem currently being debated is the role that Chavin played as a unifying force during the Early Horizon. Pozorski (1983) has forcefully argued that (1) many elements formerly considered part of the Chavin style appeared earlier on the coast than the establishment of Chavin in the highlands; (2) Chavin should not properly be considered a Horizon because of the long temporal span attributed to it; and (3) Chavin was not a major unifying force during the Early Horizon since most of the interaction went from the coast to the highlands. All of these hypotheses need to be tested before the role of Chavin can properly be understood.

Goals of the Initial Period and Early Horizon Research

Research during 1967 and 1971 had demonstrated the presence of 20 Early Horizon sites in the Nepeña Valley including the previously known temples of Punkurí and Cerro Blanco excavated by Tello, megalithic sites located in the upper valley area, hilltop sites, and possible fortresses. Chavin-related pottery had been discovered, but other pottery, especially that associated with the megalithic sites, was quite different and unrelated. Portions of the upper valley, especially the area between Moro and Jimbe and the tributaries, remained unexplored. In addition, no sites clearly datable to the Initial Period had been found up to 1979. Both Tello and Larco had argued that the Nepeña Valley was critical for our understanding of the origin and spread of the Chavin Culture. It seemed time to concentrate on learning more about the early occupation of the valley.

With a knowledge of the new discoveries and conflicting views of the Initial Period and Early Horizon described above, a research plan for analyzing early sites in the Nepeña Valley was put together. In the absence of funding for a major excavation project, a more modest research plan was developed to provide answers to a number of important questions about the growth of culture in the valley at this time. Among our goals were the following: (1) to locate additional Initial Period and Early Horizon sites in order to increase the sample of these sites and to categorize them into functional types; (2) to revisit previously known early sites in the valley to map and study them more systematically; (3) to select sites and activity areas within sites for future excavation; (4) to undertake settlement pattern studies with the object of identifying site clusters and/or the ranking of contemporary sites into primary and secondary centers; (5) to attempt to determine the nature and
length of Chavin influence in the valley as well as to identify and understand any local developments; (6) to make architectural studies with the purpose of using architectural styles as a possible time marker; and (7) to work out a more exact chronology for the Initial Period and Early Horizon using ceramics and other artifacts.

The specific results of the 1979 fieldwork will be described in detail in the sections to follow. We were very successful in providing new data and interpretations for all of these goals. Twenty-eight additional Early Horizon sites were discovered in 1979, providing a total sample of 48 sites at the end of the field season. The 20 previously known sites were re-evaluated and better maps made of most of them. For the first time a few sites that appear to date to the Initial Period were discovered, although this period still is elusive in the Nepeña Valley. Our ceramic studies allowed us to segregate two temporal phases for the Early Horizon, the first falling into the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon in which Chavin influence was present in the valley, and the second, falling in the latter one-third of the Early Horizon and extending into the Early Intermediate Period which saw the formation of a local polity, unrelated to Chavin, which was characterized by megalithic architecture and pattern-burnished pottery. Settlement patterns became much clearer as a result of the 1979 research, with the bulk of the sites located in the upper valley area. All in all a much clearer picture of the Early Horizon has emerged for this part of the north coast.

Goals of the Early Intermediate Period Research

As mentioned above, the Early Intermediate Period is the other part of the chronological sequence that was of most interest to me. For most of the Early Intermediate Period, the north coast was dominated by the Moche Culture, whose origins lay in the Moche and Chicama valleys to the north. Sometime during Phase III of the Moche sequence (approximately the middle part of the Early Intermediate Period), the Moche began a military expansion out of their heartland, pushing south into the Santa and Nepeña Valleys. In Nepeña they erected a large ceremonial complex consisting of a terraced adobe pyramid surrounded by walled courtyards and rooms. The walls of this complex were plastered and then painted with elaborate murals, some of which survived until recent times. This site, called Pañamarca, was examined by every major traveler to the valley (e.g., Squier 1877; Middendorf 1893/95; Bennett 1939) and its murals were studied by Schaedel (1951a, 1951b) and Bonavia (1959 and 1974). It became the best known ruin in the valley.

It was Pañamarca that first led me to the valley in 1967. I had learned that Junius Bird, Curator of South American archae-
ology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, was planning a ten-year project in Nepeña, centering on the excavation of Pañamarca. I had only recently received my degree and wanted to begin a new research project in Peru at a time when digging permits were quite difficult to obtain. I contacted Bird about the possibility of participating in the project, and he persuaded me to conduct a survey of the valley to determine the extent of the Moche occupation and to see what other types of sites were represented. To make a long story short, Bird's project never got off the ground, but I continued the survey in succeeding seasons and have continued to work in the valley to this day.

My survey uncovered a very interesting settlement pattern for the Moche occupation of the valley. Almost all of the Moche sites were confined to the middle valley area, and most were found directly associated with Pañamarca. Pañamarca probably served both religious and administrative functions. Each valley to come under Moche control had one or more major ceremonial complexes, not unlike the later Chimú practice of establishing administrative centers in the valleys they conquered. Thirty-seven sites containing identifiable Moche ceramics have thus far been found in the Nepeña Valley, and all but eight of these are situated in the middle valley area.

It is also well established that the Nepeña Valley was the southern frontier of the Moche empire (Kosok 1965; Proulx 1968c). The Moche occupation of the valley appears to have been both fragmentary and tenuous. The fact that few Moche habitation sites have been identified could be explained either by their having been located on the valley floor and subsequently destroyed by alluviation, or by the hypothesis that there never were many Moche colonists in the valley, only conquerers who used local labor to build their administrative center. In this case the local peoples would have continued to make local styles of pottery and to live in their previous locations.

Traces of other Early Intermediate Period ceramic styles also came to light during the 1967 survey. In a cemetery located a little over a kilometer from Pañamarca I found fragments of several Recuay style vessels. Recuay is a highland style characterized by thin walled vessels made of white kaolin paste and decorated with motifs in either a positive or negative painted technique. During that same year I saw and photographed a number of Recuay vessels in the private collections in the valley. Soon afterward I learned of a complete Recuay gravelot recorded by Michael Moseley and said to have been found at Tres Marias, a cemetery located near Pañamarca. I strongly suspect that the source of this gravelot and the cemetery I recorded in 1967 (PV 31-73) are one and the same. Yet, after two seasons of
survey in the valley and 220 sites recorded, I had not found any additional Recuay sherds by the end of the 1971 field season.

One of the major accomplishments of the 1979 field season, to be described in detail below, was the discovery of 30 sites containing Recuay style pottery. All but two of these sites were found in the upper valley area. The kaolin paste pottery seems to have been imported into the valley, although some local imitations may have been made. All this suggests a strong highland influence and possible control of the upper valley by the Recuay Culture during part of the Early Intermediate Period.

Elsewhere I have argued that the Moche occupation of the middle valley was at least in part contemporaneous with the Recuay occupation of the upper valley region (Proulx 1982). This example of a territorial division of a valley was one of the major results of the 1979 field season and one of the few documented examples of such territorality found in ancient Peru.

The Organization of This Monograph

The publication of this report has been delayed for several years for a variety of reasons. In 1979 I was accompanied into the field by Richard Daggett, a graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts. Daggett assisted me in collecting and analyzing new data, particularly materials we had collected on the Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period sites in the upper valley. Upon our return from Peru, I began the process of interpreting the data and preparing a report on the research. In the meantime, Daggett prepared to return to Peru to conduct research for his dissertation, which he accomplished over a year's time from 1980 to 1981. Once in the field, Daggett was compelled to modify his research, and he did so by focusing his research on the Early Horizon occupation of the valley, thus continuing the research which I had begun. He went on to complete his dissertation at the same time I was preparing this report (Daggett 1984).

Daggett's fieldwork added considerably to our sample of Early Horizon sites. He surveyed 90 new sites in the valley (sites numbering PV31-259 through PV31-363) and discovered several new sites in the zone above the valley (PAn 12-1 to PAn 12-3). The majority of these sites could in part be dated to the Early Horizon, bringing the total Early Horizon sample for the valley to approximately 100 sites, by far the best sample of such sites yet found on the coast. He also discovered 15 additional sites with Recuay occupation in the upper valley (bringing the total to 45 for the valley) and eight additional Moche sites, the most important of these clustered around the neck separating the upper valley from the middle valley.
In order to acknowledge Daggett's contributions and to avoid overlap with materials presented in his dissertation, I have limited the scope of this report to emphasize the results of the 1979 research. I will describe all of the Initial Period and Early Horizon sites discovered through 1979, including more complete descriptions and site maps of some of the sites previously published in my earlier monographs. For the Early Intermediate Period, I will also concentrate on the 1979 research, but with Daggett's permission, some reference will be made to Moche and Recuay period sites discovered by him, since these were not covered in his dissertation. Any sites numbering above PV 31-258 (the last site recorded in 1979) I will leave to Daggett to describe, since they were recorded by him.

Next, I will attempt to validate the methods by which the sites were placed in time. This section concentrates heavily on ceramic analysis, particularly the establishment of ceramic types and their identification and temporal placement through cross dating techniques. Using this ceramic evidence, the Early Horizon could be subdivided into two phases, the earlier one influenced by the Chavin Culture, and the later one not. Evidence is also presented for the partial contemporaneity of the Recuay and Moche cultures in the valley.

Other artifacts were also found useful for dating purposes, and these are described as well. Pan Pipes appear very early in the valley (Early Horizon) and their form changes through time. Spindle whorls used in spinning also proved to be highly sensitive time markers, and their use in dating will also be described. Ground slate knives and/or projectile points appeared with great frequency in our early sites, and these objects also proved to be very useful for dating.

One of my goals in undertaking the 1979 research was to study the architecture present at many of the sites. Differences in building materials and architectural style were also found to vary through time, and some interesting patterns were revealed. Of great interest was the famous "megalithic architecture" present at many of these sites. The megalithic architecture has now been securely placed in its proper chronological position in the valley, and this report will discuss its relationship to other megalithic architecture found elsewhere in northern Peru.

I conclude this work with an analysis of each of the major cultural periods for the valley, beginning with the Initial Period and continuing through the Early Intermediate Period. In this section I attempt to define the major characteristics of each time period, the artifacts, settlement patterns, and a summary of the cultural developments during each phase.
Both this monograph and Daggett's dissertation contain a wealth of new data on the earliest sites in the Nepeña Valley, and they should be used together by any Andeanist interested in the details of the Nepeña Valley sequence. While Daggett and I do not always agree on all aspects of our respective scenarios for the Early Horizon, the data stand by themselves to be used for a better understanding of the nature of early complex society and the role of the Nepeña Valley in the rise of complex society in Peru.
MAP 1

THE NORTH COAST OF PERU

Modified from Donnan 1976
BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT

Geographical Setting

The Nepeña Valley is located on the north coast of Peru, approximately 400 kilometers north of the capital city of Lima via the Pan American Highway. Thirty kilometers to the south lies the Casma Valley, separated from Nepeña by a stark desert. To the north lies the city of Chimbote, some 25 kilometers from the Nepeña Valley, and beyond that the Santa Valley which swings up behind Nepeña into the Sierra to capture the rains of the Callejon de Huaylas. The Rio Nepeña, which names and dominates the valley, does not have its origins in the continental divide, but has affluents reaching into the zone of regular rains. The bulk of the rains fall in the highlands during the summer months from late January through March, and the greatest amount of water flows at that time. The months of May through December see little water flow in the river system. The coast receives less than 15 millimeters of rain per year on the average in the Nepeña area, due to the effects of the Humboldt Current and the rain shadow effect of the mountains (ONERN, 1972, vol. 3:100-103). However, a shift in the ocean currents takes place on an average of once every 20 or 25 years (a phenomenon called "El Niño") which produces torrential rains on the coast causing much destruction to agriculture and property.

The Nepeña River is formed by two major tributaries which extend into the Andes, the Río Nepeña to the north and the Río Vinchamarca (or Río Loco) to the south (Map 2). These two branches merge near Moro and flow westward to the sea. The Río Nepeña branch, in turn, has several tributaries in its upper reaches; the most important of these is the Río Salitre (or Río Larea) which is the main route into the highlands and the Callejon de Huaylas. Near the town of Jimbe, at an elevation of 1200 meters above sea level, the Río Nepeña is formed by three branches, the Río Lacramarca (or Río Jimbe) to the north, and the Ríos Colcap and Cosma to the south.

For the purposes of this study, the Nepeña Valley will be defined as the region extending from the shore to an elevation of 1500 meters just above the town of Jimbe, a distance of approximately 60 kilometers. Included in our definition of the valley are the major tributaries and the adjacent mountains which were occupied by the ancient inhabitants of the valley. I have arbitrarily divided the valley into three geographic zones for the purpose of analysis: the lower valley area which begins at the shore and extends inland to the vicinity of the settlement of Capellania next to the ruins of Pañamarca (PV31-38); the middle valley area from Capellania to the valley neck at Tomeque (near
San Jacinto); and the upper valley area from Tomeque to Jimbe (Map 2). The upper valley is an interesting area topographically. The valley is quite narrow in the pocket just past Tomeque. This large fertile area is formed by the confluence of the Nepeña and Vinchamarca rivers. The valley neck forms a natural defense for the pocket, and was an important and strategic point in the past.

Surrounding the valley pocket are high mountain plateaus, used by the ancient inhabitants for habitation and administrative sites. On the north side of the pocket, near the present day settlement of Motocachy, is a deep, level pampa which shows evidence of having been extensively cultivated in the past. Remains of canals and ancient fields can still be seen there today. Further up the Nepeña Valley the river bed narrows between the steeply rising mountains. Archaeological sites in this part of the valley are found mainly on the crests of the mountains rather than on the valley floor. Between the town of Moro and Jimbe the elevation of the valley floor rises from 800 to 1200 meters above sea level.

The middle and lower valley areas have been greatly affected by alluviation and by mechanical cultivation. Few archaeological sites have been found on the valley floor; most are situated on the edges of the valley and on the slopes of the mountains overlooking the basin. Some sites have been found on natural hills or rises on the valley floor, such as Pañamarka (PV31-38) and Cerro Blanco.

Many of the major population centers in the valley are former haciendas: San Jacinto, Motocachy, Capellania, Cerro Blanco, Capilla and San Jose. Other major centers are towns such as Nepeña, Moro, Jimbe and Samanco (Map 2). Estimated population for the main part of the valley (from the shore to Jimbe) for 1980 is 23,120 people (ONERN, 1972, vol.1:18). Estimated 1980 population for the upper cuencas of the valley system, including Jimbe and Pamporomas, is an additional 12,022 people. A more complete description of the geographical, historical and geological aspects of the valley and its population centers has been provided in Proulx, 1968a; the reader is referred to this earlier monograph for additional details which will not be repeated here.

Today the major occupation in the Nepeña Valley is the growing of sugar cane and the processing of the cane into sugar and alcohol. The former Hacienda San Jacinto, located in the middle valley area, is the focus of this activity, administering over 13,614 hectares spanning the distance from Capilla near the shore to Moro in the upper valley pocket (ONERN, 1972, vol. 2:664). Following the military coup of 1968, San Jacinto was turned into an agricultural cooperative, formally known as 22
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
HEPEÑA VALLEY, PERU

KEY
• SITES
• TOWNS -- HACIENDAS
-- RIVERS
-- CULTIVATION LINE
-- MOUNTAINS

MAP 2

UPPER VALLEY AREA

MIDDLE VALLEY AREA

LOWER VALLEY AREA
the Cooperativa Agraria de Producción San Jacinto No. 40. A large sugar processing factory is located at the settlement of San Jacinto along with the personnel to run it. In addition to sugar cane, the other major crops grown in the valley today are corn, beans, yuca, camote, alfalfa, and chili peppers (ONERN, 1972, vol. 2:655). In the valley above Moro and in the tributaries, privately owned farm plots are common, with subsistence crops rather than cash or industrial crops being grown.

The Archaeological Record

Over the past century a number of explorers, travelers and archaeologists have visited ruins in the Nepéña Valley and have published their impressions. Beginning in the 1860s the American diplomat Ephraim George Squier visited several major sites in the Nepéña Valley, including Pañamarca, Huacatambo, Alcapote, Quisque, Paradores, and Kushi-Pampa (Squier 1877). The German traveler and scientist Ernst Middendorf passed through the valley in the 1880s and noted several sites he had visited (Middendorf 1972, vol. 2).

What little scientific excavation has been undertaken in the valley prior to our survey was accomplished by the eminent Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello. In 1933 Tello excavated the Early Horizon temples of Punkurí and Cerro Blanco, attributing them to the Chavin Culture. He also investigated several megalithic ruins, including Kushi-Pampa, which he also argued were built by migrants from the highlands during Chavin times (Tello 1933a, 1933b, 1933c, and 1943). Other archaeologists who visited the valley were Wendell Bennett in 1935 (Bennett 1939), Augusto Soriano Infante (1941), Paul Kosok in the 1940s (Kosok 1965), Richard Schaedel (1951, 1951b), Duccio Bonavia (1959 and 1974), and others like Christopher Donna, Gary Vescelius and Alan Sawyer who did not publish their impressions. All of these distinguished individuals concentrated their attention on a dozen or so major ruins in the valley such as Pañamarca (PV31-38); no attempt at a systematic survey of the archaeological sites in the valley was attempted. (The reader is again referred to Proulx 1968a, pp. 6-9) for a more detailed discussion of the prior work accomplished in the valley).

The Chronological Sequence

The sequence of cultures for the Nepéña Valley is based on John Rowe's scheme of "periods" and "horizons" that is now the standard model used by most Andeanists (Rowe 1962). Based on the well-known archaeological sequence in the Ica Valley, which is used as the master sequence, Rowe's sequence alternates periods, which are time periods of regional cultural diversity, with horizons, which are time periods of cultural unification. The cultural sequences from other parts of Peru are correlated with
the Ica Valley sequence through cross dating, and a regional cultural sequence for Peru is then possible.

My technique for establishing the chronological sequence for the Nepeña Valley was first to thoroughly familiarize myself with the published and unpublished sequences from the adjacent valleys and highland areas of the north coast of Peru. Most ancient societies and their cultural assemblages (ceramics, projectile points, architecture, and other art forms) are distributed over a wide area. Many of these ancient cultures have been securely dated and placed in Rowe's chronological framework for Peru. It is a simple matter, therefore, to recognize a well-known artifact assemblage in the Nepeña Valley, such as the Moche Culture, and to cross date it to known assemblages from other locations.

On the other hand, some cultural remains are either purely local or are variations of known cultures. These artifacts and their associated sites were fitted into the chronological sequence by means of seriation. The sequence for the Nepeña Valley along with a correlation of the principal ceramic types is found in Table 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>DATES</th>
<th>NEPEÑA VALLEY CULTURES</th>
<th>NEPEÑA VALLEY CERAMIC TYPES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>COLONIAL</td>
<td>A.D. 1532</td>
<td></td>
<td>Inca-Chimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATE HORIZON</td>
<td>A.D. 1460-1532</td>
<td>INCA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD</td>
<td>A.D. 900-1460</td>
<td>CHIMU</td>
<td>Chimu Blackware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE HORIZON</td>
<td>A.D. 540-900</td>
<td>HUARI NORTEÑO</td>
<td>Nepeña Black-on-White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD</td>
<td>370 B.C.- A.D. 540</td>
<td>MOCHE III</td>
<td>Nepeña Black-on-White-Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EARLY HORIZON</td>
<td>1300-370 B.C.</td>
<td>&quot;CHAVINOID&quot; PHASE (late)</td>
<td>Nepeña Black-on-White-Red</td>
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<tr>
<td>INITIAL PERIOD</td>
<td>2050-1300 B.C.</td>
<td>Local Cultures</td>
<td>Kushi-Pampa Pattern (late)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRECERAMIC</td>
<td>?-2050 B.C.</td>
<td>LOS CHINOS</td>
<td>Nepeña Banded Lozenge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1**  
NEPEÑA VALLEY CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
THE 1979 FIELD SEASON: METHODOLOGY

The 1979 research took place during the months of June, July and August. I was accompanied into the field by Richard E. Daggett, a graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts. Before we left for Peru the data on the early part of the sequence for the valley was thoroughly reviewed, and a study was made of the relevant ceramics—those previously discovered in the valley, as well as those early styles known from adjoining areas of the north coast.

Once in the field, our first task was to re-examine the 20 previously known Early Horizon sites in the valley. New maps were prepared for most of the sites. We attempted to take ground measurements for some of the sites using a Brunton compass and steel tape. This proved to be very time-consuming and not necessarily very accurate, since fallen walls of some of the architectural units were difficult to measure. Following the lead of Gordon Willey in his classic settlement pattern study of the Virú Valley (Willey 1953), I used a series of aerial photographs I had obtained for the valley at a scale of 1:20,000. Sections of these maps containing well-defined site architecture were photographically enlarged and used as the basis of many of the maps. The drawings were checked on the ground, and minor additions and corrections made where necessary. In this fashion, good, but not final, maps were drawn for the most important of the sites.

Attempts were made to locate primary activity areas and middens at each of the sites—areas which could tell us something about the function or functions of the ruin. We were especially interested in locating areas for future testing which would yield the greatest amount of information if and when money for excavation becomes available. Architecture was studied at those sites with surface remains of structures in order to make comparisons with other sites, determine the functions of the buildings, and to develop a chronology based on changing architectural styles. The architecture could often be used to cross-date sites having similar components. Photographs and detailed notes were made on each of the sites, and this data will be presented later in this work.

Since the majority of the Early Horizon sites located in the previous surveys were found to be situated in the upper valley region, it was decided to concentrate our activities in that area, particularly since large sections of the upper valley had not been covered by the earlier surveys. After reviewing the data collected in 1967 and 1971, we were beginning to see certain patterns of site placement and form. Many of the sites were
located on artificially flattened hilltops or mountain crests, while others of a larger size were found on plateaus overlooking the valley bottom. Ceremonial and administrative sites were constructed of finely cut stone, while habitation sites and small structures of unknown function were made of fieldstone. The few sites from the Early Horizon that had been located in the middle valley area were on the valley floor or on the tops of natural hills protruding from the valley floor. Many were constructed of conical adobe or a mixture of stone and conical adobe (e.g., Punkurí, Cerro Blanco, and PV31-27 and 191). On the other hand, several interesting sites constructed of stone were also discovered (the building behind the adobe pyramid at Pañamarca and PV31-125).

In retrospect, the selection of the upper valley for detailed study was a correct one, for Daggett found no traces of Early Horizon sites in the lower valley. He did discover a number of hilltop sites of Early Horizon date in the middle valley on the mountainous fringes of the valley, particularly on the north side. These sites had not been noted in the earlier studies, and they demonstrate that a pattern which had once been thought to be confined to the upper valley, was present in the middle valley as well. In spite of this, our combined surveys indicate that the vast majority of Early Horizon sites were situated in the upper valley.

Therefore, after the previously known Early Horizon sites had been re-examined, work shifted to the upper valley where the survey was continued, especially in the Rio Salitre tributary and on both sides of the Rio Nepeña itself, leading up toward the town of Jimbe (see Map 1). The aerial photographs were used to locate potential sites both on the mountainous flanks and on the valley floor. Within the vast agricultural plain of the Moro pocket, the survey concentrated on examining natural and artificial hills for the presence of sites. Attempts at finding sites on the valley floor were not productive, for this zone was either under cultivation, heavily disturbed by previous agricultural practices, or part of the flood plain of the river. As a result, although many sites were found on the tops and flanks of hills, few were found on the floor of the valley. It might be productive in the future to more carefully and systematically examine the floor of the Moro pocket, for we concentrated our energies on the more productive mountains and plateaus surrounding the pocket.

Above Moro the main valley of the Rio Nepeña and its tributaries become very narrow, and very few sites were located on the valley floor. This region is even more susceptible to flooding, and the ancient populations, realizing this, appear to have placed their settlements on the slopes above the valley floor.
The mountains and slopes bordering the upper valley were systematically explored on foot, and our efforts were rewarded by the discovery of almost 40 new sites (numbered PV31-221 through PV 31-258). Of these new sites, 28 exhibited evidence of Early Horizon occupation. Perhaps more surprisingly, we found over 30 sites containing Recuay kaolin paste pottery, suggesting a strong influence, even control, from the highlands during the Early Intermediate Period.

Our survey covered in a systematic manner most parts of the upper valley, with the exception of the area around Jimbe and a large section of the east side of the valley between Jimbe and the Rio Salitre tributary (this was later thoroughly covered by Richard Daggett and is reported in his dissertation). The only important area within the upper valley that should be examined in the future is the Rio Vinchamarca tributary. Aside from this, no major areas remain unsurveyed, and we feel we have an excellent sample from this region.

At each site we discovered, we began by making a sketch map of the area covered, and copious notes were taken on architectural features, probable activity areas, and relationship to other sites. In addition to the written description, photographs were taken of the major aspects of each site. A collection of surface artifacts was made for each site. At some locations and especially at the larger, more complex sites, the surface was covered with artifacts, and here a random sample was usually taken, concentrating on diagnostic pieces. At other sites, only a handful of artifacts were found, and in this instance our collection included all the artifacts discovered. In practice, we collected most of the surface artifacts from the majority of the sites investigated.

Pottery constituted the most common artifact type found at most sites. We selected for diagnostic sherds: rims, decorated pieces or other identifiable body sherds, since these can most productively be used to date the sites. Care was taken, however, to include in the sample the entire range of pottery present.

Among the other artifacts commonly found at the Early Horizon sites were fragments of polished stone projectile points, pan pipes and spindle whorls. Each of these will be described in its proper place, but these artifacts became part of an overall pattern of traits found to be associated with sites of this time period. Ecofacts were also collected at many of the sites, especially shell. Large quantities of shell, some coming from the sea as far away as 40 kilometers, were often found on high mountain sites in the upper valley area. In a few instances this shell was used to make jewelry, specifically shell pendants, and blanks for making them have been found at some of the sites. The function of other shell deposits, whether for use as food or for
objects, cannot be determined on the basis of our current knowledge. We can say that the transport of shell from the sea to the sites involved took a great deal of labor and may have involved intra-valley trade networks.

Since our survey did not include any excavation, we did not have the opportunity to collect many organic objects such as wood, plant remains, or pollen samples. Because of our interest in ceramics and our insensitivity to lithics, we undoubtedly missed collecting some of the evidence of this material, such as waste chips or tools that were crudely made. Fortunately we were visited by an expert on lithics, Joan Gero, who advised us on how to better recognize and evaluate this data. We did acquire substantially more lithics than were found in the surveys of 1967 and 1971.

As anyone who has worked with surface collections from multi-occupational sites knows, it is exceedingly difficult to sort out the chronology from such sites. Surface artifacts do not necessarily represent all phases of occupation at a particular site, although, because of looting at most of the Nepeña Valley sites, we found that surface collections could give us a fairly reliable sample of the occupational history of a site. Correlating the surface artifacts with the architecture of a site is another matter. In multi-occupational sites one can never be certain of the relationship of surface artifact collections to the structures without the benefit of excavation. One method to circumvent the need for excavation is to rely on single occupation sites. We were fortunate in discovering a number of single occupation sites for each of our major cultural periods in the early part of the sequence. By studying the associations of the artifacts from these sites with the architectural styles, we learned to recognize these components in multi-occupational sites. None of this is a substitute for stratigraphic excavation, and we would welcome the opportunity to verify our observations by this means.

Ceramics were the most diagnostic artifact used in our analysis due to the universality of this form of artifact at our sites, its excellent preservation under all circumstances, and its sensitivity to change over time. Over 3100 sherds were collected and analyzed from the Initial Period, Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period sites discussed in this report. As will be seen in later sections, the style and form of many of our Nepeña Valley sherds are found outside the valley in similar archaeological contexts, and many of these styles have been dated by other archaeologists. I have attempted to cross-date as many of these ceramic types as possible to provide a basis for the dating of the sites within the Nepeña Valley until such time as stratigraphic work is possible for us and absolute dating techniques
available for our artifacts. Ceramic types not well represented outside the valley were dated through association with known types or through seriation of form and decorative technique.

Special attention was given to architectural techniques and style in the 1979 season. In many cases architectural style could be as useful for chronology as ceramic style, and this proved to be the case for our earlier periods. We discovered that certain forms of building materials were consistently associated with certain ceramic types. For example, large structures of worked stone, sometimes referred to as "megalithic architecture," were found to be associated with pattern-burnished pottery which we were able to date to the end of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. About five site complexes were able to be identified and cross dated because of these associations. We also looked for patterning in the form of the structures, internal layout and size to determine the value of these attributes for chronological purposes.

One of the major accomplishments of our fieldwork was a wealth of information on settlement patterns for the early part of the cultural sequence in the Nepeña Valley. Some of these results will be discussed in later sections of this work and displayed on the site distribution maps for each of these periods. The reader is also referred to Richard Daggett's doctoral dissertation (1984) and to R. Daggett 1983 for additional data and interpretation of the settlement patterns for the Early Horizon. To be able to analyze the settlement pattern data, careful records were kept of each of the sites located in the survey, including precise location and physical setting of each.

Since Peruvian law does not allow the export of artifacts for study or analysis, the surface collections were studied in Peru. Artifacts from each site were separately bagged in the field, and at least once a week a day was spent processing the finds. Artifacts were washed and individually numbered. An attempt was made to categorize the pottery sherds into types, and a distribution chart was made for each site illustrating the number and variety of each pottery type. In addition to copious notes and verbal descriptions of the finds, color photographs were made of the artifacts from each site for a permanent record. These photographs allowed for a further refinement of our typology and chronology once we were back from the field.

As part of our interpretive process, we attempted to locate and photograph private collections of artifacts known to have been collected in the valley. These collections often contained examples of complete vessels which aided us in visualizing the forms of vessels represented by sherds in our sample as well as
providing us with a much greater sample of the range of variation of form and design in the ceramics from the various periods.

At the end of the field season, our surface collections were turned over to the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Lima, who in turn deposited them at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, where the collections from 1967 and 1971 had been stored. A catalog of the collections and a preliminary report on our findings were also given to the authorities.

As part of our investigations in 1979, we visited early period sites in other north coast valleys for comparative purposes. Among the areas visited were a series of Cayhuamarka (Early Horizon) and Vinzos (Early Intermediate Period) sites in the upper Santa Valley discovered by David Wilson of the University of Michigan (Wilson, 1981). The worked stone construction of many of these sites was identical to that of our terminal Early Horizon sites in the Nepeña Valley such as Kushi-Pampa (PV31-56), Paradones (PV31-64), Kiske (PV31-46) and Motocachy (PV31-48). Wilson's discovery of pattern-burnished pottery at these sites further links these sites to ours.

In the Casma Valley we visited Cerro Sechin, Sechin Alto, Moxeke, Pampa de los Llamas and Manchan. We also explored the sites of Chanquillo and Los Haldas to the south of Casma. All of these sites gave us added comparative data for assessing our early sites in Nepeña.

Finally, we were fortunate to be given a tour of early sites in the Moche Valley by Thomas and Shelia Pozorski. We visited Huaca de los Reyes, Galindo, Puente Serrano, Huaca de los Chinos, and Menochuco. It was exciting to see the differences as well as similarities which these sites bore to those we had been working on in Nepeña. These visits, as well as other trips made in other years to such places as the Callejón de Huaylas, Chavin de Huantar and Central Coast sites, all were invaluable for formulating our impressions about the nature of the first cultures to occupy the Nepeña Valley.
DESCRIPTION OF THE SITES

The purpose of this section is two-fold: first, it is a record of the 40 sites discovered during the 1979 field season. These are numbered PV31-221 to PV31-260. For a description of sites 1 through 110 see Proulx, 1968a; for sites 111 through 220 see Proulx, 1973. More recently, Daggett has added another 100 sites to the survey; these are numbered 261 through 360 and are described in his dissertation (Daggett 1984). Thus complete descriptions, including location, major features, a listing of the artifacts collected, and dating, are available for all 360 sites now recorded for the Nepeña Valley.

Second, since this monograph includes an analysis of the Initial Period, Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period, all sites dating to those periods discovered through 1979 are included in spite of earlier descriptions of some of them in the previous monographs. Most of these sites were revisited and re-evaluated; the results of this work is presented here including much improved site maps and descriptions.

The descriptions begin with the site number which are arranged sequentially. All are prefaced with the designation PV31- which indicates Peruvian Valley number 31, the designation for the Nepeña Valley. Next, a local name, if any, is provided. Many of the sites are known to the natives of the valley by a traditional name, e.g., Pañamarca or Quisque. Over the years these names sometimes change or the spelling changes: e.g., the site of Kushi-Pampa has been known variously as the "Stoneworks of Moro" and by the designation "Siete Huacas." I have endeavored to use the most commonly used name for as many sites as possible. In a number of cases I have originated a name for a site, basing the designation on some prominent nearby settlement or geographic feature: e.g., Motocachy (PV31-48) and San Juan (PV31-47). Similar designations could be made for almost all of the sites in the valley, but for the purposes of a surface survey there was not time to research the local records for existing names.

The cultural period(s) for each site has been determined on the basis of the surface artifacts collected, mainly pottery, and on the style of the architecture. In most cases the ceramic style of the surface sherds is recognizable, and through cross-dating with similar pottery in other valleys, the period of site occupation can be determined. The same is true for certain architectural styles, be it the use of conical adobes or megalithic architecture in the Early Horizon to rectangular adobes of certain sizes in later periods. A discussion of these chronological techniques will be provided in later chapters. Key to the abbreviations used is found in Table 2.
Site location is much more precise in this work than in the previous monographs. Primary use was made of topographic maps at a scale of 1:50,000 now available for the entire valley. Exact coordinates for each site are provided. In addition, measurements in either meters or kilometers are given to each site from at least two locations, making it easy to triangulate the location for each on any good map.

Site descriptions include information on the function of the site (if possible to ascertain this), any architecture, the nature of the surface artifacts and where deposited, the area covered by the site, important topographic features incorporated into the site, and previous work done at each site. Bearing in mind that a surface survey is not the same as an excavation, as much data as possible for each site is presented.

A section on artifacts is included which lists the major elements of the surface collections including such items as the major types of pottery found, lithics, pan pipe fragments, and ecofacts such as shell and preserved seeds. All surface collections were analyzed in Peru and deposited at the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima.

The basis for the dating of each site is provided in the following section. How a positive or tentative date was derived is explained and any problems encountered are described. Since most of the sites were previously looted, surface collections are a fairly reliable representation of all the periods of occupation of a site, but the reader must remember that confirmation of the dating through excavation is recommended in most cases.

Illustrations include any previous photographs, drawings or artifacts that have appeared in the literature as well as any illustrations included in this work. References are any published works which have previously mentioned or described this site.
Local Name: Punkurí (Punkurí bajo, Punguri)

Cultural Period: E. H. (plus later cultures, especially E.I.P.)

Location: The site consists of a terraced artificial mound lying in the midst of a sugar cane field known as Punguri. It is 2.8 km WSW of the administration buildings at C.A.P. San Jacinto and 2.5 km E of San Jose. Punkurí bajo can be reached easily from the main paved road in the valley. It is 500 m north of this main road along a dirt access road that joins the main highway at a bend in the road just west of San Jacinto. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK965873.

Description: Punkurí first drew the attention of the archaeologists in 1929 when workmen from San Jacinto, under the direction of the English administrator of the hacienda, Mr. John Harrison, made a cut into the mound and discovered a sculpted clay head of a feline (Antúnez de Mayolo, 1933: ...16 and Fig.7). The site was subsequently brought to the attention of the authorities in Lima, and in 1933 Julio C. Tello excavated portions of the site and dated the major part of the ruin to the Early Horizon or Chavin Culture (Tello, 1933a, 1933b, 1933c, 1943; Antúnez de Mayolo, 1933). No further work has ever been done on the site. The clay head has disappeared, and the site has suffered tremendously from neglect, vandalism, and agricultural activity around it (La Prensa, August 5, 1979 and August 6, 1979).

Tello identified Punkurí as a temple which underwent several construction phases. In the lower level were found structures of stone with walls plastered with clay and decorated "in the classic Chavin style" (Tello 1943:136-137). Unfortunately no photographs of these stone structures have been published (aside from the newspaper articles and his 1943 American Antiquity article, Tello never published a field report on Punkurí bajo), and no traces of this early level can be seen today. Part of the reason for this is that the temple was covered by a thick layer of alluvium, effectively burying the lowest layers of the site. One can get a perception of the original height of the mound from the south side, where the alluvial deposits are less pronounced.

The second building stage saw the stone walled structures destroyed and used as foundations for the middle level which was constructed of stone, conical adobe and hemispherical shaped adobe (Tello 1943:137). Remains of these two adobe types, along with rectangular adobes dating to the third
and upper stage of construction, can still be seen in various parts of the site (for a treatise on the adobes, see Samaniego Roman, n.d. 1). Tello dated the first two levels to the Chavin Culture of the Early Horizon, and the habitations and graves that characterized the upper level to the later cultures of "Santa, Nepeña and Chimú" (Tello 1943: 137).

Tello argued that the builders of the first level of Punkurí bajo were migrants from the highlands, bringing with them pure Chavin stylistic elements. In the stone buildings of the first level, the people had faithfully preserved the characteristics of the original culture. However, the second level represented a modification or an adaptation to the new environment of the coast, imitating in clay what had previously been done in stone (Tello, 1943:138). Today scholars have not only disputed the "purity" of the Chavin style found at Punkurí, but also have raised some questions about the earliest level which Tello never adequately published. This is not the place to critique Tello, and I will continue with the description of the site using the published sources and the observations made over three field seasons.

According to Tello (1933a) and Bennett (1939:16), the area covered by the temple is approximately 2000 m². The temple is oriented about 20° west of Magnetic north. The north side, or entrance, contains a platform or terrace measuring 19.8 m long, 5m wide and 2.4 m high (Tello 1933a). (Bennett (1939) concurs with Tello's measurements while Antúnez de Mayolo (1933) gives the following dimensions: 19.17 m long, 5.45 m wide and 2.9 m high). The terrace is reached by means of 4 (perhaps 5) steps (Fig. 1).

At the back of the terrace is a wall 2.2 m high (Antúnez de Mayolo 1933; Bennett 1939:16). The wall is covered with a clay plaster which still exhibits traces of paint and vertical grooves which apparently were used to divide panels of designs. Antúnez de Mayolo (1933) illustrates the major design of the wall which includes a monkey, a small animal, and a feathered creature with a fox-like head. These elements have been reconstructed to form an avian deity (see Kauffmann-Doig 1969, Fig. 338), anthropomorphic in form, with wing-like arms, feathered tail between the legs, and an avian body form. There appear to be no photographs of this figure, and the accuracy of the drawing can be disputed. If the drawing is correct, then the avian deity must have been lying on its side according to the measurements provided in Antúnez de Mayolo (1933). This author describes the panels of the wall as being violet, blue, red, yellow and white, although Bennett (1939:16) quotes him as
listing orange, light yellow with red daubs, yellow, dark blue, violet, grey, white, dark green, and black. My own observations confirm the presence of red, black and white pigments on the wall. The lower part of the wall had an aperture 44cm high by 16.6 cm wide. This aperture is illustrated in Larco Hoyle (1941, Fig. 26) which is similar to apertures below the large clay heads at Huaca de los Reyes (Pozorski 1975:225, 229 and 234).

The back wall of the terrace is bisected by a stairway 1.95 m wide and consisting of 8 steps. On the bottom step was located a three dimensional modeled clay head and torso of a feline (Fig. 1; Larco Hoyle 1941: Fig. 7; Kubler 1962: Fig. 123b). The rounded head rests on a square upper torso which is bisected by an aperture, not unlike the aperture in the wall described above. On the front of the torso are two upturned paws with claws in low relief. Antúnez de Mayolo (1933) states that the face and teeth of the feline were painted white as was the background for the eyes which were blue in color. The nasal extremities, the spaces between the teeth, and the covering cloak were all blue, while tears, gums, and nostrils were painted red. The feet of the feline were violet. Antúnez de Mayolo also states (1933) that there were painted feline heads on the wall to the right and left of the Punkurú modeled feline. Whether he means these were on the walls facing the stairway or on the back wall of the terrace, flanking the entry to the staircase, is unclear. There are no photographs to verify the existence or location of these painted heads, and as for so many of the details of the artwork of this site, we must rely on the word of Antúnez de Mayolo.

Buried under the floor of the terrace, directly in front of the stairway and the clay feline, were the remains of a decapitated female who was apparently a sacrificial victim placed in the temple as an offering. The body was found at a depth of 2 m below the idol and was oriented east-west (Larco Hoyle 1938/39: Tomo I, Fig. 23). In 1979 huaquero activity had exposed four square pits in the surface of the terrace, each lined with plastered clay walls. The photograph of the burial suggests that the walls were rough, and that no such pits existed; Tello does not mention them. However, there are four pits, each possibly having contained offerings, located along the length of the terrace.

Returning to the burial, a kilo of turquoise beads of various forms and sizes were located around the body, especially at the level of the pelvis. Some were discoid, others spherical or cylindrical in shape, weighing up to 8 to 10 gm. Also discovered was a Strombus galeatus trumpet which apparently
had been engraved in the same fashion as the famous Pickman strombus (Rowe 1962: Fig. 40). Regrettably no photograph of this artifact has been published. Other shells found in the burial pit were 100 examples of Scutalus proteus, a pair of Spondylus pictorum shells (a common ritual offering at Chavin sites), and the skeletal remains of guinea pigs and birds that were fragmented and pulverized (Tello 1933a).

Finally, two stone objects were found in the burial: a stone mortar inscribed with geometric designs in the Chavin style (Tello 1943: Fig. 17a) and an object which is either a very long pestle or a stone club (illustrated in Larco Hoyle 1941: Fig. 11). The pestle is also said to have been engraved with figures in the Chavin style.

Following the central stairway with the carved clay feline to the top of the mound, one encounters a semi-subterranean room measuring 4.7 by 5.2 m and 1.22 m deep. Traces of this room were still quite evident when I first visited Punkurí in 1967. Steps led down into the room on both the north and east sides. Clay plaster was still visible on the walls with traces of paint, but no motifs could be observed. Antúnez de Mayolo (1933: Fig. 11) illustrates what he calls a painted "condor" with unfurled wings but missing the head—painted on the south wall of the room. From his drawing the identification of the motif as a "condor" is conjectural on his part.

On the east side of the Punkurí temple was a platform having a gateway consisting of two clay columns measuring 42 cm in diameter. Both seem to have been decorated near the base with designs cut in low relief into the clay (Tello 1933a; Antúnez de Mayolo 1933; Bennett 1939). One of these columns is illustrated by Larco Hoyle (1938/39, Tomo I: Fig. 20). No mention is made of a companion platform with columns on the west side of the temple, but judging from the prevalence of bilateral symmetry in Chavin architecture elsewhere, it is highly likely that such a feature existed.

The south side of the temple is most deeply exposed, and it is here that the original size of the complex can best be seen. Alluvium surrounds the temple, but on this south side a deep cut, perhaps natural, perhaps bulldozed by modern machinery for irrigation canals, has exposed lower levels of the temple. Three types of adobe can be seen here: hemispherical, conical (sometimes fluted), and rectangular. Ball-shaped adobes may also be present at the site. No traces of the stone buildings that Tello claims to have found in the lowest level of the site are visible. At least two terraces were present on this side of the temple complex.
Modified from Larco Hoyle 1938/39
Volume 1:32-33
The later reoccupation of the Punkurí temple can be seen near the surface of the mound where rectangular adobes are present. Tello describes habitations and graves which follow the Chavin occupation of the site, but he does not elaborate on these, nor are there any photographs of the remains of these later periods in the published sources. In 1967 several semi-subterranean rooms could be seen on top of the mound, at least one of which may be Early Horizon in date. In 1979 the site was re-examined, and much destruction had occurred. The rooms on the summit seemed to be constructed of rectangular adobe, which would place them later than the Early Horizon. A deep huquero's pit had been dug into the center of the mound, through the floors of rooms, and deep into the core of the structure. In the rubble core could be seen preserved remains of cane-like vegetable material. It is possible that this is recently introduced material (sugar cane debris) put there in the course of looting the site, but the context suggests that it is the remains of roofing and/or construction material that formed part of the temple complex.

Artifacts: The primary artifacts found at the site have been described above: the modelled clay feline head and torso, the diorite mortar and pestle, the turquoise beads, the shells and the faunal remains. Tello does not mention the discovery of any Chavin ceramics at Punkurí, and apparently he based his dating of the temple on the style of the other artifacts. I also have not found any Early Horizon pottery at the site during my visits in 1967, 1971 and 1979. In 1979, due to extensive drought conditions, the cane fields surrounding the temple complex were barren, allowing us to examine the surface for any artifacts or other manifestations of the Chavin culture. A total of ten undecorated redward sherds were found which could date to almost any period. I have seen, in a private collection, a long-necked bottle in classic Chavin style which is said to have come from the Punkurí area (illustrated in Proulx 1973, plate 1c).

Dating: Tello (1943) dated the lower and middle level at Punkurí to the Chavin culture. More recently, John Howland Rowe has seriated the Chavin art style into four phases: AB, C, D, and EF, based on minute changes in design features, particularly as seen in stone sculpture (Rowe 1962 and 1967). This seriation was further elaborated on by Peter Roe (1974) who attempted an independent seriation, using more examples than Rowe had previously. Using design features of the modelled clay feline and comparing them with other Chavin related pieces, Roe dates the Punkurí temple to the latter half of Phase D and the first part of Phase EF (Roe 1974: 37 and Chart VI). The painted avian deity of the terrace
wall (Carrion Cachot, 1948: Fig. XIX-4; Kauffmann Doig 1968: Fig. 338) is identified as a Cayman by Peter Roe (1973:37) who sees similarities between it and features found at Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley as well as with the later Moche culture.

Illustrations: Figure 1; Antúnez de Mayolo 1933; Carrion Cachot 1948: Plate XIX-4, Plate V; Ishida et al 1960: 180; Kauffmann Doig 1968: Fig. 338; Kubler 1962: Plate 123b; Proulx 1968a: Plans 4 and 5, pp. 55-56, Plates 20 and 21; Larco Hoyle 1938/39, Tomo I: 32-37, Figs. 18-23; 1941: Figs. 7, 11, 25, 26; Samaniego, n.d. -l; and Tello 1933b, 1933c, 1943.


PV 31-11

Local Name: Punkurí Alto


Location: The site is located on the top and sides of a series of natural hills on the north edge of the valley about 2.3 km SW of San Jacinto and 3.0 km E of San Jose at an elevation of 240 m above sea level (m.a.s.l.). An ancient wall runs from the mountains on the north side of the valley directly southward to the site. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK975875.

Description: Punkurí alto is a complex site consisting of several parts (including the site designated as PV 31-12 on an adjacent hill and the slopes surrounding it). The main part of the site is a terraced natural hill with an impressive series of adobe-walled rooms decorated with arabesque designs. This part of the site can be dated to the Chimú culture of the Late Intermediate Period. It will not be described here since the focus of this monograph is the Early Horizon and Early Intermediate occupations in the valley.

There is a sandy area between the hill containing the ruins of Punkurí alto and the hill designated PV 31-12 to the east.
It was here that Richard Daggett found Early Horizon sherds containing stamped circle and dot decoration and crisscross-pattern burnished decoration in 1981. Previously I had found some Moche sherds in the cemeteries surrounding this hill, and in 1979 another fragment of a Moche modelled jar was discovered.

The nature of the Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period occupations of this site is unknown. Any identifiable architecture dating to those periods, if it existed, is now covered by the extensive Chimu ruins. The site appears to have been a favored location since Early Horizon times.

Artifacts: The first indication that there was an Early Horizon occupation of this site came in 1981 when Richard Daggett (personal communication) found several sherds which have been dated to this period. Several examples of stamped circle and dot ware was found, as well as a fragment or two of crisscross-pattern burnished redware which dates to the transition of the E.H. to the E.I.P.

In 1967 I found two sherds that appeared to date to the Moche style in the cemetery area just north of the Punkurif alto ruins. The sherds were a plainware fragment of a flaring bowl and an upper portion of a pitcher decorated with white-on-red painting. In 1979, in this same area, a modelled sherd with a parrot's head was found, also datable to the Moche culture.

Other sherds found here date from the most extensive occupations at the site. Several painted Middle Horizon sherds were found as well as a number of examples of cooking pots of the "Casma Incised" type of decoration.

Illustrations: Kosok 1965: Fig. 16 in Chapter 20; Proulx 1968a, Plate 9a and 9b; Figs. 2g-2i, 3a-3e; and for PV 31-12 Figs. 3f-3h.

References: Horkheimer 1965, p. 31; Kosok 1965: 208; Proulx 1968a; Samaniego n.d.-1; and Schaedel 1951a, p. 241.

PV 31-17

Local Name: None
Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H.
Location: This site is located at the foot of the east side of a natural hill approximately 1.5 km NE of the settlement of San Jose on the north edge of the valley. It is the first
hilly outcrop east of San Jose on the Pampa of San Jose. The site is at the 230 m contour and is reached by means of the desert road between San Jacinto and San Jose. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQ9953076.

Description: This site is a looted cemetery containing approximately 250 graves in two areas separated by a small ridge. The major part of the cemetery is to the north. The graves appear to be about 1.0 to 1.5 m deep. A few rectangular adobes, 37 cm long, have been discovered, suggesting that some of the graves may have been lined. Many of the upper palates and mandibles of the skeletal remains are stained green in color from the practice of placing copper metal objects in or around the mouth. Recent looting has taken place here. A large cache of pottery that was neatly piled by a huaquero was spotted during the 1967 field season. Probe holes dot the site, and freshly dug sand can be seen.

Artifacts: Fourteen sherds were collected at this site in 1967. Of these, five can be identified as Moche in style. They include the neck and shoulder of a tall jar which has white paint on the neck and a ridge with red paint at the base of the neck; a body fragment from a bottle or jar with red designs on white; another spout from a tall, necked jar or pitcher painted red on white; and two jar fragments with a white slip.

There are three "Casma Incised" redward sherds datable to the Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate Period; one jar with small lug handles painted with a red band on white which is probably Middle Horizon in date; a press-molded blackware piece of a collared jar with vertical strap handle, also datable to the Middle Horizon or early part of the Late Intermediate Period; a plain redward collared jar; a black-ware face-neck jar fragment; and a redward spout of a bottle.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Figs. 5c-5e, 6a-6d.

of Nepeña, and is 190 m.a.s.l. The site extends down into a sandy plain between two projecting series of hills. The hills immediately to the west have two crosses on top. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK914873.

Description: The site consists of four cemetery areas which range over an area measuring about 150 m in width. The chronological relationship of the cemeteries is not entirely known, but the pottery from each is approximately contemporary, with most of it dating to the Middle Horizon along with a strong Moche component. The graves are shallow and are now partly overgrown by algarrobo trees. There is some indication that heavy earthmoving equipment was employed in the looting of the site.

Artifacts: Seventeen sherds were collected at this site in 1967. These include three sherds which can be classified as Moche—all from the area designated Area C. One is a fragment of a vessel with two modelled corn cobs; another sherd is a portion of a bowl with white geometric designs on the exterior; the third is a portion of a bottle with white-on-red painting. Three other plain redward fragments may also be Moche in date.

The remaining sherds appear to be Middle Horizon in style and include three blackware press-molded fragments, a "Casma Incised" redward cooking pot fragment with vertical handle, and two other press-molded redware fragments.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Figs. 7e-7h, 8a.

Description: This site consists of three mounds constructed of stone, conical adobe and rectangular adobes. In this respect it is very similar to the sites of Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36) and Punkurí (PV 31-10) which have similar building materials. The site has three mounds, none of which is over 12 m in height. Each of the mounds has been trenched through by huaqueros. The northernmost of the three is most significant. Here a large cut has been made exposing the interior of the mound. A large number of conical adobes are found on the sides along with fist-sized lumps of adobe. Angular fieldstones are scattered about and apparently were part of the construction material used here. Finally, rectangular adobes are visible in the cut running through the center of the mound. Because of the looting, the sequence of construction cannot be reconstructed from surface remains. Judging from Tello's work at Cerro Blanco and Punkurí, the oldest construction should be a mixture of stone and conical adobe, with the rectangular adobe representing later constructions on the site.

The other two mounds are also part of this same complex, as is PV 31-192 located several hundred meters to the south. The southern mound also has traces of conical adobes, but they do not have as sharp a point as those in the north mound. Fist-sized adobes are common here also. This mound has a deep crater dug into the center.

Burial areas are located around the three principal mounds, but they did not yield any surface artifacts. The aerial photographs suggest that there may have been a low wall around the site. Just to the north of the mound area is a large enclosure. This is rectangular in shape with dimensions of about 200 m in the E-W direction and 150 m in the N-S direction. The wall is standing to a height of 0.5 to 1.0 m. The interior of this enclosure is featureless except for a low rise in the southern part. No evidence of habitations was seen.

A revisit to the site in 1979 did not reveal any additional data. Unfortunately a family has settled on the pampa immediately to the west of the site, and further destruction is likely.

Artifacts: Eight sherds were collected at the site in 1967; four of them blackware and four redware. Fragments of the rims of two jars suggest a M.H. or L.I.P. date for these pieces, and raised elements on two of the blackware pieces also appear to be late. No distinctive Early Horizon pottery was discovered.
Dating: PV 31-27 is dated partly on the basis of the construction materials (conical adobes) and partly from the sherds just described. Conical adobes are a distinctive time marker for the Early Horizon on the north coast. Where they have been found in datable contexts, they have confirmed an Early Horizon dating for the site. Their presence here suggests an Early Horizon component at the site, most likely involving the stone and fist-shaped adobes as well. The rectangular adobes, which measured 28 by 18 cm date to a later time period, most likely either Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate Period. It appears that the site was re-occupied after the first settlement which dated to the Early Horizon. The graves most likely are late in date.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Plate 3a and Fig. 10f.


PV31-30

Local Name: Caylán

Cultural Period: E.H., M.H.

Location: This huge site is located on the north edge of the valley in the sandy sloping plain at the foot of Mt. Caylán and Pan de Azucar. It is 2.0 km NW of the settlement of Capellania and 4.3 km WSW of the town of Nepeña, at an elevation of 125 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252:IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK865834.

Description: Caylán is a huge, complex site, highly visible on the aerial photographs as a honeycombed agglomeration of parts: an area approximately one half a square kilometer in size on the edge of the valley floor, covered with agglutinated, rectangular-walled areas. The function of these walled areas is very problematical. None of these "rooms" appear to have doorways or windows. Few sherds are found among the architectural elements, and a thick clay "floor" has formed within these cells. A series of higher stone walls divides the area into four quarters. In this part of the site a large terraced stone pyramid lies to the north of the mountains of Pan de Azucar.

The second part of the site is a series of stone walls and platforms covering the hill to the south of the site. Some of the walls appear to be "megalithic" but not as finely made as those at PV31-56 or PV31-64. Clay plaster still covers some of the stone wall construction here. One of the large stone walls that bisects the site extends up the side of this hill as well.
Artifacts: In spite of its large size and importance, it has been very difficult to date Caylán because of the lack of artifacts. I have visited the site on at least seven different occasions and have found very few artifacts from within the site proper. In 1967 a number of plain redware sherds were recorded, but none with any diagnostic features. Richard Daggett, in his dissertation research of 1980-81, revisited Caylán and claims to have found Early Horizon ceramics in three different areas of the site. These sherds include bowl fragments decorated with stamped circles and dots as well as remnants of two other Early Horizon bowl types, jar fragments, pan pipe remains, ceramic disks, etc. In a brief visit to the site in 1982 I was unable to confirm his discoveries; I found no pottery datable to the Early Horizon in spite of a three-hour search of the site.

Dating: Daggett feels Caylán falls in the early part of the Early Horizon on the basis of two lines of evidence: the Early Horizon pottery fragments he found at the site and the similarity of the architecture to the sites of Pampa Rosario, and San Diego in the Casma Valley which were studied by the Pozorskis (Pozorski and Pozorski 1981: 47, 52-53). Daggett feels that Caylán was a major Early Horizon site in Nepeña. The terraced stone pyramid found at Caylán seems to have counterparts in the Casma Valley dated to the Early Horizon by Thompson (1962a). Adjacent to the Caylán site are numerous Middle Horizon cemeteries which I had previously used to suggest a date for this site. I am now inclined to believe that at least part of Caylán may date to the Early Horizon, but much more work needs to be done at this important site to clarify the chronology.

Illustrations: Kosok 1965:208; Proulx 1968a, Plate 7C.


PV 31-36

Local Name: Cerro Blanco

Cultural Period: E.H. (plus later reoccupations)

Location: This site is located in the center of the valley floor directly adjacent to the main highway connecting San Jacinto with the Pan American Highway. It is only about 100 m E of the junction of the branch road to the town of Nepeña from the main highway. Cerro Blanco is 1.9 km SE of the town of Nepeña and 600 m W of the settlement of Cerro Blanco. It lies at an altitude of 150 m a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17L4K919838.
Description: The site of Cerro Blanco was discovered in 1928 by workers from the Hacienda San Jacinto who were constructing an acequia along the northern edge of the site. The administrator of the hacienda, Mr. John B. Harrison, contacted the officials in Lima, including Julio C. Tello, who visited the site in early 1933 and excavated a portion of the site later that same year (Antúnez de Mayolo, 1933). The site actually consists of two parts: a low mound containing a temple with elaborately carved and painted clay walls (PV 31-36); and a much higher (15 m) and larger mound (PV 31-37) which was never excavated but contained large blocks of finely hewn stone similar to that found at Kusipampa (PV 31-56) further up-valley. The two portions of the site were artificially separated by the construction of a railroad to carry sugar from San Jacinto to the port of Vesique. The railroad was destroyed in the floods of 1925, and the roadbed then became the route of the main automobile road running up the valley. During my survey in 1967, I used different numbers to designate the two portions of the site because of the differences in the architectural components.

Because of the proximity of the site to the highway, it has been badly vandalized. The acequia built in 1928 destroyed a staela which Harrison claimed to have found at the site (Antúnez de Mayolo, 1933). No photograph exists of this staela, and it is not certain that it did indeed exist. The roadbed and later acequias further destroyed portions of the architecture. In 1967, when I first visited the site, portions of the original carved clay facade of the temple could be seen with its original colors. To the east, a long narrow room could be seen with yellow plastered walls. The main part of the platform had walls of conical adobe which had been covered by clay plaster. By 1979 the destruction of the site was so complete, that it had been turned into a shapeless mound of earth.

The area covered by the site (PV 31-36) is approximately 3000 m² (Bennett 1939:16). Tello (1933b) provides a map of the general location of the mounds in respect to the surrounding agricultural fields and the Hacienda Cerro Blanco, and Antúnez de Mayolo (1933, Plan A) shows the location of the site within the Nepeña Valley. Like Punkurí, Cerro Blanco is facing north. The exact orientation was not recorded by Tello, and the site is now too vandalized to make the proper measurements.

In 1928 the workers from San Jacinto discovered a long, narrow platform, 11.8 m N-S and 3.6 m E-W (Antúnez de Mayolo 1933: Fig. 6). Looking at the photograph and the
highly inaccurate reproduction of the temple which once stood in the main courtyard of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología in Lima, the decorated platform does not appear to correspond to these measurements (Compare Antuñez de Mayolo 1933: Fig. 6 with Kubler 1962: Plate 124 bottom). The measurements cited may refer to a basal platform on which the highly decorated and painted "step" was situated. This smaller platform or step appears to be a kenned tongue emanating from a feline face on the low wall or step to the south. The "tongue" is bisected by an elongated feline (Cayman?) mouth with crossed fangs in pure Chavin style. This step or platform served as an entrance to a U-shaped structure formed by two flanking walls on the east and west sides and a higher wall at the back (south) side. Each of these walls was decorated with a carved clay feline mask painted brick red in color with black eyes and white teeth (Antuñez de Mayolo 1933: Fig. 8; Kubler 1962: Plate 124 top). Bennett (1939:16) quotes Tello as saying that the colors were red, white, blue and green. The wings of the "U" (or the lateral walls) could also be interpreted as the legs and paws of the feline creature; the ends of these walls have feline claws painted on them. The U-shaped structure enclosed a courtyard measuring 4 m wide and 3.8 m deep which was paved with white sand.

On either side of the U-shaped structure, passageways and steps led back to a somewhat higher and larger platform measuring 8.78 m wide and 5.2 m deep (illustrated in Ravines 1970:76). Low walls in a U-shaped pattern also dominated this platform. These walls were decorated with a series of feline eyes with bird feathers above them, perhaps representing eyebrows, and a series of inverted L-shaped geometric elements which may be stylized feline canine teeth (see Roe 1974: Fig. 90). To the left (east side) of the platforms was the base of a clay column 40 cm in diameter (Bennett says 47 cm) like the one found at Punkurif.

Tello did not provide us with a plan and cross section of the Cerro Blanco temple as he did for the Punkurif temple. As a result, our knowledge of the details of the relationships of the various component architectural parts is very fragmentary. He states (Tello 1943:136-137) that the temple had been buried under a thick layer of mud, and that there were three building phases represented. On the lowest level were buildings of stone with walls plastered with mud and decorated with figures in relief. In the fill which covered the remains of these earlier constructions were found classic Chavin blackware with incised designs, some of which had been filled with red paint or graphite (illustration in Tello 1943: Plate 1.1a). My own observations in 1967 confirmed the presence of mud-plastered stone walls in some parts of the site (see Fig. 2).
The second level at Cerro Blanco consisted of a combination of stone and conical adobes according to Tello (1943:136-137). In contrast to the walls with carved clay reliefs found in the first level, the walls of the second level were plastered, smooth finished, and painted (ibid.:137). In 1967 I observed a number of smooth plastered rooms with yellow pigment covering the walls. Because of the lack of a field report complete with profiles and level-by-level descriptions of the architecture and the artifacts, we must be cautious in our interpretation of the sequence of building activity at the site. The architectural history of the Chavin period at Cerro Blanco is most likely much more complex than Tello suggests in his short preliminary reports.

The upper level of Cerro Blanco contained the "remains of the dwelling houses, rubbish and graves of a population that lived there and utilized, in their construction, the materials employed by their predecessors. These people belonged to the culture represented by the multicolored vessels of the Santa and Late Nepeña type, being contemporaries of the Chimú" (Tello 1943:137). The site was indeed reoccupied, but Tello does not provide the evidence needed to identify the later cultures. We do not know, for example, if the later constructions were of rectangular adobe as was the case at Punkurí. The "multicolored pottery" could belong to any of several later groups, including the Moche, Huari, and local cultures of the Late Intermediate Period.

In order to demonstrate the architectural complexity of the Cerro Blanco site, I am including in this report a sketch map I made of the exposed architecture in 1967 (Fig. 2). A number of features not described by Tello can be seen, including a series of rooms to the east and an elongated multiroomed structure to the south. As it is, a large portion of the mound was apparently never excavated and today lies crumbling into ruins.

Artifacts: Artifacts were quite rare at Cerro Blanco. Tello discovered classic Chavin blackware pottery in the fill of the earliest level at the site. Twelve of these sherds are illustrated in Tello 1943 (Plate XIVa). Eight of these are decorated with incision, and Tello notes that in some cases the incision was filled with red pigment or graphite. In my many visits to the site, I never found a single identifiable sherd. Unlike Punkurí there were no stone mortars and pestles, turquoise beads, shells, or burials. The dating is based on the style of the artwork on the walls and on the Chavin pottery.
FIGURE 2
PV31-36 CERRO BLANCO

reconstructed from photographs of Tello

wall segments recorded in 1967

front of mound 51 meters long

ROAD
Dating: On the basis of the published illustration of the carved and painted clay walls at Cerro Blanco, John Rowe (1962a:13; 1967:76) dates the site to Phase C of the Early Horizon. This is roughly contemporary with the so-called "Tello Obelisk" found at Chavin de Huantar. Peter Roe (1974:37) agrees with this dating, but feels there are certain traits to suggest it was late Phase C perhaps lapping into Phase D. The ceramics found in the fill are also of Classic Chavin type such as found at Chavin de Huantar, Pallka, Ancon, and other locations.

Since it is not very clear whether the temple complex with the feline masks dates only to the first level or also to the second level, the full chronological history of the site cannot be described with certainty. Tello's argument that the first two levels of the site date to the Early Horizon seems very likely in light of the carved and painted clay designs and Chavin pottery of the first level, and the conical adobes of the second level. Just which cultures re-occupied the site in later times is unclear.

Illustrations: Figure 2; Antúnez de Mayolo 1933: Figs. 6, 8 and 9; Carrion Cachot 1948: Plate 4; Engel 1976: Plate 127; Ishida et al 1960:180; Kubler 1962: Plate 124; Kusok 1965:208; Larco Hoyle 1941: Figs. 8 and 29; Proulx 1968a: Plate 2b; Ravines 1970:76; Tello 1933; 1943: Plates 13, 14a; Willey 1974: Plate 298c.


Local Name: Cerro Blanco (large huaca)

Cultural Period: E. H. (Plus probable later reoccupation)

Location: This site is located in the center of the valley floor directly adjacent to the main highway connecting San Jacinto with the Pan American Highway and at the intersection of the branch road to the town of Nepeña. Cerro Blanco (large mound) is 1.85 km SE of the town of Nepeña and 650 m W of the settlement of Cerro Blanco. It lies at an altitude of 150 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQ917842.
Description: This large mound, directly across the modern road from the temple of Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36) is thought to be part of that same site. It was artificially separated from the smaller temple by the construction of a modern highway in 1925. The mound is much higher than the temple, rising at least 15 m above the valley floor. Its base covers an area of 14,000 m² (Antúnez de Mayolo 1933:16). Tello recognized it as part of the site, but he did not attempt to excavate it in 1933.

The mound appears to be a terraced pyramid, although the sides are so eroded that the terracing is conjectural. The east side is less steep than the west, and there appears to be a low extension of the mound in that direction. It was on this extension that traces of looted graves were found containing skeletal material stained green from contact with copper metals. Similar burials found elsewhere suggest either an E.I.P. or L.I.P. date for the tombs.

The most distinctive features of this mound are the remnants of large worked blocks of stone, one measuring 1.26 by 0.8 m. These stones resemble building blocks present at the sites of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), Paradones (PV 31-64), Motocachy (PV 31-48) and others -- all dating to the last part of the Early Horizon and beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. These stones, as well as cobblestones and sharp fieldstones have eroded from the sides of the pyramid. Whether there is a cultural component here that is contemporary with the Chavin temple across the road (which falls earlier in the Early Horizon than the stonework here suggests) is not clear and cannot be answered until excavation of the site is accomplished.

Artifacts: Five sherds were collected at this site, all plainware. One sherd is a portion of a neck of a bottle, appearing to date to the M.H. or L.I.P. The others cannot be dated with any certainty.

Dating: The ceramic evidence from this site, scant as it is, suggests a later reoccupation. In spite of the proximity of this mound to the Chavin temple and the strong probability that this site is part of the complex, no Early Horizon sherds have been found here. In light of the fact that there were no Early Horizon sherds found on the surface at the Cerro Blanco temple (PV 31-36), we should not discount the possibility that there was an earlier occupation here. The worked stone eroding from the sides of the mound has a strong affiliation with stonework found at other sites dating to the latter third of the Early
Horizon (see paragraph above). There is a good possibility that several Early Horizon phases are represented at this site.

Illustrations: None

References: Antúnez de Mayolo 1933; and Proulx 1968a.

PV 31–38

Local Name: Pañamarca (Pañamarquilla)
Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P. (Moche)
Location: Pañamarca is built on the top and sides of a large natural hill on the valley floor of the middle valley region. It is approximately 600 m SE of the settlement of Capellania and can easily be seen from the main highway running up the center of the valley. Currently there is a sign directing tourists to the site. A guardian now permanently lives at the site, and an admission is charged for entry. Pañamarca lies at an altitude of 110 m.a.s.l. at its base and rises 60 to 70 m above the valley floor. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK886816.

Description: Because of its size and unique features, Pañamarca is one of the better known sites in the Nepeña Valley. It has been known to archaeologists from at least the 1860s when E. G. Squier visited the site and drew a highly accurate picture of the main pyramid and courtyards (Squier 1877). The German traveler, Ernst Middendorf, also visited the site in the 1800s (Middendorf 1894 [1973]) as did other later travelers and scientists.

Pañamarca is a large ceremonial complex built primarily by Moche invaders into the valley in the Early Intermediate Period. There is, however, evidence for earlier occupation of the site. At the summit of the natural hill, behind the Moche pyramid, are the remains of a large stone walled structure. Schaedel (1951a) attributed this structure to the "Tiahuanaco" (Huari) culture of the Middle Horizon, pointing out that a portion of a Moche wall painting was found in the center of this unit but apparently stratigraphically below it (1951a:150). Schaedel also found remains of Tiahuanaco graves at the site, one of these stratigraphically above a Moche grave.

While it is clear that there was some Huari reoccupation of the site in the Middle Horizon, the architectural style
of the stone structure at Pañamarca is more closely related to the late Early Horizon sites of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), Motocachy (PV 31-48) and Paradones (PV 31-64). The use of finely cut stone blocks for corners of the building and entry ways is not a Huari trait. Furthermore, the discovery of at least one sherd with a pattern-burnished crisscross design links Pañamarca to the Early Horizon sites mentioned above (Proulx 1973:19 and 26). Alan Sawyer (personal communication) claims to have found two or three Chavin sherds at Pañamarca, suggesting a long occupational history for the site.

The bulk of the construction at Pañamarca dates to the Moche invasion of the Nepeña Valley during Phases III and IV of the Early Intermediate Period. The ruins consist of a large terraced pyramid surrounded by walled courtyards, smaller structures, and cemeteries. Schaedel's plan (1951a) is fairly accurate, but a good, detailed map of the site is badly needed (Fig. 3).

The centerpiece of the site is a pyramid constructed of rectangular adobes, rising in five terraces to a height of 70 m above the floor of the valley (best illustration is in Kosak 1965: Fig. 11, p. 206). The pyramid is built on a natural hill and appears to be oriented to the north where traces of a zigzag ramp can be seen ascending the structure. On the back side (south side) of the pyramid, there appears to be a large cut trenched into the pyramid, giving it a "U-shaped" form. Kosak (1965:206-207) argues that this was the intentional shape of the pyramid, pointing out that other U-shaped structures exist on the coast of Peru. Plastered walls exposed in the "cut" would tend to support this argument. However, to me, the cut appears to be artificial, dug by huaqueros in the past looking for treasure within the pyramid. The plastered walls could be explained as vestiges of earlier construction phases of the pyramid. There is ample evidence of rebuilding at Pañamarca, and it is likely that the pyramid was also rebuilt several times. Traces of paint found on the south outer wall of the pyramid in 1967 suggest that murals may once have existed there.

To the east of the pyramid is a large courtyard, bordered on the north side by a long wall. It was this wall that contained the famous "frieze of the warriors and the priests" which was studied by Richard Schaedel in 1950 (Schaedel 1951a). This is only one set of Moche murals that exist at Pañamarca, and more will be said of these below. The west side of this courtyard is formed by the basal walls of the pyramid, and the remnants of low walls can be
seen on the east and south sides, thus enclosing the entire
courtyard. The courtyard is filled with looted graves,
most undoubtedly Moche and others dating to later periods.
Since very few sherds were located in the courtyard, the
exact dating of the tombs is not known.

Immediately to the north of the courtyard just described,
on a platform above the wall containing the frieze of the
warriors and the priests, is another walled court, sur­
rounded by high (6 to 7 m) walls on the north, west and
east sides (Proulx 1968a: Plate 3c). Behind this U-shaped
courtyard were more high-walled enclosures, leading to an
artificially flattened hill to the north. The walls in
this area are among the most impressive at the site. High
but solidly built, these walls withstood the ravages of the
earthquake of May, 1970. Evidence of rebuilding can be
seen in this area.

To the north of the pyramid and to the west of the walled
courtyards are a series of rooms, one of which contains
the most intricate Moche murals found at Pañamarca. Along
the north wall of this room is the mural studied by Duccio
Bonavia in 1958 (Bonavia 1959, 1961) which is called by
Christopher Donnan (1976, 1978) the Moche "presentation
theme." Adjacent to this but somewhat lower on an easterly
protrusion of the wall, is the "plumed feline" or "dragon"
which had been recorded by Schaedel in 1950 (Schaedel
1951a) and illustrated in Bonavia (1974: plate facing
p. 60). On the same wall with the "plumed feline" Schaedel
found the mural of an anthropomorphic bird holding a conch
shell (Schaedel 1951a: Fig. 12; Bonavia 1974: Fig. 30).
This mural had disappeared by 1958 when Bonavia visited the
site.

In this same room, on the south wall, is another important
mural depicting two Moche warriors in hand-to-hand combat.
This mural is actually on a wall at a right angle to the
south wall of the room, and it represents the westward
facing wall of an older structure which was built over in
later times, covering the mural. Huaqueros in the past had
burrowed into the south wall, leaving a cavity which re­
vealed the two warriors. Undoubtedly this frieze continues
deeper into the structure. Schaedel studied this mural in
1950 and illustrated it in his article (1951a: Fig. 11).
It is also illustrated in Proulx 1968a: Plate 4a; Bonavia
1974: Fig. 31 and plate facing p. 61.

Fragments of other murals also exist in this room. In 1971
I noted a portion of a mural which consisted of an elabo­
rately dressed human, not unlike those found in the mural
FIGURE 3
PV31-38 PAÑAMARCA

Scale 1:2000
After Lumbreras 1974 and Schaedd 1951
Original Drawing by Antonio Rodriguez Suy Suy

57
of the warriors and the priests. It was located high on the west wall of the room. There also seem to be traces of murals adjacent to the eastern entrance to this room, but they are very fragmentary. No pictures were taken by me of either of these latter two murals.

Finally, the partial figure of a feline mural was located on a wall west of the room just discussed, at a higher elevation than the other murals. I was shown the badly deteriorated mural in 1982 when I last visited the site, but I have since learned that Bonavia had photographed the mural in 1974 and illustrated it in his book (Bonavia 1974: plate facing p. 57). Many more murals existed at Pañamarca as evidenced by fragments of painted plaster in many parts of the site.

Cemeteries are located at several different areas at Pañamarca, including the courtyard described above, and the western slopes of the site. The looted graves appear to be about 1 to 2 m deep and unlined.

Schaedel (1951a) also describes some pictographs found on natural rock outcrops on the north side of the site. He attributes this to a pre-Moche occupation at the site. Near here are also located artificial depressions in the rock, perhaps used for grinding purposes.

Artifacts: A number of Moche sherds were found on the surface of the site. These are of rather poor quality. Eleven sherds were collected in 1967; one of these was the neck of a single spout bottle with a handle attached from the spout to the body of the vessel. Pairs of vertical white lines are drawn on the spout. Another fragment is a portion of a bottle with modeled peanuts on it. There are also three other stirrup spout fragments, all undecorated; the top of a crude jar; a portion of a bowl; and a pattern-burnished bowl fragment decorated with crisscross designs exactly like those found at the Early Horizon sites of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and Motocachy (PV 31-48). The rim of another jar, dating to the M. H. or L. I. F. was also collected.

Dating: The cultural affiliation of this site can be ascertained from the style of the murals, the pottery found on the surface, and certain architectural features. The murals at the site are almost identical to ceramic iconography from the Moche culture. Using Larco Hoyle's scheme of Moche phases, the murals would appear to date mainly to Moche Phase IV. The "plumed feline" has some traits which Bonavia feels may date to Moche V (Bonavia 1974:66). Ceramics found
at the site suggest that the site was occupied by several cultures, beginning with an Early Horizon occupation, characterized by the sherd with pattern burnishing and with the stone structure on the summit of the site. Then the Moche culture occupied the Valley perhaps starting in Phase III, reaching its height in Phase IV, and perhaps continuing into Phase V (which seems quite doubtful in light of the evidence from neighboring valleys). The site was utilized in the Middle Horizon (and perhaps later as well) by the Huari culture who often buried their dead in the sacred ruins of earlier cultures.

Illustrations: Figure 3; Antúnez de Mayolo 1933, Figs 3 and 5; Bonavia 1959, Plates 1-4; Bonavia 1974, pp. 51-81; Bueno Mendoza 1979, Foto 36; Donnan 1976, Figs. 108 and 109; Donnan 1978, Figs. 38, 39, 243, and 244; Ishida et al 1960, p. 181; Kosok 1965, pp. 207-208; Frouix 1968a, Plates 3a, 3b, 4a and 4b; Repartaz 1960, Plates 15-17; Schaedel 1951a; Soriano Infante 1941, photos 6-9; and Squier 1877, p. 200.


PV 31-39

Local Name: None

Cultural Period. E.I.P. (Moche); M.H.

Location: This looted cemetery is located on the western slopes of the large natural hill immediately to the south of the site of Pañamarca. This hill contains many cemeteries, each separated from one another by ridges of the hill. The site is 1.4 km SE of the Capellania buildings and 1.4 km ESE of the mound called San Gregorio. It lies at an elevation of 100 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK890812.

Description: The site is a large looted cemetery with 500 to 1000 huaquero holes dug on the site. The average depth of the graves appears to be between 1 and 2 m. There are some very deep holes interspersed in the cemetery, but it is not known what, if anything, came out of these excavations.
The cemetery is mixed, containing both Moche and Huari Norteño graves. It was not possible to distinguish any differences in the form and construction of the graves from each period due to the extensive looting. Some of the bones found in this cemetery are stained green from contact with copper metals. The proximity of the cemetery to Pañamarca suggests that it was a choice location for the burial of Moche related peoples close to their primary ceremonial center in the valley.

Artifacts: Eighteen sherds were collected at this site in 1967, including fragments of a painted Moche collared jar, a flaring bowl, and a fragment painted with a geometric design. The Middle Horizon sherds included a shallow bowl painted with circles, a portion of a "Casma Incised" cooking pot and a rimmed jar with press molded design. Some textile fragments were also collected.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Figs 12d-f.


PV 31-40

Local name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)?

Location: This site is a small detached hill/mound, part of the natural hill adjacent to Pañamarca which is surrounded by cemeteries. The mound is 1 km ESE of the Capellanía buildings and 1.7 km ENE of the mound of San Gregorio. In 1967 the mound was bordered on the west by a barbed wire fence and on the north by a marshy area. A peasant's hut was located on the east side. The site is at an altitude of 130 m.a.s.l. and is close to the field called Pañamarca. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK092817.

Description: This badly eroded mound appears to have had a small pyramid erected on a natural rise. Rectangular adobes are scattered at the bottom of the mound, but modern activities on it have made it almost shapeless. It appears that there may have been two levels or terraces on the mound. The area covered by the site is about 50 m in diameter.

Artifacts: Only a few plainware sherds were found on the site. The extensive erosion made the finding of surface artifacts almost impossible.
Dating: This site is dated to the E.I.P. solely on the basis of its proximity to the Panamarca architectural complex and the similarity of building materials with that found at Panamarca. The site should be investigated more thoroughly in the future to determine if any other dating is possible.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-46

Local Name: Quisque (fortress of Kiske)

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: The site is a large stone-walled fortress located high on the hills of the southern side of the valley opposite Tomeque. The site is on a natural neck of the valley and commands an important control point giving access to the upper valley region. Quisque is 1.9 km SW of Tomeque and 3.6 km SE of San Jacinto. It is 50 m above the valley floor, which is at the 330-meter contour in this area. It faces the fields of Quisque bajo. A good plan and description of the site appears in Squier 1877. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK015857.

Description: Quisque is a stone-walled fortress guarding the access to the upper valley region. There are four major sections of wall forming the outer perimeter, and a fifth smaller wall toward the back. The wall is constructed of cut fieldstone joined together with smaller stones and some mud mortar. There are two entrances through this wall (see Squier 1877:213 for a fairly accurate plan). The stones forming the entranceways and the corners of the walls are of finely cut granite. In overall architectural form, Quisque is very similar to Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and Paradones (PV 31-64). Inside the wall are areas of natural rock outcrops. One of these naturally rocky outcrops was modified with the use of rubble and then faced with cut stone blocks. Slightly below the fortress is a terrace containing a smaller, rectangular building.

Artifacts: Pottery is very scarce at the site, and none was collected by me in 1971 when I visited the site.

Illustrations: Squier 1877:213 (See Fig. 4 below); Proulx 1968a, Plan 8 (copy of Squier); Kosok 1965:203; Ubbelohde-Doering 1966, pp. 164-165.

FIGURE 4

PV31-46
QUISQUE

After Squier 1877:213
PLAN OF THE FORTRESS OF QUISQUE.

Elevation of Wall at C.
Height 22 Ft.
PV 31-47A (Pyramid and Enclosed Court)

Local Name: San Juan I


Location: The site complex is located on a broad alluvial fan in the Pampa Arena or Pampa Motocachy. It is 2.4 km NNE of the Motocachy settlement and 2.9 km NNW of the Town of Moro. It lies only 500 m NW of the present settlement of San Juan and faces the field known as La Soledad. The site is approximately 530 m a.s.l. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK085914.

Description: This section of the site is a large rectangular enclosure, measuring 93 m on its N-S axis and 158 m on the E-W axis. The walls of this enclosure are made of fieldstone piled up and held together with mud mortar. The east wall of the enclosure is oriented 30 degrees W of magnetic north, and the west wall 20 degrees W of magnetic north. The southern wall has an orientation of 297 degrees (see Fig. 6).

A small terraced pyramid constructed of stone and rectangular adobe is situated at the eastern end of the rectangular enclosure. The pyramid is oriented to the SE, and a ramp connects the pyramid to the main entrance of the enclosure. The pyramid is terraced on the back and sides, with rooms occupying the majority of the terrace.

The western half of the enclosure is devoid of architecture with the exception of a large walled courtyard measuring 54 m E-W and 35 m N-S. The walls of this courtyard are identical to the outer enclosure walls, and the entrance to the enclosed court seems to be near the SW corner.

The most elaborate stonework at the site is found at the main entrance to the enclosure on the southern wall. Large cut stone blocks are found here, but much of the original entryway appears to have been covered by subsequent alluviation or perhaps later construction.

Rectangular adobe construction is found primarily in the upper terraces of the pyramid. Since this site is multi-occupational, it appears that the pyramid was one of the later constructions at the site. It is quite likely that it was built over an earlier construction.

Artifacts: Although the majority of the decorated surface sherds from this site are Middle Horizon in date (22 pieces
of Casma Incised ware), the occupation of the site goes back to the Initial Period. A figurine head (Plates II B and II C) found within the enclosure is almost identical to one found by the University of Tokyo expedition at Las Haldas in the Casma area in 1958 (see Ishida et al. 1960, Plate on p. 103 and Fig. 60 on p. 196).

A good sample of Early Horizon pottery was also collected, including zoned punctate, punctate, incision and decorated appliqué. One fragment of Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched was found. The Early Intermediate Period is represented by one fragment of white-on-red ware.

Dating: Because of the variety of pottery and the many periods represented by the sherds, it is difficult to determine the construction phases at this site without excavation. It would appear that there was some type of occupation at the site during the Initial Period. I would suggest that the stone-faced terraced pyramid was first constructed during the Early Horizon with the site being reoccupied during the Middle Horizon at which time the pyramid was renovated using rectangular adobes. These adobes seem confined to the upper portion of the site, making an Early Horizon date for the major building of the complex quite reasonable.

The alluvial fan on which the site is located probably was formed during the late Pleistocene, for the ruins lie on top of it. Periodic floods did occur in this area after occupation, and some portions of the site were affected, e.g., the entryway to the enclosure.

Illustrations: Figures 5 and 6; Proulx 1968a, Plate 6b.


PV 31-47B

Local Name: San Juan Ruin II (?)
Cultural Period: E.H. and M.H.
Location: Same general location as PV 31-47A. The portion of the ruin designated 47B is a small artificial mound to the south of the pyramid and court complex (47A). It is further marked by the presence of a tall electric transmission pole which has been excavated into the western side of the mound. The mound is directly adjacent to the road from San Juan which cuts across the Pampa Arena toward the Rio Solivin.

66
Description: This is an artificial mound, perhaps 80 meters in diameter and rising to an elevation of 8 to 10 m above the floor of the pampa. It is constructed of adobe, but is badly eroded on the exterior. No indications of structures can be seen.

The form and building materials of this mound suggests a later date for this part of the site, and indeed, the majority of the pottery is M.H. or later in date. However, close examination of the western end of the mound where the electric pole had been dug into the side, revealed a number of pieces of E.H. circle and dot as well as zone punctated ware. Like 47A, this part of the site had an E.H. occupation, later built over during the M.H. In light of the I.P. figurine head found at 47A and the E.H. sherds here at 47B, this site is quite important and should be further explored.

Artifacts: The excavation of a hole for a modern electrical transmission line in the western end of this mound revealed artifacts dating to the Early Horizon. Four fragments of Nepéña Stamped Circle and Dot pottery were found, as well as two sherds with zoned punctation—one with incision and the other an Early Horizon jar lip. Middle Horizon sherds are prevalent on the surface of the weathered mound, indicating a reoccupation of the site.

Dating: The adobe mound was probably constructed during the M.H., but deep in the core is a likely E.H. structure, revealed by the discovery of E.H. sherds near the excavation for the electric pole.

Illustrations: None


Locality: Motocachy

Cultural Period: E.H. (+ E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: The Motocachy ruin is located on the top of a long range of natural hills on the north side of the valley 1.5 km NNE of the former Motocachy Hacienda and 2.7 km NW of the town of Moro. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK078907. The site lies adjacent to the main road from Motocachy to Jimbe and overlooks the Motocachy Pampa and the settlement of San Juan. The field of Buena Vista borders the west side and the sandy Pampa Arena is to the east and north. The
The base of the hills lies at an elevation of 530 m.a.s.l. and the highest point of the site is about 80 m high.

Description: This large site consists of a series of artificial pyramids, rooms and stone walls constructed on the top of a range of natural hills overlooking the strategic Pampa Arena or Motocachy Pampa and the valley bottom proper of the Nepeña River. There are four major pyramids, which I have labeled A through D, as well as two smaller modified hills which I am calling E and F (see Fig. 7). The pyramids are at different heights, depending on the natural contour of the hills. The primary building material is stone, but some sectors have finely cut blocks while others have piled fieldstone. No adobe bricks were noted at the site.

**PYRAMID A** is a terraced hilltop partially flanked by a stone wall. The summit lies approximately 65 to 70 m above the valley floor. The pyramid is oriented 30° W of magnetic north and has one principal terrace on that NW side. The back wall of the terrace consists of finely cut stone interspersed with smaller split stone. Other, less well constructed, facing walls can be seen above the major terrace, so that several step-like terraces could have been present on this NW side. The major terrace is 55 m high and is punctuated by numerous looted graves.

On the top of Pyramid A are several parallel lines of finely cut stone wall foundations, running in a general NE to SW direction (90° angle to the main orientation of the pyramid). There is also a U-shaped structure on the summit facing NW and measuring 7.7 by 7.5 m in size. Behind this structure and the parallel lines of wall foundations are several looted graves.

Three large partially-buried ceramic storage jars are located on the NE side of this pyramid near the summit. These jars, first described by Squier (1877:208-209) are about 1.5 m in diameter and equally deep. They were likely fired in place in the pits which were especially prepared for them by being dug out and then lined with flattened stones. The walls of these jars are often 3 cm thick, with coarse temper. Their main function appears to have been for storage of water or foodstuffs for the occupants of the site.

A low wall of heaped-up uncut stone encircles the SE and SW sides of Pyramid A at an elevation of about 40 m above the floor of the valley. This crude wall is connected to more finely cut stone walls of a different date, which will be described below.
PYRAMID B is the lowest of the four major pyramids, lying about 10 m below Pyramid A (or 50 m above the valley floor). Narrow terracing can also be seen on this pyramid, but details are lacking because of the poor architectural preservation on the sides of the structure. The top of this hill is crowned with a thick-walled rectangular room measuring 14.8 by 8.5 m. The room appears to be semi-subterranean, but the walls, on collapsing inward, filled up most of the former room so that details of the architecture cannot be determined by a simple surface survey. The longer walls lie 40° east of magnetic north. A finely cut stone facing wall is found on the NW side of the structure, and it appears that the exterior face of the mound was formerly covered with a fieldstone wall, perhaps terraced as mentioned above.

Between Pyramids B and C is a flattened area to the west, partly flanked by a finely cut stone wall (Plate 16C) that makes up part of a long wall running across the site. The wall construction is very similar to the architecture of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), Paradones (PV 31-64) and Quisque (PV 31-46). A number of looted burials and great quantities of surface pottery are found in this section, much of which consists of crisscross pattern-burnished redware and post-fired scratched-design redware identical to that found at Kushi-Pampa. Thus the architectural style and ceramics are linked, and I will later argue that these four sites are at least partly contemporaneous.

The wall, which begins on the SE side of Pyramid A as a low pile of angular fieldstone, aims toward Pyramid C, incorporating the finely cut stone wall, turns back into a pile of fieldstone, and finally terminates in another cut stone wall near the base of Pyramid C. I suspect that the cut stone walls are earliest, and that these were incorporated as part of a more extensive defense system by later occupants of the site, who added the more primitive fieldstone sections of the wall.

PYRAMID C, the highest point of the site, also appears to be the oldest. Curiously little architecture is found on this hill, but the sides are covered with Early Horizon pottery. This combination of a lack of architecture on top of fortified hilltop sites with quantities of Early Horizon ceramics is very characteristic of other sites in the valley belonging to the same period. Several large storage jars, similar to those found on Pyramid A, are located on the west side of Pyramid C.

PYRAMID D is approximately the same elevation as Pyramid C, connected to the latter by a narrow saddle. The "pyramid"
lacks architecture, but the hilltop has been leveled and partially modified. Early Horizon sherds continue to dominate the surface collections.

PYRAMIDS E AND F are on the northern end of the range of hills making up this site and consist of flattened natural hills much lower in elevation than the four main pyramids of the site. This part of the site is covered with Middle Horizon pottery which represents a reoccupation of the site in later times.

Artifacts: Pottery sherds were collected from several parts of the site and different patterns were perceived. A total collection of 158 sherds was made at the site, 79 of which were decorated or could be identified by period. The decorated sherds served as the main sample. Of this sample, 58% of the sherds were placed in the Early Horizon on the basis of the circle and dot decoration, punctation, incision or shape. An additional 34% of the pottery is dated at the E.H./E.I.P. transition and is typified by criss-cross pattern burnishing and post-fired scratched decoration on redware. A 3% sample is identified as Recuay and an additional 5% as Middle Horizon.

The distribution of the pottery was quite uneven over the site, and in one or two areas almost unmixed samples were found. On the slopes of Pyramid C, for example, almost all of the decorated pottery was E.H. circle and dot, incised or punctate. No pattern-burnished or scratched-decorated ware was found here. Conversely, in the cemetery area and raised area between pyramids A and B there was a preponderance of the pattern-burnished and post-fired decorated redware. And then again, on the top and sides of pyramids A and B there were mixed materials.

Dating: On the basis of the artifacts, it is evident that the main period of occupation of this site was during the Early Horizon. Occupation probably began around the highest point, Pyramid C, for it is here that the purest sample of E.H. pottery is found. At the end of the Early Horizon and into the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period Pyramids A and B were probably constructed, utilizing shaped stones for wall construction. The sections of the wall similarly constructed also date to this time. A few Recuay or Recuay-related sherds found here may represent trade pieces or a brief reoccupation of the site. During the Middle Horizon the site was again reoccupied and used partly as a cemetery, with most of the occupation confined to the northern end of the hills.
FIGURE 7
PV31-48 MOTOCACHY

mixed pottery
E.H. pottery
underground storage jars
pattern-burnished pottery
M.H. pottery
cut stone wall
piled stone wall

not to scale
FIGURE 8

PV31-48 MOTOCACHI

cross section
not to scale
FIGURE 9
PV31-48 MOTOCACHY

PYRAMID A

remains of facing wall of finely-cut stone

33° terrace graves

piled stone wall

PYRAMID B

320° semi subterranean room

14.8 x 8.5 m

not to scale
Illustrations: Figures 7, 8 and 9; Squier 1877:208

References: Horkheimer 1965:208; Soriano Infante 1941:266; and Squier 1877:208-209.

PV 31-50

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H.; E.I.P. (Recuay); M.H.

Location: This ruin is on a small natural hill on the valley bottom 1.6 km W of the town of Moro and 1.6 km SE of Motocachy. It is adjacent to the main road between Moro and Motocachy and is just west of a hill called San Isidro. The base of the hill is 490 m.a.s.l., and it is surrounded by the fields of Puente Piedra. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRR084887.

Description: This site consists of a fortified, terraced natural hill. The exact geological process that formed the hill is not known, but it was very likely a glacial deposit, for huge boulders make up part of the hill. The top of the hill was flattened, and the sides terraced with shaped stone retaining walls still visible on the NE and NW corners. The most spectacular aspect of the site is two projecting stone walls on the south side of the hill. The function of these walls is unknown. Remnants of a stone stairway are found on the east side of the hill, leading down from the platform at the summit (see Fig. 10).

The architecture of this site is similar to the fortresses of PV 31-162 and PV 31-163, and the sherds found here suggest a similar dating. Two curved stone walls of piled fieldstone are found on the south side of the hill running down the side of the hill into the field below. These walls may date to the reoccupation of the site during the M.H.

Below the southeast end of the site, on the valley bottom, is a looted cemetery which reflects the occupational history of the site. Both Early Horizon and Middle Horizon sherds were located here. One of the curved walls mentioned above forms the western boundary of this cemetery.

Artifacts: Thirty-five sherds from the hill and 25 sherds from the cemetery area were collected at the site. The hilltop ruin yielded eight fragments of Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot Ware, and two pieces of Nepeña Zoned Punctate. A piece of textile-impressed pottery may indicate an Early Inter-
FIGURE 10
PV31-50

not to scale
mediate Period occupation, while at least six sherds were found dating to the Middle Horizon.

In the cemetery area below, the majority of the sherds were Middle Horizon in style. Nine fragments of painted Middle Horizon ware were collected, but the Early Horizon is represented by three fragments of Nepeña Banded Lozenge. A white-on-red sherd was found in the cemetery as well.

Dating: The main construction and occupation of this site seems to date primarily to the Early Horizon. The architectural details are similar to other E.H. sites, as is the overall plan. The site (especially the cemetery) was later re-occupied during the Middle Horizon when the Huari culture buried their dead in the cemetery and the sides of the hill.

Illustrations: Figure 10.


PV 31-51

Local Name: Cerro San Isidro

Cultural Period: E.H.; E.I.P. (Recuay); M.H.

Location: The site is situated on the top and sides of a large natural hill 1.0 km W of the town of Moro and 1.9 km ESE of Motocachy. This hill is on the main road between Moro and Motocachy and has an orchard on the south side. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK089890.

Description: San Isidro is a terraced natural hill with an artificially flattened summit. The most evident terracing is on the eastern side, facing the town of Moro. Vestiges of rooms constructed of fieldstone and mortar can be seen on some of the lower terraces, but the condition is poor and no architectural plan could be made. The exact function of the site is not known. Looted graves are located mainly on the SW side of the hill, but graves are found sporadically almost everywhere.

Artifacts: Fifty-three sherds were collected at the site, 35 of which were datable and form our sample. The pottery ranges in date from the Early Horizon to the Middle Horizon. Fourteen of the sherds belong to the main part of the Early Horizon and include circle-and-dot, incised and punctated ware. Small panpipe fragments also dating to this period are in the collection. One or two pieces date to the
E.H./E.I.P. transition and have post-fired scratched decoration. Six pieces of Recuay pottery indicate an occu-
pation during the Early Intermediate Period. Twelve
pieces are Middle Horizon in date and include Casma

Dating: There was continuous occupation of this site from the
Early Horizon, through much of the Early Intermediate Per-
iod, to the Middle Horizon when the largest occupation
occurred. The terraced hilltop was probably first con-
structed in the Early Horizon, when other sites of similar
design were also being utilized. Modifications and addi-
tional construction continued to be made into the Middle
Horizon.

Illustrations: None


FV31-56

Local Name: Kushi-Pampa (Siete Huacas, Squier's "Stone Works of
Mora")

Cultural Period: E.H. into beginning of E.I.P.

Location: This site is located on a mountain plateau overlooking
the upper reaches of the Rio Nepeña. It is 2.9 km NNE of
the Town of Moro and 4.0 km NE of Motocachy. It can be
reached by the road leading out of the NW side of Moro.
The site lies at an altitude of 580 m.a.s.l. and is 80 to
100 m above the valley floor. The reference point on the
1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is
17LRK104918.

Description: Kushi-Pampa is a complex site covering the surface
of a plateau which measures approximately 900 by 400 m. It
is situated in a strategic location near the juncture of
the Rio Nepeña with the Rio Salitre tributary, in a highly
defensive position high above the floor of the valley.
From the site the broad expanse of the upper valley pocket
can be seen. The site is dominated by a large stone-walled
enclosure that measures 420 m along its northwest wall and
120 m along its northeast wall. The compound consists of
enclosed courtyards, rooms and passageways, and was built
in at least two stages. For the purposes of description,
the individual sections have been lettered for reference
(Fig. 11).

The outer wall of the enclosure is perhaps the most mag-
nificent example of stone architecture in the valley

77
(Plates 15A and 16A). It was built of shaped fieldstone, either deliberately cut or selected for flatness, set in a mud mortar, with smaller stones filling in the cracks between the larger blocks. This outer wall is double-faced with a rubble core, and in places is over 1 m thick. When E. G. Squier visited the site in the 1860s, he found sections of this perimeter wall standing over 6 m high. Today the highest preserved sections are no more than 4 m in height, and the earthquake of 1970 caused additional damage. Yet the wall remains intact, testimony to the engineering skills of the ancient builders.

The corners and entryways of this outer wall were given additional attention. Finely cut white granite blocks form the corners of the outer wall and the sides of the entryways (Plate 16A). Elongated granite lintels once covered the entrances as well as all of the major internal doorways. Several fallen examples of these lintels can be found in various parts of the site, including one with an unfinished sculpture on it at the entry through the southeast wall.

Squier's drawing of Kushi-Pampa (1977:207), while accurate in its proportions and measurements, shows the walls at right angles to one another (see Proulx 1968:Plan 10). In reality the walls form various angles, and mapping is a difficult task. After several lengthy attempts, it was decided that the most accurate map could be made from "blowing up" an aerial photograph and basing the map on that. Following a strategy used by Gordon Willey (1953) for his Virú Valley settlement pattern study, the map made from the aerial photo was augmented by adding details visible only from the ground. The result is the map included in this work (Fig. 11).

The construction of the perimeter wall at Kushi-Pampa is a style of architecture sometimes referred to as "megalithic" because of the use of huge blocks of stone. Tello attributed all sites in the Nepeña Valley with megalithic architecture to the "Chavin Period" or Early Horizon because of the similarity to the highland site of Chavin de Huantar. Although Tello was wrong in attributing the architecture to Chavin, his dating was not far off. As we shall see, Kushi-Pampa and related sites date to the final phase of the Early Horizon.

Other sites in the Nepeña Valley share the same construction techniques as Kushi-Pampa, and thus can be cross-dated to it on the basis of the architecture. The other major sites are Paradones (PV31-64), Motocachy (PV31-48) and Quisque (PV31-46). More will be said about the nature of these sites later.
FIGURE 11
PV31-56 KUSHI-PAMPA

slopes

entrance with carved lintel
entrance

house foundations

quebrada

slopes

area of sherd concentration

lintels

raised area

0 30 60 90 120 m
Returning now to the compound at Kushi-Pampa, let us look at the major features. There are two entrances to the enclosure, one in the southeast wall leading to Room F. This portal originally had a carved granite lintel which now lies on the ground immediately inside the doorway (Plate 15C). This is the only stone carving found on the site. The lintel is carved with a standing human figure holding a club in his right hand (see Roe 1974, Fig. 32 and pp. 37-38, and Roe 1978). There is an elaborate headdress as well as a cloak (or perhaps representation of a tail) running down the back of the figure. There is some debate whether this lintel is a reused piece of unfinished sculpture or whether the carving was made to be on the lintel. The majority who have seen it feel the former is more likely. The closest stylistic similarity to this figure are the carvings at Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley.

The other main entrance to the enclosure is through the northeast wall. It too has a linteled doorway, but leads into a walled passageway (I), 5 m wide, which in turn runs almost 35m into the complex. From here the visitor could turn left to enter courtyard J, or move on to room K; or he could turn right into another restricted passage to enter room H (there presently is no indication as to the entrance to this room).

To systematically describe the interior of the complex, let us begin with the area designated A. Area A is an almost perfectly square enclosure with no visible architecture. It is the southernmost room of the complex. Few sherds or other artifacts are found in this room which measures 60 by 62 m.

Area B is a rectangular open courtyard measuring 76 by 126 m. The only obvious entry to the court is a passage leading from room F. There is a medium amount of sherd scattered on the ground here.

Area C is an empty room measuring 65 by 46 m, surrounded by high walls. It can be entered only through a small linteled doorway at its northeast corner which comes from courtyard G, which in turn can only be entered through Room F. This room, therefore, is very restricted. Curiously, very few sherds were found in this room, one of the least productive areas for artifacts.

Area D is a small room measuring 50 by 23 m. It is even more restricted than room C, since it is only accessible through room C. It has an elaborate linteled doorway (the lintel is fallen) and high walls. This room appears to be
the "inner sanctum" of the site, if accessibility is the main criterion. Practically no sherds or other artifacts were found here.

Area E is perhaps the most interesting section of the enclosure. Superficially it looks like a high, raised platform in the center of the complex, but it is more than that. Area E is "L" shaped in form and rises perhaps 4 m above the surrounding rooms. However, standing on top of this pile of rocks one can see parallel lines of walls with narrow chambers in between. These small chambers or passageways were either deliberately filled in with rock rubble, or the high walls collapsed, filling them in. The function of Area E is not known. Perhaps these are storage chambers, perhaps the bases of columns, or perhaps a sacred religious area. This important area should be among the first excavated at this site.

Area F is a reception room measuring about 65 by 40 m. One of the two major entrances to the enclosure leads into this room, and it is here that the only sculpted lintel at the site is found in place. This room has two internal doorways, one leading to courtyard G, which in turn has access to rooms C and D; the other giving access to courtyard B. The function appears to be as a reception area for the major portion of the enclosure. Pottery scatter is medium to low.

Courtyard G is 63 by 127 m—measurements similar to those of courtyard B. B and G can be seen as almost symmetrical flanks of the central/core area (rooms C, D, E and F). Unlike courtyard B, however, G has two entryways: one from room F and one from room C. In addition, two low parallel walls can be seen running partially across the NE wall, one of them 47 m from the NW wall and the other 44 m from the SE wall (see Fig. 11). The north wall of courtyard G is high and solid; no doorways pierce through it into areas H, J, K, and L. This suggests that perhaps areas B, C, D, E, F and G formed the original complex and that the rest was added later. More will be said about this shortly. The sherd scatter in the area is low to medium.

Areas H, J, and K form a complex that can only be entered through the NE wall by means of passageway I. Although these areas appear to form a part of the original compound at the site if one looks from the perspective of the SE wall (which is continuous from courtyard B to the NE corner of room K), the evidence from the NE wall suggests a different building sequence. There are two jogs or angles in the NW wall beginning at the N corner of courtyard G. At
the same time, there is no passage through the wall into courtyard G from the H, J, K complex. This suggests that these latter three rooms were added at a later time to the original complex composed of areas B, C, D, E, F and G and perhaps area A.

Area H is an irregularly shaped room approximately 40 by 48 m. The central portion of the NE wall of this room has been torn down, and the stones apparently reused in later architecture. This reveals a very nice cross section of the NE wall where a rubble interior can be seen in the heavy stone outer wall. No obvious entrance to this room can be seen unless one existed through the now-destroyed NE wall. Room H has one of the heaviest concentrations of sherds found at the site. The ground is paved with sherds, 99% of which are redward. No other construction can be seen within the room.

Passageway I is five m wide and runs approximately 35 m into the northern end of the complex. The passageway is now choked with rubble, but there seems to be a low wall running across it. When and why this was built cannot be determined with the present evidence.

Room J measures 48 by 32 m. It is entered through entryway I. Heavy sherd concentrations are also found in this room.

Room K has restricted access. It measures 40 by 31 m. It is completely surrounded by walls and can be entered only through a narrow passageway on its southern side and through a small doorway leading in through the southern wall (Fig. 11). A relatively heavy concentration of sherds is found here.

The complex of small rooms labeled L on the map (Fig. 11) is definitely a later addition to the main enclosure. This conglomerate of rooms measures 101 by 32 m. Unlike the main enclosure, the walls of this section are made of piled fieldstones, some of which may have been looted from the gaping hole in the north wall of room H. The finely cut stonework is missing here, and the walls do not rise nearly to the height of those of the main enclosure. Yet the ceramics found here appear identical to those in the remainder of the site, and it will be later argued that the time differences between the various parts of the enclosure are not great.

A long, curving piled-stone wall runs from complex L towards the mountains to the east, running partly up the side of that peak. Near its termination on the hill is an area of
exposed bedrock that appears to have been one of the stone quarries for the site. The quarry was not examined up close, but angular cuts in the normally rounded exposures suggest this as one of the sources for stone at this impressive site.

The northwest wall of the enclosure overlooks a steep slope leading down to the valley bottom some 100 m below. A narrow strip of land, several meters wide, separates the wall from the edge of the precipice. All along this strip and on the slopes below are thick concentrations of pot sherds and other artifacts. A serrated stone projectile point was found in this area. It would appear that much refuse was heaved over the wall and then moved down the slopes.

The area to the east of the enclosure is more interesting. Here the plateau is perhaps 90 to 100 m wide on the average. Remnants of angular walls are found to the south of the main compound along with sherds similar to those found within the compound. The walls here are similar to Area L of the main complex—that is, they are constructed of piled fieldstone rather than the finely cut stone blocks of the main wall of the enclosure.

A large area of circular depressions surrounded by stone and mud is located directly east of the main enclosure. On the aerial photographs these look like bomb craters or like a looted cemetery. But on the ground these irregular craters look like small habitations, an interpretation supported by the presence of a good number of pot sherds. Yet no traces of well-defined walls are seen here—only irregular mounds of stone and mud. One of our visiting guests argued that this area may have been dug up by people looking for sources of stone, while another of our guests agreed with our previous argument that this represented a concentration of habitations for the lower eschelon of the society who lived here. Similar areas of heaped-up mud and stone are found at PV 31-59 and PV 31-60, and they are as enigmatic there as they are here. A section of this area needs to be excavated before the true function is known.

Finally, at the southern extremity of the site where the plateau forms a point, there are three or four low mounds of stone which may have served as lookouts. From this area sections of an old canal that ran around most of the site can clearly be seen cutting across the steep face of the western slopes, and then winding back along the eastern slopes of the site. The mouth of this canal has not yet been traced.
Previously I argued that PV 31-56 formed part of a complex with the adjacent PV-60 (Proulx 1973:119). Now I am not so sure. The architecture and sherd frequencies are different at PV 31-60, and I suspect that it dates mainly to a somewhat later period than PV 31-56. More will be said about this under the discussion of PV 31-60.

Artifacts: Pottery is unevenly distributed over the site, with the greatest concentrations found in rooms H, J and K and on the outer side of the northwest perimeter wall. Much less is found in the open courtyards (areas A, B, C, D, and G), suggesting varied activity areas within the site. Virtually all the pottery is redware, but the vast majority is undecorated and is composed of body sherds. A sample of 64 decorated sherds was collected over a number of years, and two major pottery types were identified. The first consists of bowls decorated with pattern burnishing in a cross-hatched design on the exterior of the vessel. The type has been named Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished. Twenty-six examples have been collected at the site. The other type contains crude geometric designs produced by scratching the surface of the vessel after firing. Twenty-eight specimens of this type, which we are calling Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched, were collected.

Other pottery found on the site includes three fragments of painted white-on-red ware and four fragments of grey press-molded ware.

Dating: This site has frustrated investigators since Squier's time because of the inability to date the pottery and thus the site. After three field seasons of work in this valley, a tentative dating will now be attempted. The dating will be made from a seriation of the pottery, cross-dating with other sites in the valley, architectural studies, and comparison of the carved lintel with similar sculpture elsewhere.

Kushi-Pampa is primarily a single-occupation site. Only one or two pieces of circle and dot pottery have been found on the entire site despite intensive searching, and thus this site cannot be correlated with the 40 or more other sites in the valley that exhibit relatively large percentages of this form of Early Horizon pottery. No examples of "lozenge" decoration, also indicative of our Early Horizon sites, have been found, nor have any small pan pipe fragments.

On the other side of the coin, no Recuay pottery has been found here (in spite of the proximity of PV 31-59, a huge
Recuay site), on the next plateau; nor is there any Moche pottery here. No painted Middle Horizon sherds are known, and only four fragments appear to be later than the E.H.

The pattern-burnished pottery and the post-fired scratched ware are found at other sites in the valley, most notably at PV 31-48. They appear to be associated with structures of finely cut stone, such as the enclosure here at Kushi-Pampa. On the basis of the present evidence, the site is dated to the end of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period, sandwiched between the main period of Chavin influence—characterized by the temples of Punkuri and Cerro Blanco in the lower valley and the numerous hilltop lookouts in the upper valley—and the spread of Recuay influence into the valley during the Early Intermediate Period. The carved stone lintel, with its similarity to carvings at Cerro Sechin in Casma, further supports this contention.

It would appear that Kushi-Pampa, along with Paradones (PV 31-54), portions of the Motocachy Ruin (PV 31-48), and the fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46) all were contemporary and all date to the transition between the Early Horizon and the Early Intermediate Period.

Illustrations: Figure 11, Plates 15A, 15B, 15C and 16A; Engel 1963, Pl. 32; Kosok 1965:205; Roe 1974, 1978; and Squier 1877.


PV31-57

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and E.I.P.

Location: This site is located on the mountains overlooking Kushi-Pampa (PV31-56). It is 0.8 km SSE of Kushi-Pampa and 2.4 km NNE of the town of Moro. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK113913.

Description: PV31-57 was recorded during the survey of 1967 when it was spotted on the mountains above Kushi-Pampa. Because of the great difficulty in reaching the site, it was
not visited that year. Subsequently Richard Daggett in­
vestigated the site during his survey of 1980-81. He dis­
covered a series of hilltop platforms scattered along the
ridges above Kushi-Pampa which he lumped together under a
single site number, which was then divided into five dis­

tinct sectors, Areas A through E. It appears that my
original PV31-57 is the site which Daggett is calling
PV31-57 Area E. The description provided below is only of
that particular sector of the site as given me by Daggett.

The site consists of a stone-faced platform mound with
stone-walled structures on the top. A series of earthen
platforms ascend to stone-walled structures located below
the southern side of the mound. These features are bordered
to the east by a retaining wall of stone which follows the
ridge up and to the east. The eastern end of this wall is
set below a stone-walled enclosure constructed on a plat­
form below the western end of the mound. The remains of an
entry and a corner constructed of large blocks of stone may
be seen at the southeastern corner of the enclosure.

Finally, the northern side of the mound is faced in part
with natural stone and in part with cut stone.

Artifacts: Daggett indicates that the pottery collected from
this part of the site dates to the Early Horizon. Frag­
ments of Huancarpon Textile-Impressed Ware suggest to me
that it was also occupied during the Early Intermediate
Period.

Illustrations: None

The site consists of an irregularly shaped stone-faced platform mound. There is no evidence of surface architecture. The mound is approached from the north by an ascending series of terraces.

Artifacts: Daggett indicates that the artifacts found at this site date to the Early Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: Proulx 1968a:100.

PV 31-59

Local Name: Huancarpon

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Recuay) (Traces of E.H. and M.H. occupation)

Location: This is a large site complex located on a mountain plateau overlooking the upper Nepeña Valley at the confluence of the Rio Salitre tributary with the Nepeña River proper. It is 4.1 km NNE of the town of Moro and 5.3 km NE of Motocachy. It is approximately the same elevation as PV 31-56, Kushi-Pampa, and very similar to it in setting. However, it is separated from Kushi-Pampa by a deep gorge. The site can be reached by the road leading NE out of Moro. Huancarpon is 700 m.a.s.l. and overlooks the fields of Limon. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1232 I, Moro) is 17LRK11929.

Description: Huancarpon occupies a flat plateau that measures 900 m N-S and 350 m E-W at its widest part. The northern end of the plateau contains a large ceremonial complex including two large pyramid complexes separated by a walled court, plus other miscellaneous structures (Fig. 13). Directly to the south of the pyramids is a cemetery area where recently looted graves can be seen. Some large buried storage jars are also found in this general area. Moving south across the plateau one finds a large area of probable house foundations. The surface of the plateau is scarred with mounds of earth and rock enclosing irregularly-shaped flat areas. Large quantities of pottery sherds are found on the mounds. Finally, at the very end of the plateau, better-defined structures are found along with additional buried storage jars. Each of these sections of the site will be described in detail.

The ceremonial complex at the northern end of the plateau contains two large stone pyramids which I have labeled A
(to the south) and B (to the north), separated by a walled courtyard. This area also has many platforms at different elevations, a few smaller mounds, and a series of rooms to the west overlooking the Nepeña River below.

Pyramid A faces to the south, overlooking the cemetery area and habitations below. The pyramid measures 46 m N-S and 44 m E-W and has two broad terraces on the south flank, and one narrow terrace on the north side which overlooks the courtyard (Fig. 13). A low walled plaza lies directly in front of the pyramid on the south side. This plaza is split exactly through the center by a low stone wall. The western half of the plaza has had its surface scraped clean in modern times, perhaps for use as a soccer court, or perhaps for a corral for animals. The pyramid is constructed of undressed fieldstone and river cobbles; however, a few traces of cut or flattened stone can be seen on exposed portions of the west wall and in the gallery on the north side.

Pyramid A is unique in having a deep gallery on the north wall. This gallery is 4.6 m from the NE corner of the pyramid, and is 5 to 8 m from the base of the structure. The gallery appears to have been exposed by huaqueros. Smooth walls of finely cut stone can be seen on the sides of the passageway leading down from the entrance. Several large stone lintels support the ceiling of the gallery as it descends to below the present surface of the courtyard below. The gallery leads down inside the pyramid, but the bottom of the passage appears to be blocked, and it was deemed too dangerous to descend into the passage. It is possible that a similar passage may be found near the NW corner, symmetrical to this gallery. Richard Burger, who visited the site with us, found a strong similarity between this passageway and those at the site of Chavin de Huantar (personal communication).

The east wall of the pyramid is also extremely interesting. Recent huaquero activity here (including dynamiting of the wall) has exposed a section of the original wall of the pyramid. The construction is quite different from most other sites observed in the valley. Stones selected for their flatness, as well as rounded river cobbles, are set in a mud mortar. Some rather large boulders were used in the construction in addition to the more common fieldstones.

The top of Pyramid A is very puzzling. On the surface are visible parallel rows of what appear to be stone walls, but most of these are only a meter apart. In a few spots
FIGURE 12
PV31-59 HUANCARPON
huaquero activity has exposed the depth of these walls, and they appear to go deep into the pyramid, forming narrow passageways or galleries between. The function of these chambers, or passageways, or galleries cannot be determined without excavation. This entire pyramid may be honeycombed with galleries at several levels. Stone-lined cysts are found on the second terrace of this pyramid.

The walled courtyard separating Pyramids A and B is irregular in shape, with the west wall measuring 58 m, the east wall 53 m, the north side 42 m, and the south side 35.8 m. The courtyard appears devoid of internal construction. It is relatively flat, with a slight slope to the north. Within the courtyard are several circular areas of stone cores and flakes that appear to be activity areas or workshop areas for lithic manufacture. More will be said on this subject below.

Pyramid B is large complex of raised platforms, terraces, and a pyramid. The entire complex measures approximately 90 m N-S and 42 m E-W at its widest point (Fig. 13). Facing the walled courtyard is a raised stone platform measuring 18 m N-S and 30 m E-W. This platform has a low terrace measuring 13 m N-S and 42 m E-W on its southern side, facing the courtyard. The top of this platform contains a sunken room which contains at least one (very likely more) large buried storage jar. This jar has been badly vandalized by looters, but portions of it—with walls 3 to 5 cm thick—have been found. The pit into which the jar was put was lined with flat stones set in mud mortar. Other pits and/or galleries were located in this platform. The entire Pyramid B complex, like Pyramid A, is constructed of unworked natural fieldstone or river cobbles.

The main part of Pyramid B consists of the pyramid and its two terraces which face to the south. It is separated from the platform just described by a six-meter wide ravine (see Fig. 13). Pyramid B lies at the extreme northern end of the complex, overlooking the confluence of the Rio Salitrite tributary with the Rio Nepeña. A large sunken room crowns the top of the pyramid, and the room measures 14 m N-W by 15.6 m E-W, and is 3 m deep. The higher of the two terraces to the south also has a sunken area, not well defined. This terrace measures 12 m N-S and 17 m E-W. Below it is a smaller terrace with no architecture, measuring 8 m N-S and 17 m E-W. A few narrow terraces can be found on the northern and western sides of this pyramid.

To the west of the Pyramid B complex is another walled courtyard, a mound and several rooms on the edge of the
FIGURE 13
PV31-59 HUANCARPON

[Diagram showing a walled court with labeled areas for terrace, ravine, underground storage, jars, and stone lined cysts. Labels for areas A and B are present. A scale bar indicating 0, 6, 12, 18, 24, 30 m is also shown.]
plateau (see Fig. 13). The small mound is 12 m from the edge of the 2nd terrace of Pyramid B and measures about 20 m in diameter. It is badly damaged, and the original form and function cannot be determined. Attached to the mound and swinging out along the western edge of the plateau are several irregularly shaped rooms, also constructed of stone. The few Early Horizon sherds that were found on this site were found in and around these rooms. If there was an Early Horizon occupation at this site, this area should be considered a part of it. The courtyard on this western side of Pyramid B has traces of a structure on the east side, adjacent to the raised platform with the storage jars.

Another courtyard, the largest of the site, lies just to the west of the principal walled courtyard between Pyramids A and B. This courtyard is walled on three sides (the western edge being the exception), and measures about 53 m N-S and 71 m E-W at its widest point. The aerial photographs suggest the presence of structures within the court, yet ground level inspection shows only mound-like walls of stone and mud, much like those in the habitation part of the site. Several sections have been extensively dug by looters, and several large craters are present.

A number of walls run around and through the site. The most impressive is a curved boundary wall that runs along the eastern edge of the plateau, enclosing the ceremonial portion of the site. Another wall runs from the northern side of Pyramid A to the east, over 77 m in length; while a second wall goes from the south side of this pyramid to the western edge of the plateau, some 81 m distant. Finally, to complete this description of the ceremonial precinct, we must mention the walls and raised areas directly to the east of Pyramid B. The architectural details of this area are hard to define because of looting and destruction here.

Moving south of the ceremonial area, there is a cemetery area just to the south of Pyramid A. Recently looted graves have revealed portions of skeletons with preserved hair. Otherwise preservation was poor. No textiles, vegetable material, or other organic remains were found. Pottery was rare too. Two curious stone-lined holes, (or cists), each perhaps 30 cm across, were found in the cemetery area. Their function is not known. Next to the cemetery several large buried storage jars--similar to those found near Pyramid B and at the far southern end of the site--were found. They had pointed bottoms, but were not as large as the others.

93
The bulk of the plateau is covered with irregular low mounds of stone and mud, enclosing large flat areas. We are calling this the "habitation" part of the site because of the large number of sherds found here. The greatest frequency of sherds is associated with clusters of low wall mounds on the northeast and southeast ends of the plateau area (Fig. 12). The center of the plateau has higher mounds of stone and mud, but far fewer sherds. This "habitation" area is similar to that seen at PV 31-56 (Kushi-Pampa), PV 31-60, and PV 31-158. Excavation needs to be undertaken here before the true nature of these "structures" can be determined. The best interpretation based on current data would suggest that this was the living area for the lower classes who supported the ceremonial/administrative area of the site.

At the far southern end of the plateau are stone constructions that can be more securely interpreted as to form and function. Several irregularly shaped stone rooms associated with underground storage jars are located here. It is suspected that these served as defensive lookout.

Artifacts: A large sample of 236 sherds was collected from this site, and of this number, 80% were Recuay or Recuay-related in style. Much of the Recuay pottery was made with the pure white kaolin so distinctive of the style. It cannot be determined if this represents trade ware or if it was made locally. Many fragments of pedestal-based bowls were found, and this was perhaps the most frequently found prestigious shape category. About 135 fragments of painted Recuay ware were found, the vast majority of which were positively painted; only a few fragments of negative-painted pottery were found. The pottery will be more completely discussed in the ceramics chapter. Also found were fragments of textile-impressed ware, orange paste pottery, and tripod legs—all of which are part of the Recuay period ceramic complex.

Only three Early Horizon stamped or incised sherds were found at the site—amounting to only 1% of the sample. Similarly, percentages of sherds of non-Recuay periods are quite small. For example, 14 sherds with post-fired scratched designs—such as those found at Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and tentatively datable to the end of the Early Horizon and beginning of the E.I.P.—were found, as well as only three sherds with cross-hatched pattern burnishing. These represent only 8% of the sample. Another 6% of the sample consists of White-on-Red painted pottery which is tentatively placed toward the end of the Early Intermediate Period. A small sample of Middle Horizon sherds, representing 5% of the total, completes the ceramic inventory.
Other artifacts include four fragments of ground stone projectile points, pan pipe fragments, and flat spindle whorls. The lithic industry may be more extensive than previously suspected. Large sharpened flakes are numerous along with the debris from manufacturing these tools.

Dating: The vast majority of the architecture, ceramics and general occupation of this site falls into the Early Intermediate Period, and more specifically it can be attributed to the Recuay culture. The large percentage of Recuay sherds, the form of the architecture, and the lack of artifacts generally associated with other well-known valley cultures argues for Huancarpon being a relatively pure Recuay site and, to date, the largest such site in the valley. Despite the few Early Horizon sherds and the later Middle Horizon sherds, there is no evidence of any extensive occupation during those periods. It is also curious how few sherds are found of the transitional period between the Early Horizon and the Early Intermediate period as represented by the nearby site of Kushi-Pampa. But then, no Recuay sherds were found at Kushi-Pampa either. Each of these two huge sites, separated by only a deep ravine, had its own distinctive occupational history and apparently had little influence on one another.

The exact nature of the Recuay occupation or influence on this valley will be considered later in a separate interpretative chapter. Yet the fact remains that Huancarpon is the major Recuay or Recuay-related site in the entire valley.

Illustrations: Figures 12, 13 and 14; Proulx 1968a, Plate 6a; and Proulx 1982, Fig. 3.


PV 31-60

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P. (Moche & Recuay), M.H.

Location: This site complex consists of several parts located on a mountain plateau. The large double-walled fortress is 2.1 km N of the town of Moro and 3.65 km NE of Motocachy, at an elevation of about 580 m.a.s.l. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK102910. The other major part of the complex is a large stone building surrounded by possible house foundations. This building is 2.3 km N of the town of Moro and 3.6 km NE of Motocachy. Its reference point is 17LRK102912.
Description: This site complex has several parts which now appear to date to different periods. In retrospect, the two main sections of the site PV 31-60 should have been designated as two separate sites in my original survey.

The fortress and associated buildings are located at the southern end of the plateau. The fortress is an irregular rectangular-shaped building oriented 340° E of magnetic north. The northern wall is 40 m long, the western 81 m, the southern 27 m, and the eastern 65 m. The outer walls of the fortress are extremely thick, at least double the thickness of comparable secular buildings. The building is constructed of undressed fieldstone, although some traces of shaped or cut stone are found on the northern end. There is a 4-meter high platform or mound dominating the northern end of the fortress, with a raised wall, perhaps enclosing a lower platform, some 18 m to the south of the mound within the interior of the fortress. The remainder of the interior of the structure has a great deal of rock rubble, probably representing fallen walls. It is impossible to trace any further architectural features inside the structure without excavation. A number of looted tombs were also found within the structure.

To the south of the fortress the plateau terminates in a point. This area is thick with cultural material. Remnants of low walls can be found here, but the nature and function of the structure cannot be determined. There are also a number of looted graves situated on this point. The total area covered at the point is 40 m in diameter.

A large stone building, surrounded by possible house foundations, is located about 150 m north of the northern wall of the fortress. It is separated from the fortress by a shallow gulley. The building, which measures approximately 45 x 20 m (see Fig. 15) is constructed of crude fieldstone. The deterioration is so advanced that the entrances to the structure are difficult to determine. The fallen stone walls have filled most of the interior rooms, but the basic outlines can be seen. Few sherds were found within the building because of the great quantity of fallen stone, but much pottery surrounded the outer walls of the structure. The function of this building cannot be determined at the present time.

On the plateau surrounding the large stone building are numerous shallow depressions surrounded by low, mound-like walls. These appeared to be house foundations similar to those surrounding the enclosure at PV 31-56, on the next plateau to the north. However, virtually no pottery or
FIGURE 15
PV31-60

FORTRESS
massive walls

gully
other artifacts were found in or near these depressions, and the identification of these features as house foundations is now in doubt. Further work is needed to determine the exact nature of these depressions and mounds.

Artifacts: The pottery associated with the fortress is very interesting indeed. Almost all of the decorated pottery (18 fragments) are painted white-on-red in the Moche style. It remains to be seen if this fortress was a Moche outpost in the upper valley or one belonging to a local culture (or perhaps Recuay) which had numerous Moche trade pieces present. A few additional sherds of later date were also found: one modeled-face neck jar of probable M.H. date, two press-molded fragments, and a Chimu stirrup spout fragment. All of these were intrusive.

On the point of the plateau near the fortress, seven fragments of Recuay painted ware were found along with a piece of a Recuay pedestal-base bowl. This contrasts strongly with the predominantly Moche pottery found in the adjacent fortress.

The pottery found around the large stone building is quite different from that of the fortress and the point, and is tied more closely to the site of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) on the plateau across the ravine. The few decorated sherds found have post-fired scratched designs and cross-hatched pattern burnishing identical to that found at Kushi-Pampa. No Moche or Recuay pottery was found here, just as none of the pattern-burnished or scratched pottery appeared within or next to the fortress.

Of the pottery found in the *habitation* area next to the large stone building, all of the decorated pottery was Middle Horizon in date. A circular, disk-shaped spindle whorl was found along with a fragment of a pan pipe, and a ground slate projectile point.

Dating: There seems little doubt that the fortress and the remains on the adjacent point of the plateau date primarily to the Early Intermediate Period. The fortress may represent a Moche outpost in an area dominated by the Recuay culture, judging from the presence of Moche pottery. Or we may have a Recuay site with a lot of Moche trade pottery (similar to the Recuay vessels found in a cemetery near the Moche ceremonial center of Pañamarca in the Middle Valley Area). The picture needs further clarification.

The large stone building further to the north, however, is slightly earlier, apparently dating to the end of the Early
Horizon and beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. The pottery links it with Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and the "house foundations" surrounding it are very similar to the crater-like structures surrounding the enclosure at Kushi-Pampa.

Later cultures seem to have placed graves in both parts of the ruin, or perhaps briefly even reoccupied them. Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period sherds are found in both areas, but in few numbers.

Illustrations: Plate 14; Figure 15.


PV 31-61

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P., and M.H.

Location: This site is located on the top and sides of a large cone-shaped hill which is 0.6 km N of the main plaza of the Town of Moro and 3.0 km E of Motocachy. It lies directly on the east side of the road which leads NW out of Moro towards the site of Kushi-Pampa. The top of the site is about 530 m.a.s.l. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK100896.

Description: The site has two main parts—a high flattened hilltop with little architecture but large quantities of Early Horizon pottery, and a lower terrace on the west side that has the remains of a stone structure that appears to be Middle Horizon in date.

The hilltop site is typical of other Early Horizon outposts. The top of the hill is flattened, and large quantities of Early Horizon sherds were found on all sides, but particularly on the east and south. Some traces of rectangular adobe bricks were found near the summit; these very likely date to the reoccupation of the site in the Middle Horizon. Vestiges of stone walls run part way up the western side from the lower terrace.

The terrace to the west was investigated back in 1967, and a large rectangular stone structure was discovered there. Looted graves yielded mainly M.H. sherds, but some E.H. pottery was also found on the terrace. Today much of the lower slope area to the west has been built over by modern habitations, and the stone structure on the terrace has been badly destroyed by a modern settlement there.
Artifacts: Seventy-one sherds were collected on this site, of which 55 were diagnostic. Of these sherds, 95% dated to the Early Horizon including 31 fragments of Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot, 7 Nepeña Banded Lozenge, 8 incised, and one with zoned punctuation. A complete miniature (toy) panpipe was also found, as well as fragments of other, regular-sized ones. Two Recuay sherds and one Casma Incised piece from the Middle Horizon were found.

Dating: From surface indications it appears that the hilltop and the terrace were both occupied during the Early Horizon and then abandoned during the subsequent Early Intermediate Period. Peoples of the Recuay culture occasionally settled here or used the site briefly, but the ceramics from this period are minimal. Reoccupation took place during the Middle Horizon when the terrace was used as a platform for a large structure. Graves were also put into the terrace at this time.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-64

Local Name: Paradones [Paradones de Moro, Vinchamarca, Pincha Marca, El Padrejon, Paderones]

Cultural Period: E.H. and M.H.

Location: Paradones is located 2.0 km SW of the main plaza of the town of Moro and 0.975 km S of PV 31-50. It lies directly along the secondary road connecting Moro with San Jacinto. The site is marked with a sign. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK081877.

Description: Paradones was first described by E. G. Squier (1877) who visited the site during the 1860s and drew a plan of a portion of the site (Squier 1877, p. 206; reproduced in Fig. 16). He named the site El Padrejon. Tello (1933c) also visited the site and argued that it dated to the "Chavin Period" (Early Horizon) on the basis of its megalithic architecture. Tello used the name "El Paradones" for this site, and it is best known by that name today.

Paradones has never been properly mapped, and the true extent of the site is difficult to ascertain because of current land use patterns, which include farming between sections of walls, a modern road which cuts through parts
of the site, and modern huts. Lorenzo Samaniego, the Peruvian archaeologist who cleared a portion of the site for the government in the mid-1970s, notes that Paradones is "built on a large terrace, occupying an area of approximately one square kilometer, and oriented towards the four cardinal directions" (Samaniego, n.d., p. 4). The main part of the site measures about 250 m EW and 115 m NS.

The focal point of the site today is a large courtyard enclosed on all four sides by an impressive stone wall of shaped granite blocks with smaller stones filling in the irregularities between them (Plate 16B). The stone architecture is identical to that found at Kushi Pampa (PV 31-56), Motocachy (PV 31-48) and the fortress of Qu sque (PV 31-46). Near the center of the western wall of this courtyard is a doorway constructed of huge monoliths, including a lintel stone of large proportions weighing many tons (Plate 17A). Although the southern wall is now badly preserved, it appears that this portal was the only entrance into the courtyard.

FIGURE 16

PV31-64
PARADONES

Valley of Nepeña

Scale of Feet

0 50 100 150

Gateway A.

After Squier 1877:206
Passing through the portal to the west, one enters a smaller enclosure formed by double walls of stone. The central part of the enclosure is a mound of weathered adobe. Squier's map (1877, p. 206) shows three structures present on this mound: a large central room with entrance to the east, and two smaller structures to the north. No traces of any of the buildings remain today. The mound has been badly disturbed by a road cutting across its base and the placement of modern religious shrines and crosses upon it. It would appear, however, that this area was the most important sector of the ancient site.

The area to the west of the small enclosure with the mound is under cultivation today. A large stone wall forms the western boundary of this central portion of the site, perhaps acting as a retaining wall for the platform that Samaniego says the site was built upon. Other similar retaining walls can be seen to the north (Plate 16B).

The function of this site, like Kushi-Pampa, is not completely clear, but it does seem to have had both religious and administrative functions for an elite group. There is little evidence for major habitation at the site, and the architecture attests to the status of the individuals who occupied the site. Paradones may have been one of several elite administrative centers located in the valley at the end of the Early Horizon. Other such centers include Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and Motocachy (PV 31-48).

Artifacts: When I first surveyed the site in 1967, no surface sherds were discovered because of the profound disturbance of the area by local farmers and heavy vegetation. Samaniego (personal communication) also found few artifacts in his clearing of the site. In 1980-81 Richard Daggett succeeded in finding some pottery at Paradones. Of the 38 sherds he collected, four were Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched ware, a pottery type found at Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and Motocachy (PV 31-48) also associated with megalithic architecture. The discovery of this pottery securely places the architecture of this site at the end of the Early Horizon. Daggett also found eight pieces of Middle Horizon Painted pottery and Middle Horizon Press-Molded pottery. This confirms the interpretation that the site was reoccupied during the Middle Horizon, and that the adobe platform or mound, found to the west of the large stone-enclosed courtyard, probably dates to this reoccupation.

Illustrations: Plates 16B and 17A; Figure 16; Squier 1877, p. 206 (map); Proulx 1968a, p. 105 (Plan 12); Proulx 1973, Plate 22a and 22b; Mejia Xesspe 1963; Tello 1933c; and Samaniego n.d.-2.

PV 31-69

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)?; M.H.?

Location: This mound is on the valley bottom in the agricultural field known as San Gregorio. It is 900 m W of the site of Pañamarca and 800 m SW of Capellania. In 1967 there was a wattle-and-daub shrine built on top of it. To the SW is another artificial mound called San Gregorio, with the remains of an ancient hacienda building near its foot. PV 31-69 is at an elevation of 100 m.a.s.l. at its base, and rises 30 to 40 m in height. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQX881814.

Description: This site is a small artificial mound built of rectangular adobes. The face of the mound is badly weathered, but sections are exposed so that the internal construction can be observed. No buildings or wall fragments were noted.

Artifacts: Because of the eroded nature of this mound, few sherds were located in the survey. The only decorated sherd found was a "Casma Incised" fragment with raised circle and dot decoration.

Dating: This mound is placed in the Early Intermediate Period on the sole basis of its proximity to the site of Pañamarca, a major Moche ceremonial site. PV 31-69 appears to be part of a complex of mounds surrounding the Pañamarca site. The form of the adobes and other construction features argue for a Moche date for its construction. Most Moche sites were later reoccupied in the Middle Horizon, and the "Casma Incised" sherd found here is evidence of that reoccupation.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-70

Local Name: San Gregorio

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)?

Location: This artificial mound is located on the valley bottom in the agricultural field known as San Gregorio. It is 1.15 km SW of Pañamarca, 1.3 km SW of Capellania.
Description: A highly eroded artificial mound constructed of rectangular adobe. The mound rises to an elevation of 25 to 30 m above the valley floor, and in 1967 the base was covered by heavy vegetation. Little evidence of architecture can be noted because of the highly weathered condition.

Artifacts: No artifacts were collected at this site in 1967. The lack of pottery on the surface is attributed to the erosion and modern use of the mound.

Dating: This mound has been tentatively dated to the Early Intermediate Period and the Moche Culture by virtue of its similarity and proximity to the Pañamarca site. It appears to have been part of a series of artificial mounds forming a complex with Pañamarca in the San Gregorio area.

Illustrations: None


Pv 31-71

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This cemetery is on the west side of a small rock outcrop in the agricultural field of San Gregorio on the valley bottom west of the site of Pañamarca. It is 1.3 km SW of Capellania and 0.3km SSE of the site of San Gregorio (Pv 31-70). It lies on the 90-meter contour above sea level. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK879803.

Description: This site is a small cemetery measuring about 30 m in length. Many of the graves appear to have been lined with rectangular adobes and were between 1 and 2 m deep. There may have been up to 40 graves located here, judging from the huaquero holes. Textile fragments, mainly white in color, were abundant and well preserved. This cemetery is one of only a handful in the valley where well-preserved lined graves were found.

Artifacts: After re-examining the few sherds found from this site, it appears that two of the three pieces of pottery
found are white kaolin clay, not merely white slipped as was reported in my 1968 monograph. The sherds appear to be Recuay in style, not Moche—a significant discovery. The only other site where Recuay pottery has been found in the middle or lower valley area is at the cemetery PV 31-73, a few hundred meters away from this site. The fragments found at PV 31-71 include one piece which may be the neck between the body and flaring rim of a jar, and a second kaolin piece with traces of red paint.

Dating: This reinterpretation of the pottery fragments clearly places this site in the Early Intermediate Period and suggests as well a relationship between Moche and Recuay during this time period.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-73

Local Name: Tres Marias (?)

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This site is located on the SW side of a large natural hill facing the agricultural field of Cholocha and the valley bottom west of Pañamarca. The site is 2.6 km SSW of Capellania and 3.4 km ENE of Huacatambo, at an altitude of 80 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQR869799.

Description: This complex consists of two parts: a cemetery area at the base of the hill in a sandy area, and two pyramids or huacas on the top of the hill on either side of the cemetery. It is not known at this time whether the huacas are contemporary with the cemetery. The cemetery contains 80 to 100 huacero holes, shallow in depth, and recently looted in 1967 when they were observed. The graves were dug directly in the sand and don't appear to have been lined with adobe. Several complete vessels were found (see below). Preservation was quite good; some skulls wrapped in textiles were found, as well as fragments of orange-colored textiles.

The ceremonial architecture on the site consists of two small adobe pyramids constructed of rectangular adobe. They were erected on the top of a small natural hill and rock outcrop, and these pyramids appear to flank the cemetery below. The architecture of the pyramids resembles
that of nearby Pañamarca, although no definite Moche pottery was identified in the cemetery.

Artifacts: A cache of Recuay kaolin paste pottery vessels was found on the surface of the cemetery, abandoned by huáqueros. Included was a small pedestal-base bowl painted on the exterior with birds in a resist or negative-painted technique. The style is pure Recuay (See Proulx 1968a, Fig. 15J and 1973, Plate 4H). The other fragments are from an additional vessel or vessels (probably an open bowl) also of kaolin paste and decorated on the exterior with a stick-like bird and other geometric elements in a positive red paint (See Proulx 1968a, Fig. 15k and 16a; 1973, Plate 4G and 4I).

Dating: There is no doubt that these vessels are Recuay in style and are probably imports into the valley from the Callejón de Huaylas. Their presence in the part of the valley under the domination of the Moche will be discussed in another part of this paper. PV 31-73 is probably a site called Tres Marias by local huáqueros. Michael Moseley recorded a Recuay gravelot (See Proulx 1973, pp. 32-38 and Figs. 5 and 6) which came from this part of the Nepeña Valley from a site called Tres Marias. I am convinced that PV 31-73 is Tres Marias, but Recuay pottery has also been found nearby at PV 31-71. This important site should be examined in more detail in the future.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Figs. 15J, 15K and 16a; 1973, Figs. 5 and 6, Plate 3 and 4G, 4H and 4I.


PV 31-103

Local Name: Huambacho viejo

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H. (?); L.I.P. (?)

Location: Huambacho viejo is located on the Pampa del Inca on the south border of the valley near the edge of cultivation. It is 150 m E of the Pan American Highway at Cerro Popo and 700 m S of Huambacho "El Arenal" at an altitude of 40 m a.s.l. It faces the field of Huambacho and lies just north of a modern cemetery along the Pan American Highway. In time this cemetery may encroach on the site. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 III, Casma) is 17LQK839750.
Description: Huambacho viejo is a large ceremonial and habitation site constructed mainly of fieldstone wall foundations but with rectangular adobe construction of the upper walls in many parts of the site. The main part of the site is a rectangular complex measuring 150 by 260 m and containing within its boundary walls a small pyramid, a large sunken court, and numerous other rooms and/or courts. The walls are fairly low, having been much eroded. The area around the rectangular enclosure is very irregular and may contain other buried architecture. Burials are located within the complex in some of the rooms and courts. Some of the graves may have been lined with rectangular adobe. Some of the skeletal remains are stained green from contact with metals with copper content. Some parts of the complex are rich in surface deposits of shell, while other areas are devoid of it, suggesting various activity areas.

Aside from the main rectangular complex, there are other sectors to the ruin. A wall 75 m long connects the main complex to another faint enclosure to the east which seems to contain habitation rooms. A small mound is also found on the northeastern end, and it is here that most of the Middle Horizon sherds were located. Cemeteries are located around this mound.

Artifacts: Badly weathered fragments of Moche stirrup spout bottles and other Moche-style sherds were found within the compound. Middle Horizon sherds were found mainly on and around the mound near the northeast end of the site. These include classic Middle Horizon Press-Molded ware and blackware, perhaps dating to the Late Intermediate Period.

Dating: It is very difficult to date the architecture of this site. Clearly there was a Moche occupation of the site in the Early Intermediate Period, but the usual Moche building material is rectangular adobe, not fieldstone. However, the proximity of an ample stone supply from neighboring Cerro Popo may have afforded the opportunity to diverge from usual practices. Second-hand information from Carol Mackey (personal communication) indicates a late Moche date for the occupation here (perhaps Moche V). This suggestion has not been verified, and if it were true, it would change many of our previous arguments about the collapse of the Moche empire on this part of the coast.

Huambacho viejo was reoccupied during the Middle Horizon, but it is not known how much of the construction dates to that time period. It was a common practice for the
Huari-influenced peoples to bury their dead in old ruins in the valley.

Finally, there may have been occupation of the site in the Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon. The old name for the Nepeña Valley is Guambacho, a variation of Huambacho. The name of the site, Huambacho viejo, suggests that this location, or one near it, may have served as an Inca Tambo, for it was located adjacent to the old Inca coastal highway. No evidence for Inca occupation was found during the brief survey in 1967. The site needs more attention before it is vandalized further and perhaps destroyed by the expansion of the nearby modern cemetery.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Figs. 20c and 20d.


FV_31-108

Local Name: Sute

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H.; Colonial

Location: This site is on the south edge of the valley on the western side of a natural hill. The ruins of an old adobe church, said to have been built in the 1800s for use by imported Chinese laborers, dominates the site. Sute is located 1.9 km SE of the population center of Cerro Blanco and 5.1 km SSW of San Jose. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK940831.

Description: The modern adobe church mentioned above is on the lower slopes of the hill. It has arched doors and an interior whose plastered walls are painted with geometric red designs on a white background. A number of fairly well preserved mummified bodies, still dressed in their 19th century clothing, are found from the looted graves in the interior of the building. Higher on the slopes is another historic building whose function is unknown. To the north of the buildings, on the sandy slopes of the hill, are looted graves and large pieces of Colonial Period wine jars.

The ancient part of the site is to the south of the buildings. A large cemetery, actively being looted in 1967, yielded hundreds of graves. Graves were dug into the soft
sand. In some places, thick layers of refuse, probably modern in date, overlay the pre-Columbian graves.

Artifacts: Large quantities of sherds were collected from this site. The majority of them dated to the Early Intermediate Period Moche Culture or to the Middle Horizon. The Moche sherds included a large fragment of a collared jar with a partially modeled deer, outlined in white, depicted next to some flora also painted in white on a red background. A spout, probably from a pitcher, also dates to this period, as does a portion of a flaring rim bowl.

Middle Horizon sherds include fragments of a canteen-shaped bottle, press-molded bowl fragments, and cooking vessels with narrow outflaring rims and small strap handles. Some of the pottery may also date to the Late Intermediate Period.

Illustrations: Proulx 1968a, Fig. 2le, 2lf and 2lg.


PV 31-114

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)

Location: This site is on the Pampa de Sute on the south side of the valley. It is 1.7 km SSE of the population center of Cerro Blanco and 5.15 km S of San Jose at an altitude of 200 m.a.s.l. The site is just to the south of a small hill in the pampa; the closest field of cultivation is Sute. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LRQ934824.

Description: The site is an area of freshly looted (1971) Moche graves covering an area 60 m N-S and 25 m E-W. The graves are shallow, probably not more than 1 to 2 m deep. Several examples of skulls with green stained maxilla and lower jaws were found, so stained from the placement of copper items in the mouth at death.

Artifacts: Broken ceramics were quite abundant on the site. Virtually all of the pottery was Moche in style, making this one of the few unmixed Moche cemeteries yet to be found in the valley. Most of the ceramics were painted white-on-red in geometric designs. Among the shapes were several collared jars, pitchers, and utilitarian jars. One excellent example of a press-molded figurine head of an elite male was found. Some shell was found on the surface and is assumed to be contemporary with the burials.
Illustrations: None

References: Proulx 1973, pp. 135-136

**PV 31-115**

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); and M.H. (?)

Location: This site is on the south side of the valley at the western end of the Pampa de Sute at the base of a hill with a bench mark numbered 317 on the aerial photographs. It is 1.9 km SSE of the population center of Cerro Blanco and 5.2 km SSW of San Jose, at an altitude of 225 m.a.s.l. The site is on the lower slopes of the hill SW of a grove of algarrobo trees. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK928820.

Description: This site is a small cemetery measuring 20 by 40 m. The graves appear to have been recently (1971) looted and are relatively shallow; about 50 huaquero holes can be found. There appears to be a wall cutting across the cemetery from the cerro toward PV 31-116 to the northeast. The relationship of the wall to the cemetery and to PV 31-116 is not known, but since PV 31-116 is a Middle Horizon site, the wall appears to date to that time period and was built over the earlier Moche cemetery.

Artifacts: Only a few well-preserved sherds were found at this site. Over half were painted white-on-red and appear to date to the Moche Culture. Most of the fragments belong to large jars, but there is one fragment of the neck of a bottle or pitcher with the remnants of the handle which connected this spout to the body of the vessel. Two press-molded fragments, most likely dating to the Middle Horizon, were collected, as well as the portion of a double-spouted bottle with a modeled lizard at the top.

Dating: From the ceramics found here, the cemetery is a mixed one, predominantly Early Intermediate Period in date (Moche Culture) but later reused by the Huaré-influenced Middle Horizon peoples who thickly populated this valley.

Illustrations: None

PV 31-119

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)

Location: This site is on the south side of the valley, on the western slopes of the hill marked with benchmark 317 on the aerial photographs. It is 2.25 km SSW of the population center of Cerro Blanco and 3.7 km ESE of Capellania, at an elevation of 225 m.a.s.l. The site faces the agricultural field of Sute bajo and is separated from PV 31-118 by a deep gully. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK922819.

Description: The site is a small Moche cemetery looted some time ago. Several hundred pits have been excavated by huaqueros, but the number of graves uncovered is not known. Some of the graves were lined with rectangular adobes, the average size of the adobes measuring 40 x 14 x 20 cm.

Artifacts: A good sample of about 32 sherds was collected from this site, and most appear to be Moche in style. At least seven of the sherds are painted with white-on-red geometric designs. Among the shapes are portions of a pitcher and of collared jars, and the stirrup from a stirrup-spout bottle.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-121

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H.

Location: This site complex is on the south edge of the valley in the pampa facing the agricultural field of Sute bajo. Area A of the site was used for determining distance. Area A is 3.1 km SSW of Cerro Blanco and 3.4 km SE of Capellania, at an altitude of 200 m.a.s.l. It is 950 m SW of hill 317. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK923805.

Description: This site is a complex of four separated areas of structures, assumed to be contemporary. Each is constructed of fieldstone, and all except Area D have burials within and surrounding the structures.
Area A: This structure is the main focus of the site, located in the center of the pampa. It is a rectangular structure of fieldstone measuring 57 m N-S and 43.5 m E-W. Although there are traces of walls within the enclosure, the function of this building is not known. Sherds are found over the surface as well as for some distance on the pampa directly west of the site. The main cemetery area is on the north and east sides where huaqueros had dug over 50 pits (1971). A complete Moche collared jar decorated with white-on-red geometric designs on the upper portion of the vessel was found half buried in one of the pits. The ceramics in this area appear to be predominantly Moche. Little skeletal material was found, but one of the skulls has a green stained maxilla.

Area B: The section of the site known as Area B is also composed of a rectangular stone compound, in this case measuring about 80 m N-S and 51 m E-W. As in the case of Area A, internal walls could be seen, but the exact plan of the site is impossible to reconstruct without excavation. Numerous burials were found here also. The ceramics are predominantly blackware. Press molding and the raised circle and dot with zoned punctation can be used to date this portion of the site to the Middle Horizon. Several complete vessels as well as numerous sherds confirm this dating. One half-complete vessel with modeling on the top may date to the L.I.P. Little Moche pottery was found in this sector.

Area C: This portion of the site is NW of Area A and is smaller in size than the preceding two areas. The outer walls form a square enclosure 24 m on each side. A small room measuring 9 by 12 is in the SE corner. A large pit has been dug in the center by huaqueros. The building material for this structure, like the others, is of unworked fieldstone. Sherds here are mixed and include both Moche and Middle Horizon as well as some possibly Later Intermediate pieces.

Area D: Located west of Area A, the structure composing this portion of the site is quite small, measuring 7.5 by 6 m. It is constructed of fieldstone and has one entrance.

Artifacts: The ceramics found in each area have been described above. The entire pampa surrounding the site is littered with sherds and shell, indicating a dense population. This site is one of the few in the valley which might be identified as a Moche habitation site. However, the exact date of the construction is not known, and there exists a mixed occupation of Moche and Middle Horizon peoples.
Illustrations: Proulx 1973, Figs. 27, 28, 29 and 30.


PV 31-123

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); L.I.P.

Location: This cemetery is on the south side of the valley on the western end of the pampa facing the fields of Sute bajo and Caffa Castilla. It adjoins the site of PV 31-122 but is separated from it by a small spur of the hill. The site is 3.14 km SW of Cerro Blanco and 2.5 km SE of Capellania, at an altitude of 175 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK913809.

Description: The site is a small mixed cemetery covering an area approximately 150 by 150 m. Graves are shallow, averaging 1 to 2 m in depth.

Artifacts: The majority of the sherds found here are Moche in style, most painted white-on-red. Fragments of collared jars and of a pitcher are present among other shape categories. Several blackware pieces, including a flaring neck of a jar, appears to date to the L.I.P.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-125

Local Name: Huaca Partida

Cultural Period: E.H.; M.H.

Location: This site is an artificial mound built on the valley floor between Cerro Blanco and Pañamarca. It is on the south bank of the Río Nepeña in a cane field known as Sute bajo, 3.15 km SSE of the town of Nepeña and 2.95 km WSW of the hill of Cerro Blanco, at an elevation of 125 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK912823.

Description: The site consists of a large stone-faced terraced mound measuring 105 m E-W and 53 m N-S. Construction is of flattened fieldstones held together with mud and rubble. The best preserved architecture is on the west
FIGURE 17
PV31-125 HUACA PARTIDA

[Diagram showing a section of PV31-125 Huaca Partida with labeled areas such as 'ventilator shaft', 'terrace', 'debris stairs?', and 'gully'.]
side where several terraced sections of wall are exposed. The stonework is similar to that of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) but the stones used are not as large (not megalithic) nor as finely set together. A square ventilator shaft can be seen on the second terrace that is reminiscent of Chavin de Huantar in the highlands. The function of this ventilator is only speculative, for the interior appears to be solid. The east side of the huaca is also terraced, but here the terraces are lower and wider. Some looted burials were found on these terraces.

The top of the mound is split by a deep cleft so that there is the illusion of two separate mounds. The cut is probably an old huquero excavation, a vain attempt to find a treasure in the center of the structure (Fig. 17).

On the north side of the mound, at ground level, is a rectangular building of unknown function. The contemporaneity of this building with the mound is not certain.

Artifacts: No artifacts were discovered during the initial survey of this site in 1967. The site was revisited in 1979 and a total of 10 artifacts were found. The only diagnostic sherd was a Casma Incised fragment datable to the Middle Horizon. A fragment of a pan pipe suggests an Early Horizon date. Eight additional plainware sherds were discovered.

Dating: The architecture of this site strongly suggests an Early Horizon date, but this cannot be substantiated at this time. The site appears to have been reoccupied during the Middle Horizon and used as a cemetery, a common practice during that period.

Illustrations: Figure 17; Proulx 1973, Plate 24A and Fig. 34.


PV 31-157

Local Name: Chilhuay alto

Cultural Period: E.H. (+ traces of E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: The site is situated on a mountain plateau on the northern side of the Río Salitre tributary where the Río Salitre joins with the main valley of the Río Nepeña. It is 5.0 km NNE of the town of Moro and 6.6 km NE of Moto cachy. The floor of the valley is 650 m.a.s.l. and the plateau rises 100 m above the river below, or 750 m.a.s.l. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK123934.
Description: Several moderately-sized stone structures, identified by wall foundations, are located on this strategic plateau, along with numerous other smaller structures, looted graves, and buried storage jars. Three medium-sized buildings are in the center of the plateau and have been labeled Buildings A, B and C (Fig. 17). The structures are made of piled fieldstone with no evidence of any shaped blocks. The buildings are roughly rectangular in shape with a number of internal rooms and raised platform areas. All of the pottery associated with the three moderate structures in the central plateau is Early Horizon in style, and it appears that this is one of the best preserved Early Horizon habitation sites in the valley. At least one large buried ceramic storage jar was found in the vicinity of the structures. A number of pan pipe fragments were also found here.

There are numerous smaller stone structures on the top of the plateau as well as a structure on the southern slope of the plateau, overlooking the valley bottom of the Rio Salitre. Artifacts associated with these smaller structures include more Middle Horizon sherds as well as an occasional Early Horizon sherd. This is quite different from the assemblage surrounding the three larger structures which was almost exclusively Early Horizon in date.

At the far eastern end of the plateau a few wall foundations were found which had several Recuay sherds associated with it. This area seems to have been a small Early Intermediate Period occupation of short duration. These structures are far removed from the Early Horizon buildings of the central plateau.

A large Middle Horizon cemetery was discovered at the extreme western end of the plateau. Here the plateau dips down toward the Rio Nepeña in a series of natural terraces, and this cemetery—which has been designated PV 31-251—is located on one of these terraces. The Middle Horizon sherds found among the smaller structures at PV 31-157 may represent a minor occupation of part of the site during the Middle Horizon.

Artifacts: Eighty-one percent of the sherds found in the central section of the plateau were Early Horizon in style. Stamped circles and dots were the most frequent form of decoration (25 examples), but zoned incision (4 sherds), punctuation (2 pieces), and broad line incision (1 example) were also present. Three fragments from pan pipes were discovered—a pattern common in Early Horizon sites. Three fragments of post-fired scratched ware and two of pattern-
burnished cross-hatched ware were found, indicating an occupation at the end of the Early Horizon during the Kushi-Pampa Period. Recuay pottery (11 sherds) was confined to the structure at the east end of the plateau, and a single piece of Middle Horizon pottery may have come from the cemetery area at the western end of the plateau.

Dating: It would appear from our limited surface collection, that the structures on the central portion of the plateau date securely within the Early Horizon. Since architecture is rare in most Early Horizon sites in Nepeña, this site provides a good deal of data on building styles and settlement patterns.

It is unclear at this time whether the smaller structures on the top and side of the plateau were constructed in the Early Horizon or in the Middle Horizon by later occupants of the site. Architecturally, there is little difference in construction between the moderate-sized structures and the smaller structures, and I would lean toward an early date for all of them.

Illustrations: Figure 18.


PV 31-158

Local Name: Laria
Location: This site is located on a plateau overlooking the southern side of the Rio Salitre tributary. It is opposite the sites of PV 31-157 (Chilhuay alto) and 31-230. The eastern end of the site is 4.7 km NE of the town of Moro and 3.5 km SE of Captuy, and lies at an elevation of 750 m.a.s.l. The valley bottom is 100 m below the site. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK134924.

Description: Laria was first examined in 1971, and at that time was described as an extensive site covering the entire plateau and as "paved with sherds." Re-examination of the site has caused us to modify some of these remarks. The plateau on which this site lies is extremely long (1.5 km) and wide (800 m). The occupation is found in clusters and is not continuous. All of the buildings lie on the northern edge of the plateau, overlooking the river. Sherds are not as abundant as previously suggested, but fair amounts are found among the clusters of buildings.
The remains of stone buildings in the central part of the plateau were described previously (Proulx 1973:177-180). A large square structure measuring 23 m on each side and containing five internal rooms is the main structure in this region. Most of the pottery associated with it appears to be Middle Horizon in date. A possible buried storage jar and a petroglyph are associated with this cluster.

Toward the eastern end of the plateau is a huge rectangular enclosure clearly visible on the aerial photographs and measuring 114 by 113 m. Some pottery has been found inside the enclosure, but the architectural features are very obscure. The function of the enclosure is unknown.

At the eastern end of the plateau is a small, terraced stone mound or platform. A low wall partially surrounds the structure. It was the area between this mound and the large square enclosure that produced the site's most interesting artifacts.

Artifacts: Small quantities of sherds from several cultural traditions were found at the eastern end of the plateau. One or two fragments of grey/black pottery with deeply incised lines and a shallow circular depression were found that may date to the Initial Period or, at the latest, to the beginning of the Early Horizon. These sherds are similar to the Urabarriu Phase ceramics defined by Burger at the site of Chavin de Huantar (Burger 1978 and 1979).

Also present are several sherds that are Moche in style, including a fragment from a jar with a distinctively modeled headdress tie at the collar. This is one of the few sites in the upper valley region where Moche ceramics have been found (PV 31-60 has some of the best examples).

Six fragments of Recuay painted pottery were also found here. The association of the Moche and Recuay pottery may mean that the Moche pottery was traded into the upper valley and does not represent an actual occupation of the area.

Dating: Our recent evidence suggests at least sporadic occupation of the plateau from the Initial Period through the Middle Horizon. The presence of such varied cultural material at the eastern end of the plateau might be explained by the presence of a natural pass into the Rio Salitre area from the main valley. Today a dirt road cuts through this pass—the only access into the valley of the tributary, since the mouth of the tributary is frequently
cut off from access by flooding of the Rio Nepeña. The terraced mound may be a primitive fortress to guard access to the fertile lands of the tributary.

The dating of the terraced mound cannot be determined from surface evidence, but it is my feeling that it is early (Early Horizon) rather than Middle Horizon. Middle Horizon sherds are less frequent at this end of the plateau than they are in the central plateau, where they are associated with the stone structures there. The large square enclosure remains an enigma. It is of large scale and almost perfectly square. No date can be ventured for it at this time.


PV 31-159

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P. (Recuay), M.H.

Location: This site is on a hilltop on the southern side of the Rio Salitre tributary adjacent to the site of Huancarpon (PV 31-59) but separated from it by a deep ravine which also serves as a pass into the valley of the tributary. The site occupies a strategic position near the confluence of the Rio Salitre and the Rio Nepeña. It is 4.05 km NNE of the town of Moro and 5.5 km NE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 780 m.a.s.l. Its reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK115927.

Description: This interesting site covers an oval-shaped area approximately 47 m N-S and 75 m E-W. The focal point of the site is a cluster of stone-walled rooms on the summit of a hill overlooking the Rio Salitre. The hilltop has been flattened, and a U-shaped room (facing the valley to the north, and measuring 8 by 4 m) and a rectangular area (14 by 14 m) comprise the major elements. Some looted graves and a possible buried storage jar are located within the rectangular area. At least one steep terrace lies on the northern slope of the site, with the steep slopes of the hill lying below it.

To the south of these rooms and the summit of the hill, lies a gully. Part of this area is enclosed by a stone wall which envelops the site and incorporates the terraces.
FIGURE 19
PV31-159

terrace

underground storage jar

••
graves

raised stone area

stone walled terraces

storage

stone piles
on the north side (Fig. 18). Within this enclosed oval are several stone-walled terraces, whose function is unknown. Along the perimeter wall to the south are five low mounds of stone with indentations on top suggesting the former presence of a room or rooms.

Outside the enclosure wall the terrain again slopes upward to the south, ascending to summits several hundred meters higher in the distance. The slopes of these hills, which are adjacent to the enclosure wall, are covered with large quantities of pottery, but no architecture can be seen outside of the enclosure. Possibly the sherds were thrown over the wall and washed down from this refuse area.

Artifacts: The bulk of the pottery from this site falls into two main periods, the Early Horizon and the Early Intermediate Period (Recuay). The first part of the Early Horizon is represented by five pieces of Nepeña Banded Lozenge: three sherds with punctation, one with stamped circles and dots, and one that is incised and painted. Two pieces of Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched ware are in the sample. The low frequency of Kushi-Pampa Phase pottery is important, for it shows that this site, like PV 31-59 (Huancarpon), was little influenced by the large site of Kushi-Pampa nearby. It is one further demonstration of the complete separation of Recuay sites from those like PV 31-56 (Kushi-Pampa) that appear to have been occupied before the influx of Recuay influence on the valley.

The majority of the pottery (47%) here at PV 31-159 is Recuay or Recuay-related. In contrast to Huancarpon—where most of the Recuay pottery is the fancy painted variety—there are a number (21 total) of textile-impressed fragments of utilitarian ware here, perhaps suggesting a more utilitarian function for this site. Fragments of this type of pottery were also collected from the "habitation" area of Huancarpon.

Six fragments of ground stone projectile points were collected at the site. In most instances these are indicative of the Early Horizon occupations, but their use extended into the Recuay Culture of the Early Intermediate Period as well.

Fifteen sherds (or 24% of the decorated sherds) fall into the Middle Horizon, suggesting a reoccupation of the site. It is impossible to determine at this time to what period the architecture belongs.

Dating: As can be seen from the above arguments, the main period of occupation of this site was the Early Inter-
mediate Period and the Recuay culture in particular. There were a prior Early Horizon occupation of the area and a much later Middle Horizon reoccupation.

Illustrations: Figure 19; Proulx 1973:182


PV 31-160

Local Name: Captuay

Cultural Period: E.H. and M.H.

Location: This site is located on the summit of Cerro San Juan (elevation 1081 m.a.s.l.) overlooking the entrance to the Moro pocket. It is 4.25 km NNW of the town of Moro and 4.0 km NNE of the Motocachy settlement. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map is 17LRK086930.

Description: This site was recorded during the survey of 1967, but the site was not visited until 1980-81 because of the great difficulty in reaching it from below. I am grateful to Richard Daggett for the following description.

The main feature of this site is a triangular-shaped stone-walled structure which has no interior architecture. To the rear of this structure the ridge extends for about 35 m before it is broken by an excavated ditch and the remains of an accompanying stone wall. A stone retaining-wall was built on the steep slope to the northeast, below the triangular structure. In addition, there are earthen platforms and stone-walled structures below the southeastern face of the triangular structure.

Artifacts: The ceramics found at the site consist mainly of undecorated carinated bowls, neckless jars and other forms which date to the Early Horizon. Some pan pipe fragments and ground stone projectile point pieces were also discovered. A few Middle Horizon sherds indicate that the site was reoccupied at a later date.

Dating: The artifacts found at this site argue for a major occupation during the Early Horizon with subsequent re-occupation during the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: None

PV 31-162

Local Name: Chilhuay bajo

Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: This fortress is located on the east side of the upper Nepeña Valley on a ridge at an elevation of 775 m.a.s.l. It is near the confluence of the Rio Nepeña with the Rio Salitre tributary. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK123496. The site is 6.15 km NNE of the town of Moro and 2.6 km NE of Captuy.

Description: Chilhuay bajo is an Early Horizon stone fortress having a massive outer wall with several projecting bastions. Construction is of crudely shaped stone blocks, flattened and partly squared, but not finely cut like those at Kushi-Pampa or Paradones. Smaller chunks of stone and mud mortar hold the wall together (Plates 13 A and 13 B).

There are two projecting bastions on the north side, and a similar set of two on the south side, which together form a U-shaped end to the building. On the west and east sides are curving walls, and triangular-shaped and pointed bastions, giving the outer wall a very irregular shape. Two entrances pierce the wall: one on the east wall, about 25 m from the SE corner; the other on the west wall, 39 m from the SW corner. Both are narrow and afford limited access (Fig. 20).

Enclosed within the outer walls of the fortress is a square room (22 by 22 m) with thick double walls (4 m thick). Entrance to the room is on the south end. Fallen rock obscures the details of the interior of the room except for a small closet-like room in the SW corner.

The interior room is located at the northern end of the structure, leaving passageways around its western, northern and eastern sides. To the south is an open space where looted burials were found.

Artifacts: Pottery was found within the fortress as well as on the plateau and slopes outside. Fifty-seven percent of the ceramics are Early Horizon in style. Most prominent were stamped circle and dot designs, but examples of zoned punctation and lozenge designs were found too. Three fragments of ground stone projectile points were found within the enclosure, including one that was unfinished. It is still in its matrix in the process of
FIGURE 20
PV31-162 CHILHUAY BAJO
being sawed out (Plate 10C). A larger cutting tool of stone was also collected.

Two Recuay sherds were located here and one cross-hatched pattern-burnished piece, showing both late E.H. and E.I.P. occupation. The remaining 34% of the pottery was Middle Horizon in style. There are Middle Horizon burials located at the end of the plateau and, as in so many other places, this site seems to have been reoccupied during this time period. A farmer living below the site showed us several Middle Horizon vessels and a Chimu stirrup spout jar that he said were from the site.

Dating: In spite of late (M.H.) pottery being found at this fortress, I am convinced that this site represents an Early Horizon fortress. The majority of the artifacts found here suggest that, as do the distinctive ground stone projectile points. The architectural style is distinctive and appears to be early. This fortress is almost identical to a second fortress found almost directly across the valley (PV 31-163) where the architecture is very similar. In addition, the sherds from this second fortress are 77% Early Horizon, with only two sherds being Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: Plates 13 A and 13 B; Figure 20.


PV 31-163

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.)

Location: This is another Early Horizon fortress located on a hilly prominence in a quebrada on the west side of the Río Nepëña, opposite the mouth of the Río Salitre. Situated at 550 m.a.s.l., it is lower than the fortress of Chilhuay bajo; but it has a more strategic location, close to the valley floor and the confluence of the Río Salitre with the Río Nepëña. It is 4.2 km N of the town of Moro and 4.45 km NNW of Motocachy. Its reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK097933.

Description: There are many similarities between this fortress and PV 31-162 (Chilhuay bajo). Both are constructed of worked stone, though in this fortress the masonry is finer than at Chilhuay bajo. Both have bastion projections on the other walls, and both fortresses enclose an internal
walled room. In the case of this fortress, there are three bastions on the external wall as well as the incorporation of a huge boulder as part of the wall. PV 31-163 is smaller than PV 31-162, measuring approximately 30 by 30 meters.

Looted graves, most of which date to later periods, are found on the slopes, particularly on the northern side. Most of the ceramics discovered here come from the slopes of the site rather than from the interior of the structure. To the south of the site, higher on the slopes of the mountain, are a number of natural caves formed by crevices under huge granite slabs that have fallen from above. Pottery is found around these caves.

Artifacts: Seventy-seven percent of the decorated sherd sample from this site is Early Horizon in date. Stamped circle-and-dot decoration is most frequent (17 examples), followed by punctation (3) and zoned punctation (1). No lozenge-shaped decorations were found here. Pan pipe fragments and a ground slate projectile point were found, both typical of an Early Horizon assemblage.

Requay pottery makes up 15% (6 sherds) of the sample, and Middle Horizon sherds the remaining 8%.

Dating: It seems clear that this site is one of two major Early Horizon fortresses located in the upper valley area. PV 31-163 has a preponderance of Early Horizon pottery, with only minor evidence for Early Intermediate and Middle Horizon reoccupation of the site.

Illustrations: Proulx 1973: Fig. 42.


PV 31-170

Local Name: Anta

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: This site is situated in the Quebrada de Anta on the south side of the valley near the Hacienda Vinchamarca. The site is on a raised area cut by an alluvial fan. Flash flooding in the past has cut away the floor of the quebrada surrounding the site, producing small ravines and depositing stones and alluvium. The site is 3.15 km S of Moro and 4.55 km SE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 500 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK095859.
Description: Anta consists of three raised platforms, one of which is elongated and divided into five parts. Stone-lined cists are found in three of these five parts (Proulx 1973, Fig. 45). The discovery of similar cists at the site of Huancarpon (PV 31-59) was used in the dating of this site. The function of the cists seems to have been either for ritual offerings or for burials.

The site covers an area approximately 200 m long and 50 m wide and is enclosed by a low fieldstone wall. In addition to the first platform with its five divisions, a second and a third platform are found to the east. All three appear to be aligned but Daggett (1984:361) indicates that only two of the three are truly aligned, the largest mound being slightly off to the side.

Artifacts: While no diagnostic pottery was found during the 1971 survey, Daggett has found pottery indicative of the Kushi-Pampa Period (his Phase III—terminal end of the Early Horizon) at the site, including broad-line incision and cross-hatched pattern burnishing (Daggett 1984:344 and Fig. 7-12f).

Dating: Based on Daggett's discoveries, I am tentatively dating the site of Anta to the latter part of the Early Horizon.

Illustrations: Proulx 1973: Fig. 45.


PV 31-175S

Local Name: Cerro Huarcos

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: This site is located on a mountaintop at the juncture of the Rio Vinchamarca (Rio Pocos) with the upper Nepeña Valley. It is 2.8 km SE of the town of Moro and 1.95 km E of the Hacienda Vinchamarca buildings, and lies at an elevation of 700 m.a.s.l. The valley bottom is 150 m below the site. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 1, Moro) is 17LRR121872.

Description: There are two separate sites at PV 31-175: one on the north end of the range of hills, datable to the Middle Horizon, and designated as PV 31-175N; the other at the southern end, designated PV 31-175S. The former has been described in Proulx 1973:194-196. Only the Early Horizon remains of PV 31-175S will be discussed here. The two areas are separated by a natural ravine.
PV 31-1758 (formerly designated PV 31-175W) was first recorded in 1971 and re-examined in 1979. The site is a single-occupation Early Horizon hilltop outpost. From below, stone defense walls can be seen on both the east and west sides of the mountain. They are most numerous on the east side—perhaps due to the gentler slope there and thus the need for more protection. Two low walls or parapets surround the southern end of the cerro, and several gullies have been bridged over by walls. On the western side of the hill is a much finer wall of shaped fieldstone, but it cannot be determined if it dates to the Early Horizon remains at the southern end or the Middle Horizon structures at the northern end of the cerro (Fig. 21).

The site is noteworthy for its lack of architecture (with the exception of the stone defense walls). The summit at the southern end of the site has been flattened, and rock rubble may be the result of fallen retaining walls, but no obvious architecture can be seen.

Artifacts: All of the pottery found at Cerro Huarcos is Early Horizon in date, and the large amount of pottery present here is difficult to explain in light of the meager architecture. Fifty-seven sherds with stamped circle-and-dot design were collected in 1979, as well as 7 with lozenge designs, 2 with zone punctated triangles, and several other pieces with zoned incision. Pan pipe fragments were also discovered, but curiously there were no ground slate projectile point fragments.

Dating: This site is an excellent example of an unmixed, single-occupation Early Horizon site. Its function is not clear, but its location at the mouth of the Rio Vinchamarca—a major tributary of the valley—and the defensive aspects of the site suggest that it was used to control access to or to protect the tributary.

Illustrations: Figure 21; Proulx 1973, Plates 24b and 25.


PV 31-184

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This site is located on the lower slopes of Cerro Chacuascucho on the northern side of the Río Víchamarca tributary, near the settlement of Pocos. It is 2.4 km E
of the town of Moro and 2.9 km NE of the Hacienda Vinchamarca. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK123886.

Description: This site was recorded in 1971 but was not visited that year because of great difficulty in reaching the site. I am indebted to Richard Daggett for the following description made following his visit to the site in 1981. The site is a ridgetop complex having four parts, lettered A through D. Area A appears to be a habitation area arranged in step-like fashion on a ridge at the eastern edge of the site leading up to Area B. There are at least five distinct terraces, the central one of which is without evidence of surface architecture. Area B is on the summit of the ridge to the west of Area A. Given its form, it appears to have been a ceremonial sector. Aligned approximately north-south are three mounds separated by plazas. One of the mounds is narrow with short projecting arms that make it appear U-shaped, while one of the plazas is sunken and rectangular. A fieldstone wall extends from an open area at the rear of the third mound.

Areas C and D are located down-ridge and to the south of Area B. Area C can be described as a large stone-walled enclosure with a stepped entry. Area D is a stone-faced platform mound without surface architecture. Daggett feels that PV 31-184 forms part of a larger complex with PV 31-185 which is nearby.

Artifacts: Daggett collected approximately 28 sherds at this site, about half of which were decorated. Six sherds were Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished and four were Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched. This suggests a date for the site falling at the end of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. One Huancarpon White Painted sherd was collected, indicating a Recuay occupation of the site in the Early Intermediate Period. A pan pipe fragment was found, as well as a piece of a ground slate projectile point.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-185

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and E.I.P. (Recuay)
Location: This site is located on the slopes of Cerro Chacuacucho on the northern side of the Rio Vinchamarca tributary, near the juncture of the tributary with the valley pocket at Moro. The site is 2.5 km E of Moro and 3.05 km NE of the Hacienda Vinchamarca, at an elevation of 850 m.a.s.l. It is separated from PV 31-184 to the west by a natural saddle in the ridge. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17 LRK127892.

Description: This site was recorded in 1971 but not visited that year because of the inaccessibility of the ruins. The following description was kindly provided by Richard Daggett who visited and studied the site in 1981. The site can be separated into four parts, lettered A through D. Area D is a stone-faced platform mound with surface architecture; it appears to be the principal sector of the site. The ridge that continues to the east beyond this mound becomes U-shaped, and Area C is located on the southern arm overlooking the Rio Vinchamarca. This area is composed of a number of flat terraces arranged in step-like form. On the highest terrace a complex of stone-walled rooms is found. Nearby are natural boulders which Daggett claims were used as mortars for grinding.

The remaining two areas, A and B, are found on the northern arm of the ridge. Area B is situated closest to the platform mound and appears to have been a terraced slope used as a cemetery. A line of natural boulders faces a wall of cut stone blocks, and the opening between suggests an entry corridor. Area A is at the end of the ridge and is characterized by the remains of fieldstone structures, retaining walls and terracing, and a stepped entry.

Artifacts: Daggett indicates that this site is literally covered with sherds—one of the most densely covered sites in the valley. The majority of the sherds date to the Early Intermediate Period and the Recuay influence on the upper valley area. Numerous sherds of Huancarpon White Painted kaolin ware and Huancarpon Grey Painted Ware were found along with spoons and ladles. Huancarpon Orange Plain and Orange Painted sherds also confirm the Early Intermediate Period dating of the site. Daggett also found several sherds dating to the Early Horizon at this site.

Dating: PV 31-185 dates primarily to the Early Intermediate Period and is a major Recuay-influenced site in the valley. It needs to be examined in greater detail as an example of a Recuay site with well-preserved architecture. The
Early Horizon sherds found here suggest an earlier occupation, perhaps related to the adjacent site, PV 31-184.

Illustrations: None


**PV 31-187**

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)

Location: The site is a low mound on the valley bottom in the agricultural field known as San Toribio and is directly north of the Cerro Blanco settlement. It is 300 m N of Cerro Blanco and 2.1 km SE of the town of Nepeña, at an elevation of 150 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK918846.

Description: This site is a low mound constructed of rectangular adobe situated on the valley bottom. It measures 15 m N-S and approximately 10 m E-W. Flooding in the past has cut away most of the eastern portion of the mound exposing the internal adobe construction. The adobes are interesting in shape. They are flatter than usual and appear to be cane marked. There is no evidence of architecture at the site, but there is a small cemetery located on the north side of the mound.

Artifacts: Most of the ceramics were found in the cemetery area, but no attempt was made to separate the pottery from the mound from that of the graves. A portion of a Moche collared jar with vertical stripes in red on white was found here. The other sherds cannot be dated at this time.

Illustrations: None


**PV 31-192**

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: This site is on the north side of the valley at the edge of cultivation facing the Pampa Tierra Firme. It is 3.75 km N of Capellania and 2.1 km NW of the town of Nepeña, at an elevation of 150 m.a.s.l. Reference point
Description: This site is an eroded mound measuring 20 m E-W and 30 m N-S, and approximately 7 m in height. The *huacon* is constructed of conical adobes and fist-shaped adobes, linking it to the site of PV 31-27 which lies about 300 m to the north. Most likely PV 31-192 is part of the same complex which includes PV 31-27; it was given a separate number because of the distance involved between the two clusters.

On the north side of the mound the faint traces of a terrace can be seen. The terracing may have extended around to the other sides as well, but the erosion is so great that the features cannot be determined.

Artifacts: Four sherds were found at PV 31-192, all of them plainware. They are not distinctive enough to be used for chronological purposes.

Dating: The site is dated to the Early Horizon on the basis of the conical adobes found in the architecture.

References: None

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**PV 31-215**

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H. (?)

Location: This cemetery is on the northern side of the hill directly to the south of Pañamarca. It is 1.1 km SE of Capellania and 4.4 km SW of Cerro Blanco, at an elevation of 100 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK890815.

Description: This site is a small Moche cemetery of shallow adobe-lined graves close to Pañamarca. The site covers an area 60 m N-S and 35 m E-W. There are about 75 huaca holes, perhaps 25 of which yielded graves. Higher up the slope is a small mound of adobe. The area below the cemetery seems to be of solid adobe, perhaps a platform. On the east side of the site is a fieldstone retaining wall, perhaps of later date.

Artifacts: The few sherds collected appear to be a mixture of Moche and Middle Horizon styles.
 Dating: This site is dated primarily to the Moche Culture on the basis of the ceramics and the proximity of the site to Pañamarca (PV 31-38), the major Moche ceremonial complex. Intrusive Middle Horizon burials are evident from sherds dating to that cultural period. The fieldstone wall may also date to that period.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-216

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)

Location: The site is on the east side of the hill directly to the south of the Pañamarca site. It is 1.2 km SE of Capellania and 4.0 km SW of Cerro Blanco, at an elevation of 100 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK893816.

Description: This site consists of an adobe brick platform and an adjacent cemetery. The site covers an area 30 m N-S and 10 m E-W. The platform is badly weathered and may form part of the adjacent site PV 31-40. Both sherds and textiles are found in the cemetery.

Artifacts: Only undecorated sherds were collected here, but the shapes suggest a Moche date.

Dating: This site is dated to the Moche Culture on the basis of ceramic shapes, the proximity of the site to Pañamarca (PV 31-38) and the Moche site of PV 31-40. The use of adobe brick platforms is also a common architectural feature of Moche sites.

PV 31-217

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H.

Location: This site is on the east side of the hill directly to the south of Pañamarca. It is 1.5 km SW of Capellania and 4.05 km SW of Cerro Blanco, at an elevation of 100 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK895816.
Description: This site can be divided into three main sectors: two cemeteries which are separated by a mountain spur on which are located stone and adobe structures.

Northern Cemetery: This cemetery is mixed culturally and contains both Moche and Middle Horizon burials. It measures 50 m N-S and 125 m E-W. There are some differences in the grave forms. In the central and eastern portions of the cemetery some graves seem to be lined with fieldstone; I attribute these to the Middle Horizon, based on similar graves found elsewhere. This is supported by the surface ceramics which tend to consist mainly of Middle Horizon sherds in this part of the cemetery. On the western end (against the base of the hill) adobe-lined graves are found which conform to Moche graves found in other locations.

Central Area: There is a hill or spur separating the two cemetery areas. Structures of stone and adobe are found here. The architecture is badly eroded, and the function and form cannot be determined.

Southern Cemetery: This cemetery is smaller than the northern one but also is a mixture of Moche and Middle Horizon graves.

Artifacts: Moche ceramics found in the northern cemetery include portions of a Moche pitcher, a flaring rimmed bowl and a necked Jar with a flange on the top. Other plainware pieces are Middle Horizon in form. In addition to the pottery, textile fragments, stained bones and wooden objects were found.

Dating: This site is dated by the evidence of the pottery styles and the architectural forms. Moche ceramics are most prevalent, but the cemetery was reused in the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: Proulx 1973, pp. 221-222.

PV 31-218

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)

Location: This mound is on the southwest corner of the hill directly south of the Pañamarca ruin. It is 1.7 km SE of Capellania and 4.1 km SW of Cerro Blanco, at an eleva-
tion of 100 m.a.s.l. The nearest field of cultivation is Caña Castilla. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK895813.

Description: This site is a small adobe pyramid or platform built on the top and sides of the natural hill. The mound is badly weathered, and it is impossible to tell if it was terraced or not. Construction material is rectangular adobe. The area covers 150 m E-W and 50 m N-S.

Artifacts: Few sherds were found on this structure, and those that were discovered are undecorated.

Dating: The site is dated to the Moche Culture on the basis of its proximity to the Pañamarca site, the form of the architecture, and the pottery shape categories.

Illustrations: None


PV 31-219

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche); M.H.

Location: This small cemetery is on the southern side of the hill directly to the south of the Pañamarca ruin. It is 1.6 km SSE of Capellania and 4.4 km SW of Cerro Blanco, at an elevation of 100 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQK894812.

Description: This cemetery is divided into two parts by a small hill; each section measures about 10 by 20 m in area. The western section has a modern hut built on it (1971). The graves are shallow and dug into the sandy soil of the quebrada.

Artifacts: Most of the sherds collected were Middle Horizon in style, including a geometrically painted piece and a portion of a ring-based bowl. A portion of a rim of a utilitarian bowl appears to be Moche, and the cemetery, like those surrounding it, is mixed.

Dating: This site is dated on the basis of the ceramic style and the proximity of the cemetery to Pañamarca.
Local Name: None [part of Panamarca Ruin]
Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Moche)
Location: This mound is adjacent to the natural hill containing the main ruins of Pañamarca. I am considering it a separate site only because it is detached from the main ruin, and its architectural relationship with the main complex is not clear. There is no doubt that it is part of the overall complex of mounds and cemeteries making up the Pañamarca site. The site is only a few meters away from the western side of the Pañamarca hill, 750 m SW of Capellania and 1.0 km E of San Gregorio. A modern peasant's house dominates the crest of the site today. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 IV, Nepeña) is 17LQKB84817.

Description: This mound is about 40 m in diameter and 15 m in height and is constructed of rectangular adobe. The nature and function of this mound is unknown due to weathering and the modern use to which it has been put.

Artifacts: None

Dating: The site is dated to the Moche Culture purely on the basis of its architecture and proximity to the Pañamarca site.

Illustrations: None

Description: This site consists simply of a concentration of Middle Horizon sherds on the top of a low natural hill in the Motocachy Pampa. The mound measures approximately 44 m long and 22 m wide. No architecture is present.

Artifacts: The artifacts consist of five Middle Horizon painted sherds. Eight press-molded sherds and nine miscellaneous non-classifiable sherds.

Dating: All the datable sherds fall in the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-222

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: ?

Location: This site is located at the back of the Motocachy Pampa on the slope of the hills. It is 4.15 km N of Motocachy and 3.5 km W of Captuy, at an elevation of 550 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK063937.

Description: This site consists of two parts, perhaps not properly linked together. Petroglyphs are found on four large boulders near the base of the hill. These petroglyphs are similar in form to, and on the same type of rock as, those at PV 31-155 located nearby (see Proulx 1973). The petroglyphs include an animal, a sun with rays and geometric forms.

The other part of the site is a stone wall which connects the base of the large range of hills with a smaller hilly outcrop in the Pampa.

Artifacts: No artifacts were found at this site.

Dating: The date for this site has not been determined.

Illustrations: None

References: None

139
PV 31-223

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: This site is situated on the floor of the Motocachy Pampa adjacent to the dirt track road that cuts across the desert. It is 1.75 km N of Motocachy and 1.55 km W of San Juan, at an elevation of 500 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK073914.

Description: This site consists of a complex of stone-walled buildings strategically located on the floor of the once-irrigated pampa. This site has not yet been properly investigated and the nature of the architecture is not clear, although it is probably a habitation site.

Artifacts: No artifacts were collected on our brief visit, but my recollection is that the surface sherds were mainly Middle Horizon in date.

Dating: This site is probably a Middle Horizon site.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-224

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: This site is a low mound located at the edge of cultivation on the south end of the Motocachy Pampa between the settlement of Motocachy and the settlement of San Juan. It is 0.65 km WSW of San Juan and 1.8 km NNE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 500 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK082909.

Description: This site is a low mound (4 m high and 146 m in diameter) situated at the edge of cultivation. Looted graves are found here—about 12 to 15 holes have been excavated by huaqueros. The few sherds found here are Middle Horizon in date.

Dating: From the sherds located at this site, it would appear to date primarily to the Middle Horizon.
PV 31-225

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: The site is located on the edge of cultivation at the southern edge of the Motocachy Pampa near the road connecting Motocachy with San Juan. It is 0.45 km WSW of San Juan, and 1.95 km NNE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 500 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK085908.

Description: The site consists of a mound, some 75 to 80 m in diameter and 20 m high, on the edge of cultivation. Looted graves are found on the top and sides of the mound.

Artifacts: A small quantity of pottery was found on the surface, most of it "Casma Incised" ware.

Dating: The pottery suggests a Middle Horizon dating for the site.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-226

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and M.H.

Location: This site is a low mound situated adjacent to the road from Moro to Kushi-Pampa; it is surrounded by a chacra owned by a man named Tito. The site is 1.65 km N of the town of Moro and 3.1 km NE of Motocachy, and is situated at 500 m.a.s.l. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK096907.

Description: This site consists of a badly damaged small mound measuring about 60 by 25 m. Looted graves have been exposed, along with traces of plastered rooms and some stone construction. Recent looting has disturbed the site greatly, and only a few sherds were collected.
Artifacts: A total of 11 sherds were found at the site, including one Early Horizon stamped circle-and-dot specimen, three Middle Horizon painted sherds, and one Middle Horizon modeled. The owner of the land reported that many undecorated sherds had been found in the past.

Dating: It appears that this site was occupied first during the Early Horizon and then more extensively during the Middle Horizon. The great destruction precludes the evaluation of the extent of the Early Horizon significance of this site.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-227

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: I.P., E.H. (+M.H.?)

Location: This site is located on the side of a mountain located in the deep quebrada NE of the town of Moro. It is 1.0 km NE of the town of Moro and 3.6 km E of Motocachy, at an elevation of 575 m.a.s.l. (60 m above the floor of the quebrada). The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK105895.

Description: The site appears to be primarily a looted cemetery of small dimensions located in an isolated position on a hillside. Sherds were found on the slopes below, probably the result of the looting activities, and no other evidence of architecture was found. Shallow graves were situated among large natural rocks.

Artifacts: Twenty-eight sherds were collected here, including eight which belonged to the same vessel—a polished black-ware vessel decorated with broad-lined incision and dating to the Early Horizon. A large number of undecorated rim sherds were also collected, as well as one possible painted-M.H. piece.

Dating: The bulk of the pottery appears to date to the Early Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-228

Local Name: None
Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P.
Location: This site is located along a dirt road behind the town of Moro. It is 1.5 km NE of Moro and 4.1 km E of Motocachy. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK111899.

Description: Through an error in our notes, an adequate description of this site does not exist. It appears that we found a cluster of ceramics adjacent to a road and had intended to return and more adequately explore the site. However, this was not completed.

Artifacts: A number of sherds were collected at this site, including at least two which appear to be Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched Ware.

Dating: The artifacts suggest the site dates to the end of the Early Horizon and the Early Intermediate Period.

Illustrations: None
References: None

PV 31-229

Local Name: None
Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P. and M.H.)
Location: This hilltop site is along a range of mountains on the northern side of the Rio Salitre tributary, near the confluence of the Rio Salitre with the Rio Nepeña. It is separated from the habitation site of PV 31-157 (Chilhuay alto) by a ravine and the site of PV 31-231. The site is 5.1 km NE of the town of Moro and 2.8 km E of Captuy at an elevation of approximately 750 m.a.s.l. and 100 m above the Rio Salitre. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK128933.

Description: The site is a flattened hilltop with no visible architecture. Numerous Early Horizon sherds are scattered on the surface area, which measures 75 m N-S and 50 m E-W.

Artifacts: Eighteen specimens with Early Horizon stamped circle and dot decoration were collected here along with some incised ware and pan pipe fragments. Seventy-seven percent
of the sample is Early Horizon in date while 8% appears to be Early Intermediate Period (a Recuay sherd and a white-on-red sherd), and 15% Middle Horizon.

Dating: The site appears to be a typical Early Horizon hilltop site with the usual pan pipe fragments accompanying the distinctive sherds. Evidence of later use in the E.I.P. and M.H. can be seen.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-230

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: This is another hilltop site of the Early Horizon, situated along a range of mountains on the northern side of the Rio Salitre tributary 5.6 km NE of the town of Moro and 3.35 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 800 m.a.s.l. Reference on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK133934.

Description: This site is a flattened hilltop overlooking the sites of PV 31-229 and PV 31-231 to the west. No architecture is present, but a good sample of 26 sherds was collected here. This site is some 50 m higher in elevation than the nearby site of PV 31-229. The area is barren and rocky.

Artifacts: All of the sherds found here are Early Horizon in style. Included are 12 fragments with circle-and-dot stamped designs, two fragments of "lozenge" designs, and a complete Early Horizon spindle whorl with circle-and-dot stamped decoration. This was the first such spindle whorl found, but other examples were discovered at other sites as the survey progressed. A pan pipe fragment was also found.

Dating: The site dates entirely to the Early Horizon period.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-231

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This hilltop site is on a ridge immediately to the east of PV 31-157 (Chilhuay alto), separated from it by a ravine. It is on the northern side of the Rio Salitre tributary, close to the confluence of the Rio Salitre and the Rio Nepeña. The site is 5.0 km NNE of the town of Moro and 2.4 km E of Captuy at an elevation of 700 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK115927.

Description: Of the three hilltop sites east of the habitation site of PV 31-157, this site is the most elaborate. A fieldstone structure crowns the top of the hill. It has a depression in the center, perhaps the remnants of a room. Some crude terracing may be present on the west side of the hill. Graves have been dug into the periphery of the hill, especially near some large rocks on the eastern side.

Artifacts: Six of the 27 sherds collected at this site were Early Horizon stamped circle-and-dot ware. Also of early date were three pan pipe fragments and a spindle whorl. The Early Intermediate Period is represented by two fragments of Recuay pedestal-based bowls.

Dating: The site appears to be an Early Horizon hilltop site that was later used by the Recuay culture for burials.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-232

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. and M.H.

Location: This site is located on a ridgetop overlooking the south side of the Rio Salitre. It rises above the sites of Kushi-Pampa, Huancarpon and PV 31-159. The site is 3.9 km NNE of Moro and 1.0 km SE of Captuy, at an elevation of 700 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK115927.
Description: The site is a small cemetery measuring about 30 by 30 m, situated on a hilltop. No architecture is present.

Artifacts: Some pottery—mostly Middle Horizon wares—was collected from the surface of this site.

Dating: Based on a few artifacts found, the site appears to date to the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-233

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This site is situated high on a range of mountains overlooking the site of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), PV 31-159, and PV 31-132. It is 3.35 km NNE of the town of Moro and 5.15 km NE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 825 m.a.s.l. (225 m above the floor of the valley). The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK116918.

Description: The site is a terraced hilltop with the remnants of several small fieldstone structures. The site appears to be oriented toward the SW, facing a steeply sloping ridge leading down toward Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56). A sloping terrace is found on that side which contains two rectangular structures. Vestiges of the terraces appear to curve around the northern end of the hilltop. The hill is crowned by a small structure of fieldstone with a room in the center. The entire area covered is approximately 100 by 50 m. Above this site is yet another peak, the highest in this range, where yet another site can be seen. It was not explored.

Artifacts: Very few decorated sherds were located here, but three fragments of basket/textile-impressed ware were found, identical to that found at the E.I.P. (Recuay Period) sites of Huancarpon (PV 31-59) and PV 31-159. A total sample of 15 sherds was collected here.

Dating: On the basis of cross dating the textile-impressed ware, this site is tentatively dated as E.I.P.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-234

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: This site is one of a series of Early Horizon remains located on a ridge midway up the Rio Salitre tributary. The site is difficult to reach, as it is separated from the only road running through the tributary by the river bed and steep slopes. The site is 8.2 km NE of the town of Moro and 7.25 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 1025 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK173925.

Description: For reference purposes, PV 31-234 has been divided into four groups, labeled A through D. All four probably compose a single site, but the sections are separated by sterile expanses of varying length (Fig. 22).

Area A is at the eastern end of the ridge. Here a hilltop has been flattened and a fieldstone structure built for defensive purposes. A depression within the rocky platform suggests the presence of a room or rooms. Construction is of unmodified fieldstone, simply piled up. Abundant sherds were found on the slopes of this site.

Area B is west of Area A and somewhat lower in elevation. Here again the ridge has been flattened and a low-walled stone structure erected. The bulk of the pottery found at PV 31-234 was associated with this sector of the site (48 sherds) and all of it is Early Horizon in date. The structure measures 9.5 m square.

Area C is a looted cemetery area some 28 m W of Area B. A low platform also exists here, but the architecture is less imposing.

Area D is a terraced platform facing to the east. The top of the hill has been leveled, and a single lower platform has been erected on the eastern side facing the main part of the site. Some graves are located on this structure, but the dating is not secure.

Artifacts: All areas of the site yielded artifacts, but Area B was most productive. Although Early Horizon sherds predominate in all parts of the site, each area is described separately.

Area A produced a sample of 44 sherds, 19 of which were decorated. Of the datable sherds, 64% were Early Horizon.
and include stamped circle-and-dot, and incision designs, and pan pipe fragments. Several Middle Horizon sherds were found, as well as White-on-Red painted sherd.

Areas B and C were lumped together in the field because of the great homogeneity of the sample. Thirty-nine decorated sherds were found in a sample of 48; and in these areas all of the sherds were Early Horizon in style. Twenty-one stamped circle-and-dot specimens were collected, along with 10 lozenge decorations, 4 "snake" designs, some pan pipe fragments and one ground stone projectile point.

Area D produced a mixture of sherds, 71% Early Horizon, 4% E.I.P. and 21% Middle Horizon. Early Horizon circle-and-dot motif was the most popular form found here.

Dating: The site is one of the most productive Early Horizon site complexes in the valley, yielding a good sample of ceramics. A scattering of E.I.P. and M.H. pottery suggests a minor reoccupation in those periods.

Illustrations: Figure 22

References: None

PV 31-235

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: This site is on a natural ridge located in the middle Rio Salitre tributary 8.1 km NE of the town of Moro and 7.05 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 1000 m.a.s.l. It is located just W of PV 31-234D. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK170925.

Description: This is a cemetery site located on a low rocky hill adjacent to the Early Horizon site of PV 31-234. The area covered is approximately 50 m square. Graves are found scattered around the large rocks.

Artifacts: The majority of the pottery found at this site dates to the Early Horizon. Eleven sherds decorated with stamped circles and dots were found, as well as three with "banded lozenges" and two with zoned punctuation. Two sherds painted white-on-red appear to be Moche in style, although this classification is tentative. One Middle Horizon press-molded piece is also part of the sample.
Dating: The site dates primarily to the Early Horizon, judging from the ceramic sample.

Illustrations: Figure 22.

References: None

PV 31-236

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. or M.H.

Location: This site is located on a ridge of hills in the middle Rio Salitre tributary 7.75 km NE of the town of Moro and 619 km ESE of Captuy, at an elevation of 960 m.a.s.l. The site is on a gentle slope facing away from the river below, in a rather desolate setting. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK169924.

Description: This site is a large, rectangular fieldstone structure built on a sloping terrain (Fig. 22). It measures 26 m E-W and about 35 m N-S. The northern wall encloses a long, narrow (8 m narrowing to 4 m) room that may have been used for storage. A raised platform of stone is situated at the NW corner of the structure. Inside the building are two rooms and a large open courtyard. Entrance is through the eastern wall where a wall of cut stone can be seen near the entryway. Terraces are located on the northern side of the building.

The function of this structure is not known. The architecture is rather crude except for the shaped stone wall near the entrance. Ceramics were very rare.

Artifacts: Only six sherds were found in this entire site, and all are enigmatic. Circle-and-dot decoration is found on four fragments of pottery, but it cannot definitely be determined if these are Early Horizon or Middle Horizon in date. Paste of the pottery is grey—unusual in the Early Horizon. Cross-hatched decoration incised on a large vessel is also unusual.

Dating: At this time it cannot be determined if this is an Early Horizon or Middle Horizon structure. Because of the proximity of the Early Horizon sites of PV 31-234 and 235, an early date seems more logical.

Illustrations: Figure 22.

References: None
Local Name: None
Cultural Period: E.H., M.H., and L.H.
Location: Located at the western end of a range of hills in the middle Rio Salitre tributary, this site is the last of four ruins situated along this prominent ridge. The site is 7.6 km NE of the town of Moro and 6.6 km ESE of Captuy, at an elevation of 950 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK165924.

Description: This site is a relatively large complex of fieldstone architecture located in a strategic location overlooking the middle section of the Rio Salitre tributary. For the purpose of description, the site is divided into three sections.

Area A is a large complex of rooms constructed of fieldstone. An open-ended or "U-shaped" room faces the valley below. This room measures 20 m across. Because of the complexity of the architecture and lack of time, an accurate map was not made of this portion of the site. Some rectangular adobe bricks are found in this area, suggesting a reoccupation of the site, probably during the Middle Horizon.

Area B is about 70 m W of Area A and consists of the remains of two badly destroyed fieldstone structures. The first is roughly 10 m by 7 m in size, and the other 7 by 7 m. The original form and function of these structures cannot be determined.

Area C is a rectangular building 18 by 11 m in size near the end of the ridge. Modern use of this structure as a corral for animals and plowing for agricultural fields has badly destroyed the structure. Much modern burning has taken place here.

Artifacts: Forty percent of the ceramic sample from this site is Early Horizon in style. A number of typical E.H. stamped circle-and-dot designs and "lozenge" designs were found here. In addition, 53% of the sample is Middle Horizon in style, indicating a reoccupation of this strategic site. Middle Horizon press-molded and painted wares are found. One fragment of what appears to be an Inca aryballoid jar fragment was also collected here—one of the few Late Horizon artifacts found in the upper valley. It is unusual to find this in a tributary of a rather small valley system.

Dating: Although this site was first utilized during the Early Horizon, reoccupation occurred during the Middle Horizon.
This end of the ridge, including PV 31-236, was used for strategic purposes during the Middle Horizon. Judging from the Inca vessel, some continued use of this ridge was made through the Late Horizon.

Illustrations: Figure 22.

References: None

PV 31-238

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P. (Recuay), M.H.

Location: This site is located on a low mountain crest on the north side of the Rio Salitre tributary 9.25 km NE of the town of Moro and 8.1 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 1000 m.a.s.l. The width of the valley narrows just below the site, and PV 31-238 affords a good perspective down the valley as well as up into the increasingly narrow and steep-sided valley above. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK177936.

Description: The site consists of a series of stone-walled rooms on the crest of a hill with several stone-walled terraces surrounding the site on all sides. The structure is built around natural features of the hilltop, such as several huge boulders that are incorporated into the architecture (Fig. 22). Seven or eight rooms and platforms are present, along with various looted graves, some of which had ash or carbon present in the pits.

Artifacts: Large quantities of pottery are found at this site, the majority of which (perhaps 60 to 70%) is Middle Horizon. A collection of sherds assembled by some unknown person before our arrival was found on top of a large, flat stone at the site. The majority of these sherds were also Middle Horizon styles. We concentrated on making a collection of Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period pottery. Good quantities of E.H. circle-and-dot stamped designs were found (18 specimens), several "lozenge" and "snake" designs, and seven Recuay fragments. We also collected a good example of an Early Horizon spindle whorl with circle-and-dot decoration.

Dating: Obviously there was a moderate-sized Early Horizon occupation at this site. Whether or not the architecture was constructed during that period cannot be determined at this time, but some of the features are similar to other, sub-
stantiated Early Horizon buildings elsewhere in the valley. The site was reoccupied and used extensively during the Middle Horizon, when a population explosion in this valley also apparently spread up the tributaries.

Illustrations: Figure 23.

References: None

PV 31-239

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.

Location: This site is located on the crest of a mountain ridge on the north side of the Rio Salitre tributary 8.85 km NE of the town of Moro and 7.2 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 975 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK174936.

Description: This site, located on a saddle midway between PV 31-238 and PV 31-240, contains a number of badly damaged fieldstone rooms and vestiges of terracing over an area of about 25 by 50 m. A few looted graves are found among the architecture.

Artifacts: Almost all of the pottery from this site is Middle Horizon in style: six specimens of Casma Incised ware, seven Middle Horizon Painted and seven more with Middle Horizon shapes. One fragment of Recuay pottery from the Early Intermediate Period was in the sample.

Dating: The ceramics would argue for a Middle Horizon date for this site.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-240

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This site is located at the western end of a mountain ridge on the northern side of the Rio Salitre tributary 8.45 km NE of the town of Moro and 7.0 km E of Captuy at an elevation of 925 m.a.s.l. The reference point on the
1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK169935.

Description: The site is a flattened hilltop with no architecture, having one major terrace facing to the east—toward the sites of PV 31-239 and 31-238. Some looted graves are located on the northwest side, and a steep slope surrounds the site on the south, west and north sides. The majority of the artifacts were found on these slopes. The site is a typical Early Horizon hilltop settlement.

Artifacts: Fifty-nine percent of the pottery sample of 39 sherds was Early Horizon in style, with the stamped circle and dot design predominating. The "lozenge" design and zoned punctation (including the "snake" design) are also present. Evidence of a "shell industry" was found here. Bivalves from the ocean, at least 35 km away, were found. One of them was cut and formed into a shell pendant complete with a hole drilled through for suspension. Another appeared to be a blank, ready for final drilling. Raw material (ordinary shells) was found scattered about. This evidence of trade and manufacture is among the best we have and is assumed to date to the Early Horizon occupation of the site.

Another 38% of the pottery is Recuay in style, including painted white kaolin examples. One sherd of orangeware was found in the sample.

Dating: The site is primarily an Early Horizon hilltop site, but it also had a significant reoccupation during the Early Intermediate Period.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-241

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. (Recuay) (+E.H. and M.H.)

Location: This site is located on a mountain top in the upper reaches of the Rio Salitre tributary 10.5 km NE of the town of Moro and 9.15 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 1275 m.a.s.l. A dirt road in the upper tributary area passes near the site. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK191938.
Description: This site appears to be a defensive lookout controlling the upper extremes of the Rio Salitre tributary. It is visible from some distance away because of its high elevation and commanding view. The site is composed of two fieldstone rooms on the summit of the mountain. The western side descends gradually through five distinct terraces. To the east is a saddle connecting this site to another ridge in the distance. A stone wall cuts across the saddle, protecting the site from this side. Traces of other structures lie between the two rooms on the summit and the wall to the east. Total area covered is about 50 by 150 m.

Artifacts: A good sample of 43 sherds was collected from the site, and 83% of this sample was Recuay painted ware. Colors included black-on-white, red-on-white, and red-on-cream. Some of the pieces were of very fine quality. Two pieces of Early Horizon stamped circle and dot ware were found, and about six fragments of Middle Horizon pottery.

Dating: The site dates to the Early Intermediate Periods and the Recuay culture in particular. The site was briefly occupied during the Early Horizon and Middle Horizon, but the construction is probably associated with the most prevalent pottery type, Recuay.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-242

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.?

Location: This site is situated in the upper reaches of the Rio Salitre tributary at an elevation of 1200 m. It is on the crest of a mountain on the south side of the river about 2.9 km NE of Salitre. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK198938.

Description: The site is composed of one or two fieldstone structures located on the top of a ridge. The area covered measures about 25 by 50 m. Ceramics were very rare on the surface of the site.

Artifacts: A total of seven sherds were found at this site, including a Middle Horizon press-molded piece.
Dating: Based on the one sherd, a Middle Horizon date is suggested for the site.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-243

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H. (+E.H. and E.I.P.)

Location: This site is located on a ridge on the north side of the Río Salitre tributary, midway up the valley and opposite the site of PV 31-236. It is 7.6 km NE of the town of Moro and 6.0 km E of Captuy at an elevation of 900 m.a.s.l. The reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK162933.

Description: The site is a series of stone constructions (rooms?) on the crest of a hill along with what appear to be small piles of rocks. No definite plan could be discerned for the architecture, and the site's function is not known.

Artifacts: A sample of 27 sherds was made at this site, of which 16 are diagnostic. Most of the pottery dated to the Middle Horizon. There are eight examples of Casma Incised ware, one Middle Horizon Painted sherd and two Middle Horizon bowl fragments. The Early Horizon is represented by two examples of Nepeña Banded Lozenge, and the Early Intermediate Period by three fragments decorated with white-on-red designs.

PV 31-244

Local Name: None


Location: This site is on the crest of a range of hills on the north side of the Río Salitre tributary 7.1 km NE of the town of Moro and 517 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 875 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK158931.

Description: This hilltop site is located 25 m below PV 31-243 on the same range of hills. Two crude fieldstone structures of unknown function are located here, surrounded by
numerous looted graves. The area covered is about 2m by 75 m.

Artifacts: The majority of the decorated sherds are Recuay in style (seven specimens). Also present are two Early Horizon sherds (one stamped circle and dot piece and one with incision), three white-on-red (possibly Moche) sherds, one Casma Incised from the Middle Horizon and a fragment from a Chimu-Inca aryballoid jar.

Dating: The site appears to have had a long history of use, with most emphasis placed on the Early Intermediate Period. It is interesting that so simple a site could attract settlement over such a long time period.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-245

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.I.P. and M.H.

Location: This site is situated on the western end of a range of hills on the northern side of the Rio Salitre tributary 6.9 km NE of the town of Moro and 5.5 km E of Captuy, at an elevation of 825 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK155929.

Description: This site has two small stone structures perched on the end of a ridge overlooking the middle section of the Rio Salitre tributary. To the east is a square structure measuring 20 m on each side. One of the walls is quite well made. To the west of this structure is a rectangular building that is open on the western end with two small rooms at the end of the arms of the "U". Some looted burials are found here also. The function of these structures is not known.

Artifacts: Six pieces of painted white-on-red pottery suggest an Early Intermediate Period occupation (possibly Moche) for the site, but the ceramics are not distinctive enough to confirm this suspicion. Some nice Middle Horizon painted and press-molded pottery is also present.

Dating: The site is securely dated to the Middle Horizon with the strong possibility that there was a previous Early
Intermediate Period occupation here also. The architecture cannot be dated at this time.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-246

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H. (+E.H.)

Location: This site is situated on the southern end of a range of hills known as Chulhuay bajo. These hills are on the east side of the Río Nepeña, just N of the confluence of the Río Salitre tributary with the Río Nepeña. The site is 5.9 km NNE of the town of Moro and 2.1 km NE of Captuy, at an elevation of 675 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro is 17LRK118942.

Description: This site consists of an area of artifact concentration on the edge of a long, high ridge. No architecture is visible, and the site is marked only by a clearing devoid of heavy vegetation but with surface artifacts present. To the east, separated from this site by a deep quebrada which is being intensively farmed, is another spur of the ridge with a well-preserved stone structure visible. Time did not permit the recording of this site.

PV 31-246 may have served as a temporary lookout point, or perhaps only a resting point.

Artifacts: Only eight artifacts were collected at this site, including seven pottery sherds. Four of them were Middle Horizon in style and one was Early Horizon. An interesting fragment of stone with a geometric design carved into it was also found here.

Dating: The small artifact sample suggests a Middle Horizon date for the site with perhaps some sporadic use during the Early Horizon. Nearby is the Early Horizon fortress of Chulhuay bajo (PV 31-162), so the discovery of an Early Horizon sherd here is not surprising.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-247

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: This site is located on the east side of the Rio Nepeña on a flattened rocky projection half-way up a mountainside overlooking the site of Chulhuay bajo (PV 31-162). Several other Early Horizon sites are located on the high ridge above the site. It is 6.5 km NNE of the town of Moro and 3.0 km NE of Captuy, at an elevation of 750 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK124947.

Description: A steep path runs from the plateau containing the fortress of Chulhuay bajo (PV 31-152), up the ridge to the east which is topped by sites of PV 31-248 and 249. Along this path, and half-way up the ridge, is an area of flattened stone containing a large number of artifacts. Architecture is limited to two small circular structures, badly preserved, measuring only 2 to 3 m in diameter. Evidences of looted graves are also found here. The function of the site appears to have been one of controlling access to the ridge, with a secondary function of burial.

Artifacts: The site yielded 52 artifacts, including 46 sherds. All of the artifacts are Early Horizon in style, and the site is unmixed. Stamped circle and dot decoration was found on 28 specimens, with much variation present. Next in frequency was the so-called "lozenge" decoration (13 examples) with zoned punctation found on two examples. A ground stone projectile point was also discovered, as were pan pipe fragments.

Dating: Based on the artifactual evidence, the site appears to date exclusively to the Early Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-248

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E. H. (+E.I.P.)

Location: This site is on a high ridge on the east side of the Rio Nepeña overlooking a plateau containing the site of PV 31-162, Chulhuay bajo. It is 6.5 km NNE of the town of Moro and 3.05 km NE of Captuy, at an elevation of 775...
m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK126947.

Description: The site consists simply of a flattened area on a ridge top having no visible architecture. The site measures approximately 10 by 30 m with a series of flattened terrace-like slopes leading down toward the south end of the ridge.

Artifacts: Fifty-seven artifacts were collected from this relatively small site, including 47 datable sherds. Ninety-eight percent of the pottery in this sample is Early Horizon in style. Stamped circle and dot decoration was found on 38 sherds, with much less variation in form present than found in the adjacent PV 31-247 site. Several pan pipes, one ground stone projectile point and a spindle whorl were found. One white-on-red sherd was discovered here that may be Moche in style, as well as eight sherds which could not be dated.

Dating: The site is predominantly Early Horizon in date with possibly some use during the E.I.P.

Illustrations: None

References: None

**PV 31-249**

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: This site is on the northern end of a high mountain ridge on the east side of the Rio Nepeña overlooking the fortress of Chulhuay bajo (PV 31-162). It is 6.7 km NNE of the town of Moro and 3.75 km NE of Captuy, at an elevation of 775 m.a.s.l. It shares the same ridge as PV 31-248. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK127952.

Description: This site is dominated by a large stone-faced pyramid terraced on all sides but predominantly on the north and south sides. The flattened top of the pyramid measures about 33 m N-S. The terrace measures about 19 m on both the N and S sides, but considerably less (perhaps 3 to 4 m) on the E and W sides because of the configuration of the ridge. Construction material is of unworked fieldstone with no mortar. Total area covered by the site is about 80 m (N-S) by 20 m (E-W).
Some looted graves are located on the north and south terraces. A shallow, but straight-sided, ravine separates the southern terrace from the remainder of the ridge.

Artifacts: Fifty-eight artifacts were collected at the site, including 29 datable sherds. Of these sherds, 66% were Early Horizon in style including eight with the stamped circle and dot, five with "lozenge" designs, and six with zoned-incision. Two ground slate stone projectile points were found.

An additional 17% of the pottery is tentatively dated to the Early Intermediate Period and the Recuay culture. Four definite Recuay sherds were found, as well as a textile-impressed sherd. One white-on-red sherd from the E.I.P. was also found. The final 14% of the sherd sample is Middle Horizon in style, including press-molded decoration and flat spindle whorls.

Dating: The site was first occupied during the Early Horizon, and judging from the ceramic sample, this was the time of its greatest use. Reoccupation occurred during the Early Intermediate Period by the Recuay culture and later again by peoples of the Middle Horizon. It is impossible at this time to determine the date of the stone-faced pyramid, although an Early Horizon date seems most probable.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-250

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: (E.H. (+E.I.P. and M.H.)

Location: This site is situated on the top and sides of the highest hill within the town of Moro. The hill has two crosses on top; during the May First Festival of Light, fires are built on the top by placing rags soaked with oil on the slopes. One of the town cemeteries is placed on the southern edge, while a large town dump graces the northern edge. Total area covered by the site is 50 by 200 m, but the site is divided into two parts (see below). The site is 600 m NNE of the main plaza of Moro and 3.85 km S of Captuy. The summit of the site is 550 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK103894.
Description: The site can be divided into two sections: remains on the summit of the hill, and remains on the slopes and terraces of the western side. As is the case with many Early Horizon hilltop sites in this valley, the summit of the hill is lacking in architecture but bountiful in artifacts. The site commands an excellent view of the entire area around Moro—a major agricultural region throughout the prehistory of the valley. Some disturbance exists on this part of the site from the festival activities that take place here, but looting is minimal.

Further down the slopes are a series of natural terraces on the western side of the hill facing the town. Artificial stone walls are present in this area, forming artificial terraces. Many looted graves are present here. The occupation of the terraces seems to date later than the summit.

Artifacts: Fifty artifacts were collected from the summit of the hill, forty of which are pot sherds. Of these, 93% are Early Horizon in date. Thirty-one sherds decorated with stamped circle and dot designs were collected here, along with two "lozenge" designs, one "snake" design and one zoned punctuation. Two incised and painted Early Horizon sherds were also found—a rather rare form in the valley. One Recuay sherd, one white-on-red sherd and one Middle Horizon sherd were found.

The terraces below yielded a somewhat different pattern of artifacts. Thirty-one artifacts were collected, 18 of which were datable sherds. Of these, 39% were Early Horizon (five circle and dot and two lozenge), with the majority, 61%, datable to the Middle Horizon. Obviously this part of the site had been reoccupied in later times, but the Middle Horizon peoples were less interested in the summit of the hill than they were in the lower slopes and terraces.

Dating: The entire site was utilized during the Early Horizon, but the summit appears to have been the focus of occupation at this time. Sporadic use can be seen during the Early Intermediate Period, but the next major occupation was during the Middle Horizon when the lower slopes were utilized and modified.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-251

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: This site is situated at the end of a plateau or ridge at the mouth of the Rio Salitre where this tributary empties into the Rio Nepeña. Further up the ridge is located the large Early Horizon site of Chilhuay alto (PV 31-157). The site is 1.5 km NE of Captuy and 3.55 km NE of San Juan, at an elevation of 650 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK115935.

Description: This site is a Middle Horizon cemetery distinct from the adjacent site of Chilhuay alto. Numerous looted graves are visible on the surface. A collection was not made since it appeared to be a single-occupation site.

Artifacts: Typical painted and press-molded Middle Horizon ware was found over the surface of this site.

Dating: The artifacts clearly indicate that the cemetery dates to the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: None

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PV 31-252

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: This site is on the north side of the Rio Nepeña nestled at the base of a mountain near the road to Jimbe. It is close to the fortress PV 31-163 and is 2 km NNE of San Juan and 4 km N of Moro, at an elevation of 650 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK095928.

Description: This site is a small Middle Horizon cemetery measuring 20 by 40 m, situated among the boulders at the base of a mountain near the fortress PV 31-163.

Artifacts: Good examples of Middle Horizon painted and press-molded pottery were observed. No surface collection was made, however.
Dating: Based on the artifacts, a Middle Horizon date has been designated for this site.

Illustrations: None

References: None

**PV 31-253**

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H., E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.

Location: This site is located on the crest of a high mountain on the west side of the Rio Nepeña, opposite the site of PV 31-162 (Chilhuay bajo). It is 5.8 km NNE of the town of Moro and 6.5 km NE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 825 m.a.s.l. (200 m above the valley floor). Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK112945.

Description: Because of its inaccessibility, this site escaped much of the looting so prevalent in other locations within the valley. Situated on a high, naturally terraced crest of a mountain, 200 m above the valley floor, PV 31-253 commands an excellent vantage both up and down the main valley floor. The eastern end of the site contains a number of natural slopes and terraces leading in step-like fashion up toward the main part of the site. Moving westward, the terracing appears to become more artificial, although the builders of this site worked around large rock outcrops and boulders found on the summit.

The principal part of the site consists of a gently sloping but flattened area having traces of the rocky foundations of several small, rectangular rooms. Numerous looted graves were found in this area as well as abundant surface artifacts (Fig. 24).

A deep natural gully with almost perpendicular sides is found at the extreme western edge of this site, separating it from the adjacent PV 31-254. This natural barrier, as well as the paucity of artifacts in the zone between the sites, has convinced us to designate both sites as separate entities. Whether this will prove to be an artificial construction or not will depend on future examination of the two sites. A low stone wall also marks the western edge of PV 31-253 just before it reaches the steep gully. Movement between the two areas would have been very difficult if not impossible, and these fortifications provide an excellent defense of the sites.
The function of this site can only be tentatively made at this time, since no excavations have been undertaken. It would appear, however, that its main function was mainly administrative rather than purely defensive. The broad vista available here would allow the inhabitants to control and direct operations from this site. That a fairly large number of people occupied the site is obvious from the artifacts found here. The discovery of a good number of ground slate projectile points also suggests a military or defensive function for the site, but the architecture and the nature of the adjacent site, PV 31-254, argues for its being the basic defensive portion of these two summit sites.

Artifacts: A large number and variety of artifacts were found at this site. Seventy-five datable sherds were found, 67% of which were Early Horizon in style. These included 18 sherds decorated with the stamped circle and dot design, seven with "lozenges," six with zoned punctation or incision, and nine with incision. Nine specimens of ground stone projectile points were found, including one narrow flanged point that was complete. Six small pan pipe fragments were found, indicative of the Early Horizon.

About nine percent of the sample belongs to the Recuay culture of the Early Intermediate Period. Six sherds of the Recuay style were found. Another five percent of the sample also belongs to the Early Intermediate Period and is represented by four examples of white-on-red pottery.

Finally, 19% of the sample of pottery is Middle Horizon in date. Press-molded fragments, face neck jars and raised circle and dot decoration on the pottery indicates a reoccupation of the site during the Middle Horizon.

A nice piece of clear rock crystal was found on the site, obviously brought in from the outside. The dating of this piece is impossible.

Dating: The site was first occupied during the Early Horizon, and the prevalence of the pottery from this period suggests that the main occupation of the site dates to this period. Some use of the site was made during the Early Intermediate Period, and the Middle Horizon inhabitants of the valley also used it extensively.

Illustrations: Figure 24

References: None
FIGURE 24
PV31-253 & 254

- fortifications
- ravine
- rise
- terrace
- PV31-253
- (not to scale)
- cross section
PV 31-254

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. and E.I.P.

Location: This site is on the crest of a high mountain on the western side of the Rio Nepeña, adjacent to the site of PV 31-253. It is 5.75 km NNE of the town of Moro and 6.4 km NE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 875 m.a.s.l. (and 250 m above the floor of the valley). Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK108946.

Description: This site consists of two artificially flattened areas on the summit of a high mountain overlooking the valley floor. One of the platforms (eastern) is bordered by a low rectangular wall, forming a room or courtyard. To the west, but separated from the former platform by a shallow ravine, is another platform which holds a semi-subterranean room. This platform is on a higher crest than the former, and the room is formed by massive walls of fieldstone. The hill slopes down toward the west and is defended by at least two concentric walls of fieldstone (Fig. 24).

A long, sloping saddle connects the western part of the site to a still-higher mountain to the west, but the site is separated from this saddle by a deep moat or natural ravine which is very difficult to cross. The defenses are similar to the walls and ravine between PV 31-253 and this site. Thus, PV 31-254 is a highly defended outpost whose main purpose appears to have been military. This is in part substantiated by the discovery of the fragments of at least 11 ground slate projectile points. The relationship of PV 31-254 and PV 31-253 is difficult to ascertain at this time. They appear to have had different functions, but both were extensively utilized during the Early Horizon.

Artifacts: Sixty-seven artifacts were collected at this site, 35 of which were sherds. It is immediately evident that there are proportionately many fewer pottery fragments at PV 31-254 than at PV 31-253, while at the same time there are many more pan pipe fragments and ground stone projectile points. Eighty-six percent of the pottery found here is Early Horizon in style, including circle and dot decoration (5), "snakes" (1), "lozenges" (3), zoned punctation (4), and incised (3). Fourteen fragments of small pan pipes, indicative of Early Horizon sites, were also found here, along with the remains of 11 stone
projectile points. All of these artifacts argue for a military—rather than a domestic or burial—function for this site.

The remaining 14% of the pottery is Recuay or Recuay-related, including four fragments of Recuay painted pottery. Recuay pottery had also been found at PV 31-253. However, no traces of Middle Horizon pottery were found at PV 31-254 in spite of its comprising 19% of the sample from the adjacent PV 31-253.

Dating: PV 31-254 is primarily an Early Horizon defensive site, probably forming part of a complex with the adjacent PV 31-253. It continued to be used during the Early Intermediate Period, but was apparently not utilized during the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: Figure 24

References: None

PV 31-255

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H., E.I.P. (Recuay)

Location: This site is located on the west side of the Rio Nepeña on a small hill adjacent to the main road to Jimbe. The site is 6.8 km NNE of the town of Moro and 7.55 km NE of Motocachy, at an elevation of 625 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK115955.

Description: The site consists of a looted cemetery measuring about 50 by 50 m. Some of the graves appear to have been lined with stone, forming rectangular cists, while others are merely pits in the sand.

Artifacts: Almost all of the pottery found here is Middle Horizon in style, including ten fragments of Middle Horizon painted, two Middle Horizon ring-based bowl fragments, and five miscellaneous Middle Horizon shapes. One piece of Recuay painted pottery was found.

Dating: The cemetery dates primarily to the Middle Horizon, but it may lay on top of an earlier Recuay occupation.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-256

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H. (+E.H.?)

Location: This site is located on the west side of the Rio Nepeña, down river from the town of Jimbe in the Upper Valley region. Situated on the flattened top of the sloping edge of the valley, this site appears to be a habitation area. It covers an area approximately 50 x 125 m. PV 31-256 is 5.7 km SW of the town of Jimbe and 6.6 km NW of the Rio Salitre, at an elevation of 825 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK123978.

Description: The site is composed of two mounds that make up the major part of the site. Some stone constructions—possibly rooms—are found on the plateau separating the two mounds. There is terracing on the slopes of the plateau toward the southern end.

The function of this site cannot be complete determined, but it appears to be mainly a habitation site. The purpose of the mounds is conjectural. On the slopes of the mountain overlooking the site a complete figurine was found, but no other traces of occupation were located nearby.

Artifacts: A small collection of sherds was made at this site, most of which date to the Middle Horizon. Included in the sample were three Casma Incised sherds, three sherds with appliqué, and a portion of a modeled foot from an effigy vessel or figurine. One incised sherd may date to the Early Horizon.

Dating: PV 31-256 apparently is a Middle Horizon occupation site with some indication of a possible Early Horizon presence as well.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-257

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H. (+E.I.P.?)

Location: This site is on the eastern side of the valley on top of a flattened hill just to the southwest of the town of
Jimbe and 8.55 km NW of the Rio Salitre, at an elevation of 1000 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK145013.

Description: The site consists of two low, circular stone mounds covering an area approximately 100 by 200 m. Looted graves and a few circular structures/rooms are found in the mound areas. The function of the site, other than as a cemetery, is not known. It is different from other Early Horizon sites found elsewhere.

Artifacts: Nineteen sherds were collected at the site, only half of which could be dated. Of these, 25% (2 sherds) were definitely Early Horizon, consisting of incised "lozenge" decorations. Five polished red sherds and one textile-impressed sherd appear to date somewhat later. The polished sherds (63% of the sample) are like those found at Kushi-Pampa and datable to the transition from the Early Horizon to the Early Intermediate Period. However, they all lacked the cross-hatched pattern burnishing of those found at Kushi-Pampa. The impressed sherd is like those associated with Recuay sites of the Early Intermediate Period.

Dating: At this time the only securely datable sherds are those from the Early Horizon. The polished sherds suggest an Early Intermediate Period date also, but the evidence is not as strong as for the E.H. pottery. The dating of the structures cannot be confirmed at this time.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-258

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: E.H.

Location: This site is on the eastern side of the valley on top of a flattened hill just to the southwest of the town of Jimbe in the far upper valley. Overlooking the deep quebrada below, it commands a good vista of the upper valley region. The site is 1.4 km SW of Jimbe and 8.75 km NW of the Rio Salitre, at an elevation of 1000 m.a.s.l. PV 31-258 is only a few hundred meters distant from PV 31-257 and shares the same plateau with it. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK146016.
Description: This site is a low, circular stone mound, perhaps 30 m in diameter and 10 m in elevation. There is little evidence of architecture at the site, although a good sample of pottery was found here. A tentative classification of the site as a hilltop administrative/defensive structure seems appropriate because of the small size of the site and its strategic location.

Artifacts: Forty-four sherds were collected at this site, 32 of which could be dated. The entire sample is Early Horizon in date and consists of 22 sherds decorated with the stamped circle and dot design, two with the "lozenge" design, one with incision, and seven small pan pipe fragments. All are characteristically Early Horizon, but some local variation can be seen in the form of some of the stamped circles.

Dating: The site has a pure Early Horizon occupation, judging from the artifacts found.

Illustrations: None

References: None

PV 31-259

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: This site is in a dry quebrada south of the fortress PV 31-60. It is 2.25 km NE of Moro and 2.4 km ESE of San Juan, at an elevation of 600 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the 1:50,000 topographic map (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK111906.

Description: This site is a looted Middle Horizon cemetery located on a slight rise within a hilly section of dry quebrada below the site of PV 31-60. An ancient wall is located near the site.

Artifacts: Middle Horizon painted and press-molded sherds were observed at the site, but no surface collection was made.

Dating: Based on the artifacts, the site has been dated to the Middle Horizon.

Illustrations: None

References: None
PV 31-260

Local Name: None

Cultural Period: M.H.

Location: This site is located in a dry quebrada south of the fortress of PV 31-60. It is 2.05 km NE of Moro and 2.4 km ESE of San Juan, at an elevation of 575 m.a.s.l. Reference point on the topographic map 1:50,000 (Sheet 1252 I, Moro) is 17LRK110905.

Description: The site consists of a small, rectangular structure of fieldstone located in a hilly area behind the town of Moro. The function of the structure is not known.

Artifacts: Two sherds were found on this site, one a Casma Incised piece dated to the Middle Horizon.

Dating: The site has been tentatively dated to the Middle Horizon on the basis of the sherd and on the proximity of a Middle Horizon cemetery (PV 31-159).

Illustrations: None

References: None
Table 2
The Sites and Their Characteristics

Key

1. Site Number: All site numbers should be prefaced by PV 31, meaning Peruvian Valley number 31, the designation for Nepeña. The sites discovered during the 1979 survey fall between 220 and 260; all of these are listed. Any sites numbered between 1 and 220 on this table represent Early Horizon or Early Intermediate Period sites discussed in the text. See Proulx 1973, for a complete listing of sites 1-220.

2. Archaeological Period:

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<td>(R)</td>
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<td>1476-1532 A.D.</td>
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3. Function:

- Hab: Habitation Site
- Cerm: Ceremonial Site
- Cem: Cemetery
- Fort: Fortress

4. Architectural Type:

- A. Large artificial mound or platform of adobe
- B. Mounds of adobe built on natural hills
- C. Mounds or pyramids of stone
- D. Large, multi-roomed adobe complexes
- E. Large, multi-roomed stone complexes
- F. Mixed stone and adobe structures
- G. Sites with construction employing conical adobe
- H. Adobe sites with ornamental niches in the walls
- I. Sites with arabesque decoration on adobe walls
- J. Hilltop platforms
- K. Hilltop rooms
- L. Stone compounds
- M. Megalithic walls
- N. Terracing

5. Construction: stone, adobe or mixed
Table 2 (continued)


U. upper valley--from the valley neck at Tomeque to Jimbe
M. middle valley--Capellania Hacienda and Caylán to Tomeque
L. lower valley--from the ocean to Capellania and Caylán

7. Location in Valley: N-C-S

N. North border of the valley
C. Valley floor in center of valley; area under cultivation
S. South border of the valley

8. Pottery:

X. pottery present and surface collection made
O. pottery absent/or insufficient sample--no collection made

9. Name:

Local name of the site
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<tr>
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177
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THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING OF THE SITES

Introduction

A major prerequisite for the analysis of early sites in the Nepeña Valley is the accurate dating of the sites and their respective building phases. A surface survey, such as the one that forms the basis for this study, cannot be expected to produce as fine-grained a chronology as one based on stratigraphic excavation or on the use of absolute dating techniques such as the carbon-14 analysis of organic remains. Yet several techniques are available that allow a basic chronological placement to be made for the majority of the sites.

The primary technique used to determine the chronological placement of a site was by cross-dating the artifacts and architectural styles with those of known date found in geographically adjacent areas of the north and central coasts and the northern highlands. Single occupation sites were selected, when possible, to determine the patterning of the artifacts and the architectural features at a particular period in time. Ceramics formed the primary means for identifying and dating the sites, but other artifact forms such as polished stone projectile points, spindle whorls and pan pipes proved to be important as well. Changing architectural patterns, reflected in the form of building materials, location of the sites, and the forms of the buildings themselves, were also very useful in developing the chronological sequence.

The Ceramic Analysis

Ceramics were the most common artifact form found during the survey. With few exceptions, each site yielded a sample of pottery sometimes numbering in the hundreds, but more frequently averaging about 30 to 40 sherds per site. Pottery is a durable artifact type that can survive for thousands of years, especially under the conditions found on the Peruvian coast. Ceramics are also highly sensitive to stylistic change which can be used for chronological purposes.

The main technique used to date the pottery, and thus the sites in which they were found, was by cross-dating with identical pottery found outside the valley and securely dated by absolute techniques. Identical pottery found over adjacent geographical areas was assumed to be contemporary, and in this manner the majority of the early pottery could be roughly dated. For those ceramic forms and decorative techniques which appeared to be con-
fined to the valley, dating was accomplished through similary seriation.

Seriation is the ordering of objects in a relative dating sequence in such a way that adjacent items in the series are more similar to each other than to items further apart in the series. There are two main types of seriation. Frequency seriation (quantitative or "battleship curve" seriation) is based on the assumption that the popularity of an artifact begins slowly, increases to a peak, and then slowly decreases. The distribution of such an artifact's frequency in the archaeological record through time will resemble the outline of a battleship's hull as viewed from the air. Frequency seriation depends on large, statistically reliable samples. The technique is best known for the Peruvian area from the work of James Ford in the Virú Valley (Ford 1949 and 1962). Ford's frequency seriation has been attacked by many, including Bennyhoff (1952) who objected to Ford's tendency to split his categories and to the unreliability of the samples, as well as by others who felt the technique itself to be fundamentally unsound (Cowgill 1968, and MacNutt 1973).

Similiary seriation is also based on the proposition that change is gradual and that stylistic changes are reflected in the artifacts. Similiary seriation, however, emphasizes associations of distinct attributes of form and decoration on a single object and compares these associations with those on other similar objects. This type of seriation is qualitative rather than quantitative; i.e., the presence or absence of a trait at a particular point in the sequence is more important than its frequency in the sample. This method avoids the need for large samples of artifacts such as those needed for frequency seriation, an ideal situation for our surface survey where sample size is quite variable. As James Nolan points out:

Although the presence/absence of qualitative and hence truly subjective categories is open to several lines of criticism, the consistency achieved in the co-occurrence clusterings of certain groups of features provides an internal check on the validity of the phase divisions and the component assignments. The weakest link in the chain of seriation is the isolation of attributes which are to be considered diagnostic, be they modes or types or whatever, and this method avoids many of the deficiencies of other methods without introducing others which cannot be controlled for (Nolan 1980:328).

Similiary seriation is a very attractive technique as it allows for the construction of a sequence from a reduced amount of material, an important consideration given constraints of
time, funds and personnel (Nolan 1980:328). In Nepeña, where surface samples of ceramics are quite variable, it becomes the technique of choice. As Lanning points out:

Because decorated sherds show more features than do plain sherds, style change is faster and more readily observed on decorated than on plain specimens. Accordingly the value of a sherd sample for analytical purposes depends, not on the total number of sherds in the sample, but on the number of decorated specimens and on the degree to which they can be used to visualize decorated whole vessels. A sample of 50 decorated sherds of a single phase is far more useful than a sample of 1000 sherds, only 10 of which are decorated. In fact, 50 representative decorated sherds make an excellent sample for analysis because of another aspect of the method: phases are defined not by the frequency of particular features at particular times, but by their presence or absence. Because it does not stress frequencies of occurrence, the method can operate without the large samples needed to make accurate estimates of frequency (Lanning 1963:150).

For these reasons, the collection strategy I have used in the Nepeña Valley survey since its inception has been to concentrate on acquiring as large a sample as possible of diagnostic sherds, i.e., decorated sherds, rim fragments and others with features useful for cross-dating and seriation. Our samples from the earliest sites ranged from nine sherds to 243 sherds; in all, a total of 3105 sherds were collected from 93 sites or portions of sites datable to the Initial Period, Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period by the end of the 1979 field season.

The first step in the analysis of these surface-collected sherds was to segregate and define the major decorative techniques and to understand the associations of these decorative techniques with particular vessel forms, paste, firing techniques, etc. This led to the establishment of a number of ceramic "types" defined on the basis of the decorative technique. The use of types has long been an accepted practice on the north coast as seen in the various Virú Valley studies (Collier 1955; Strong and Evans 1952; Ford 1949; and Bennett 1950), in the Casma Valley (Collier 1960), and in the earlier work of Bennett (1939) and Kroeber (1926). The use of types is usually associated with frequency seriation, but it has also been applied to materials collected through stratigraphic excavation. My use of ceramic types should be viewed as a transitional analytical technique leading to a finer chronological sequence based on similar seriation.
In 1979 the analysis of the earliest ceramics from the Nepeña Valley had just begun. My seriological analysis was suspended after Richard Daggett returned to the field in 1980 and 1981 for his dissertation research. During this time he doubled the sample of Early Horizon sites known up to 1979, and added greatly to the sample of Early Horizon ceramics. Daggett has completed a seriation of the ceramics of the Early Horizon which is available in his dissertation (Daggett 1984), and the reader is referred to that volume. Based on this seriation, Daggett was able to divide the Early Horizon in the Nepeña Valley into three phases; he did not deal with Early Intermediate Period ceramics in his research.

In the analysis that follows, the major ceramic types identified for the Initial Period, Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period in the Nepeña Valley will be described. Through the technique of cross dating, a tentative chronological placement of each type will be attempted, thus allowing each archaeological site to be placed roughly into the chronological sequence. I want to emphasize that I had not intended to stop with the definition of ceramic types, but rather I planned to complete the seriation for the earliest ceramics from the valley. This work is now partially complete through Daggett's efforts. The seriation of the Moche and Recuay materials from the Early Intermediate Period remains to be done. The data I am presenting below should, however, prove to be useful to the understanding of the chronological sequence of the Nepeña Valley and in correlating it to work being done in neighboring valleys.

Although Daggett and I are in major agreement on the basic framework of the ceramic sequence for the Early Horizon, we disagree on the placement of several of the decorative techniques. For example, I am dating cylinder-stamped pottery and most broad-lined incised ware to the Initial Period in Nepeña; Daggett dates both of these to his Phase III (late) Early Horizon. A peculiar textile-impressed pottery first found at Huancarpon (PV 31-59) is dated by me to the Early Intermediate Period (Recuay related), while Daggett dates this to Phase II of the Early Horizon. These are minor differences which will sort themselves out with time, but they exemplify some of the problems still to be addressed in the future.
Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot

Thickness: 3 to 6 mm.

Temper: Very fine (almost invisible) to medium (1 mm diameter)

Firing: Mostly oxidized redware; some greyish interior (sandwich effect). A few pieces have lightly smudged interior (might be fire clouds).

Color: The paste color is red to red-brown.

Surface: No fine polishing, but surface is well smoothed. Some burnishing lines can be seen.

Decoration: The distinguishing feature is a decoration consisting of a stamped circular element further embellished with a single or multiple punctated dot or dots. There is a great deal of variation in this design as well as in the size of the circles:

- plain circle with no dot (Plate 1A)
- double circle with no dot (Plate 2A)
- circle with large dot (Plate 1C)
- circle with medium dot (Plate 1C)
- circle with pinpoint dot (Plate 2A)
- circle with two dots (Plate 1B)
- circle with three dots (Plate 1B)
- circle with more than three dots (Plate 1C)
- circle with dashes (Plate 1C)

The circles ranged in diameter from 3 mm to 16 mm with the average diameter being around 8 to 9 mm. Many of the stamped circles appear to have been made with a hollow reed impressed into the wet clay. The dots or punctations in this case were added separately. There is evidence, however, of some of the stamps having both the circle and dots fused together on the same instrument. This can be seen by the regular placement of multiple dots within the circle. Under magnification, slight irregularities could be seen in certain members of multiple dot groupings, e.g., certain dots were not as deep as others and they always appeared in the same location and pattern within the circle. The material from which these stamps were made and the method of their manufacture cannot be stated at this point. No stamping instrument has yet been found at any of the sites.

187
Form: The Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot style was normally in the form of carinated bowls with slightly inturned rims. Decoration was placed on the outer surface in a panel register near the rim, encircling the bowl. Most frequently there is a sharp angular gambrel immediately below the decorated panel, with the bottom of the bowl being quite shallow. Diameters of the bowls ranged from 19 to 26 cm with the average size being 22 cms. The depths of the bowls were variable and difficult to determine. Some with sharp wall angles were apparently quite shallow, while others were somewhat deeper, indicating a conical bottom.

Distribution and Dating:

The stamped circle and dot motif can be dated to the Early Horizon through its clear association with Chavin ceramics at the site of Chavin de Huantar and at other Chavin-related sites. At Chavin de Huantar, this form of decoration appears both on fancy vessels and on utilitarian ware. On fancy Chavin pottery the circles and dots often form pelage marks on jaguar representations. It is interesting to speculate that the unassociated stamped circles and dots found on Nepeña Valley pottery may have religious origins as symbolic abbreviations of the jaguar, one of the most important iconographic representations in Chavin art. In contrast to the Nepeña Valley specimens which consist predominantly of redward sherd, the Chavin sherds are most frequently grey or blackware.

Most of the major excavators at Chavin de Huantar have published examples of pottery with the stamped circle and dot. Tello (1960) illustrates examples in Figs. 151, 152, 153 and 156. Carrion Cachot (1948) also published several examples: Fig. 6:11 to 15. She also illustrates several shallow bowls with sharp gambrels which appear to be identical to the major shape category associated with the circle and dot in the Nepeña Valley: Plates 14:16, 14:14 and 14:3. Lumbraras (1971) illustrates the circle and dot design on a ceramic type he calls Rocas Fine Black and Rocas Polished Grey from Chavin de Huantar in Figures 7c, e, f, g, h and i. Finally, in recent excavations undertaken at Chavin by Richard L. Burger, circle and dot pottery was extremely common in his Janabarriu Phase (1978: Figs. 241, 242, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254 and 255).

The stamped circle and dot motif is also found at most other major Chavin-related sites: Kuntur Wasi (Carrion Cachot 1948, Plate XXIII:4); Cupisnique (Carrion Cachot 1948, Plate XV: 13 to 16); Kotosh (Izumi and Sono 1963: Plates 58a, 59a, 59b, 60a, 60b, 61a, 61b, 62a, 62b, 63a, 63b, 64a, 64b, 84b, 86a, 86b, 87a, 90b, 91b, and 123-128); Pacopampa (Rosas and Shady 1970,
Fig. 4k, 411, 4m, 5b, 11a to f, and 12; and Fung Pineda 1975: Plates 2:21, 4:3h, 5:54a, 5:53c, 6:67b, 7:74b, 7:76b, 15:6, 15:7, 15:24, 15:25, and 16:23; Supe (Willey and Corbett 1954: Plate VII, a); Ancon (Willey and Corbett 1954: Plate VIII, a, c, d and e); Las Haldas (Fung Pineda 1969: Plate 19(2)a); and Pallka (Tello 1956: Plate IIIA and Figs. 11, 12 and 16). These sites neither represent all known Chavin-related sites, nor do the references include all published sources for the sites mentioned. The evidence does suggest the common and widespread nature of the stamped circle and dot motif.

Although the origins of the stamped circle and dot motif may go back to the Initial Period (e.g., the design is found on Waira-Jirca and Kotosh Kototsh pottery, Izumi 1968, Fig. 8; Izumi and Sono 1963, Fig. 46), the technique is most prevalent during the Early Horizon. Aside from a Middle Horizon revival in the Nepeña Valley (see discussion below), the circle and dot ends abruptly at the end of the Early Horizon and appears to be an excellent time marker for that period. At those sites where stratigraphic control has been good, the circle and dot motif appears to have reached its height of popularity in the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon. At Chavin de Huantar Burger demonstrates its highest frequency in his Janabarriu Phase, the last of three phases stretching from the Initial Period through the Early Horizon. Burger indicates that seals and stamping, as a ceramic decorative technique, gradually replaced incision as the pre-eminent motif (Burger 1978:217). The same is true at Kotosh, where the circle and dot is most frequent in the Sajara-Patac Phase, falling in the latter half of the Early Horizon (Izumi and Sono 1963: Table 10, p. 140). At Las Haldas on the coast, Fung Pineda (1969: Plate 19(2)a) illustrates only a few examples of the technique, and these are found in her Phase 4 dating to the Early Horizon.

In the Nepeña Valley, the stamped circle and dot is the most common decorative technique associated with the Early Horizon. It was collected at 41 separate sites and consists of a wide variety of sizes and varieties. Preliminary evidence from the Santa Valley (David Wilson, personal communication) and the Casma Valley (Tello 1956) indicates that the circle and dot is much more prevalent in Nepeña than in its neighboring valleys. The reason for this is not known. In comparison to the highland sites, the amount of variation in the Nepeña Valley specimens of the circle and dot motif is much greater. The Nepeña sites and the highland sites such as Chavin de Huantar and Kotosh share many of the varieties: both large and small circles, double circles, and one or two internal dots. However, the use of multiple dots--three to eight on some of the Nepeña Valley examples (Plates 1B and 1C)--is very rare at other sites and was not observed in any of the limited sources of illustrations described above.
Thus the Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot pottery can be dated firmly within the Early Horizon. In his dissertation, Richard Daggett (1984) places the stamped circle and dot technique in his Phase I, dating to the first third of the Early Horizon. His seriation argues for the presence of carinated bowls with stamped circle and dot decoration in Phase I being replaced by undecorated carinated bowls in Phase II (the second third of the Early Horizon). His ceramic analysis is based on collections made in an additional 60 Early Horizon sites found in the valley between 1980 and 1981. Daggett's seriation suggests, since it was based on sherds and not on gravelots or whole vessels, should be independently confirmed by excavation in the future. In the meantime, I will argue that in the Nepeña Valley the stamped circle and dot pottery probably has a longer time span than Daggett suggests. I would place this pottery type in the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon to better correlate with the dates from outside the valley, most of which fall in the second half of the Early Horizon.

There are two possible explanations for the circle and dot motif becoming popular in the Nepeña Valley earlier than at Chavin de Huantar. The motif may have been initiated in the highlands with the Chavin Culture, then spread to the coast where it became the dominant motif during the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon, corresponding to the time of Chavin influence on the valley. Or, if Burger's dating of the Janabarriu Phase is correct (last half of the Early Horizon), then the circle and dot motif may have originated on the coast and then spread to the highlands, ultimately affecting Chavin. My current reading of the evidence would lead me to accept the first explanation.

It should be noted that the stamped circle and dot technique of decoration is revived in the Nepeña Valley in the form of "Casma Incised" ware during the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period where it appears primarily on cooking and other utilitarian pottery forms. It is easy to distinguish Casma Incised from Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot. Casma Incised circles all have raised interiors where the wet clay pushed up into the stamping instrument; those of the Early Horizon are always flat. The paste of the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period examples is also quite different: crude, with large temper, granular surface, and evidence of having been used over a fire. According to Cheryl Daggett (1983) who has studied Casma Incised wares, this pottery type has a distribution from the Fortaleza Valley on the Central Coast to the Chao Valley on the North Coast. It is very prevalent in both the Casma and Nepeña valleys.
Nepeña Triangular Zoned Punctate

Thickness: 5 to 7 mm.

Temper: Fine to medium (invisible to 1 mm in diameter).

Firing: Oxidized with red paste on exterior; some examples are "Biscuit" in cross-section, e.g., the paste is grey, sandwiched in between the red exteriors. Fireclouds can be seen on some of the examples.

Color: Red

Surface: Surface treatment is variable. All examples are smoothed and none are polished. However, the degree of smoothing ranges from rough to moderate.

Decoration: The distinguishing form of decoration consists of pendant triangles outlined by fine-lined incision which have been filled with punctate depressions. The triangles usually hang down from an unbordered rim, and their size varies from one vessel to another (Plate 2B).

Form: Bowls form the major shape category associated with this type of pottery. Most are incurving, with the design area forming the upper part of the wall. The bottom of the bowl may be shallow or deep. Some bowls have sharp gambrels, others a more gentle break between decorated area and bottom. Diameters average about 25 cm.

Distribution and Dating:

Triangular zoned punctation is another widespread technique, datable primarily to the late Initial Period and to the Early Horizon. Judging from published sources, it seems to have enjoyed a longer lifespan than the stamped circle and dot motif. Triangular zoned punctation is very common at the site of Kotosh where it is associated with the Sajara-Patac and Kotosh San Blas Phases. Curiously, no triangular zoned punctate motifs were associated with the Kotosh Chavin Phase. Thus, in terms of dating, this technique is found in both the late Initial Period as well as the latter half of the Early Horizon at Kotosh. A total of 113 fragments showing this technique date to the Kotosh Kotosh Period, while 90 specimens datable to the Sajara-Patac and San Blas Phases were collected (Izumi and Sono 1963: Plates 52a and 53b). The early appearance of this technique in the highlands is borne out by the work of Richard Burger at Chavin de Huantar. Although not nearly as prevalent there as at Kotosh, the triangular zoned punctate motif
first appears in Burger's Urabarriu Phase, dating to the latter half of the Initial Period (Burger 1978: Figs. 33 and 91). Kaulicke (1975: Plate XVIII) illustrates an example from Pandoche, another highland site. On the coast, triangular zoned punctate pottery has been found at Las Haldas (Fung Pineda 1969, Plate XII-18) where it dates to her Phase 2 in the late Initial Period. Willey and Corbett (1954) found a variety of this technique at Supe (Fig. 6b) and at Ancon (Fig. 6e). Tello (1956) illustrates several examples from Pallka in the Casma Valley (Figs. 16e, 16f and 16o).

In the Nepena Valley the triangular zoned punctate motif is found at the following sites: PV 31-47, 31-48, 31-157, 31-1758, 31-248 and 31-253. In each case the stamped circle and dot motif was also present in the sample, and other Early Horizon techniques such as the banded lozenge, sinuous zoned punctation, and angular zoned punctation, were often represented. Therefore I am considering the triangular zoned punctate technique as found in the Nepena Valley to date to the Early Horizon because of the context and associations in which it is found. It is possible that some of these sherds may date to the latter part of the Initial Period, especially at the sites of PV 31-47 and PV 31-48, but the evidence at this time leans more heavily toward its being contemporary with the stamped circle and dot pottery of the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon.

Nepena Banded Lozenge

Thickness: 2 to 6 mm.

Temper: Mixed—very fine to 2 mm in size.

Firing: Oxidized ware ranging in color from red to chocolate brown; less sandwich effect than Nepena Circle and Dot Stamped Ware; occasionally the interiors are lightly sanded.

Color: Red and chocolate brown.

Surface: Smoothed but no fine polishing.

Decoration: The decorative technique is the main feature distinguishing this type from Nepena Stamped Circle and Dot. The design consists of elongated horizontal "S" shaped lines broadly incised into the clay. The overlapping of the "S" shaped elements forms an enclosed "lozenge" which is filled with punctation, incised dashes, or small stamped circle and dots (Plates 2C and 3A).
Although this type is partly contemporary with the Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot type, the two are not always found together and appear to form two completely different types both stylistically and chronologically.

The incised lines of the "S" shaped lozenge average 1.5 to 2 mm. in breadth. The interior decoration of the lozenge is quite variable. Punctuation can be oblique or at right angles to the surface of the vessel. Several lozenges have no interior decoration. The circle and dot inclusions demonstrate the partial contemporaneity of this type with the Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot type.

A broad incised line usually separates the design area from the rim of the vessel, but there is seldom a corresponding border line under the lozenges to separate the design area from the lower part of the vessel. A sharp angular gambrel often serves the function of a lower border to the design area.

Form: The Nepeña Banded Lozenge type shares the same vessel forms as the Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot type. Carinated bowls are most frequent. These bowls have their designs on the upper, incurring portion of the bowl (usually 1.5 to 3 cm in width). Below the design area there is a sharp gambrel with the bottom of the bowl below that. Vessel diameters range 22 to over 30 cm in our sample, averaging 23 cm. It is not possible to determine the exact depths of the bowls, but they are quite variable.

Distribution and Dating:

Outside of the Nepeña Valley, the banded lozenge decorative technique is quite rare. Four examples have been found in the literature, all from the site of Chavin de Huantar. Richard Burger (1978, Figs. 32, 114 and 119) illustrates three possible examples, but all of the fragments are quite small, and therefore the identification might be erroneous. Suffice it to say that, if present, this motif is extremely limited at Chavin. Burger's example comes from his Urabarriu Phase, the earliest at Chavin and datable to the last part of the Initial Period. Tello (1960) also illustrates a possible example in his Fig. 160f.

In the Nepeña Valley, the banded lozenge is the second most common decorative element in the Early Horizon, following the stamped circle and dot. It is found at 20 sites, and often in relatively large percentages of the samples of pottery collected at each. I am dating this technique to the Early Horizon
for several reasons. First, it is usually associated with the stamped circle and dot decorative motif (16 of the 20 sites), and often appears on identical shape categories as the stamped circle and dot technique. This would argue for the two techniques being contemporary, and perhaps variant ways of decorating sharply gambreled bowls. Secondly, the paste, temper, color and other characteristics of the two types are so similar, that their only difference is in the type of decoration. Finally, a few examples of the banded lozenges have stamped circle and dots as fillers in the oval decorative area, thus strengthening the argument for basic contemporaneity of the two techniques. Like the stamped circle and dot technique, the banded lozenge technique can be dated to the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon.

Nepeña Sinuous Zoned Punctate

Thickness: 4 to 7 mm.
Temper: Medium (invisible to 1 mm in diameter).
Firing: Oxidized.
Color: Red to reddish-brown.
Surface: Surface preparation ranges from simply smoothed to semi-polished.

Decoration: The vast majority of the pottery in this category is decorated with punctations enclosed within a snake-like ribbon running horizontally around the upper register of a vessel. The "snakes" are usually confined to a register bordered by broad-lined incision on the top and the bottom. The form of the punctations is variable, but the snake-like ribbon is very consistent (Plate 3B).

Also included in this category are zones of punctuation that fill sinuous elements pendant from a horizontal rim band. Although there are many differences between this variety and the sinuous snake-like elements, the decorative idea is much the same and the pottery shares many other elements such as color, firing, paste characteristics and temper.

Form: This type of pottery is usually in the same form of low, open bowls as seen for the Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot and the Nepeña Triangular Zoned Punctate. Diameters range from 22 to over 30 cms.
Distribution and Dating:

As defined in the previous section, Nepeña Sinuous Zoned Punctate refers to two varieties of decoration, each encompassing a sinuous zone that is filled with punctate decoration. The first variety is a thin, snake-like element running around the circumference of a vessel. This variety seems to be restricted to the Nepeña Valley sample where it is fairly common at several of the sites. The other variety consists of semi-circular or wavy pendant zones suspended from an incised line, usually near the top or rim of the vessel. These zones are similarly filled with punctations. This variety is found elsewhere, both on the coast and in the highlands. Burger (1978: Figs. 110b and 395) illustrates two examples from the Urabarriu Phase at Chavin de Huantar. Izumi and Sono (1963: Plates 52-b-2, 54b, 119-11, 119-18, 140-36 and 140-37 have published a number of examples from Kotosh. All of these are of the type the authors call Kotosh Red Polished, datable to the Kotosh Sajara-Patac and Kotosh San Blas Phases. Izumi and Terada (1972: Plate 36-d-4 and 34-a-13) illustrate more examples, also from the same phases but including the Sajara-Patac Chocolate Brown type. On the coast Rosa Fung Pineda (1969: Plate XII-12 and XIV-2-d) illustrates examples from the site of Las Haldas, datable to her Phases 2 and 3.

In the Nepeña Valley, the sinuous zoned punctate technique is somewhat limited, being found in about eight sites: PV 31-61, 31-234, 31-235, 31-238, 31-240, 31-250, 31-253, and 31-254. In each of the eight sites, this technique is associated with the stamped circle and dot technique and the banded lozenge technique. For this reason, the Nepeña Sinuous Zoned Punctate pottery is dated by me to the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon, contemporary with the circle and dot and banded lozenge techniques. To further demonstrate the contemporaneity of the forms, at PV 31-254 a typical sinuous "snake-like" band was filled with stamped circle and dot designs rather than the more typical plain punctations. Taking a step further, I also feel that the eight sites listed above are contemporaneous because of the similarity of the pottery shared by them.

Nepeña Angular Zoned Punctate

Thickness: 4 to 8 mm.

Temper: Small to moderate (1 mm. or less).

Firing: Oxidized.

Color: Red.

Surface: Smoothed but unpolished.
Decoration: This relatively rare type is decorated with an elongated "L" shaped enclosure containing punctations or very short incised lines (Plate 3C).

Form: This design is used on incurving shallow bowls. The only measurable example has a diameter of 19 cms.

Distribution and Dating:

Angular zoned punctation consists of incised outlined bands which turn at right angles to form "L" shaped or even rectangular-shaped designs. It is a relatively rare technique in the Nepeña Valley, being found at only 12 sites. Angular zoned punctation in the same form as found in Nepeña is extremely rare elsewhere in Peru. The closest comparisons are found at Kotosh in the classificatory type which Izumi and Sono (1963) call Kotosh Incised (see Plate 80b). The dating for this type at Kotosh is the Waira-Jirca Period at the beginning of the Initial Period.

Because of the rarity of this type and the possibility that the two known occurrences (Nepeña Valley and Kotosh) are indeed different, I feel that a cross dating of the Nepeña Angular Zoned Punctate with Kotosh Incised is not very accurate. The sample sizes are extremely small, and the published Kotosh Incised pieces are not exactly identical to the Nepeña Valley specimens. Although the Nepeña Valley pieces could date as early as the Initial Period, judging from the context in which they were found, an Early Horizon date seems more likely.

Nepeña Cylinder Stamped

Thickness: 4 to 5 mm.

Temper: Fine (less than .5 mm).

Firing: Both oxidized and reduced examples are found in the small sample.

Color: Red and black; some examples have fire clouds.

Surface: Surfaces are burnished smooth, but are not polished.

Decoration: The characteristic decoration found on this variety of pottery is irregular circles stamped deeply (half way through the thickness of the wall) into the clay. It appears that a solid dowel-like instrument was used to produce this effect. The stamped designs are circular in form, range from 6 to 8 mm in diameter, and have
flat bottoms. Although somewhat resembling holes drilled in clay for mending purposes, this design can be easily distinguished by its flat bottom (as opposed to the conical shape of drilled holes) and its lack of penetration through the wall. These stamped designs are most commonly found in association with broad-lined incisions (Plate 4A).

Form: The only definite shape category that can be determined for this type is a slightly incurving bowl with a thin rim and increasingly thicker wall for the vessel.

Distribution and Dating:

Cylinder stamping is found in a number of highland sites where it is datable to the Initial Period and Early Horizon. A number of examples have been found at Kotosh. Izumi and Sono (1963) illustrate several examples in Plate 84a-5, 84a-14 and 84b-12 which they classify as Kotosh Incised ware datable to the Kotosh Waira-Jirca Period (Initial Period). More examples from Kotosh appear in Izumi and Terada (1972) in Plate 38b-4 and 38b-5 classified as Kotosh Course Grooved, and Plate 42b-3 classified as Waira-Jirca Broad Lined Incised. All of these Kotosh specimens are datable to the Initial Period. Like the Nepeña Valley examples, the Kotosh stamping occurs in zones between incised lines.

An example of this motif found at Chavin de Huantar is published by Lumbreras (1971, Fig. 7-5). Lumbreras classifies it in his Rocas Fine Black type. Burger (1979:138) equates the Rocas period with his Janabarrui Phase at Chavin, thus placing it in the middle of the Early Horizon. Daniel Morales (1977: Plate 4) illustrates an example of the cylinder-stamped motif from the area of San Blas (Junin). He dates it as "Formative," meaning that it could be either Initial Period or Early Horizon.

In the Nepeña Valley, the cylinder-stamped pottery appears to date to the Initial Period rather than the Early Horizon. This temporal placement is based on two lines of evidence. The closest similarities outside the valley are with the Kotosh specimens, all of which date to the Initial Period. Comparing the cylinder-stamped sherds with sherds clearly datable to the Early Horizon in Nepeña, differences in quality can be seen. The cylinder-stamped sherds are cruder and more poorly fired than the Early Horizon sherds. In addition, cylinder stamping has not been found in association with traditional Early Horizon pottery which is decorated with stamped circle and dots or with zoned incision or punctuation. The cylinder stamping may be a predecessor of the more sophisticated stamped circle and dot. For these reasons an Initial Period dating seems more likely for the Nepeña Valley examples.

197
Nepeña Broad Lined Incised

Thickness: 5 to 6 mm.

Temper: Fine to medium (1 mm or less).

Firing: Oxidation.

Color: Red, red-brown and black.

Surface: Semi-polished to highly polished.

Decoration: This type of pottery is decorated with broad incised lines, usually in the form of parallel horizontal lines encircling the vessel. Also lumped into this category are other sherds with more intricate broad line designs which lack any supplementary form of decorations such as punctuation or stamped circles (Plate 4B).

Form: The examples we have collected suggest that the principal shape category for this ceramic type is a tall straight-sided bowl.

Distribution and Dating:

Broad-lined incision is one of the simplest, and thus one of the earliest, decorative techniques used in ancient Peru. It is most prevalent in the Initial Period and the Early Horizon and is distributed from the highlands to the coast. At Chavin de Huantar, it appears in Burger's (1978) Urabarriu and Chakinani phases (see Fig. 127 for Urabarriu and Fig. 208 for Chakinani). Urabarriu dates to the Initial Period while Chakinani falls into the first part of the Early Horizon. Other examples from Chavin de Huantar are illustrated in Tello 1960 (Figs. 157b and 157d), and in Lumbrares 1971 (Fig. 8-h). Izumi and Sono (1963) publish examples from Kotosh (see Plate 73a) where the best examples are classified in the Kotosh Grooved type datable to the Kotosh Kotosh Phase of the Initial Period.

Elsewhere in the highlands, examples have been found at Pandanche (Kaulicke 1975, Plate XIII); Kuntur Wasi (Carrion Cachot 1946, Plate XXIII-1); Pacopampa (Fung Pineda 1975, Plates 2-18, 2-24, 3-27 and 3-28); and at Cerezal (Maista 1979, Plate 26b).

On the coast broad-lined incision is known from Las Haldas (Fung Pineda 1969) where it falls into her Phase 2 (Fig. 18-j) and Phase 3 (Plate XIV-2-n); Pallka in the Casma Valley (Tello 1956, Plate III and Figs. 11ee, 11m, 12d, 15m and 17f); and at Ancon (Strong and Evans 1952, Fig. 51 for Ancon Broad-Lined Incised).
In the Nepeña Valley it is likely that there are examples of broad-lined incision from both the Initial Periods and the Early Horizon. For example, broad-lined incision is found associated with cylinder stamping on a specimen from PV 31-51 (Plate 4A). This particular sherd appears to be from the Initial Period. Others may date to the Early Horizon, and the context of the decoration is thus important in determining a more precise dating. Vessel shape, paste, firing and surface treatment are important in making a determination, as are the associations of other pottery types with the specimens at the various sites where they are found.

Nepeña Plain Black

Thickness: 6 mm average.

Tempor: Medium (1 mm in diameter or less).

Firing: Reduction, although some sherds show sandwich effect with grey exterior and reddish core.

Color: The surface of the vessel is black or dark grey.

Surface: Crudely burnished with burnishing lines deep and visible; little polish.

Decoration: The fragments we have in this sample are undecorated, although this rim type is often associated with vessel bodies that have incised or stamped decoration (Plate 4C).

Forms: The major shape category observed for this type is a necked bottle with a lipped rim.

Distribution and Dating:

The lip form described above can be relatively securely dated to the Early Horizon based on its widespread distribution. Similar shapes have been found at Chavin de Huantar (Tello 1960, Figs. 144g and h, 166 and Plate 50) and (Burger 1978, Figs. 277-283, where they fall into his Janabarriu Phase). This form is also found in the highlands at the site of Pacopampa (Fung Pineda 1975, Plate 13-2 and 13-8), and at Kuntur Wasi (Carrion Cachot 1948, Plate XXII-19). On the coast this form is found in the Casma Valley at Pallka (Tello 1956, Fig. 14c-i), at Ancon and Supe (Willey and Corbett 1954, Plate 7c and 8u and v). It is also found at Kotosh in the Kotosh Kotosh and Kotosh Chavin Phases (Izumi and Sono 1963, Plate 90a).
This type of blackware has a temporal distribution ranging from the Initial Period through the Early Horizon. Long necked bottles are found in the Kotosh Kotosh Phase at the site of Kotosh, but most of the early examples do not have the lip found on the Nepeña Valley specimens. Lipped rims of long necked bottles are more frequent during the Early Horizon, particularly toward the end of the period. It would appear that the Nepeña Valley specimens date to the Early Horizon.

**Nepeña Applique Nubbin**

Thickness: 4 mm.

Temper: Medium (1 mm or less in diameter).

Firing: Oxidation.

Color: Red.

Surface: Rough--little preparation.

Decoration: This pottery type is characterized by the placement of small clay applique nubbins over the surface of the vessel. These nubbins are formed from small pieces of clay which are spaced irregularly on the surface of the vessel. They project about 5 mm from the surface of the pot. The vessel surface is then decorated with elongated punctations or "dashes" to produce an effect similar to a tree bark. This decorative technique was quite rare in the sample (Plate 5A).

Form: The form of the vessels on which this technique was used cannot be determined from the fragmentary remains. Burger (1978:94) suggests that this technique was used exclusively on fine restricted vessels of the Urabarriu Phase at Chavin de Huantar.

Distribution and Dating:

The applique nubbin technique of decoration appears to be an early form, judging from its appearance elsewhere. At Chavin de Huantar examples have been found by Burger (1978) and dated to his Urabarriu Phase (see Fig. 149). This would date it early in the Initial Period. At Las Haldas Rosa Fung Pineda (1969) has what appears to be an example of this type in her Phase 2 (Plate 12-22). This piece is small and lacks the nubbin, but the roughness of the surface and the nature of the incisions suggests it is a similar piece. Phase 2 at Las Haldas is also Initial Period. The applique nubbin resembles the surface decorat-
tion of some Chavin Early Horizon stirrup spout bottles which are modeled to resemble the thorny oyster (Spondylus) shell. An example of such a bottle comes from Pallka in the Casma Valley (Tello 1956, Fig. 14n). Other specimens are illustrated in Lapiner 1976, Plates 87, 88, 89 and 90. The main difference between the Initial Period and Early Horizon examples is in the crudeness of the technique. Since this is a relative, subjective judgment, the dating for the Nepeña Valley specimens cannot be positively pinpointed to one period or the other. I am tentatively suggesting that the sherd from PV 31-163 may be Initial Period in date because of the crudeness of the vessel surface and incision.

**Nepeña Painted Incised**

Thickness: 4 to 6 mm.

Temper: Fine to medium (1 mm in diameter or less).

Firing: Oxidation.

Color: Red to red-brown.

Surface: The surfaces have been smoothed but not polished to a high luster.

Decoration: This pottery type is decorated with areas of slip paint bordered by broad-line incision. In the small sample from Nepeña, two colors predominate: red and chalky grey. The grey paint shows crackling marks from the firing process. The designs consist of simple horizontal parallel bands encircling the vessel (Plate 5B).

Form: The forms of the vessels in this category cannot be determined from the small sample of sherds collected.

Distribution and Dating:

I could find no exact counterparts to the two or three examples of Nepeña Painted Incised ware in the literature, but there are close similarities in other Early Horizon types. Painted Early Horizon vessels are very common at the coastal cemetery of Tembladera in the Jequetepeque Valley of the north coast (see Lapiner 1976 for examples). Painting is less frequent in the northern highlands, but examples are known from Chavin de Huantar. Tello (1960 Fig. 169) illustrates an example painted black on a red paste, and Lumbreras (1971, Fig. 24-E) dates one to his Wacheqsa Period. At Kotosh, post-fired paint
(as opposed to slip painting) is common in the Kotosh Kotosh Period and the Kotosh Chavin Period. Often the paint is applied to incised lines or punctations. At the Chavin-Related site of Pacopampa, Rosa Fung Pineda found painted sherds (1975, Plate 2-19a), but these too were painted after firing.

On the coast, painted Early Horizon ware has also been found at Ancon and Supe. Willey and Corbett (1954) illustrate examples of Ancon Zoned Red (Fig. 8-e) and another example from Supe (Fig. 8-g). Although none of the highland or coastal specimens is exactly the same as those found in the Nepeña sites, the manner of painting and outlining clearly suggests an Early Horizon date. In addition, all examples have been found in association with other ceramics (such as Stamped Circle and Dot ware) which are clearly Early Horizon, thus serving to confirm the dating of this painted ware.

**Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished**

**Thickness:** 3 to 7 mm.

**Temper:** Medium (1 mm or less in diameter) and granular.

**Firing:** Oxidized.

**Color:** Paste ranges from dark to light red; no examples of grey or brown paste.

**Surface:** The surface is smooth but unpolished except in decorated areas where the burnishing lines produce a characteristic luster for the design elements.

**Decoration:** This pottery type is characterized by a very distinctive crisscross pattern-burnished design on the exterior of deep-sided bowls. The design forms a net-like pattern on the surface of the vessel. In some cases the burnishing is barely distinguishable unless the pottery fragment is held at the correct angle to the light; in other instances the burnishing pattern is clearly evident because of the strong contrast of the polished burnishing lines to the relatively rough surface of the vessel. In many cases a horizontal burnished band, up to 9 mm in width, encircles the rim of the vessel, forming a border for the design area below (Plates 6A and 6B).

**Form:** The Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished design is found almost exclusively on tall, straight-sided bowls with an average diameter of 18 cms. Unfortunately no com-
plete examples of any of these vessels has been found either at a site or in the private collections in the valley. Variation in design and in vessel form is minimal.

Distribution and Dating:

Pattern-burnished decoration is a relatively rare technique in ancient Peru. It was first found in the Nepeña Valley at the site of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) where it was the dominant form of decoration. Also associated with it is pottery decorated with post-fired, crude, scratched designs. Pattern-burnished sherds have since been found at approximately 15 other sites in the Valley. At Kushi-Pampa it is not associated with any of the other well-known styles, and it appears that Kushi-Pampa is basically a single component site. At other sites it also appears to form a distinct component, but when other styles are present, they are either Early Horizon or Early Intermediate Period (Recuay). From this context and from the architectural and sculptural associations at Kushi-Pampa, the dating of this style was thought to be either Early Horizon or the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. The carved stone lintel from Kushi-Pampa is related to the stone carvings of the Cerro Sechin site in the Casma Valley. A recent seriation by Peter Roe (1974) places the Cerro Sechin stone carvings in Phase EF of the Rowe Chavin sequence, or in other words the very end of the Early Horizon. The association of the pattern-burnished pottery with the carving at Kushi-Pampa supports my earlier contention that the style is transitional between the Chavin-influenced circle and dot pottery of the Early Horizon and the Recuay-influenced pottery of the Early Intermediate Period.

A transitional Early Horizon-Early Intermediate Period dating for the pattern-burnished pottery has been independently confirmed by recent fieldwork elsewhere in northern Peru. David Wilson of the University of Michigan has recently completed a one-year survey of the Santa Valley. There he discovered pattern-burnished bowls similar to the ones at Kushi-Pampa in most of the 52 sites which he dates to his "Cayhuamarca Period" falling in the Early Horizon (Wilson 1981). Details of his associations await the completion of his dissertation. If this pottery is indeed identical to our Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished, then Wilson's dating is slightly earlier than that proposed by us for the Nepeña Valley.

Sherds identical to the Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished bowls of the Nepeña Valley have recently been found at the site of Rumiñahualana in the upper Sechin branch of the Casma Valley (Fung Pineda and Williams 1977: Plate 1n and 1o). These, along with Wilson's Cayhuamarca sherds from the Santa Valley, are the
closest examples to the Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished type. Other pattern-burnished ware has been found at Ancon (Willey and Corbett 1954:43; Patterson 1966:18 and Fig. 5) and in the Lurin Valley (Scheele 1970; Lanning 1960:195-196).

Elsewhere on the north coast pattern-burnished pottery has been found associated with the Salinar Culture of the Moche and Virú valleys. It has been recorded at the site of Cerro Arena excavated by Curtis Brennan (Brennan 1978). Daggett (1984) discusses other similarities between the Salinar sites and Kushi-Pampa.

Other examples of cross-hatched pattern burnishing on bowls comes from the highlands of northern Peru. In Guitarrero Cave in the Callejon de Huaylas fragments of pattern-burnished ware were found by Thomas Lynch (1980: Fig. 9:23a). The style is called Huaylas Pattern-Burnished Red and was dated by Gary Vescelius to Early Horizon phases 8 through 10, or between 700 and 400 B.C. (Lynch 1980:230). Other examples have been found at Pacopampa (e.g., see Fung Pineda 1975: Plate 16-2; Rosas and Shady 1970: Figs. 7d, 7f, 7h and 7i; and Morales 1980, Plate 48). More recently examples have been found at Huacaloma outside of Cajamarca by the Japanese archaeologists (Terada and Onuki 1982, Plates 26, 27, 80 and 81).

The use of pattern burnishing as a decorative technique during the late part of the Early Horizon and the first part of the Early Intermediate Period is much more widespread than previously realized. Its distribution ranges from coastal Ecuador where it is seen in the Bahía Culture (Bahía bruñido of Estrada 1962: Fig. 44) of the Manabi area and the Guangala Culture (Ledergerber 1980: Plates 1-18) of the Guayas area to the Paracas and Nasca Cultures of the south coast of Peru (Menzel, Rowe and Dawson 1964; Ledergerber 1980: Plates 19-21). The origin of the pattern burnishing in the Nepeña Valley, which dates to the last part of the Early Horizon and the first part of the Early Intermediate Period (like all the other examples cited) probably is in the northern highlands of Peru rather than from the coastal area. This supposition is based on the related megalithic architecture which appears to have a highland rather than a coastal origin.

Kushi-Pampa Post-fired Scratched

Thickness: 6 mm.

Temper: Medium (1 mm or less) and granular.

Firing: Oxidized.
Color: Red.

Surface: Surface treatment is minimal with some smoothing but no polishing. Particles of temper can frequently be seen protruding from the surface paste.

Decoration: The outstanding feature of this pottery type is the unusual post-fired scratched decoration. Crudely made geometric designs were etched into the surfaces of these vessels after they had been fired. Many of the motifs are a series of unequal lines radiating out from a point, or a series of roughly parallel lines attached to a line at right angles to it. Most of these demonstrate little planning or care of execution. Only one example of a more elaborate version of these motifs has been recorded: a series of what appear to be tree-like elements (Plate 6C).

The Kushi-Pampa Post-fired Scratched type is frequently in association with the Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished type, and the two can be considered basically contemporaneous. As further evidence of this basic contemporaneity, a sherd has been recorded with both the pattern-burnished and post-fired scratched designs on the same piece (Plate 6C).

Form: The major vessel category on which the post-fired scratched designs appear is an open bowl or jar, usually with a diameter in excess of 30 cms. No complete example of this form of vessel has yet been discovered.

Distribution and Dating:

Although no truly comparable examples of Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched pottery has been found outside the Nepeña Valley, we are relatively confident that it dates to the transitional Early Horizon-Early Intermediate Period. The Post-fired Scratched ware is frequently associated with Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished pottery which has been securely dated to the end of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. The basic contemporaneity of these two decorative techniques is best seen at Kushi-Pampa, where they comprise over 95% of the decorated pottery.

A search of the literature has uncovered only one other site with traces of pottery apparently similar in decorative technique. Rosa Fung Pineda illustrates one or two examples from Pacopampa in the Highlands which she calls "grabado tosca" or coarsely engraved (1975: Plate 16-16 and possibly Plate 18-11...
and 18-13). It is impossible to tell whether these specimens from Pacopampa were incised before or after firing.

Kushi-Pampa Polished Wiped

Thickness: 5 mm.
Temper: Medium (1 mm in diameter or smaller).
Firing: Oxidation.
Color: Surface paste color is red, while the interior of the wall is grey to black, suggesting incomplete oxidation.
Surface: The surface of this pottery type is highly burnished, especially the exterior of the vessel.
Decoration: This pottery type is characterized by a well-polished red surface across which streaks of black paint have been wiped or burnished, giving the appearance of irregular streaking. The effect is similar to that which occurs when a painted line is burnished while it is still wet, leaving a streaked appearance. In this case, however, no painted lines are perceivable, only the streaks.
Form: This type of decoration appears to be found on bowls with large (28 cm) diameters.

Distribution and Dating:

The sample of this pottery type is very small, being found both at Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) and at Huancarpon (PV 31-59). No examples outside the Nepeña Valley have been found in the literature. It would appear to date to the end of the Early Horizon or to the Early Intermediate Period.

Huancarpon White Painted

Thickness: 2.5 to 3 mm. These vessels are extremely thin and give off a metallic ring.
Temper: Very fine--invisible to the eye in most cases; Kaolin Paste.
Firing: Oxidized to incompletely oxidized.
Color: The surface of the vessels is a chalky white with the interior paste also the same color except in a few rare
cases where incomplete oxidation has occurred. In the event of incomplete oxidation, the interior paste ranges from greyish white to black.

Surface: The vessel surfaces are highly burnished, but only a few exhibit a polish.

Decoration: Decoration consists of geometric designs in black, red and/or orange on a white ground. The slip paints are uneven in thickness, and the color often shifts to deeper or lighter hues on the same design element. Sherds are so small and fragmentary that it is very difficult to reconstruct complete designs. Naturalistic elements appear to be very rare in the Nepeña Valley sample, as opposed to other Recuay areas. One example with a portion of a fish head has been noted (Plate 7A).

A variation of this type is the use of a pink slip as the background color instead of the more characteristic white. On these pink examples, the pink color is used only on the exterior of the vessel; the interior as well as the paste itself is white as in the main variety of Huancarpon White Painted.

Form: The fragmentary nature of most of these fineware sherds does not permit the entire range of vessel forms to be described. The principal shape category is pedestal-base bowl, characteristic of Recuay ceramics elsewhere. A large number of fragmentary pedestal sherds have been found in association with the painted body sherds.

Remarks: The fine kaolin paste pottery of the Huancarpon White Painted type is closely related to the Recuay style of the Callejon de Huaylas and other areas. The similarity is so strong that many of the vessels of this type in the Nepeña Valley may have been imports from the highlands. It is not known if there is a local source of kaolin in the Nepeña Valley. Analysis of the paste and the possible sources of kaolin will help answer this question.

Distribution and Dating:

Huancarpon White Painted pottery is a Recuay-related ware. Recuay pottery originated in the Callejon de Huaylas of the northern highlands (see Bennett 1944) and is closely related to the Gallinazo (or Virú) style of the coast (Bennett 1950). The fine kaolin paste, thin vessel walls, and hard firing of the Huancarpon White Painted vessels suggests that this may be an imported ware from the highlands. Although there are no known
sources of kaolin in the Nepeña Valley, a concerted effort to find such sources has never been made.

Huancarpon White Painted pottery has several counterparts in the highlands. At the site of Pashash in Pallasca Province of the Department of Ancash (upper reaches of the Santa Valley), Terence Grieder excavated a large cache of Recuay pottery from a rich tomb (Grieder 1978). His careful analysis of the pottery helps put the Nepeña Valley specimens in perspective. The pedestal-bowl fragments, which are the most frequently encountered type at Huancarpon and other Nepeña Valley's sites, are similar to Grieder's Cabana Cream Painted style of the Yaia Phase (400 to 500 A.D.) and the Huacohu Phase (500 A.D.) of the Pashash Recuay Period. This would suggest placement of Huancarpon material at the end of the Early Intermediate Period.

The Recuay style is noteworthy for both its negative painted designs, modeling, and positive painted ware. Positive painting is by far the most frequently encountered technique in the Nepeña Valley sites. However, a few pieces of negative painted ware were collected at Huancarpon, and modeled Recuay vessels attributed to Nepeña Valley sites appear in the local private collections (Proulx 1968a, Plate 13 and 1973, Plate 4). Grieder suggests that positive painting is indicative of the last phases of the Recuay period (1978:77).

Although Bennett (1944) found Recuay pottery at numerous sites in the Callejon de Huaylas, few published studies of the style and its distribution have been made. Several studies remain in dissertation form (Reichert 1977; Smith 1978). Grieder states (1978:74) that "the Recuay style of the Callejon de Huaylas was more closely related to the Gallinazo style (of the coast) than was Pashash Recuay." Other highland sites include Guitarrero Cave where Thomas Lynch found examples of what he calls Recuay Red-on-White Positive Painted (Fig. 9:23g-h) and Recuay Red and Black-on-White Positive Painted (Fig. 9:23i-k). These are dated to the Late Huaylas Period or Early Intermediate Period Phases 5-8, 100 to 550 A.D.

On the coast, Recuay pottery is relatively rare. It has been found in some quantity in the Santa Valley at several locations (Clothier 1943 and Larco 1962). Larco (1962) feels that the Recuay style (which he calls the Santa style) developed out of the Gallinazo (Virú) style and that this development probably took place on the coast rather than in the highlands. He feels that the Recuay peoples retreated up the valleys toward the Callejon de Huaylas when the Moche culture began their military expansion into the Santa and Nepeña Valleys. The prevalence of Recuay pottery in the Santa Valley is confirmed by the recent survey of David Wilson (personal communication). The Santa and
Nepeña valleys seem to be the only coastal regions with major traces of Recuay pottery, and in both cases the bulk of the sites are located in the upper ends of each valley, thus supporting a highland origin for the style. Recuay pottery has also been reported for the Virú Valley (Bennett 1939:72-73; Strong and Evans 1952:347-351; Larco 1945). A large collection of Recuay style pottery seen by the author in the Jose Casinelli Collection in Trujillo is said to have come from the Virú Valley, but this cannot be confirmed. Collier (1955: Fig. 31) illustrates a vessel from Virú classified as Gallinazo which could very well also be classified as Recuay. The relationship of Recuay (Santa) pottery with the Gallinazo (Virú) style is not clear at this time.

The few absolute dates that have been obtained for the Recuay style suggest that it falls into the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period. (Grieder's date of 400 to 500 A.D. and Lynch's date of 100 to 550 A.D.—see Grieder 1978, p. 63 and Lynch 1980, pp. 229-230). The evidence from the Nepeña Valley indicates that Recuay is at least partly contemporary with the Moche occupation of the valley which took place during the late Moche III and the Moche IV epochs, again dating to the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period. Huancarpon White Painted pottery has been found in the cemetery of Tres Marias (PV 31-73) and at PV 31-71 in an area dominated by Moche cemeteries. Since no other Recuay pottery is found in the Middle or Lower Valley areas, the presence of the pottery here can be explained either by its being fancy trade pieces placed in the tomb of a high status Moche individual, or that the grave(s) represent the burial of a Recuay emissary to the Moche. It is clear that there is a definite territorial division between the distribution of Moche and Recuay sites in Nepeña, and this fact supports the basic contemporaneity of Moche and Recuay. I would speculate that the Recuay influence on the upper Nepeña Valley began slightly earlier than the Moche conquest of the Middle Valley region, but that this Recuay influence never had time to filter further down valley before the Moche filled in the power vacuum.

Huancarpon Negative Painted

**Thickness:** 3 to 4 mm.

**Temper:** Fine to medium (1 mm in diameter or less).

**Firing:** Oxidized.

**Color:** The surface of the vessel is usually chalky white. The interior paste is variable, either white kaolin or reddish clay.
Surface: The vessel surface is highly burnished but not to a luster.

Decoration: This pottery is decorated with the resist or negative painted technique; the major design elements are formed by the background color which has been overpainted by a masking color except in the pattern of the design. In this type of pottery the background or design color is white, with most of the masking being done with black paint. However, red and orange are also used in conjunction with the black. The use of the resist technique is quite rare in the Nepeña Valley sample, in contrast to Recuay style ceramics from the Callejon de Huaylas. The orange paint used on the illustrated example was added last and transparently covers some of the black painted lines, giving them a darker appearance (Plate 7B).

Form: The shape categories of Huancarpon Negative Painted pottery cannot be determined from the small sample of body sherds collected.

Distribution and Dating:

Negative painting is a common decorative technique in the Andes and is found in a number of early cultures in Ecuador and Colombia. In the Peruvian area it is somewhat more restricted, but is present in the Gallinazo style (Larco's Virú style) of the north coast, the Vicus and Recuay styles of the northern highlands, and the Paracas Culture of the south coast. Recuay three-color negative painted ware is considered by many to be the finest negative painted style ever produced in ancient Peru. Numerous examples have been illustrated in the literature (e.g., Grieder 1978; Lapiner 1976; Schmidt 1929).

In the Nepeña Valley, the local variant of this style is called Huancarpon Negative Painted. It is quite rare in comparison to the positive painted examples exemplified by Huancarpon White Painted. A few examples have been found in the valley, including a broken pedestal bowl found at PV 31-73 (Proulx 1973, Plate 4-H) and several fragments found at the site of Huancarpon. Although our sample is quite small and biased, negative painting on Recuay pottery seems to be much more prevalent in the Callejon de Huaylas and even in the Santa Valley than in the Nepeña Valley. At the site of Pashash, Grieder (1978) classifies the negative ware into his Cabana Cream Negative type and dates it to the Yañá Phase of the Pashash Recuay Period, or 400 to 500 A.D. This same date can be applied to the Nepeña Valley examples.
Huancarpon Grey Painted

Thickness: 3 to 5 mm.

Temper: Medium (1 mm in diameter) or larger.

Firing: Oxidized.

Color: The paste of this type is much cruder than that used in the Huancarpon White Painted variety. Paste color ranges from grey to red. Its kaolin content is very low or absent. Surface color is also grey, with a red-pink slip used on some pieces.

Surface: Compared to Huancarpon White Painted, this type is relatively crude. Surfaces are rough and uneven, with temper protruding through the surface.

Decoration: This pottery may be a local imitation of imported kaolin-paste Recuay-style vessels represented by the Huancarpon White Painted variety. Huancarpon Grey Painted utilizes many of the same color combinations as Huancarpon White Painted: black, red and orange on a white or pink ground. However, the quality of the paste and decoration is poor and can be easily distinguished from the fine ware of the Huancarpon White Painted type (Plate 7C).

Form: Two of the principal shape categories of this variety are pedestal bowls and large open bowls. Other shapes may be represented, but their forms cannot be reconstructed from the body sherds available.

Distribution and Dating:

This ceramic type is a local variant of the Recuay positive painted ware, and no examples identical to it have been found outside the Nepeña Valley. Although there is much variation in the Recuay style, there is a definite distinction between Huancarpon White Painted and Huancarpon Grey Painted. The dating for this variant is the same as for Huancarpon White Painted and Huancarpon Negative Painted, i.e., the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period.

Huancarpon Orange Plain

Thickness: 3 mm.

Temper: Fine (invisible to 0.5 mm)
Firing: Oxidized; hard and thin. It gives off a metallic ring like Huancarpon White Painted.

Color: The paste and the surface have a bright orange color—the distinguishing feature of this pottery type.

Surface: Surfaces are usually highly burnished, including the interior sides of the vessel walls.

Decoration: This pottery type is an orange plainware, very distinguishable by its thin walls and characteristic color (Plate 8A).

Form: The major shape category appears to be a small (14 cm diameter) bowl with slightly convex sides.

Distribution and Dating:

Unpainted orange ware is rare elsewhere on the coast and uncommon in the highlands. At the site of La Pampa in the Callejon de Huaylas, a thin orange pottery that appears similar to Huancarpon Orange Plain was found by the Japanese excavators (Terada 1979, Plate 59). This was placed in the Tornapampa Phase, which dates between the Early Horizon and the Late Horizon. At Pashash, in the same general area of the Callejon, Grieder identified two varieties of orange ware, Caserón Orange and Pashash Orange (Grieder 1978:59). Caserón Orange has very fine temper and thin walls, and appears to be closest to our Huancarpon Orange Plain. Grieder does not date the Caserón Orange in the text, but it appears to be contemporary with his Recuay Period, and probably his Yaiá Phase. Bennett (1944:102), who investigated a number of Recuay period sites in the highlands, states that orange plainware pottery is common in Recuay refuse, especially at the site of Shankaiyan.

In the Nepeña Valley sites, Huancarpon Orange Plain pottery is most frequently associated with the local Recuay type we are calling Huancarpon White Painted. The dating of the latter variety falls into the second half of the Early Intermediate Period, or roughly 300 to 600 A.D. This association of the two types is supported by the similar associations and dating in the highlands, and we are suggesting that the two are basically contemporary.

Huancarpon Orange Painted

Thickness: 3 to 4 mm.

Temper: Fine (0.5 mm or less).
Firing: Oxidized; hard, thin walls. Sherds give off a metallic ring.

Color: The paste and surface have a bright orange color.

Surface: Well burnished.

Decoration: This pottery type is identical to Huancarpon Orange Plain with the addition of a painted design on the surface. Painted designs are usually black or red, or both, in color, and geometric in nature.

Form: Thin-walled bowls, 14 to 16 cm in diameter, are the main shape category of this pottery type.

Distribution and Dating:

The thin-walled orangeware known as Huancarpon Orange Painted has its closest affinities to styles in the Callejon de Huaylas; no similar examples have been found on the coast to date. At the site of Pashash, Terence Grieder defined a style which he calls Caserón Orange Painted (Grieder 1978:62). This pottery has fine temper, thin walls, and decoration in up to five or six colors. Bennett (1944:103) also speaks of Recuay style pottery with black-on-orange or red-on-orange decoration. The Recuay Culture dates between 300 and 600 A.D. according to Grieder (1978:75).

The Nepeña Valley examples, which we are calling Huancarpon Orange Painted, are most frequently associated with the more recognizable Huancarpon White Painted, datable to the period of Recuay influence during the Early Intermediate Period. We are assuming the basic contemporaneity of the Huancarpon White Painted, Huancarpon Orange Plain and the Huancarpon Orange Painted types.

Huancarpon Textile-Impressed

Thickness: 5 to 6 mm.

Temper: Medium (1 mm diameter) to very large (2 to 4 mm diameter).

Firing: Oxidation

Color: Paste color ranges from black to red; surface color is predominantly black with a few red pieces present in the sample.

Surface: This pottery type is a utilitarian variety. Surface is rough and decorated with impressed textile designs. Interiors are roughly smoothed.
Decoration: This pottery type is decorated by the impression of woven objects into the wet clay. The impressions appear to occur in parallel bands, leading us to initially suspect that the material used was basketry rather than textile. Closer examination with a magnifier indicated that the elements of the impressed design were composed of strands of twisted textile material, probably cotton. However, the parallel bands were difficult to explain. Searching the literature, a textile form that could possibly have produced such a design was discovered (Conklin 1975: Fig. 4). The textile is woven in a technique called "Spaced Weft-Twining." The example in the Conklin article comes from Gramolote in the Moche Valley and dates to the Initial Period. Our sample is associated with Recuay-related pottery of the Early Intermediate Period.

The impressed designs occur in bands of approximately 1.5 to 2.0 cm in width. The impressions on the borders of these bands are deeper than those within the bands, indicating that the cord is thicker than those in between. The impressions between the bordering cords run diagonally to the deeper impressions, not at right angles as would be expected in a loom-made textile. More study by specialists of these impressions is needed before the impressing material is clearly identified (Plates 8B and 8C).

This decorative technique is quite common in a number of sites, most of which have good quantities of Recuay-related fancy pottery.

Form: This pottery type appears to comprise several varieties of utilitarian vessels. All of our sherds are body fragments, and the shape categories cannot be distinguished at this time.

Distribution and Dating:

In spite of an extensive search through the archaeological literature dealing with the northern highlands and coast of Peru, no comparable pottery to our Huancarpon Textile-Impressed ware was found. In the Nepeña Valley we have found it most frequently associated with varieties of Recuay style pottery: i.e., Huancarpon White Painted, Huancarpon Orange Plain and Huancarpon Orange Painted. I am, therefore, tentatively dating it to the Early Intermediate Period, and more specifically to the second half of that period.

Daggett (1984) dates the textile-impressed ware to his Phase II of the Early Horizon, a date which is supported by sur-
face collections made by Joan Gero at Uchucoto bajo in the Callejon de Huaylas and dated by Richard Burger as Early Horizon (Gero, personal communication). Burger told Gero that he also had similar textile-impressed wares in his Urabarriu Phase at Chavin de Huantar. Until this data is published, the chronological position of the textile impressed wares in Nepeña is insecure.

Architecture

Architecture can be used as a sensitive time marker in much the same way as ceramics. Unfortunately archaeologists have paid much less attention to differences in construction materials and form through time than they have to ceramics. Recently a few pioneering studies have appeared in print dealing with this interesting topic. Alberto Bueno Mendoza (1979) discusses the changes in construction materials from the Preclassic through the Inca Period. Lorenzo Samaniego Roman (n.d.-1) has studied changing adobe shapes and sizes from the Casma, Nepeña and Santa valleys of the north coast, as has Carol Mackey (unpublished research) for Chimu architecture on the north coast. William Conklin has developed methods for determining the building sequence at complex sites (Conklin 1985). Finally, the excellent study of Inca architectural techniques by Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies (1980) must be mentioned as another example of the wealth of information that can be obtained from architectural data.

In the Nepeña Valley patterning in architectural materials and form were quickly recognized as the survey of the sites proceeded. Two major problems had to be resolved in dealing with the architectural data. First, a correlation of the architecture with ceramics of known date had to be made for the correct placement of the architectural materials in time. This problem was resolved, for the most part, by concentrating on single occupation sites where there was no doubt about the correlation of the ceramics with the architecture, or in multi-occupational sites where the vast majority of the ceramics dated to the Initial Period, Early Horizon or Early Intermediate Period, and thus the accompanying architecture could be assumed to correspond to the date of the maximum occupation of the site. In practice, so many identical correlations of ceramics with architecture occurred, that there remained little question about the sequence of architectural forms.

The second problem to be dealt with in the Nepeña Valley survey was understanding the effect of environment and available raw materials on construction materials and form. In general, sites in the lower and middle valley area were composed of adobes or a mixture of stone and adobe, while sites in the upper valley area
were constructed primarily of stone. Although cultural preferences in building materials changed through time, at least as far as the Formative is concerned, the choice of building materials was more dependent on the availability of the raw materials than on cultural preference. Location of the sites was correlated to topography. Sites in the lower and middle valley are usually found on the peripheries of the valley, on sandy slopes off the area of cultivation, or located on natural hills within the valley floor. In the upper valley, where even less fertile valley bottom is present and where the valley is rimmed with steep mountains, plateaus and hilltops were the favorite location of sites. More will be said about settlement patterns in a later section.

Initial Period Architecture

As discussed in an earlier part of this work, a major reappraisal of the Peruvian Formative Period is currently in progress. Part of this discussion involves the nature and role of the Chavin Culture in the Early Horizon, the origins of Chavin in the Initial Period, and the role of the coast and the highlands in this process. I have described above the two major traditions of ceremonial architecture present in northern and central Peru during the Pre-ceramic and Initial Periods. In the highlands can be found the "Kotosh Tradition" consisting of one-roomed square or rectangular structures containing a ritual hearth sunk into the center of the floor (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1980). In the upper Huallaga Basin these ceremonial rooms had niches in the walls. Ritual offerings were burned in the hearths by a small number of officiants in a relatively private ceremony.

In the coastal valleys of northern and central Peru a different pattern of ceremonial architecture is found. Large mounds or pyramids formed the focal point of each site. In front of the mounds were two lateral mounds of smaller elevation enclosing a court or patio and giving the structure a U-shaped form. In many cases these structures were oriented in a north-northeast direction (Williams 1978-80). On the central coast, many of these courtyards contained a sunken circular plaza. The coastal ceremonial architectural tradition appears to have spread to the highlands by the end of the Initial Period and played a role in the development of the Chavin Culture. The site of Chavin de Huantar is constructed on a coastal plan (U-shaped architecture with sunken circular plaza in front of the Old Temple) but includes religious iconography from the tropical forest area to the east thus forming a new syncretic culture.

As described earlier, the dating of "Coastal Chavin" or "Chavinoid" sites on the coast is still a matter of lively debate.
among archaeologists (see Daggett 1984 for a detailed discussion), as is the dating of the site of Chavin de Huantar and, consequently its role as an initiator or follower in the development of "Chavin" styles. As a result of this reappraisal, there are several sites in the Nepeña Valley which some of my colleagues would now date to the latter part of the Initial Period based on architectural and artistic features.

The temples of Punkurí (PV 31-10) and Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36) are both located on the valley bottom in the middle valley area. Both sites exhibit several construction stages, mural art, and the use of conical adobes (Plate 13C). Conical adobes are a characteristic time marker in Peru, dating from the Initial Period and the Early Horizon. Conical adobes have been reported in the Casma Valley at the sites of Cerro Sechin (Samaniego n.d.-1, Fig. 1; Tello 1956:248ff); Sechin Alto (Samaniego n.d.-1, Fig.2; Tello 1956:82); and Moxeke (Bueno Mendoza 1979:31, foto 18; Tello 1956:58); in the Santa Valley in structure 97 (Wilson 1981, Fig. 13); in the Chicama Valley at Huaca Prieta (Bird 1948a, 1948b:27 and Fig. 12), as well as at sites in the Virú Valley, Jequetepeque Valley, and La Leche Valley. In other words, it is a common architectural element throughout the north coast, from Casma in the south to La Leche in the north. Conical adobes range as far south as the south coast where they were found at the site of Cahuachi in the Proto-Nasca (late Paracas) levels (Strong 1957:21 and Figs. 5e and 5f). In the Nepeña Valley, in addition to the sites of Punkurí and Cerro Blanco, conical adobes have been found at PV 31-27 and PV 31-192 on the north side of the valley (Proulx 1968a, Plate 3A).

Cerro Blanco is a complex site consisting of two parts, PV 31-36 and PV 31-37. The main part of the site (PV 31-36) consists of a low mound in the central part of the middle valley area representing a temple complex. The entire facade of the central platform of the temple is finely sculptured in the form of a feline face with outstretched paws forming lateral mounds enclosing a U-shaped court (Proulx 1968a, Plate 2a). The construction materials of the walls of this part of the site includes conical adobes set in mud mortar (for a complete description of the site see the site description section of this work). Richard Daggett (1984), Thomas Pozorski (1983) and others argue that Cerro Blanco dates to the Initial Period. Earlier, John Rowe dated Cerro Blanco to his Phase C of the Early Horizon based on comparison of the motifs on the clay facade to the stone sculpture at Chavin de Huantar (Rowe 1967:76). Peter Roe (1974:37 and Chart VI) agrees, but feels the site may straddle the Phase C-D line toward the end of the Early Horizon. These two conflicting viewpoints rest on differing interpretations of the nature of the art style.
The Punkurf temple is also located on the valley floor in the middle valley area (see site description section for complete details). The temple faces north with a terrace measuring 19.8 m long, 5 m wide and 2.4 m high dominating this facade (Tello 1933a). The back wall of this terrace is decorated with frescoes in various colors divided into panels separated by incised grooves in the clay (Antúnez de Mayolo 1933; Tello, 1933a). Leading up from this terrace to the summit of the temple is a central staircase of eight steps. On the bottom step was found a modeled clay feline head (Larco Hoyle 1941, Fig. 7; Kubler 1962, Plate 123b; Soriano Infante 1941, Fig. 22). The piece has been seriated by Peter Roe (1974 Chart VI) to Phase D-EF of the Early Horizon. Artifacts found associated with the sacrificial burial of a woman in the terrace beneath the stairway include an engraved Strombus galeatus trumpet, a pair of Spondylus pictorum shells, 100 Scutalus proteus shells, 1 kilo of turquoise beads, fragmented guinea pig and bird remains, and a stone mortar and pestle, said to be engraved with geometric designs in Chavin style (Tello 1943, Fig. 17a and Larco Hoyle 1941, Fig. 11).

Other forms of adobes are sometimes found contemporaneous with conical adobes (Plate 13C). Loaf-shaped (or plano-convex) adobes are present at Punkurf (PV 31-10) and Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36) (Samaniego n.d.-1, n.d., Fig. 8), as are truncated conical adobes (Samaniego n.d.-1, Fig. 7). The distribution and dating of these alternate types is less well known, although all appear to be contemporaneous with the conical adobes. Rectangular adobes do not appear until the Early Intermediate Period (Plate 13C), and none are present in the Initial Period or Early Horizon levels of the sites reported above.

Two additional sites in the middle valley area also have construction of conical adobes and thus are dated to the Initial Period or Early Horizon. PV 31-37 consists of a series of low mounds on the north edge of the valley on the Pampa of Carbonera. Pits dug into these mounds by looters have revealed the presence of conical adobes and fieldstone. No diagnostic pottery has been found to support the dating by architecture.

PV 31-192 is located several hundred meters from PV 31-27 at the edge of cultivation on the north side of the valley. Indeed, it may form part of the latter site, but it was given a separate designation because of the apparent lack of cultural material in the intervening area between the sites. The site is also a low mound, probably terraced (judging from eroded traces found on the slopes), and composed of conical adobes. The function of this site and PV 31-27 is not known.

In addition to the four sites just described, the only other possible Initial Period sites with any architecture are two
located in the upper valley area, PV 31-158E and PV 31-47 (San Juan). San Juan is an interesting site, located on an old alluvial fan on the edge of the valley adjacent to a deep pampa that was formerly irrigated in prehistoric times. A large stone-faced pyramid complex with enclosed court is located on this site. A ramp leads up the terraces on the face of the pyramid, but much rebuilding has occurred at this site. Traces of rectangular adobe bricks, probably dating to a Middle Horizon re-occupation of the site, crown the top of the pyramid. A good number of pottery sherds, including Casma Incised and other Middle Horizon types, were collected here, confirming the Middle Horizon occupation of the site. However, Nepeña Triangular Zoned Punctate and Broad Lined Incised sherds, all of recognized early date, were also found here along with a figurine head (Plate 11b and llc) almost identical to one discovered at Las Haldas near the Casma Valley by the Japanese (Ishida et al 1960, Plate on p. 103 and Fig. 60). There are other similarities to Las Haldas, including the shape of the terraced pyramid with an enclosure adjacent to it. At this time it is unclear how much of this pyramid complex was constructed during the apparent Initial Period occupation of this site. Thompson (1962b) has discussed the problems in dating stone-faced pyramids in the Casma Valley, and his caution can be applied to the Nepeña Valley as well.

PV 31-158E is a small area of architecture on the end of a plateau overlooking the Rio Salitre tributary. The major feature of the site is a small terraced mound of fieldstone, partly surrounded by a stone wall. Among the artifacts adjacent to this mound were Nepeña Cylinder Stamped pottery and Nepeña Broad Lined Incised. Although the architecture and the pottery cannot be definitely linked, the crude fieldstone construction of the mound appears to be contemporary with the pottery. Recuay-related sherds and a possible Moche sherd were also found here, leaving the possibility that the structure may have been built in the Early Intermediate Period. Only the discovery of a larger sample of Initial Period sites will confirm the dating of the architecture from this period.

Comparisons and Dating

The dating of the Punkuri (PV 31-10) and Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36) temples, once thought to be classic examples of coastal Chavin architecture, is now being hotly debated. My own personal feeling is that these temples do indeed date to the Early Horizon and are manifestations of the spread of Chavin cultural ideas to the coast. My reasons for so arguing are as follows. Stylistically, although the motifs represented on the clay walls of these coastal temples differ in many ways from the stone sculpture at Chavin de Huantar, there remains a basic stylistic homogeneity
which has allowed specialists such as Rowe (1962a and 1967) and Roe (1974) to seriate the art into the Chavin stylistic sequence. Art emphasizing felines (the tropical forest jaguar) is rare on the coast prior to its spread by means of Chavin cultural expansion. The modeled feline at Punkurí and the carved clay feline facade at Cerro Blanco are to me clear indications of the influence of Chavin on this valley. In addition, several typical Chavin artifacts were found in the ritual burial at Punkurí: a stone mortar and pestle engraved with geometric designs in Chavin style (according to Tello 1943, Fig. 17) and a Strombus galeatus trumpet which was apparently engraved much like the famous Pickman strombus. The Strombus and the Spondylus were primary offerings used in Chavin rituals which were frequently represented in their art (see Rowe 1967, Fig. 21). Finally, Classic Chavin pottery sherds were found in the fill at Cerro Blanco (Tello 1943: Plate 14a).

There are, however, a number of problems that need to be addressed in dating the Punkurí and Cerro Blanco temples. Pozorski (1983) and Daggett (1984) argue that the art present at these temples (and at other temple complexes on the coast such as Moxeke in Casma and Huaca de los Reyes in Moche) is stylistically distinct and earlier than that of Chavin. They argue that the temples should date to the latter part of the Initial Period. As I have mentioned previously, interpretation of stylistic relationships is very subjective and is open to debate. This controversy argues loudly for more research and study of the so-called Chavin style in the future.

Richard Daggett (1984:112-117) has defined eight architectural features which he feels are characteristic of Initial Period Ceremonial architecture: (1) use of clay columns, (2) modeled clay wall decoration, (3) incised wall decoration, (4) painted wall decoration, (5) idols, (6) niches, (7) central staircases, and (8) rounded corners. Not all these traits are present in any individual temple, but they are common in coastal architecture. Daggett provides comparative data for the eight features he defines, and this evidence will not be repeated here. While Daggett has made some important insights into early ceremonial architecture on the coast, it is clear that his criteria are not exclusive to the Initial Period. Painted wall decorations are found in many periods, especially the Early Intermediate Period (e.g., Panamarca, Huaca de la Luna). Niches are characteristic of Chimú and Inca architecture. Rounded corners are found in Early Horizon architecture at Cerro Sechin, in many buildings of the Late Intermediate Period in the Ceja de la Montaña, and in Inca architecture. Thus features found at Punkurí and Cerro Blanco could date to either the Initial Period or the Early Horizon.
For me, there are two major problems in dating Punkurí and Cerro Blanco to the Early Horizon that are not easily resolved. Although several complete vessels of fancy Chavin blackware have been seen in private collections in the valley (Proulx 1973: Plate 1) and reported from the fill of the Cerro Blanco temple by Tello (1943:136 and Plate 14a), fancy Chavin blackware is rare in the valley. No recognizable Chavin cemeteries with pottery have yet been discovered which would help to verify the dating of the temples. The lack of "pure Chavin" style ceramics makes it more difficult to understand the nature and role of Chavin in the development of complex society in the Nepeña Valley.

The second problem centers on the unique nature of the Punkurí and Cerro Blanco temples and their relationship to contemporary sites. If John Rowe (1962a, 1967) and Peter Roe (1974) are correct in their dating of the temples by means of seriation of their iconography, then both Punkurí and Cerro Blanco should fall in the latter half of the Early Horizon. I will argue later in this paper that the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon witnessed a settlement pattern which centered on fieldstone structures located on high mountain spurs and plateaus. Daggett has recently discovered that this type of settlement pattern is found not only in the upper valley area, but also in the middle valley as well. The latter third of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period sees a fundamental change in architecture and settlement patterns. Large administrative/religious complexes composed of finely shaped stone wall construction appears, accompanied by new pottery styles which I am calling Kushi-Pampa. It is difficult to see how the Punkurí and Cerro Blanco temples correlate with these two settlement patterns. The best fit would appear to be in the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon, where the temples would be associated with pottery styles decorated with stamped circles and dots.

Early Horizon Architecture:
The Early Period

As of the end of the 1979 field season, over 40 sites having occupations dating at least in part to the Early Horizon had been recorded in the Nepeña Valley. Not all of these sites contained architecture, but those with structures had distinctive patterns of construction and building materials. The sites falling into the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon are of five major functional types: ceremonial sites, fortresses, hilltop sites, cemeteries and habitation sites. The vast majority of these sites are located in the upper valley area and utilize stone as the primary building material. Settlement patterns will be discussed separately, but it is important to point out that as of 1979 very few Early Horizon sites had been found in the middle valley.
region, and none in the lower valley. Daggett's continuation of
the survey during 1980 and 1981 has more than doubled the number
of Early Horizon sites known for the valley (Daggett 1984). His
work supports the settlement pattern noted above with the majority
of the sites being located in the upper valley area. However,
Daggett does report a number of new Early Horizon sites in the
middle valley, and possibly one or two in the lower valley.

Ceremonial Sites

The major ceremonial sites of the first half of the Early
Horizon in the Nepeña Valley are the Chavin-related temples of
Punkurí and Cerro Blanco which are described in detail earlier in
this report. My justification for placing them chronologically
in the first phase of the Early Horizon is presented in the
preceding section on Initial Period architecture. I would also
argue that the sites of PV 31-27 and PV 31-192 date to this phase
as well.

Few ceremonial sites datable to the earlier part of the Early
Horizon have been found in the upper valley. The San Juan pyramid
and enclosure (PV 31-47a) appears to have been first constructed
at the end of the Initial Period with a later Middle Horizon occu­
pation taking place. However, its form is very similar to the
Early Horizon temple of Pallka in the Casma Valley (Tello 1956:
32-48). Adjacent to the pyramid enclosure at San Juan is a
featureless mound. In 1979 a quantity of Nepeña Stamped Circle
and Dot sherds were found adjacent to an excavated hole made for a
telegraph pole in this mound. Several additional pieces of the
same type of Early Horizon Pottery have been found within the
stone-walled enclosure at San Juan as well.

Another small, terraced, stone-faced pyramid is PV 31-249,
located on the east side of the Rio Nepeña on a high ridge over­
looking the valley. Although located in a defensible position,
the site is not fortified. Most of the pottery discovered here
was Early Horizon in date, including Nepeña Stamped Circle and
Dot.

Yet another site, PV 31-50, appears to have a ceremonial
function. This ruin is constructed on a natural hill on the
valley bottom near the town of Moro. The top of the hill was
flattened into a platform with retaining walls of large, partially
shaped stones used to delimit the site. Portions of two pro­
expecting stone walls are seen on the south side of the mound, and
a stone stairway is located on the east side. Below the site
is a cemetery.
Comparisons and Dating

The closest comparisons of these ceremonial sites in Nepeña are with some of the "stone-faced pyramids" described for the Casma Valley by Donald Thompson (1960b, 1962a and 1962b) and Donald Collier (1960). Although much of their work has been superseded by more recent studies of the architecture and settlement patterns, it is useful to examine their arguments over the dating of the architecture.

Their archaeological survey of the Casma Valley, undertaken in 1956, attempted to correlate ceramics with architecture for dating purposes (Collier 1960); it also resulted in an attempt to seriate Formative Period architecture (Thompson 1962a and 1962b). Collier defined three styles that are important to this study: the Cahuacucho style which he dated to 1200 B.C. and attributed to the "Early Formative" or Initial Period; the Gualano style dating to the "Middle Formative" (first half of the Early Horizon) around 750 B.C.; and the Patazca style which he dated to his "Late Formative" (last half of the Early Horizon) around 400 B.C. Collier felt that the Patazca style to be a descendant of the Chavin style that had lost the specifically Chavinoid elements (Collier 1960:414). Unfortunately, he does not discuss the "Chavin style" pottery found by Tello at Pallka, so it is unclear what relationship the pottery from Pallka has with Collier's three defined styles.

As for attempts at dating the Casma architecture, Collier indicates that his Gualano style is found stratigraphically above his Cahuacucho style at Sechin Alto, and that Patazca pottery is "undoubtedly later than Gualano" (Collier 1960:412). The Patazca style is found associated with architecture at the sites of El Olivar, Cerro Sechin, Sechin Alto and Moxeke (Thompson 1960b:207-208). Collier's ceramic sequence for the Formative has been recently challenged by Rosa Fung Pineda and Carlos Williams Leon (1977). Recent thermoluminescent dating of the pottery of the Cahuacucho and Gualano styles has reversed the sequence: the dates obtained for the Gualano style were around 1200 B.C. and those for the Cahuacucho style came to 600 B.C. (Fung Pineda and Williams Leon 1977:132). The authors also argue that the Patazca style found at Sechin Alto was only contemporary with the conical adobe construction which they feel is a late phase of Chavin influence in the Casma Valley (1977:133).

In his attempted seriation of stone-faced pyramids of the southern north coast of Peru, Thompson first described several pyramid complexes which he and Collier felt were rather securely dated. No stone-faced pyramids were attributed to the "Early Formative," but small platforms built of conical adobe and rough angular stone set in adobe mortar were suspected (Thompson 1962a:
Middle Formative pyramids include Pallka, Moxeke, Huaca Olivar and Sechin Alto. Only one Late Formative pyramid was described, La Cantina (C-36). Thompson attempted to seriate 10 additional pyramids by relating them to perceived changes in form in the pyramids of known date. His sequence is based on increasing emphasis on interior courts. Two major types were defined: U-shaped structures and corridor structures. The U-shaped structures have courtyards surrounded on three sides by higher construction of platforms and rooms. These are less complex than the corridor type which has courtyards running through the center of the rectangular pyramid complex, much like a corridor. The courtyards, however, are above ground level, and may be on several levels within the complex. Thompson dates the U-shaped complexes earlier than the corridor type, and places them at the end of the Middle Formative (first half of the Early Horizon). Included in this group are C-45, C-8, C-9 and C-13). The corridor type is considered internally more complex and is dated to the Late Formative (second half of the Early Horizon). Sites falling into this category are C-1 and C-16. Unfortunately, the Nepeña Valley does not contain much architecture to which Thompson's sequence can be applied. The temple of Cerro Blanco has a U-shape, but it is constructed mainly of conical adobe, not stone. It has already been tentatively dated to the Early Horizon. The stone pyramid complex of San Juan (PV 31-47) has already been compared to Pallka. A date in the first half of the Early Horizon or perhaps even earlier seems appropriate.

Problems with Thompson's sequence have resulted from continued investigations on the north coast. In recent years numerous U-shaped ceremonial complexes with sunken circular plazas within the enclosure have been discovered: Las Haldas and Sechin Alto in the Casma Valley (Fung Pineda and Williams Leon 1977:131), Chupa Cigarro Grande and Cerro Los Taros in the Supe Valley (Kosok 1965:219-221), Bermejo to the north of the Patavilca Valley, Salinas de Chao, and others in the Moche Valley, Alto Salaverry, and Piedra Parada in the Supe Valley (Feldman 1977:13), as well as the Old Temple at Chavin de Huantar (Lumbreras 1977). The tradition of U-shaped architectural complexes with an associated sunken patio began on the coast of Peru during the Late Preceramic Period—much earlier than Thompson or anyone else in the 1960s expected. This tradition apparently diffused to the highlands where it was assimilated by the developing Chavin Culture and manifested in the Old Temple at Chavin de Huantar. Later, during the Early Horizon, this tradition was spread back to the coast by the Chavin Culture where it emerged in such sites as Sechin Alto and Las Haldas according to Fung Pineda and Williams Leon (1977:132). Although these discoveries do not necessarily change Thompson's sequence of U-shaped and corridor types of pyramid complexes in the Formative, it does add a longer time dimension and, thus, the possibility that some of the sites may date back to earlier times.
U-shaped ceremonial complexes in the Nepeña Valley are quite rare. The temple of Cerro Blanco has a U-shaped configuration, if the projecting legs and paws at the front of the complex can be considered analogous to lateral mounds enclosing a plaza in front of the temple. Apparently no sunken circular patio has ever been discovered here. More recently Richard Daggett has discovered a U-shaped complex near the juncture of the upper and middle valley areas which he dates to the Early Horizon. This site, which he is calling Huaca Virahuanca (PV 31-326) is described in his dissertation (Daggett 1984). It is possible that more U-shaped complexes, with or without sunken circular patios, will be found in the Nepeña Valley in the future, but at this time it appears that this architectural form is much less prevalent here than in the valleys to the south.

Hilltop and Habitation Sites

By far the most prevalent type of site found in the upper part of the valley during the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon can be described as a hilltop site. Many of these sites are similar to the "hilltop redoubts" described by Gordon Willey in his classic settlement pattern study of the Virú Valley sites (Willey 1953). Willey contrasts "hilltop redoubts," which are basically defensive in nature and usually surrounded by walls or other protection, with "hilltop platforms" and "hilltop villages" which are generally not fortified but are located in defensible positions (Willey 1953:7 and 358-359). In any case, all three types are rare in the Virú Valley and don't appear until the Puerto Moorin Period, which falls in the first part of the Early Intermediate Period.

In the upper Nepeña Valley over 20 sites categorized as hilltop sites and datable to the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon had been discovered by the end of the 1979 field season. Many more have been discovered since then (see Daggett 1984). Details of their distribution will be discussed later. Architecturally, most of these sites have little visible construction, and this led me to categorize them initially as administrative/defensive hilltop outposts rather than habitation sites (Proulx and Daggett 1980). Daggett (1984) has argued that many of these sites may be habitation sites, and I am inclined to agree with most of his arguments. Others, because of their strategic locations and the presence of moats, walls, and broken projectile points, appear to have been defensive in nature. Some of the varieties of these hilltop sites are as follows.

A number of hilltop sites consist of flattened mountain peaks which form crude platforms. Sometimes terracing is present, but the sites are notable for their lack of architecture (Plate 12A).
Yet these sites, and especially the steep slopes below them, abound with artifacts: pottery sherds, pan pipe fragments, spindle whorls, and ground stone projectile points. Examples of this variety of site are PV 31-229, 230, 240, 246, 248 and 250. In one or two cases these flattened hilltops are surrounded by low defensive walls. PV 31-175S is a good example of this type, as is PV 31-48C.

Where architecture is present at these hilltop sites, it is minimal. In most cases a structure consisting of one or two rooms, rectangular in shape, with thick fieldstone walls and a deep, semi-subterranean room crowns the summit of the hill. These appear to be defensive in nature, but their exact function is not clear. Examples of this variety are PV 31-231, 234, 241, 244 and 247. The adjacent sites of PV 31-253 and 254 are interesting in this respect. PV 31-253 is 200 meters above the valley floor, surrounded by extremely steep slopes. The highest elevation of the site contains a number of low wall foundations of former structures built around large boulders and other natural rock outcrops. A number of looted graves are also found here. The sloping crest of the hill has been terraced toward the east, away from the summit of the site. To the west is a steep natural gully which acts as a barrier to separate this part of the site from PV 31-254 on the next ridge. A stone wall further protects this side of the site (Fig. 24).

The adjacent site, PV 31-254 is even more heavily fortified. Two mountain crests are contained within this site. One is flattened and is bordered by a low stone wall foundation. The higher crest has a massive rectangular one-roomed structure built of fieldstone. To protect the western flank of this site, another natural gully has been strengthened with two concentric semi-circular stone walls. Numerous fragments of broken ground-stone projectile points were found in the vicinity of this wall, adding further support to the defensive function of this portion of the site. Of all the administrative/defensive hilltop outposts, the adjacent sites of PV 31-253 and 254, and the similar complex composed of PV 31-234, 235, 236 and 237, are the most complex.

The architecture in all these hilltop sites, where present, consists of unworked fieldstone either piled up or mixed with mud mortar to form walls. Only low foundations exist, and it is not clear how high the walls once were or of what material they were composed. There are no present traces of the use of any adobe material in the upper wall construction, and the evidence for their existence in prehistoric times is minimal. The Early Horizon builders of these sites worked around natural objects such as rock outcrops, boulders and ravines, often incorporating them into the architecture or using them to enhance the function of the site.
One of the best examples of an Early Horizon settlement is Chilhuay alto (PV 31-157) located on a broad plateau overlooking the confluence of the Río Salitre tributary with the Río Nepeña. A number of multi-roomed, rectangular stone structures, marked by wall foundations of unworked fieldstone, are located on this plateau. The majority of the pottery sherds scattered among these structures were of Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot, the major pottery type associated with the first part of the Early Horizon. The architecture is primitive and is similar in form to the hilltop sites just described, as well as to the ceremonial sites such as San Juan (PV 31-47a). The remains of a large buried ceramic jar, probably one of many located on the plateau for storage of water and/or foodstuffs, was found next to the structures. Similar storage jars are characteristic of the latter part of the Early Horizon as well.

As mentioned above, Richard Daggett has recently argued (1984) that many of the ridgetop sites in the valley were also habitation sites despite the lack of extensive architecture. His arguments range from the ability of modern natives in the valley to easily negotiate the steep grades, to the more healthful conditions on the hilltops where the winds would keep away many insect pests. In light of the negative evidence from the valley floor and the rational arguments of Daggett, I am inclined to accept his arguments that at least some of the hilltop sites are habitation sites. Other evidence that would support this are the many spindle whorls and pan pipe fragments found on these sites in addition to large amounts of pottery. Defensive sites would be expected to have other forms of artifacts.

Comparisons and Dating

The paucity of architecture in Nepeña Valley hilltop sites does not allow for productive comparisons and cross dating. These sites are best dated by their distinctive artifact assemblages (ceramics, pan pipes, ground slate blades), rather than by a distinctive architectural pattern. Structures, when present, consist of fieldstone wall foundations that are indistinguishable from those of later periods, particularly Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period buildings. Fortunately, many of these hilltop sites are single occupation sites, and the dating of the architecture and settlement pattern by means of the artifacts is quite secure. It is important to note that these coastal hilltop sites are among the earliest known for coastal Peru. In the Virú Valley Willey (1953) does not find hilltop sites until the Puerto Moorin Period of the Early Intermediate Period. In the Santa Valley, Wilson (1981) has many hilltop sites and fortresses, but their style and cultural affiliations place them in the latter part of the Early Horizon. In the Casma Valley, little work has been done in the upper valley area, and the few sites that have

227
been found on hilltop locations (e.g., Pallka) are primarily ceremonial in nature. I strongly suspect that ridgetop habitation sites will be found some day in the Casma Valley.

Daggett argues for the presence of large valley floor habitation sites in the middle Nepeña Valley contemporary with the ridgetop sites. Caylán (PV 31-30) is a huge complex of agglutinated rectangular walled structures on the north edge of the valley near the town of Nepeña (Plates 12B and 12C). The site was recorded by me in 1967 and visited on many occasions since that time. My original dating of the site was hampered by the lack of surface artifacts, in spite of the fact that the site covered a square kilometer. An adjacent cemetery and other nearby sites fell into the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period, so my initial dating of the site was to those periods.

Daggett (1984) compares Caylán to the sites of Pampa Rosario and San Diego in the lower Casma Valley which were investigated and dated to the Early Horizon by Pozorski and Pozorski (1981). Daggett claims to have found several pieces of circle and dot decorated pottery at Caylán (1984:215) and views the site as one of the major centers of occupation during the early part of the Early Horizon.

I am not completely convinced of this dating of Caylán, although the evidence seems more positive than negative. In my many traverses of the site, I have yet to find a single piece of Early Horizon pottery, although examples of later pottery types are present. I would expect there to be a much greater concentration of sherds to securely date this site to the Early Horizon.

On the other side of the coin, there is a large, terraced stone pyramid at Caylán (Plate 12C) which conforms to Early Horizon examples found elsewhere (see previous section on ceremonial architecture and Thompson's article [1962a] on stone-faced pyramids). Also much of the site of Caylán is covered with a caliche which may overlie artifacts from an earlier period. Thus Daggett may be correct and the site indeed date to the first part of the Early Horizon. The answer will only come with a proper testing by excavation of parts of the site.

Fortresses

One of the most interesting and surprising discoveries was the recording of several major forts dating to the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon in the Nepeña Valley. These findings have provided support for Robert Carneiro's "circumscription" theory of the origin of the state (Carneiro 1970). Two of the fortresses are similar enough in form and construction details to
lead to the judgment that they are undoubtedly contemporaneous; indeed, they are very likely "twin" forts protecting the upper reaches of the valley. PV 31-162 (Chilhuay bajo) is on the east side of the Nepeña River on a flattened plateau not too distant from the confluence of the Rio Salitre tributary with the Rio Nepeña. The fortress has a thick stone outer wall of irregular shape with projecting angular bastions on all sides (Plates 13A and 13B). Narrow entrances pierce this wall on the east and west sides affording limited access to the structure. Inside the outer walls is a perfectly square room, 22 m by 22 m, with thick (4 m) walls enclosing a central room or court. Only one entrance, on the south end, pierces this sanctuary. The whole complex forms an exceedingly defensible structure.

The outer walls of this fortress are composed of large, partly shaped blocks of stone of varying sizes (Plate 13A). Smaller chinks of rock have been used to fill in the irregularities between the larger blocks, and no traces of mud mortar remain. The architectural effect, however, remains crude in comparison to some of the structures falling at the end of the Early Horizon.

Across the valley on its west side, almost directly opposite the confluence of the Rio Salitre with the Rio Nepeña, is PV 31-163, a fortress very similar in form to PV 31-162. This fortress, like the one already discussed, has a thick outer wall with several bastions enclosing a single inner walled room. In this case the outer wall incorporates a huge boulder into the architecture, and the stonework is nearly identical to that of PV 31-162. Together they must have formed a unit for protecting the upper valley region. Broken ground-stone projectile points and pan pipe fragments are common here, and the most frequent pottery type is Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot.

Comparisons and Dating

The fortress discovered in the Nepeña Valley are among the oldest yet found in Peru, and thus comparisons to other similarly dated military structures are very difficult. John and Theresa Topic, who undertook a multi-year study of fortifications in Northern Peru, found few traces of Early Horizon forts. In the Virú and Moche valleys, which formed the focus of their research, no fortifications dating to the Early Horizon or earlier were found (Topic and Topic 1979 and 1982). The earliest forts began in the Early Intermediate Period, with the greatest number occurring in the Late Intermediate Period.

In the Nepeña Valley, at least three major forts appear to date to the Early Horizon. One of these, the Fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46) can be dated to the end of the Early Horizon and the
beginning of the Early Intermediate Period by its strong architectural similarity to the sites of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), Paradones (PV 31-64) and Motocachy (PV 31-48). All four sites have walls of shaped blocks of stone with finely cut granite corners and door lintels. The pottery found at each is also identical, consisting primarily of pattern-burnished bowls and other vessels decorated with shallow incised scratches. These pottery types have been rather securely dated to the end of the Early Horizon.

In the Santa Valley, Wilson has discovered a series of hill-top fortresses and compounds identical in most respects to those in the Nepeña Valley, including the four sites mentioned in the previous paragraph. Wilson dates these sites to his Cayhuamarca Period, equivalent to the Early Horizon (Wilson 1981). Associated with the sites is the same type of pattern-burnished bowls we have dated to the end of the Early Horizon. So similar are these sites and their associated artifacts, that there appears to have been a common culture, or perhaps a regionalized pristine state linking these two valleys, at the end of the Early Horizon.

The twin fortresses of PV 31-162 and 163 are quite different in their architecture from Quisque. Their walls are cruder, composed of boulders or stones less well-shaped than PV 31-46. Both have bastions along their outer walls which are not present at Quisque, and neither has the finely cut granite corners or door lintels. The pottery and other artifacts found within and outside their walls are also different. Pottery decorated with stamped circles and dots predominates at the twin fortresses. Ground-stone projectile points or knives are also found in relatively large quantities. Inside both structures is a thick walled single inner room.

Daggett has argued (1984:204-205) that the twin fortresses of PV 31-162 and 163 are contemporary with Quisque and thus fall at the end of the Early Horizon. I disagree with his dating on the basis of the architectural and artifactual differences noted above, and feel that these fortresses pre-date Quisque and fall in the first part of the Early Horizon. Other defensive features, such as the walls and moats at PV 31-253 and 254 and the walls at PV 31-175, all point to a period of conflict in the valley. Whether this conflict was internal in nature or directed toward protection from outside invaders is not clear at this time.

Early Horizon Architecture:
The Late Period

The last part of the Early Horizon is marked by significant changes in architectural style and settlement patterns as well as
in pottery style. The Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot pottery, the hallmark of the earlier sites, and the related Nepeña Banded Lozenge and Nepeña Angular Zoned Punctate types disappear and are replaced by two distinctive new types: Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished and Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched (Plate 6). A new architectural style, possibly emanating from the highlands, suddenly appears. This new style contains construction materials of shaped stone blocks which are set in walls either in alternating layers of large and small stone blocks (see Proulx 1973, Plate 22a) or with smaller stone chinking used to fill the spaces between the blocks. Thicker walls may have two faces with a rubble core. A small amount of clay is used as a binding medium. The corners of larger buildings and entryways, as well as the lintels over the entryways, are often constructed of finely cut granite.

Architectural forms include large walled enclosures with internal courtyards and limited access to central rooms. The best example of this form is the type site of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56) situated on a plateau overlooking the floor of the valley some 80 meters below. The site is dominated by a stone-walled enclosure measuring 120 m by 420 m (Plates 14A and 15A). The compound contains several large open courtyards, rooms and passageways (Fig. 11 and Plate 15B). The outer wall of the compound is constructed of shaped fieldstone blocks of varying size, with smaller stones used to fill in the gaps between the blocks (Plate 15A). These stones have been shaped to produce flattened surfaces. The wall is almost a meter thick in most places, with separate stones forming the outer and inner surfaces. A rubble core makes up the interior part of the wall. Two entrances pierce this outer wall, one on the northeast wall and the other on the southeast wall. The entryways are lined with finely cut granite, and the east entryway has a carved granite lintel (Plate 15C). Other lintels within the structure demonstrate the use of the finer enclosing granite blocks for doorways. The corners of the outer enclosing wall are also fashioned of this material (Plate 16A; see also Bueno Mendoza 1979, fotos 40, 41 and 42).

Inside the enclosure, large courtyards lead to smaller rooms. Access is severely limited. In order to reach some of the interior rooms, several rooms and separate doorways must be navigated. The stone wall construction of the interior walls of the compound is slightly different from the outer walls. The stones are smaller in size than those used in the outer wall, but the construction technique of using artificially flattened stones with gaps filled in with smaller stones remains the same (Plate 15B).

The compound was apparently built in two stages. Areas H, J and K on the north end (see Fig. 11) can only be entered through
the north wall, and they appear to form a unit. The west wall of
the compound jogs out at the juncture of this block of rooms,
disrupting the symmetry of the outer wall. Rooms H, J and K do
not lead into the remainder of the compound; they remain isolated
at the north end. For further construction details, see the site
description above (p. 77-84).

Finally, at some later time, a portion of the north wall
was torn down to provide construction material for a series of
agglutinated rooms labeled L on the map (Fig. 11). Construction
of these rooms is crude, with walls formed of piled fieldstone.
These rooms undoubtedly date later than the remainder of the com-
pound, having been built after the compound was abandoned.

On the east part of the plateau outside the compound are a
series of wall foundations of piled fieldstone. Sherds found in
this part of the site suggest that these structures are contem-
porary with the compound.

The function of Kushi-Pampa appears to be an elite center
with both administrative and ceremonial functions. The elaborate-
ness of the architecture, the large open courtyards leading to
restricted rooms, and the carved lintel all suggest a highly
stratified society with great differentiation based on wealth and
power. Kushi-Pampa is the largest and most elaborate of these
administrative sites in the valley, but several others exist as
probably secondary administrative centers.

PV 31-48, the Motocachy Ruin, has a number of constructions
that date to this period. Located atop a series of natural hills
dominating a broad pampa that was formerly irrigated for agricul-
ture, this site is in a very strategic location (Plate 17A).
Although parts of the site were occupied at the beginning of the
Early Horizon (especially pyramid C), the bulk of the architecture
is contemporary with and identical to that of Kushi-Pampa. Walls
running across portions of the site (areas A and B) have identi-
cal stone construction to the compound wall at Kushi-Pampa
(Plate 16C and 15A). Wall foundations on top of Pyramid A are
constructed of finely shaped stone. More importantly, pottery
found on the surface between Pyramids A and B is predominantly
Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished and Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired
Scratched.

A third site which is dated to this period on the basis of
architecture is Paradones (or Pincha-Marca--PV 31-64). Much of
this site was recently cleared by Lorenzo Samaniego Roman, but
no publications have yet resulted from this investigation.
The stone masonry of the site is very similar to both Kushi-
Pampa and Motocachy (Plate 16B). Large shaped stone blocks, even
larger and more carefully selected than Kushi-Pampa, form massive
walls. Although difficult to follow, this site too has a com­
pound with an extensive external wall of stone, internal court-
yards, and an elaborate portal with more elaborate stone lin-
tels (Plate 16A). No surface sherds were discovered at this
site, either in the earlier years of the survey before clearing
took place nor in 1979 after the site had been partially re-
stored. However, on the basis of the architecture, the site is
cross-dated to Kushi-Pampa and Motocachy.

The fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46) was also built at this
time, judging from the similarity in architecture to Kushi-Pampa,
Paradones and Motocachy, as well as from the pottery found here.
This defensive outpost is situated high on the mountains on the
south side of the valley overlooking the narrow neck of the val-
ley which separates the middle valley area from the upper valley.
Here the mountains on either side of the valley close in on the
valley bottom, forming a naturally defensible entry into the upper
valley. Above this neck the valley bottom opens into a large fer-
tile pocket formed by the confluence of the Rio Nepeña and Rio
Vinchamarca tributaries. This is one of the best agricultural
regions of the valley, and apparently the first to be occupied
for this purpose.

Like the three sites just described, Quisque is constructed
of worked stone walls with entrances and corners fashioned of
finer cut granite blocks (Proulx 1973, Plate 23B). The site was
first described in 1877 by Squier who provided a simple but
relatively accurate map (Fig. 4). The fortress has irregular
parapeted walls and is built to incorporate several large rock
outcroppings. Squier indicated that the walls were 22 feet
(6.77 m) high in spots, and that access was restricted by two
entrances which pierced the outer wall.

Other architectural features which date to this period are
low rectangular platform mounds with stone lined cysts which
Daggett (1984) argues are for burials, and large underground stor-
age jars for water or food. These two features are described
in Daggett's dissertation.

Comparisons and Dating

The architectural style found at Kushi-Pampa, Motocachy,
Paradones and Quisque has comparisons with sites outside the
Nepeña Valley which might aid in confirming the dating of the
sites and demonstrating the spatial distribution of the construc-
tion techniques. The best comparisons are with a series of sites
recently recorded in the Santa Valley by David Wilson (1981,
1983). Fifty-four sites were found which Wilson dates to his
Cayhuamarca (Early Horizon) Period. These are linked to Kushi-
Pampa and the other sites noted above by similarities in archi-
tecture and by the presence of a homogeneous ceramic style, Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished. Wilson classifies his sites into three major categories: residences, Huacas, and fortresses (Wilson 1981: 42-45). The residences are further divided into (1) elite residences, (2) non-elite residences, and (3) habitations associated with fortresses. The Huacas also have three sub-types: (1) small pyramid platforms of conical adobe, (2) more elaborate pyramid platforms with circular sunken courts, and (3) hilltop platforms. Finally, fortresses are usually located on hilltops, have high walls and defensive features, and are quite distinct from the other two categories.

In form, many of the Santa Valley fortresses of the Cayhuamarca Period resemble the twin fortresses of PV 31-162 and PV 31-163 in the Nepeña Valley. Like the Nepeña fortresses, many of those in the Santa Valley have thick outer walls of stone, bastions projecting out from these walls, and a single, heavily-walled inner room (structures 1, 6, 33 and 45 in Wilson 1981). I have dated the two Nepeña fortresses to the first part of the Early Horizon on the basis of the artifacts associated with them. In architectural style, however, the Santa Valley Cayhuamarca fortresses (Plates 17B and 17C) most resemble the sites of Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56), Paradones (PV 31-64), Motocachy (PV 31-48) and the Fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46). The discovery of identical pattern-burnished pottery in these sites and in the Cayhuamarca sites links them together and provides a more accurate date for them all at the end of the Early Horizon.

Another interesting comparison with the Nepeña Valley stone walled sites is found at the site of Pashash, located at an elevation of 3255 m in the northern highlands of Peru. Although traces of some late Early Horizon pottery have been found on the site, the architecture and other remains found at the site have been dated to the Early Intermediate Period and to the Recuay Culture in particular (Grieder 1978). The structure known as El Caseron is an earthen platform partly surrounded by a 15 m high stone wall. The corners of this wall are fashioned of finely cut stone, much like that of Kushi-Pampa (Grieder 1978: Fig. 9; Bueno Mendoza 1979: cover and foto 38), and the remainder of the wall has flattened or shaped stones ("canteada-alisada") with smaller stones used in the intervening spaces (Bueno Mendoza 1979: Foto 39). The resemblance between the Pashash construction of El Caseron and the walls at Kushi-Pampa was noted by Alberto Bueno Mendoza, and he suggests that Kushi-Pampa may date to the period of Recuay influence on the Nepeña Valley (Bueno Mendoza 1979:50). The main problem with Bueno Mendoza's interpretation is that no Recuay pottery has been found at Kushi-Pampa, and known Recuay sites in the Nepeña Valley, such as Huancarpon (PV 31-59) have architecture quite different from Kushi-Pampa. The resemblances between Kushi-Pampa and the El Caseron structure
at Pashash, therefore, can be explained by several contrasting theories: (1) the resemblances are coincidental, (2) the dating of the El Caseron structure at Pashash is incorrect, or (3) this type of architecture, securely dated to the end of the Early Horizon in the Nepeña and Santa Valleys, has a longer history in the highlands than on the coast.

My analysis of the ceramics and architecture of the Kushi-Pampa related sites indicates that this culture continued into the early part of the Early Intermediate Period, thus bridging the gap between the local Early Horizon Culture exemplified by Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot pottery and the domination of the Nepeña Valley by Moche and Recuay cultural influences during the major part of the Early Intermediate Period. The Kushi-Pampa influences in architecture are related to both the Santa Valley to the north as well as to the Callejon de Huaylas.

Early Intermediate Period Architecture:
Recuay

Two major cultural traditions are found in the Nepeña Valley during the Early Intermediate Period: Recuay, which is confined to the upper valley area, and Moche, which is found in the Middle Valley Area (Map 6). The Recuay Culture is defined on the basis of its distinctive ceramic types which were first found in the northern highlands in the Province of Recuay during the 1870s. The ceramics were said to have come from large stone-lined subterranean tombs. In 1919 Julio C. Tello excavated over 100 stone-lined and stone-roofed subterranean tombs in the Catac area of the Callejon de Huaylas, but found no associated pottery (Tello 1929 and 1930). The tombs, however, were of the same form as those looted in the 1870s. Finally, in 1938, Wendell Bennett excavated subterranean stone-lined tombs at Shankaian and at Ichik Wilkawain in the highlands and found associated Recuay pottery. The prevalence of the pottery in the highlands led many experts to consider the source of this culture to be somewhere in the Callejon de Huaylas area.

Aside from the stone-lined tombs, practically nothing is known of highland Recuay architecture. No positively identified Recuay habitation sites have been found, although Lumbreras (1974b:112) describes three types of structures found in the Callejon de Huaylas which may date to this period. The first type has two adjacent gallery-like rooms roofed with large slabs and covered with earth; the second type has four inter-connected rooms with construction like the first; and the third type is subterranean with one elongated room and with entrance through the roof. There are no clear-cut associations of Recuay ceramics with these structures, and much of Lumbreras' opinions are based
on speculation. The greatest problem in identifying Recuay habitation sites is our lack of knowledge of Recuay utilitarian pottery. Most studies up to now have concentrated on the fancy Recuay modeled and painted ware, most frequently found in tombs (see Reichert 1977; Smith 1978). Current analysis of Recuay utilitarian pottery from the site of Balcón de Judas (Bennett's San Jerónimo) outside the city of Huaraz by Steven Wegner of the University of California should allow us to recognize Recuay habitation sites in the future.

The best documented Recuay site is Pashash, excavated between 1969 and 1973 by Terence Grieder of the University of Texas, assisted by Alberto Bueno Mendoza and others. Pashash is located in the northern highlands in the upper tributaries of the Santa River at an elevation of 3255 m.a.s.l. The site, which Grieder considers an ancient town, is composed of several sectors, including earthen terraces with shaped stone retaining walls, the best preserved of which is called El Caseron; a funerary temple and associated temple on the hill called La Capilla; an elaborate entrance complex, la Portada, cutting through a protective stone wall on the east side; and small stone chambers which Grieder feels may be the remains of houses (Grieder 1978:11-17). The site was first occupied during the Early Horizon, but the principal occupation and the architecture dates to the Early Intermediate Period. Radiocarbon dates obtained from the site range from 170 to 670 A.D., with the bulk of the dates falling between 300 and 600 A.D. Using his ceramic evidence, Grieder divided the Recuay period into three phases falling into the time period from 300 to about 550 A.D.

Although test pits were excavated at several locations at the site of Pashash, the bulk of the work took place in the temple and its associated grave. Indeed, Grieder's book is devoted mainly to a description and interpretation of the grave and its contents. In spite of these limitations, some details of Recuay architectural techniques can be determined. The stone facing wall of the platform at the El Caseron section of the site has the most elaborate stonework. It was fashioned of large stones which were cut and smoothed on one face and chinked with smaller stones or spalls (Grieder 1978:14). The corners of the platform, however, were made of squared blocks, giving a beautiful appearance to the masonry.

Grieder made several cuts in structures on La Capilla Hill which he interprets as houses (Cuts 4 and 5; 9). In both cases the structures have crude stone walls which appear to have been plastered with mud and possibly painted. Only the entranceways to the structures have finer cut stone. Floors are of packed earth and have rectangular firepits sunk into the floor. Wooden rafters beneath the floor of one of the buildings suggest a super-

236
structure of wooden beams and thatch. Late Recuay sherds were found associated with both buildings, but a positive identification of the constructions as houses has yet to be made. These buildings are certainly different from the three hypothetical subterranean house types proposed by Lumbreras.

Grieder's description of the two-roomed temple containing the fancy burial is more complete:

The temple walls remain firm and smooth surfaced, but they are quite casual in construction. Stones of various sizes and shapes were laid in thin mud mortar with the smoothest face on the wall surface. Only a few stones appear to have been carefully shaped, then generally only on the face that was to be visible. The walls are all double-faced, the two surfaces being laid independently, with a mud and rubble core if the thicknesses permitted it. In spite of the irregularity of the stones, the walls have an even surface. It is likely that they were originally faced with mud plaster, but no evidence of this remains anywhere in the site. . . . The smooth stones of the doorway contrast so markedly with the walls that one is tempted to imagine a finished surface having been part of the original appearance of the walls. (Grieder 1978: 47-48).

Using the above descriptions, we can now look for comparisons with the Nepeña Valley sites where Recuay pottery has been found.

The most elaborate Recuay-influenced site in the Nepeña Valley is Huancarpon (PV 31-59). Situated on a high plateau overlooking the confluence of the Rio Salitre tributary with the Rio Nepeña, the site is strategically located for both defense and administration. The major component of the site is a ceremonial complex consisting of two large terraced pyramids separated by an enclosed courtyard. Other structures, walls, courtyards and a cemetery are found in this section of the site. South of the ceremonial precinct, the plateau contains vestiges of habitations and defensive outposts.

Stone construction at Huancarpon is very crude. Building material is composed of unworked cobbles and fieldstone set in a mud and rubble matrix. No signs of shaped building stones were recorded at the site, even in the ceremonial complex. No parallels to the shaped stone walls of El Caseron at Pashash or the finely cut stone entranceways to the temple at La Capilla Hill are found at this site. On the other hand, there are some similarities to Recuay architecture found elsewhere in the highlands. There is a deep gallery on the northeast corner of
Pyramid A leading down into the pyramid. Large stone lintels and walls constructed of rounded cobbles can be seen. The bottom of the passage is blocked, and the full extent of this gallery is unknown. Galleries are a common feature of Recuay sites recorded by Bennett (1944) and Tello (1929 and 1930). On top of Pyramid A at Huancarpon can be seen parallel rows of stone walls seemingly forming narrow passageways or galleries deeper in the pyramid. Again, the function of these narrow passages is unknown. Although the construction technique is unique in the Valley, it seems to have parallels with Callejon de Huaylas sites, such as the long, narrow galleries at Wilkawain (Bennett 1944: Fig. 14).

Unfortunately none of the habitations at Huancarpon have been excavated. The plateau is covered with flat areas surrounded by earthen and rock mounds that appear to be wall foundations. Sherd concentrations are moderate in many of these areas, but almost non-existent in others. Much needs to be learned of the domestic structures for this period at Huancarpon. Pyramid B contains a series of large subterranean storage jars aligned in rows. Other such jars are found elsewhere on the plateau, most notably at the southern end. These thick clay jars were placed in pits lined with flat stones.

Little else can be said of Recuay period construction in the Nepeña Valley. Other sites having Recuay pottery are multi-occupational sites, and the association of the architecture with the ceramics is not as clear as at Huancarpon. In any case, the architecture appears to be similar at all the sites encountered.

Early Intermediate Period Architecture:

Moche

Moche sites in the Nepeña Valley are confined to the middle valley area and are clustered around or near the major ceremonial complex of Pañamarca (Plates 18A and 18B). Our knowledge of Moche architecture in this valley is limited to this ceremonial center and to minor architecture in surrounding cemeteries. Nearby mounds, such as the three located in the fields of San Gregorio adjacent to Pañamarca, are considered part of the complex. Unfortunately, these mounds are too eroded on the exterior to tell us much about construction techniques. Moche habitation units have yet to be identified in Nepeña.

Unlike many of the other sites discussed below, the dating of Pañamarca is securely based on the association of the architecture with painted murals of pure Moche IV designs on the plastered walls. These murals have been studied and recorded by many archaeologists (e.g., Bonavia 1959a and 1974; Schaedel 1951 and Proulx 1968a), and leave no doubt that the major construction of the site took place in Moche IV times in the latter half of the
Early Intermediate Period. There is evidence of additions, expansions and reconstructions at Pañamarca during the time it was occupied. Doorways have been sealed shut, walls built over earlier murals, and later walls built on top of or over earlier architecture. Even the interior of the pyramid, as evidence by a looter's excavation on the south side, has traces of older plastered walls.

Pañamarca is constructed of mold-made rectangular adobe bricks. On the average these bricks measure 43 cm long, 27 cm wide, and 17 cm thick. Only a few exhibit traces of cane markings from the molds, and most appear to have been made in flat-sided molds (Samaniego n.d.-1:6). Maker's marks on the adobe bricks, which are so common at Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Hastings and Moseley 1975), have not been observed at Pañamarca by either myself or Samaniego, although no concerted study of the bricks has been made there. At Huaca del Sol, Moseley (1975) observed vertical sections of brickwork which he attributes to "corporate labor practices" utilizing people from different towns or different groups to build specific sections of that complex. His theory is strongly supported by the correlation of maker's marks with the individual vertical sections. Looking at the facade of some of the walls and structures at Pañamarca, some vertical sections can be seen. It has not yet been determined how extensive this technique is at Pañamarca or whether this parallels the "corporate labor practices" found in the Moche Valley. We know practically nothing of the nature of the working force in the Nepeña Valley which built this complex--how many were local peoples forced to work on this complex and how many were Moche colonists? The area of the valley controlled by the Moche was small and tenuous, and it seems unlikely that large numbers of people from different groups or communities could have been involved in the construction activities here. Much more needs to be learned about the extent of Moche occupation in the Nepeña Valley, the nature of the occupation there, and the location of habitation sites before we can completely answer the questions posed above.

One of the most dramatic shifts in construction materials was the change from conical adobes and stone, so commonly used in the Early Horizon, to rectangular adobes in the Early Intermediate Period. The sudden change is further evidence of the military conquest of the valley by the Moche in the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period.

Polished Stone Projectile Points and Knives

Aside from pottery, the most frequently encountered artifact in Formative Period sites in the Nepeña Valley is the
polished stone projectile point. At the end of the 1979 field season, fragments of over 42 such points had been recorded from 13 different sites (see Table 3 below). The polished points were found most frequently in fortresses (PV 31-162 and 163) and in hilltop defensive sites (e.g., PV 31-253 and 254), but their presence in habitation sites (PV 31-59H and 159) is also known. So common were these points in hilltop sites, that they became a trademark of Early Horizon hilltop sites along with Nepefia Stamped Circle and Dot pottery and small clay pan pipes.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Number</th>
<th>Quantity of Points</th>
<th>Dating of site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-59P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>E.I.P. (Recuay) with E.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-59H</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.I.P. (Recuay) with E.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-60H</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.H. and ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-159</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>E.H., E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-162 fort</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>E.H. with E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-163 fort</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.H. with E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-175S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-234BC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-247</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-248</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>E.H. with E.I.P. (Recuay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-249</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>E.H., E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-253</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>E.H., E.I.P. (Recuay) and M.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-254</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>E.H. and E.I.P. (Recuay)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nepefia Valley polished stone points are made from slate or from other fine-grained sedimentary rock. Most of the specimens are lancolate in form, averaging 7 to 11 cm in length (projected). A few very long and several narrow and small examples are also found in the sample (see Plate 10A). Most of the points are hexagonal in cross section; both sides have flattened surfaces with ground beveling on each side to form the sharpened edge (Plate 10A). One or two pieces are lenticular in crosssection (Plate 10A, upper right) while others are bi-convex. One complete and particularly fine specimen is a bi-convex form notched on both sides of the base for hafting (Plate 10B). An unfinished specimen found at PV 31-162 provides additional data.
on the manufacturing process (Plate 10C). A flattened piece of raw material, approximately the thickness of the finished product, was selected. The outlined form of the point or knife was sawed from the matrix, perhaps using cord and an abrasive. Once the blank was freed, the object was finished by grinding the bevelled edges and further polishing the surface of the artifact with abrasives. Many of the points are thinned near the base for ease of hafting.

The function of these points could be quite varied. Since many of them are found in hilltop fortresses and other defensive works, most of them were apparently weapons for use in warfare. The points could be hafted on spears to form excellent offensive and defensive weapons. However, many of the specimens could also have served utilitarian functions. Some appear to be knives that could be used for a variety of purposes from skinning animals to cutting cordage and plants. The points could also have been used as awls for piercing skins or other materials. Until further studies can be undertaken, I would consider these objects multi-purpose tools and weapons with the greatest use being for spear points.

Comparisons and Dating

Polished stone projectile points, similar to those found in the Nepeña Valley sites, have been discovered at a number of sites in Peru including Chavin de Huantar (Tello 1960, Fig. 142; Lavalle 1969-70, Fig. on p. 219; and Muelle 1957, Figs. 1-11 and 28-29), Kotosh (Izumi and Sonó 1963, Plates 107 and 163; Izumi and Terada 1972, Plates 52 and 156), Ticapampa in the Callejón de Huaylas (Muelle 1957, Figs. 15-20), the lower Santa Valley (Muelle 1957, Figs. 30 and 31), Sechin Alto in the Casma Valley (Muelle 1957, Fig. 13) and in the Chancay Valley (Muelle 1957). The distribution is centered around the northern highlands with extensions to the central highlands and the north and central coastal valleys. Muelle (1957) has studied the points most extensively, comparing them to other polished points from North America and Asia. Lavallee also analyzed a good sample from Chavin de Huantar (1969-70). Gero has more recently studied the lithics from the site of Huaricoto in the Callejón de Huaylas and illustrates several examples from that site (Gero 1983: Fig. 5). Aside from these excellent but short reports, little attention has been paid to polished stone points from Peru.

In the few sites outside the Nepeña Valley where polished stone points were found associated with datable ceramics or other artifacts, they seem to date to the Early Intermediate Period in most cases. Lorenzo Rossello, for example, found polished points at Ticapampa in the Callejón de Huaylas associated with White-on-Red pottery, kaolin paste pottery (Recuay)
and polished red pottery (Muelle 1957:55). At Kotosh, of the 30 points found, 5 were in levels of the Kotosh-Chavin Period, 17 in the Sajura-Patac Period, and 8 in the Higueras levels (Izumi and Terada 1972). Even at Chavin de Huantar, Lavallee attributes most of the polished points found there to the Huaraz Period. Thus, Muelle (1957:59) concludes that the chronological position of the slate points is in the White-on-Red ceramic horizon and therefore date to the Early Intermediate Period.

There is, however, increasing evidence that the polished stone projectile point tradition began in the Early Horizon. At Kotosh, where the stratigraphic record was carefully correlated with associated artifacts, five of the 30 polished points were found in the Kotosh-Chavin (Early Horizon) level. Muelle himself found a slate point at Sechin Alto in the Casma Valley in association with ceramics with stamped circle and dot designs (Muelle 1957:53). At Chavin de Huantar Tello found polished points in the main temple area (edifices A, E and F) which suggest an association with this Early Horizon architecture (Tello 1960:308 and Fig. 142). And finally, the Nepeña Valley polished points are associated most frequently with sites having Early Horizon pottery types and architectural forms. Some of these sites, such as PV 31-234BC and 247, are pure Early Horizon sites with no evidence of later occupation.

The evidence from the Nepeña Valley demonstrates that polished stone projectile points and knives began in the Early Horizon and were most prevalent during that time period, but they continued into the Early Intermediate Period where they are also associated with Recuay influenced sites. I would argue that the source of these polished points was in the northern highlands and that this tradition was first introduced to the Nepeña Valley through Chavin influence during the Early Horizon. Renewed highland contacts in the Early Intermediate Period produced a continuation of this tool form during most of that Period but only in the upper valley area which was under the influence of the Recuay culture.

Spindle Whorls

Two additional forms of artifacts were commonly found in Early Horizon contexts and were very useful for confirming the dating of the sites within the Nepeña Valley; these artifacts were spindle whorls and pan pipes. Spindle whorls were made in various shapes and sizes during the Formative Period, but a distinctive variety was correlated to the Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot ceramic type so characteristic of Early Horizon sites. These spindle whorls were spherical in shape with flattened tops and bottoms (Plate 11A). They were made of clay and character-
istically decorated around the circumference with stamped circle and dots, identical in form to those found on the pottery. Since the pottery has already been rather securely dated to the Early Horizon, these spindle whorls associated with it have also been dated to this time period. Unfortunately no published examples have yet been located in the literature for use in cross-dating. However, a stone spindle whorl which I observed in a private collection from Chavin de Huantar, is decorated in the identical manner as the clay examples from the Nepeña Valley.

Another form of spindle whorl was present during the Early Horizon: a small button-shaped flat disk with a circular hole pierced in the center (Plate 11A). These spindle whorls appear to have been made from broken pot sherds rather than fashioned from scratch as was the case of the spherical whorls. The Early Horizon examples of disk whorls are usually small in size in contrast to the much larger disks (Plate 11A, right) found in later periods. They average around 3 cm in diameter and are very common in Early Horizon sites, particularly those located on hilltops or ridges. We have no information as to which sex was engaged in weaving during the Early Horizon; in later cultures it was usually women. The presence of so many of these artifacts in sites which have at least a partial defensive role is interesting, and it suggests that leisure time was filled by partaking in utilitarian activities.

By the end of the Early Horizon the spherical spindle whorls with stamped circle and dot have disappeared, replaced by disk-shaped whorls and perhaps smaller conical types. Recuay sites appear to have the flattened disk type of whorl, judging from those instances when they have been found. Moche spindle whorls have not been scientifically collected in the Nepeña Valley, so the range of sizes and forms cannot be verified. Excavated Moche burials in the Moche valley are associated with conical shaped spindle whorls with rounded bottoms and made from both clay and stone (Donnan and Mackey 1978, burials M-IV3 and M-IV 16). With further research, spindle whorls could become another useful form of time marker. The state of the art at this time is just in its infancy, but the Nepeña Valley sample has provided some clues as to the temporal varieties.

**Pan Pipes**

One of the most interesting discoveries coming out of the 1979 fieldwork was the finding of large numbers of pan pipe fragments in sites dating to the Early Horizon. A quick check of the literature demonstrated that few examples of clay pan pipes have been found in Early Horizon sites, and to my knowledge none are known from the Initial Period. Part of the problem has been that very few studies of pre-Columbian musical instru-
ments have been undertaken for the Andean region, and those that have been done stress the later periods, particularly the Inca. Although the evidence is meager, it seems evident that the earliest pan pipes were constructed of cane tubes which were tied together with cord to form the instrument. It is likely that such devices may go back to the pre-ceramic period, but the exact source of the innovation is not known. The coastal area with its naturally occurring cane seems more logical than the highlands as a locale for such an innovation.

An Early Horizon example of a cane pan pipe (Antara) is illustrated in Lapiner (1976, Fig. 64). The specimen is a figurine from the Jequetepeque Valley on the north coast which has been dated to the latter part of the Early Horizon (700-400 B.C.). The human figure is clearly depicted blowing a tied bundle of canes in the form of a pan pipe. Clay pan pipes from the Early Horizon are rare in the literature. Engel (1966, Fig. 63) illustrates a crude example from the Paracas Culture of the south coast. Another modeled Paracas example is depicted in Jimenez Borja (1950-51). These examples fall at the very end of the Early Horizon and are the prototypes for the wide variety of pan pipes found in the succeeding Nasca Culture of the Early Intermediate Period.

Pan pipes become very common in the Early Intermediate Period. Best known are the clay pan pipes of the Nasca culture. Sas (1939) illustrates a wide variety of Nasca pan pipes, ranging in size from three tubes to fourteen tubes. Many years ago John H. Rowe recognized that the tubes for these pan pipes were made by a very sophisticated technique. In many cases the tubes were made by slip casting. This technique involves the use of a mold into which is poured a liquid clay of the proper consistency. A thin film on the inner wall of the mold for the tube remains after the liquid clay is poured out. The process is repeated several times until a very thin-walled (often only a few millimeters thick) tube is formed. As the clay dries, the tube shrinks away from the mold and can be easily removed. This process allows a very accurately tuned hollow clay tube to be constructed. The tubes are then arranged in the proper tonal sequence and bound together in a clay matrix. Slip casting was highly developed by the Nasca, although other types of pan pipes are also known. Sas (1939) illustrates a preserved pan pipe of cane tubes in two rows.

On the north coast pan pipes also become more common in the Early Intermediate Period. Anton (1972, Fig. 27) illustrates a Gallinazo figurine blowing what appears to be a cane pan pipe. The Moche Culture also had this instrument, but not in the same numbers as the contemporary Nasca. Moche pan pipes are depicted in scenes on their pottery (e.g., Kutcher 1950, Figs. 32 and 33,
Moche pan pipes appear always to be made of cane tubes; no ceramic examples have been found in my search of the literature. The minor role this instrument played in Moche society as compared to Nasca can be seen in the absence of any pan pipes from all of the scientifically excavated graves (Uhle 1913; Donnan and Mackey 1978; Kroeber 1925). For this reason the frequency of pan pipe fragments found in the Early Horizon sites in the Nepeña Valley takes on added importance.

Over 77 fragments of pan pipes from 22 separate Early Horizon sites have been recorded as of 1979. The majority of these sites are hilltop outposts. The pan pipes are closely associated with ground slate projectile points and with spindle whorls. The Early Horizon pan pipes are technically quite advanced. Judging from the uniformity of the walls of the tubes, the thinness of the walls, and the lack of any cane markings within the tubes that might suggest they were formed over cane molds, it appears that the Early Horizon pan pipes were made by the slip cast technique. This would make them among the oldest clay pan pipes in Peru and would push back the slip casting technique to the Early Horizon and extend its distribution to the north coast.

The dating of the pan pipes to the Early Horizon is fairly secure in spite of their coming from surface collections. Since many of the collections were made at single period occupation sites such as PV 31-175S, they can be recognized when found in multi-occupational sites. There is also a difference in the size of the tubes from one period to the next. The Early Horizon pan pipes all have thin tubes while pan pipes from later periods (especially Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon) have larger tubes with thicker walls. Thus, this artifact type has become another good time marker for the Early Horizon.

Table 4

Distribution of Early Horizon Pan Pipe Fragments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th># of Fragments</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th># of Fragments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-48</td>
<td>5 (3 large, 2 small)</td>
<td>PV 31-230</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-50</td>
<td>3 (all large)</td>
<td>PV 31-231</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>PV 31-234</td>
<td>7 (4 small, 3 large)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-56</td>
<td>2 (both large)</td>
<td>PV 31-237</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PV 31-238</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-61</td>
<td>4 (one toy)</td>
<td>PV 31-244</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-157</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PV 31-247</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-159</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>PV 31-248</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-163</td>
<td>5 (4 small, 1 large)</td>
<td>PV 31-250</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-175S</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PV 31-253</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV 31-229</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>PV 31-254</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

245
THE EARLY CULTURAL SEQUENCE FOR THE NEPENA VALLEY

The Initial Period

Traditionally, the Initial Period has been defined as that time when pottery first appears on the coast of Peru and when maize becomes prevalent in the coastal valleys. These two traits are still used as time markers, but in addition much more is now known of the ceremonial architecture and general socio-political organization of this important time period. In the introduction to this work I have described some of the recent discoveries made on both the coast and in the highlands in respect to this ceremonial architecture. Many ceremonial complexes have now been recorded on the coast which date to the late Preceramic Period and to the Initial Period. The general configuration of these complexes is U-shaped, consisting of a high central mound, flanked in front by two smaller lateral mounds. The area enclosed within the arms of the "u" serves as an area of public worship. Often a sunken circular plaza is located within this enclosure (see Williams 1978-80).

In the highlands a dramatically different tradition of ceremonial architecture was present. Here ceremonial structures were one-roomed buildings with ritual hearths sunken into the floor. Offerings of animals or grain were burned in this ritual context. The privacy and restricted access to ritual suggested by the form of these highland temples contrasts with the open and public nature of the coastal examples (see Burger and Salazar-Burger 1980).

Recent studies of the Initial Period have centered on the nature of the social organization and on the subsistence patterns which supported the emergence of complex society (see Moseley 1975; Moseley and Willey 1973; Pozorski 1981; etc.). Analysis of the ceramics and other artifacts from this period has been quite variable in quality and has tended to be site specific rather than regional in scope. Part of the confusion seems to lie in the extreme heterogeneity of pottery from one area to another during this time period, perhaps due to the great amount of experimentation occurring. In general, Initial Period pottery has been described as relatively crude in appearance (e.g., gritty paste, uneven thickness, poor burnishing, simple decoration) and decorated by incision, punctation and the use of raised ribbing. Firing is often uneven, and the pottery may vary in color from one portion to another on the same vessel.

247
More recently Pozorski (1983) has argued that many decorative techniques once attributed to the Early Horizon were indeed present in the Initial Period. In addition to the above-mentioned features, he includes stamped circles and dots, rocker stamping, combing, feline motifs, pattern burnishing, and painting in graphite among others. His definition of what constitutes Initial Period pottery is based on his reassessment of the Early Horizon and his argument that the Caballo Muerto Complex (including Huaca de los Reyes) in the Moche Valley dates primarily to the Initial Period as do other sites once considered to be "Coastal Chavin" (Pozorski, 1983). I am following a more conservative approach in my discussion of Initial Period sites for the Nepeña Valley. While I agree with Pozorski that the concept of the Early Horizon and the role of Chavin during this period must be re-examined, I feel more data is needed to prove the Initial Period dating for some of the sites he discusses in the report and for the dating of some of the pottery decoration techniques.

Definition

Identification of potential Initial Period sites in the Nepeña Valley has been a continual problem since the initiation of the survey in 1967. In spite of a conscientious effort to locate such sites during the 1979 field season, the results to date have been largely negative. Possible reasons behind the apparent lack of sites include the following: (1) the Initial Period occupation of the Nepeña Valley may have been exceedingly small, and hence few sites exist, (2) we have not yet learned to recognize Initial Period pottery where it does exist, or (3) Initial Period sites, representing small populations, were reoccupied in later times with traces of the earlier occupation being covered or masked by the more recent.

Attempts to examine the Initial Period remains in adjacent valleys in order to aid in identifying similar remains in Nepeña have uncovered several surprises. In his lengthy survey of the Santa Valley, just north of Nepeña, David Wilson failed to identify any Initial Period sites out of the 1000 sites recorded over the period of a year (Wilson 1981:41; 1983). In another famous survey, that of the Virú Valley 72 kilometers north of Santa, only one Initial Period site was discovered, PV 31-71 known as Huaca Negra (or Huaca Prieta de Guanape) (Willey 1953:44). Thus there is a precedent for sparse population density during the Initial Period in parts of the north coast.

Turning to the Casma Valley to the south of Nepeña, several recent studies have provided us with the outlines of Initial Period occupation and comparative ceramic materials. In the 1950s Donald Collier and Donald Thompson undertook a partial survey of the Casma Valley. Collier defines two early pottery types that he assigns to the Initial Period: Cahuacucho Thick
Brown and Gualano Plain. Cahuacucho Thick Brown is described as ranging in color from dark chocolate brown to red, fired at a low temperature in a poorly controlled atmosphere, and ranging in thickness from 7-13 mm. Exterior surfaces were "pebble-polished." The major shape for this type is a large globular or egg-shaped jar with constricted mouth and a thick rim with a rounded or angular lip. None of the pottery of this type was decorated (Collier 1960:412).

Gualano pottery ranges in color from black to red, was also fired at a low temperature, and was relatively thin walled (3-8 mm). These vessels were roughly smoothed; infrequent decoration consists of incised lines, circular punctations, and an incised rib or lug. Shapes are constricted-mouth jars with a slightly up-turned rim. Gualano pottery has a crude similarity to Early Guanape pottery from the Virú Valley (Collier 1960:413).

More recently Rosa Fung Pineda (1972) has written on early ceramics from the Casma Valley. She describes an assemblage of pottery collected at the site of Tortugas (not the same Tortugas preceramic site discovered by Collier, but located near it). Her sample consisted of 8 decorated sherds, 33 olla rims, 1 ceramic base, and 150 body sherds. Among the decorated sherds is a possible figurine fragment with incision and punctation; red pigment was still visible in the incisions (Fung Pineda 1972: Lam. II-h). Other sherds were decorated with deep punctations, some of which compared favorably with Guanape style sherds from Virú. The bulk of the pottery appeared to be utilitarian cooking vessels.

Fung groups her sample from Tortugas with pottery she previously collected at Las Haldas (Phase I—see Fung 1969) and that discovered in the lower levels of Sechin Alto. She considers all this pottery to form a complex indicative of the Initial Period in the Casma Valley. She does point out, however, that thermoluminescence dates run on Collier's Cahuacucho and Gualano styles reverses their order, with Gualano now appearing to be earlier than Cahuacucho. Both, however, are still considered to be Initial Period in date.

The latest work on Initial Period sites and artifacts in the Casma Valley was accomplished by Thomas and Shelia Pozorski (1981). They confirm an Initial Period dating for Fung's Tortugas site and Phase 1 at Las Haldas. In addition they include the complex site of Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke. Earlier investigators (e.g., Collier 1960; Thompson 1962) separate Pampa de las Llamas and Moxeke into separate sites; the Pozorski's feel they must be considered a single site based on proximity, alignment, architectural similarities and the artifactual evidence (Pozorski
Pottery sherds constitute the most common type of artifacts found at Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke. The variety of vessel forms is somewhat limited. Neckless ollas are the most common form with some occurrence of bowls, jars and possibly bottles. Fragments of solid figurines and spindle whorls were also encountered. Ceramic decoration, like vessel form, is quite limited. The most common decorative technique is punctation which usually occurs as large and deep angular punctations arranged in a line along the angled shoulder or on modeled protrusions of the body of neckless ollas. At times these punctations were burnished over after they had been made. This type of decoration is exactly like that described and illustrated by Fung (1972:5, Fig. 1, Lamina II) from her survey of the site in 1968. In addition to large punctations, our ceramic sample includes small punctations, zoned punctation, incision, incised applique bumps, and plain and incised raised bands. The interiors of most sherds were well smoothed, and few exhibit the streaky interior wiping marks that are common on pottery from many early coastal sites (Pozorski and Pozorski 1981:17-18).

It would appear that the Pozorski's sample of pottery is similar to that of Fung and corresponds generally with that from the Virú Valley.

Looking to the highlands for possible similarities in Initial Period artifacts, several well-documented sequences come to mind. At Chavin de Huantar, Burger conducted stratigraphic excavations as part of his dissertation research (Burger 1978). His Urabarriu Phase dates to the latter part of the Initial Period (Burger 1979:138). It is contemporary with the Kotosh Kotosh style to the south east and to the Pacopampa Pacopampa style to the north. The Urabarriu Phase contains neckless ollas as the most common form. Most are undecorated, smoothed but not polished, and have several varieties of lips. Several long neck bottle forms are also present (Burger 1978: Figs. 44-49). Bowls are common, but generally without decoration, but when decorated the designs are found only on the exterior walls of the vessels.

Urabarriu decoration includes zoned punctation, sometimes between parallel lines, in triangles, or in ovals (Burger 1978: Figs. 30-33). Dashed incision is also found (Figs. 92, 94, and 96) and decorated raised ribbing (Fig. 95). The applique nubbin technique is illustrated by Fig. 149 in Burger 1978. Other...
decorative techniques are also present, but are less frequent.

The other well-documented Initial Period material from the highlands comes from the site of Kotosh (Izumi and Sono 1963). The Kotosh Waira-Jirca and the Kotosh Kotosh Periods correspond to the Initial Period occupation of the site. Pottery types associated with these periods include Kotosh Shallow Incised, Kotosh Burnished, Kotosh Incised, Kotosh Black Polished Incised and Kotosh Grooved. Of greatest interest to us are Kotosh Incised (Izumi and Sono 1963: Plate 73a), comparable to our Nepeña Broad Lined Incised; Kotosh Incised with Cylinder Stamping (Plate 84a-5, 84a-14 and 84b-12), comparable to our Nepeña Cylinder Stamped; and a third variety of Kotosh Incised datable to the Waira-Jirca period comparable to Nepeña Angular zoned punctate.

Theoretically, we would expect that any Initial Period sites discovered in the Nepeña Valley would most likely share ceramic and architectural traits with the adjoining coastal valleys, for a common tradition of ceremonial architecture is found over a wide portion of the central and north coasts. Conversely, since a quite different architectural tradition is found in the highlands, similarities and contacts with the coast would be expected to be minimal.

In the Nepeña Valley we have found no architectural remains that conform to the coastal tradition of U-shaped temple complexes with or without sunken circular courts. This pattern is found in the neighboring Casma Valley to the south as well as in the Huarmay, Fortaleza, Patavilca and Supe Valleys. Other circular structures are found in the Santa, Chao and Moche Valleys, but the dating and their association with U-shaped structures is less secure.

Similarly we have found very little pottery in the 360 sites surveyed in the valley that is comparable to the pottery from nearby coastal valleys. Among the early coastal ceramic traits seen on Nepeña Valley vessels are applique ribbing with punctation or incised lines, dash-shaped incisions, and a figurine fragment. The use of applique ribbing is not confined to the Initial Period. The examples in our surface collections are often broad bands with parallel incised lines cutting across the face of the ribbing. This is different from the more common narrow ribbing with punctations found in Initial Period sites elsewhere, and I am inclined to believe that most of our ribbed examples are later in date than the Initial Period. The other two traits, dashed incision and the figurine fragment to be described below, seem more securely dated.

Fragments from neckless ollas are common in Nepeña Valley sites, but the neckless olla appears to be a common vessel form.
during the Early Horizon. Our analysis has not yet reached the point where we can distinguish between potential Initial Period ollas and those from the Early Horizon. There do not appear to be, however, large globular or egg-shaped ollas such as those which characterize the Early Guanape style of the Virú Valley.

Of greater interest are decorative techniques found on some of the Nepeña Valley sherds which have affinities to Initial Period techniques from the highlands. Vessels with cylinder stamping, similar to Kotosh Incised ware, are found at a number of sites in Nepeña. Triangular zoned punctate found in the Urrabariu Phase at Chavin de Huantar and elsewhere was also found at several Nepeña Valley sites. Simple broad lined incision, while also present in the Early Horizon, is very characteristic of Initial Period phases at places such as Chavin de Huantar, Kotosh and Pacopampa. And the use of appliqué nubbins on a background of punctations also links a Nepeña Valley site with the Urrabarriu Phase at Chavin. If our Nepeña sherds do indeed date to the Initial Period as I have suggested, this would argue for a very early highland-coastal interaction which is not evident in the adjacent valleys. This is consistent with the absence of the usual ceremonial architectural pattern of U-shaped temples and sunken circular courts found in Casma and valleys to the south.

Artifacts

In this section I will attempt to identify possible Initial Period sites in the Nepeña Valley through use of surface pottery collections containing sherds which appear to correspond to Initial Period pottery dated elsewhere. I will concentrate on those sites discovered through the 1979 field season, since those are the only ones I have personally analyzed. These sites number up through PV 31-260. Additional sites surveyed by Richard Daggett with a potential Initial Period date will not be discussed. It should be pointed out that Daggett and I do not always agree on the assignment of Initial Period sites, our most serious difference being over the dating of the Punkuí and Cerro Blanco temples which he considers to be Initial Period and I consider Early Horizon in date. More will be said about this below.

PV 31-46: The fortress of Quisque is well known in the valley, situated on a mountain at a constricted neck of the valley separating the upper valley from the middle valley area. The fortress has architecture corresponding to the late part of the Early Horizon, and ceramic evidence which supports this dating. Included among the sherds, however, were examples of cylinder stamped ware which may be Initial Period in date.
**PV 31-47a:** This site consists of a stone and adobe pyramid surrounded by a walled courtyard. The pyramid is terraced and appears to have been reused in Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate Period times judging from large rectangular adobes used for construction on the summit of the structure. The dating of the pyramid's lower levels and the courtyard which surrounds it appears to be earlier, perhaps Early Horizon or even Initial Period. Found in the vicinity of the pyramid was the head of a figurine (Plates 11B and 11C) with protruding square ears, raised circular eyes with a deep punctation and slit marks to either side, a raised band around the head decorated with incision and punctation, and hair portrayed by broadly incised lines. The hair incision continues on the back side of the head. The fragment is unevenly fired and contains large temper fragments. The closest similarity to this figurine is a head from Las Haldas with identical eye form, ear and nose illustrated in Ishida et al 1960, p. 103 and p. 196, Fig. 60. Further corroborating an Initial Period occupation of the site, sherds have been found there decorated with triangular zone punctate, broad line incision and thick raised ribbing. I would argue that this site was established as an Initial Period complex, with the major architectural features dating to the Early Horizon, and finally a late reoccupation during the Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate Period.

**PV 31-48:** This site is located on the top and sides of a natural hill in the upper valley area overlooking the settlement of Motocachy from which it takes its name. Much of the occupational and artifactual remains discovered here date to the Early Horizon, but sherds decorated with techniques found in Initial Period sites elsewhere are found here as well. Included are sherds with triangular zone punctation, raised ribbing (some decorated with punctation), broad line incision, and dash-shaped incisions. This range of early pottery techniques, and the proximity of this site to PV 31-47 (discussed above), suggests a probable Initial Period occupation.

**PV 31-51:** This site is located on the top and sides of a small natural hill on the valley floor near the town of Moro. The presence of sherds with cylinder stamping, which was a common decorative technique in the Initial Period phase at the site of Kotosh in the highlands, as well as the presence of broad line incision, suggests an Initial Period date for the first occupation of this site.

**PV 31-157:** This site, like its counterpart PV 31-158, is located on a plateau overlooking the mouth of the Rio Salitre. A
fragment with triangular zoned punctate was discovered there.

**PV 31-158:** A site located on a plateau overlooking the confluence of the Rio Salitre with the Rio Nepeña. Examples of cylinder stamped pottery and sherds with broad line incision may indicate an Initial Period occupation at a site dating primarily to the Early Horizon.

**PV 31-163:** This site is an early fortress which dates primarily to the Early Horizon located on the west side of the valley directly opposite the mouth of the Rio Salitre. Found here were sherds with raised ribbing, combing, and applique nubbins which have been dated to the Initial Period at sites outside the valley.

**PV 31-227:** A site consisting of a looted cemetery located in a dry *quebrada* behind the town of Moro in the upper valley. The pottery includes a number of pieces of blackware with broad line incision, others with cylinder stamping, and a number of very unevenly fired sherds.

**PV 31-248:** A hilltop site on the east side of the Rio Nepeña in the upper valley overlooking the fortress of Chilhuay Bajo (*PV 31-162*). Here fragments decorated with triangular zoned punctate and broad lined incision were found.

These, then are the most likely sites in the valley to date to the Initial Period. The evidence is flimsy, based on the cross-dating of pottery known to date to the Initial Period elsewhere in Peru. Some of the decorative techniques, however, span later time periods and may not be a conclusive time marker for the Initial Period. We need to expand our knowledge of this important time period not only in Nepeña but in other parts of the adjacent coastal area as well.

**Settlement Patterns**

The positive identification and distribution of Initial Period sites in the Nepeña Valley is by no means clear. All of the nine possible Initial Period sites just described are located in the upper valley area, a pattern which at first appears to be atypical with respect to some of the other coastal valleys, but which is quite logical given the configuration of the Nepeña Valley. If the Initial Period marks the time when agriculture became the primary subsistence pattern on the coast of Peru, then it is likely that the area with the most stable water supply and fertile soils would be first to be occupied. In the Nepeña Valley the upper valley pocket provides the ideal conditions for
agriculture. The confluence of several tributaries near the town of Moro forms a broad pocket of fertile land which is easily defended at the narrowly constricted openings down-river. Water, which originates at the higher altitudes of the Cordillera Negra in the zone of regular annual rains, is not abundant. Access to this limited water supply occurs first in the upper valley, and that which is not used is then available to populations living in the middle and lower valley. All these factors point to the desirability of the upper valley for settlement during the Initial Period.

As for the middle valley area, I am not convinced by the argument that the temples of Punkurú and Cerro Blanco date to the Initial Period and not to the Early Horizon. Nor would I use the presence of conical adobes as a time marker of only the Initial Period. On other parts of the coast, conical adobes have generally been dated to the Early Horizon, and in some locations, such as Cahuachi in the Nasca Valley on the south coast, conical adobes date to the Early Intermediate Period. Thus I would not include the middle valley sites of PV 31-27 and PV 31-192, both of which contain conical adobes, in my inventory of Initial Period sites.

Additional Initial Period sites may yet be identified in the valley, and some undoubtedly lie buried under the remains of later occupations. Yet the fact remains that the number of sites is small, and most cover very small areas. Comparative data from other valleys is badly needed, especially in the category of non-ceremonial architecture.

Summary

The Initial Period witnessed the introduction of large-scale agriculture into the Nepeña Valley and a shift of populations from the coast to the upper valley pocket. Little is known about this important period, for the dating of the sites and the artifacts is still insecure. Unlike the valleys of the central coast, no temples have been identified in the valley for this period; the coastal pattern of U-shaped temple complexes with sunken circular plazas apparently bypassed Nepeña. Based on our present knowledge, population density was very low. The central coast rather than the north coast appears to have been the crucible where major innovations were taking place.

Influences on the Nepeña Valley seem to be coming from both the highlands and the Casma Valley to the south. Ceramic analysis of the sherds thought to be Initial Period in date indicate commonalities with decorative modes found at Chavin de Huantar, Kotosh and Pacopampa more so than with coastal sites such as in the Casma and Virú valleys. The implications and significance of
Much more research must be done, not only in the Nepeña Valley but in adjacent coastal valleys as well, before a clear understanding of the Initial Period on the north coast emerges.

The Early Horizon: The Early Period

The analysis of the 1979 research data suggested that the Early Horizon could be subdivided into at least two periods; an early phase distinguished by the widespread use of carinated bowls decorated with stamped circles and dots, incised sinuous lines, and lozenges formed by "S" shaped incision—all associated with fieldstone sites located on the summits and plateaus of the mountains bordering the valley; and a late phase distinguished by pattern-burnished and post-fired scratched ware associated with large architectural complexes constructed of finely shaped stone. Daggett (1984) has added an intermediate phase (his Phase II) between the two which I will not describe. Further research needs to be done to confirm the existence of this intermediate phase, which Daggett defined on the basis of his seriation of the pottery. We are both in agreement over the early and late phases of the Early Horizon. Below I will present a basic description of the first of these two phases along with my personal interpretation of the date. The reader is referred to Daggett (1984) for additional details and interpretative arguments.

Definition

Until recently, the Early Horizon was defined on the basis of the unifying nature of the Chavin Culture which spread over much of northern and central Peru from its source in the northern highlands. Beginning with the famous seriation of Paracas style pottery from the Ica Valley on the south coast by Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964), it has become clear that Chavin influence was not always constant throughout the Early Horizon, nor did it affect all areas in the same way (see Moseley 1985 and Burger 1985). The nature of Chavin influence, whether it was a pristine state that spread by military conquest (Roe 1974) or a religious cult spreading by peaceful means (Patterson 1971), is still being debated. Today even the identity of "Coastal Chavin" art motifs and architecture is being questioned (Pozorski 1983).

I will argue that in the Nepeña Valley there was strong influence from the highland site of Chavin de Huantar, and that this influence was manifested during the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon. The best evidence for this contact can be seen in the temples of Punkurí (PV 31-10) and Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36),
both located on the valley bottom in the middle valley area. These sites are described in detail elsewhere in this report. The pertinent evidence here is that at Punkurf several artifacts commonly associated with the Chavin Culture were discovered: a stone mortar and pestle, a strombus shell trumpet, and a feline sculpture in clay. At Cerro Blanco, the wall motifs are even more "Chavinoid" in style than at Punkurf, and the shape of the temple takes on a U-shaped configuration. Chavin style sherds were found in the fill by Tello (1943:136 and Plate 14a). Although no fancy "Classic Chavin" pottery specimens have been scientifically excavated in the valley, several specimens were photographed in private collections and were said to have valley provenience (Proulx 1973: Plate 1).

Although the Chavin Culture influenced the Nepeña Valley and migrants/colonists from the highlands may have built the temples of Punkurf and Cerro Blanco, the vast majority of the earliest sites from the Early Horizon were occupied by local peoples, judging from the nature of the sites and the artifacts found in them. In 1979 40 sites dating to the early and middle periods of the Early Horizon had been recorded. Daggett's work in 1980-81 raised that number to close to 100 sites. Those described in this paper are shown on Map 4.

Artifacts

Pottery constitutes the largest artifact category for this phase. The most common and widespread decorative technique is the stamped circle and dot design. I have argued elsewhere in this paper that this motif probably represents the pelage markings of jaguars, one of the most revered mythical creatures in the Chavin pantheon. This links the seeming geometric designs on the utilitarian pottery of these local peoples in Nepeña to the Chavin influences coming from the highlands. The Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot motif is usually depicted on carinated (or gambrelled) bowls. The size of the circles and the number of punctations within them are quite variable (Plates 1b, 1c and 2a).

In addition to Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot, the other main pottery types found in the early and middle periods are: Nepeña Triangular Zoned Punctate, Nepeña Banded Lozenge, Nepeña Sinuous Zoned Punctate, Nepeña Angular Zoned Punctate, Nepeña Broad Lined Incised, Nepeña Plain Black and Nepeña Painted Incised. Forms include several varieties of bowls and jars, a single spouted bottle and a cup form. The decorative techniques have been described earlier in this paper; the pottery shape categories are detailed in Daggett (1984).

Other common artifacts associated with Early Horizon pottery types are clay pan pipes, spindle whorls and ground slate.
projectile points. The pan pipes were found in over half (22 out of 40) of the Early Horizon sites. The tubes, made by the slip casting technique, tend to be small and narrow, averaging 7 or 8 mm in diameter. These clay pan pipes are among the earliest found in Peru.

Spindle whorls from this phase are usually spherical in shape with flattened tops and bottoms. Made of clay they are decorated with the same stamped circle and dot decoration as is found on the pottery. In several cases it appears that white pigment has been applied to the incisions on these spindle whorls.

Over 42 fragments of ground slate projectile points and knives have been found in the Early Horizon sites in the valley. Some were found in structures identified as forts, and it can be assumed that their function was militaristic. Others were discovered in hilltop sites, some of which may have been habitation sites, and here the function of the points or knives may have been more utilitarian. Most of these objects are hexagonal in cross section and vary in length and overall shape. These ground and polished stone points are one of the most distinctive artifacts of the Early Horizon and form a complex along with pan pipes, spindle whorls and the stamped circle and dot decorative technique.

Settlement Pattern

Of the 40 sites discovered through the 1979 field season which are datable to the early and middle parts of the Early Horizon, the majority (35 of the 40) are located in the upper valley area. Like a large bowl surrounded by a mountainous rim, the upper valley contains some of the best agricultural land in the valley (see Maps 2 and 4). A narrow neck in the valley floor near San Jacinto separates the middle valley from the upper valley. Passing through this naturally defensible gate, one enters a large pocket that balloons out into the upper valley basin. The pocket is formed by the confluence of the main branch of the Rio Nepeña with one of its major tributaries, the Rio Vinchamarca. The mountainous rim of this basin provided the plateaus and hilltops where most of the sites of this period were located. The valley floor, while relatively flat, is punctuated by an occasional natural hill upon which the ancient peoples constructed some of their sites. Beyond the modern town of Moro, the flood plain of the main branch of the Rio Nepeña becomes narrower as it rises in altitude. The town of Jimbe at 1250 meters is the effective limit of the upper valley, although some sites continue up to about 1500 meters.

The concentration of sites in the upper valley during the Early Horizon may be due to several factors. Agriculture was
was firmly established by the Initial Period in Peru, and there is strong evidence that in the Early Horizon irrigation techniques were being practiced (Moseley 1974). In an intermittent second-class river such as Nepéña, the control of water is in the hands of those closest to its source. Those living in the upper valley and along its tributaries have first claim to the water, while those living downstream get what is left over. The distribution of sites shown clearly on Map 4 illustrates this principle. No Early Horizon sites are known in the lower valley, and those in the middle valley are mainly ceremonial in nature.

Another motivation for the concentration of sites in the upper valley is defense. The configuration of this part of the valley is ideal for protection of the people. At the neck of the valley connecting the upper and middle valley, an ancient fortress was erected at the end of the Early Horizon. Pottery found there suggests that in the first part of the Early Horizon a smaller and more primitive structure was probably present. Twin forts (PV 31-162 and 163) dating to the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon are found near the mouth of the Rio Salitre tributary where it connects with the Rio Nepéña. Typical ground slate projectile points and stamped circle and dot pottery have been found in both. These forts are among the earliest military structures found in northern Peru and tend to support Robert Carneiro's theories on the formation of complex society and the state (Carneiro 1970). More will be said on the nature of warfare at the end of this section.

The upper valley sites fall into a number of functional categories. The most frequently encountered site is an artificially flattened ridge top overlooking a broad expanse of agricultural land below. These platforms often support a single one-roomed fieldstone structure whose floor may be excavated into the mountain top. In other cases there is little or no architecture remaining. The function of these hilltop sites has been the topic of many discussions. It would be easy to attribute a military function to all of these "hilltop redoubts" (to use Willey's term for similar sites found in the Virú Valley), but the evidence suggests more varied functions.

Daggett (1984) has argued convincingly that some of these hilltop ruins are habitation sites. The artifacts scattered on the surfaces of these sites include spindle whorls, pan pipes, great quantities of pottery and other types of "household" materials. A hilltop location would free the valuable valley floor for agricultural purposes and raise the living sites to an elevation above the stagnant mosquito-thick air of the floor. Hilltop sites have the disadvantage of poor logistics (water and other commodities have to be carried up long distances) and require the inhabitants to climb steep and treacherous paths, but Daggett dis-
misses these factors by pointing out the relative ease of footpath travel exercised by local inhabitants in the area today. I would also point out the defensive nature of these hilltop habitations and the possible advantage of the siting for administration and observation of the agricultural lands below.

Today the local inhabitants of the upper valley either live in isolated households or small hamlets on the valley floor or are clustered in one or the other of the modern towns. It would appear that this pattern is a relatively modern one imitating Spanish settlement patterns and the need for access to roads. There are no traces of Early Horizon habitation sites on the valley floor, although it is possible that if they did exist, they were destroyed by flooding and alluviation. The conclusion we have reached is that the ancient settlement pattern for habitations was off the valley floor on hilltops, plateaus or the fringes of the valley bottom.

Several plateaus have yielded the vestiges of what appear to be Early Horizon hamlets. Chilhuay alto (PV 31-157) is a good example of such a site. Located on a plateau overlooking the confluence of the Rio Salitre with the Rio Nepéña, Chilhuay alto consists of a cluster of fieldstone house foundations, rectangular in shape, often with several agglutinated rooms. A few appear to have raised areas within them. Large ceramic jars sunken into the ground were used for storage of water and possibly foodstuffs. Utilitarian pottery decorated with stamped circles and dots was widespread. Other similar sites are PV 31-234 and PV 31-235.

Other hilltop sites appear to be defensive in function. PV 31-175 is located near the entrance of the Rio Vinchamarca tributary into the valley. Here a mountaintop platform, devoid of architecture, is fortified by stone walls on the slopes below. The site of PV 31-254 is also heavily fortified, and large quantities of ground slate projectile point fragments were found associated with it. A large single-roomed heavy-walled structure dominates this site with walls and natural ravines below protecting it further. The exact nature of these defensive outposts needs further investigation.

In a paper presented in 1980 (Proulx and Daggett 1980) it was argued that some of the hilltop sites may have had administrative functions. The lack of architecture, the broad vistas of the valley bottom and the defensive nature of these sites suggested that the managerial class of the Early Horizon society may have used these sites for observation and control of the population. I believe this hypothesis still has merit, but I now concede that many of the sites I once considered administrative are probably habitational in function. Future excavation in these sites will help sort out the answers.
A few sites in the upper valley take advantage of natural hills and outcrops on the valley floor. Among these are PV 31-50, PV 31-51, PV 31-61 and PV 31-250—all located close to the town of Mora. Because of their accessibility to the valley floor, these sites tend to be slightly larger and more complex than the hilltop sites.

In 1979 the sites that had been discovered in the middle valley which could be dated to the Early Horizon were few in number. They included the temples of Punkuri (PV 31-10) and Cerro Blanco (PV 31-36), two sites containing conical adobes which apparently date to this time period (PV 31-27 and 192), and an extension of the Cerro Blanco site which was numbered separately as PV 31-37. Another possible site is PV 31-125, known as Huaca Partida, constructed of stone and apparently containing ventilation shafts leading to underground passageways (Proulx 1973, Plate 24a).

Richard Daggett has subsequently found some hilltop sites in the middle valley area and also feels that the site of Caylán (PV 31-30) also dates to this period. These sites and theories will not be described here, but their presence does not alter the fact that the vast majority of sites dating to the earliest part of the Early Horizon are concentrated in the upper valley area. No definite Early Horizon sites have been found as yet in the lower valley.

I once puzzled over the lack of habitation sites in the middle valley during this time period and the presence of the temples here but not in the upper valley. Daggett's discovery of the mid-valley hilltop habitation sites has diffused this concern somewhat, but many questions remain about the identity and location of ceremonial sites at this time.

Summary

The beginning of the Early Horizon initiated a period of population growth in the Nepeña Valley which seems to have been stimulated by outside forces. As we have seen, few Initial Period sites have been identified in the valley to date, and the evidence available suggests that there were not many people living in the valley at that time. With almost 100 sites springing up during the first two-thirds of the Early Horizon, we can talk about a minor population explosion at this time. The big question arising out of these facts is: what factors caused this population growth?

The lack of an adequate population base and the absence from the archaeological record of evidence for complex cultural developments in the Nepeña Valley during the Initial Period,
points to the conclusion that cultural growth during the early part of the Early Horizon was due to outside stimulation and/or migration. This conclusion is supported by several lines of evidence. New pottery styles appear in the Nepeña Valley at the start of the Early Horizon—pottery styles shared with peoples in other parts of Peru. Included in this stylistic complex are decorative techniques such as stamped circles with dots and stamped elements between sinuous incised bands. Although stamped circles and dots were first used in the Initial Period (e.g., at Kotosh during the Kotosh Kotosh Phase), the technique is most widespread during the Early Horizon where it was distributed from the Ica Valley on the south coast to Nepeña on the north coast. This decoration was particularly prevalent at Chavin-related sites in the northern highlands such as Chavin de Huantar, Pacopampa and Kuntur Wasi. The possible role of Chavin in the spread of this distinctive decorative form will be discussed below.

Other external stimulation affecting the Nepeña Valley in the Early Horizon was in the form of new agricultural techniques and plants. There is no evidence to suggest that the Nepeña Valley played a significant role in the early domestication of plants and animals; these items and ideas came into the valley from the outside. I will argue that these new practices played a decisive role in the development of complex society in the valley at the beginning of the Early Horizon. Plants such as beans, peppers, squash, maize and possibly manioc were now firmly established in the valley and provided the main source of food. The settlement pattern of sites clustered in the upper valley pocket reflects the importance of agriculture. There is strong but indirect evidence of primitive irrigation works in the valley. Many of the sites are located some distance from the main course of the river and its tributaries. Remnants of old canals can be seen in many parts of the valley, some near these Early Horizon sites, but the exact dating of these canals awaits further study. An early date for irrigation in Nepeña is entirely consistent with recent work elsewhere on the north and central coasts. Moseley (1974:79), for example, states that canal irrigation began during the Initial Period in the Ancon-Chillon-Rimac areas.

The paucity of Early Horizon sites in the lower valley does not mean that maritime resources were not exploited. Large quantities of shell have been found on hilltop sites in the upper valley suggesting the systematic exploitation of several ecozones by the upper valley Early Horizon inhabitants, or a system of intra-valley trade. Larger shells were sometimes used for luxury items; blanks for shell pendants were found at PV 31-240 in the Rio Salitre tributary.
A third area of external stimulation during the Early Horizon was religious in nature. If the temples of Punkuíf and Cerro Blanco are indeed "Chavinoid" as I have been arguing, then powerful new ideological concepts were being introduced into the valley at this time. This leads us back to the age-old question of what role Chavin played in the evolution of complex society in the Nepeña Valley. A final answer cannot be made without more research on, and a better understanding of, the nature of Chavin culture. Was Chavin a pristine state as argued by Tello (1942, 1943) spread by military conquest (Roe 1974)? Or was it a religious cult that spread by peaceful means (Patterson 1971; Cordy-Collins 1976)? There is evidence to support both arguments.

The scenario I hypothesize for the development of culture in the Nepeña Valley during the early part of the Early Horizon is as follows. New agricultural techniques and plants were introduced into the valley at the beginning of the Early Horizon, most likely coming from the Casma Valley rather than from the highlands, for the Casma Valley had a large and active Initial Period occupation. Whether these ideas and crops were accompanied by an influx of migrants or not is still debatable. The new technology laid the foundation for a series of structural changes to take place, culminating in a sharp rise of cultural complexity. The first change was in population size, which, spurred by a stable and efficient food supply, increased rapidly. The technology and its concomitant practitioners soon required a more complex social structure to deal with the problems of water management, disputes over land, and defense. A class-structured society emerged which was held together by coercion as seen in the evidence for militarism in the valley such as fortresses and ground stone projectile points.

Into this developing local culture were infused additional ideas from the outside. The prestige of the Chavin Culture probably affected the inhabitants of the Nepeña Valley long before there was any direct physical contact. The technique of decorating pottery with stamped circles and dots spread to the valley quite early in the Early Horizon. I have argued earlier that this decoration is more than geometric fillers but rather is an abbreviated symbolic representation of the pelage markings of the jaguar, the most revered creature in the Chavin pantheon.

Toward the middle of the Early Horizon, the influence from Chavin becomes more direct. Migrants from the highlands, perhaps by way of the Casma valley, establish a small temple of Punkuíf in the middle valley area. Several generations later the temple of Cerro Blanco is erected. Local peoples accepted these temples and allowed them to be built, out of respect for the religious cult, known to them indirectly for some time. Perhaps some fear of the superior organization and power of the
cultural which stood behind the cult also motivated their acceptance. However, our studies in Nepeña show no direct evidence for a military takeover of the valley by the Chavin Culture, although there is no doubt in my mind that Chavin had a military component and used it elsewhere. The military fortifications and weapons in the valley were probably more for internal control rather than external, but future research is needed on this important problem.

The spread of the Chavin Culture to the coast had less to do with missionary zeal than with the desire of the culture to control diverse ecological zones to obtain needed resources. The homogeneity of Chavin artifacts over the north and central coasts attests to the effectiveness of these pursuits. Time will tell whether the ingress into these zones was peaceful or was accomplished by force.

The relationship between the hilltop Early Horizon sites in Nepeña and the valley bottom temples of Punkuri and Cerro Blanco is unclear. There is no strong evidence to suggest that the temples served as colonial administrative centers such as those maintained in their conquered territories by the Incas, nor do they seem to serve as theocratic administrative centers such as Pañamarca functioned in the Moche sphere. In terms of political alignment, the Nepeña Valley seems to be relatively autonomous during the Early Horizon, with perhaps some linkage to the polities in the Casma Valley to the south. There seems to have been little or no interaction between the Nepeña Valley and the Santa Valley at this time. Chavin served as a religious model rather than as a conquerer. Its role in the development of the coastal cultures must not be underestimated, for in many ways it did serve as the "mother culture" or cultural matrix of all later Peruvian civilizations. On the other hand, its influence was sporadic and did not extend through the entire span of the Early Horizon.

The Early Horizon: The Late Period

During the last third of the Early Horizon and extending into the first part of the Early Intermediate Period, Chavin influence on the Nepeña Valley abruptly ends, and new cultural influences coming from the Callejon de Huaylas in the highlands and perhaps from the Santa Valley to the north produce major changes in the societies of the Nepeña Valley. These changes are reflected in new architectural styles and settlement patterns, in major new pottery styles, and in political complexity.

Definition

In 1864 Ephraim George Squier traveled up the Nepeña Valley on horseback to visit an impressive ruin which he called the
"Stoneworks of Mora." He described this monument as "a series of vast open areas and terraces surrounded by heavy walls of stone, with entrances which had been covered by massive lintels, from nine to twelve feet long. . . . the walls, at places yet twenty feet high, are turned at their angles, and the entrances faced with large cut stones" (Squier 1877:206-207). Other travelers and archaeologists, including Middendorf (1973 Tomo II), Tello (1943), Bennett (1939:17), and Kosok (1965:207), visited the ruins and speculated on its date. In addition to Squier's name for the site, it is also known as Siete Huacas and more accurately as Kushi-Pampa (PV 31-56).

Kushi-Pampa is only one of several large ruins in the valley constructed of finely cut stone. The other sites include Paradones (also known formerly as Pincha Marca, Vinchamárca or El Padrejon) (PV 31-64), the Motocachy Ruin (PV 31-48) and the fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46). All correspond to what Tello called "Megalithic architecture." Tello saw a relationship between these sites and the stone construction of Chavin de Huantar, and thus he dated them to the Early Horizon (Tello 1930:264). Other scholars, such as Bennett and Kosok, were unsure of the dating and avoided the question.

In 1967 during the first season of my surface survey of the valley, I discovered at Kushi-Pampa a peculiar style of pottery that consisted of deep, straight-sided bowls decorated with cross-hatched pattern burnishing. For many years I considered this decorative technique unique to the valley, but then began to find instances of it elsewhere. David Wilson, during his recent survey of the Santa Valley, found large quantities of identical pattern-burnished pottery associated with architecture similar to Kushi-Pampa. Wilson dates his ware to his Cayhuamarca Period which he equates to the latter part of the Early Horizon (Wilson, 1981). Other examples have been found by Lynch at Guittarrero Cave (Lynch 1980), at Pacopampa (Roses and Shady 1970), at HuacaLoma (Terada and Onuki 1982), in the Casma Valley at Rumipallana (Fung and Williams 1977) and as a component of the Salinar Culture in the Moche Valley (Brennan 1978). The dating of these styles confirms my initial impression that Kushi-Pampa dates to the latter part of the Early Horizon and continues on into the first part of the Early Intermediate Period.

The Kushi-Pampa Period is now defined on the basis of its distinctive megalithic architecture of finely cut stone, the use of lintels over doorways, and the presence of granite blocks for corners and entryways in its largest sites (Plates 15 and 16A). It is also defined on the basis of two major decorative techniques that appear suddenly in the archeological record: cross-hatched pattern burnishing on the exterior of deep bowls, and
post-fired scratching or engraving on other vessels. These techniques will be discussed in more detail below.

Artifacts

Judging from the surface collections made at late Early Horizon sites, the majority of the pottery used at this time was undecorated redware. Of the decorated pottery, two techniques predominate. Cross-hatched pattern burnishing is the most common and distinctive decorative technique used in this period. It is used exclusively on the exterior of bowls which have deep straight sides. Most often a pattern-burnished band encircles the outer rim of the bowl with the cross-hatched pattern emanating downward from it. No complete vessels have ever been found, so average dimensions and the extent of the decoration down the side of the vessel are difficult to determine.

Pattern burnishing is a widespread technique in Peru, dating primarily to the Early Horizon and the Early Intermediate Period. It was used among some of the ancient cultures of Ecuador (Bahia and Guangala) to the north and ranges as far south as the Ica and Nasca valleys of the south coast of Peru (Ledergerber, 1980; Menzel, Rowe and Dawson, 1964). The closest correlates of the Nepeña Valley examples have been described in the section above.

Closely associated with Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished ware, but not as frequently encountered in the sample, is a decorative technique I am calling Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched. This pottery is decorated with crude geometric designs which seem to have been made by scratching or engraving the clay with a sharp instrument after firing had taken place. The designs include a number of lines radiating from a point, random criss-cross lines, and one piece with a design resembling a fir tree. Very few examples of this technique have been found outside the Nepeña Valley. At Pacopampa, Fung (1975) illustrates several examples she calls "grabado tosca" which appear similar to our examples. The contemporaneity of this ware to the pattern-burnished style is clear, however. Several specimens have been discovered with both techniques used together (PV 31-57 and PV 31-185).

There are no other artifacts that can be considered diagnostic of the late Early Horizon aside from the pottery types just described. Architectural style and settlement pattern are very distinct and form the subject of the next section.

Settlement Pattern

At the end of the 1979 field season, 18 sites had been found in the Nepeña Valley that could be definitely dated to the
latter part of the Early Horizon and the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. I shall subsequently refer to this period as the Kushi-Pampa Phase. These sites were dated on the basis of the pattern burnished and scratched pottery and/or the distinctive stone architecture associated with it. Subsequently, Richard Daggett has greatly expanded the sample of Kushi-Pampa Phase sites with his 1980-81 fieldwork. There are now 83 known Kushi-Pampa phase sites in the valley, the vast majority (77 out of 83) being located in the upper valley pocket and the remaining 6 in the middle valley region. Daggett has thoroughly studied these sites and has made important contributions with his analysis of the settlement patterns and external connections (Daggett 1984, Chapter 7). His arguments will not be repeated here, but rather I will present the background to his conclusions based on the work through 1979.

Following the pattern established during the first part of the Early Horizon, Kushi-Pampa Phase sites are also located on mountain plateaus and hilltops surrounding the upper valley basin. By far the most impressive of these sites is Kushi-Pampa itself. The main part of the site is a large compound, 420 m long and 120 m wide, enclosed by a thick stone wall (Plate 15A). The walls are constructed of large, shaped stone blocks and are double faced with a rubble core, making them very thick. Smaller stones are used as chinking to fill in the spaces between the larger blocks. As Squier pointed out over 100 years ago, these walls were once in excess of 7 m high, and there are still portions of them that are three to four meters high. The earthquake of 1970 caused further deterioration to the architecture, but it is still a very impressive ruin. The corners of the compound, as well as the entrances, are fashioned of finely cut granite blocks (Plate 16A). A lintel carved with an incomplete figure of a human with a club is found at the principal entrance.

Within the compound are large open courtyards flanked by smaller rooms with greatly restricted access (Plate 15B). Indeed, the entire compound has only two entrances piercing the outer wall. Once inside, the innermost rooms are accessible only by traversing a series of courtyards and other rooms. The clear interpretation that must be made is that this compound had definite administrative/religious functions. In spite of its large size, Kushi-Pampa is a single occupation site which has allowed an accurate definition of this phase to be made.

Pottery and architecture identical to Kushi-Pampa were also found in 1967 at the Motocachy Ruin (PV 31-48). At this site the multiple peaks of an isolated hill located on the northern edge of the valley were flattened into platforms, and a series of structures, walls, terraces and underground storage jars were established. Motocachy was a multiple occupation site, but the most impressive architecture dates to the Kushi-Pampa Phase.
On the valley floor not too distant from the modern town of Moro lies the site known as Paradones (PV 31-64). Paradones (or El Palacio de Padrejon as he called it) was also visited by Squier in 1864. He describes it as "a series of enclosures reached by a stone stairway from the terrace below. Partly within, and, to a certain extent, forming part of one of these enclosures ... is another enclosure, surrounded by walls of cut stone, topped with adobes" (Squier 1877:205). Paradones is remarkable in its architectural similarity to Kushi-Pampa—the same form of stones (Plate 16B), the same use of chinking or smaller stones between the larger blocks, and the presence of an entryway with a massive lintel (Plate 17A). Few sherds were found by myself over the years to confirm the dating of this well-picked-over site, but Daggett has recently found the characteristic pattern burnished pottery here.

One must also mention the imposing fortress of Quisque (PV 31-46), built at the valley neck separating the upper valley from the middle valley. The architecture of Quisque is also identical to that of the other sites described, and pattern burnished pottery has been found here as well. The form of this fortress is quite different from the forts of the first part of the Early Horizon, PV 31-162 and PV 31-163, where the walls were composed of irregular boulders and smaller shaped rocks.

Finally, an imposing Kushi-Pampa site in the middle valley area should be mentioned as well. At the Moche ceremonial site of Pañamarca (PV 31-38), behind the main pyramid at the summit of the hill on which the site was erected, is a stone structure (Plate 18C) that formerly was described as a Tiahuanaco temple (Schaedel 1951a:150). In my 1968 monograph, I followed Schaedel's argument (Proulx 1968a:79), but further work in the valley has led us to date this structure to the Kushi-Pampa Phase of the Early Horizon. The stonework here is identical to Kushi-Pampa, and pattern burnished decorated pottery has been found there as well.

Daggett has recently identified several additional important Kushi-Pampa centers (1984: Chapter 7) including the sites of Virahuanco bajo (PV 31-351) and Santa Lucia (PV 31-355). He also feels that the sites of Huancarpon (PV 31-59) and Anta (PV 31-170) were major sites at this time as well.

It is clear that during the Kushi-Pampa Phase, society in the valley was stratified and that the elite were concentrated into several major centers: Kushi-Pampa, Motocachy, Paradones, Virahuancan and perhaps Santa Lucia. It cannot be determined at this time whether these centers were contemporary, with each controlling a portion of the population, or whether they were successive administrative/religious seats of power. The spacing of the sites within the upper valley suggests that they were at least partially contemporaneous. Daggett (1984:375ff) argues
that these centers are paired with other sites, one component sacred/administrative and the other secular. Thus he pairs Kushi-Pampa with Huancarpon, Paradones with Anta, etc. The validity of this hypothesis depends partly on the correct dating of the subsidiary sites and partly on the rationale of paired sites itself. More work needs to be done to confirm this hypothesis.

The Kushi-Pampa Period architecture has its closest relationships with the Cayhuamarca Period sites in the Santa Valley (Wilson 1981: 1983). Cayhuamarca sites are grouped in clusters situated on mountain plateaus or hilltops in the middle and upper parts of the Santa Valley. The megalithic construction is almost identical to the Kushi-Pampa architecture in Nepeña (Plates 17B and 17C). Wilson identifies over 19 of his sites as fortresses. There appears to have been a strong connection between the Nepeña and Santa valleys at this time period.

In the Casma Valley to the south of Nepeña is the site of Chanquillo, a fortress with concentric stone walls which has been dated to the Early Intermediate Period (Fung and Pimentel 1973). The stonework here is highly reminiscent of Kushi-Pampa with the exception of wooden lintels being used in place of stone. The Early Intermediate Period dating is consistent with the end of the Kushi-Pampa Period.

In the highlands megalithic construction very similar to Kushi-Pampa is found at the site of Pashash in the drainage of the upper reaches of the Santa Valley. The site contains a Recuay Period temple which was excavated by Terence Grieder and Hermilio Rosas (Grieder 1978). A structure known as El Caserón provides the closest comparison to Kushi-Pampa. Here a large stone wall was constructed as facing for a terrace or platform. The wall construction, which includes corners with finely cut granite blocks, is almost identical to the construction at Kushi-Pampa (Grieder 1978, Fig. 9).

Another aspect of the Kushi-Pampa Period settlement pattern in the Nepeña Valley is the definite association of an intricate canal system with several of the sites. At Kushi-Pampa a canal extends along the eastern flank of the entire length of the site close to the surface of the plateau on which the site was built. This canal has its intake somewhere near the mouth of the Rio Salitre, some distance up-river. A series of canals are also located near the site of Motocachy (PV 31-48), including a modern equivalent which flows along the base of the site. In ancient times the deep pampa adjacent to Motocachy was irrigated, and traces of canals abound. It is my opinion that some of these early canals date back to the latter part of the Early Horizon.
Summary

Dramatic changes occurred in the cultural record of the Nepeña Valley during the latter part of the Early Horizon. As we have seen, a new "megalithic" architectural style consisting of large compounds constructed of finely shaped stones appeared along with new pottery styles that emphasized pattern burnishing as the principal decorative technique. All traces of Chavin influence end at this time as well. It appears that either the population of the valley was so strongly influenced from the outside, that there was rapid change in the local culture, or that an outside culture moved into Nepeña and dominated the local culture. A definitive answer to those options must await future research.

Whatever the mechanism for the infusion of new ideas, the likely source is the Santa Valley to the north, and the adjacent highlands. Wilson (1983:230) has recorded 54 sites which he dates to his Cayhuamarcas Period (latter half of the Early Horizon). While this number is less than the 83 sites recorded to date for the Kushi-Pampa Period in Nepeña, it is clear that the Santa Valley sites are on the average larger, more complex, and more variable than those of Nepeña. Wilson further groups his Cayhuamarcas sites into four distinct clusters which are separated from one another by intervals of 2 to 4 km (1983:232). This is similar to the pattern of "centers" identified in the Nepeña Valley (e.g., Kushi-Pampa, Motocachy, Paradones, Virahuanca bajo, etc.) and this data too supports the idea of a strong relationship between the valleys.

In the Nepeña Valley the Kushi-Pampa Period extends from the last one-third of the Early Horizon through the first one-third of the Early Intermediate Period. There are several factors that led me to that conclusion. The Kushi-Pampa pattern-burnished pottery has correlates which date to the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period as well as to the late Early Horizon. Specifically, the connection that Daggett has made between Kushi-Pampa pottery and the Salinar Culture of the Moche Valley would support this extension through time, as would the discovery of pattern-burnished ware datable to the Early Intermediate Period from the Central coast at Ancon (Willey and Corbett 1954:43; Patterson 1966:13-22).

The second factor is the architecture of the Kushi-Pampa Period, which in addition to strong relationships to Early Horizon sites in the Santa Valley, also has similarities to Early Intermediate Period sites such as Pashash and Chanquillo. In addition, a carved granite stone monolith, used as a lintel over the east entrance to the Kushi-Pampa compound, shows strong stylistic connections to the carved stone facade of the temple of Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley. This temple dates to the
end of the Early Horizon according to Roe (1974), and the reuse of the stone as a lintel at Kushi-Pampa would suggest an Early Intermediate Period date.

Finally, one can make the dating argument on the basis of logic. The next major cultures found in the Nepeña Valley sequence are Moche and Recuay. It is well established that the Moche Culture did not begin its expansion until the end of Moche III times, or the last half of the Early Intermediate Period. The bulk of the Moche presence in the valley dates to Moche IV. Similarly, the Recuay Culture also dates to the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period. Thus, the extension of the Kushi-Pampa Phase into the first part of the Early Intermediate Period seems to fit the evidence quite well.

A surface survey can never provide a complete reconstruction of the prehistoric lifeways of an area, but a number of inferences will be attempted from the evidence presented above. The Kushi-Pampa Phase saw an increase in social stratification evidenced by the erection of large "elite centers" which probably had dual administrative and religious functions. The social stratification is also indirectly reflected in the corporate labor necessary for the building of these sites. Huge rocks had to be quarried, transported and shaped. Mammoth walls were erected on high plateaus and mountain spurs. Thousands of tons of raw materials were moved in the process of construction. All these activities required control over people by a group of managers who could tap the necessary laborers and at the same time schedule the activities so that the basic agricultural production needed for life was carried out.

We have not analyzed our data adequately to provide statistics on population size at this time, but David Wilson has worked out comparative figures for the Cayhuamarca Period in the Santa Valley. He suggests that the population of the middle and upper Santa Valley was approximately 6000 people, based on a double-crop growing season and irrigation agriculture (Wilson 1983: 235 and 258). The population of the Nepeña Valley during the Kushi-Pampa Period was undoubtedly smaller than this, for the water supply is more irregular than the Santa, and the amount of land available for agriculture is also smaller. Nonetheless, there is evidence for a chiefdom level of social stratification at this time, if not the beginnings of a pristine state. The close similarity of the Nepeña and Santa Valley sites argues for a common inter-valley culture, perhaps even a single polity.

There are many things we still do not know about this transitional period. No cemeteries of the Kushi-Pampa Period have yet been scientifically excavated. Practically nothing is known of the religious beliefs and practices of this period. No
buildings can be identified definitely as temples, nor is any religious iconography known from either ceramics or stone sculpture. What happened when Chavin religious ideology disappeared from the valley? Future research is needed in both the Nepeña and Santa Valleys to address these questions.

The Early Intermediate Period:
The Moche Culture

The Moche [Mochica] Culture of northern Peru is one of the best known civilizations of ancient Peru. Illustrations of its famous modeled and painted pottery appear in some of the earliest books devoted to the archaeology of Peru (e.g., Squier 1877; Wiener 1880; Nadaillac 1884). The first scientific excavation of a Moche site was accomplished by Max Uhle between November, 1899, and February, 1900, at the site of Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Rowe 1954:7). Uhle excavated 32 gravelots from site F; they now reside in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley (see Uhle 1913). The first analysis of this pottery was attempted by Alfred Kroeber in 1925. Great quantities of additional Moche artifacts were excavated by the Larco family during the 1920s and 1930s (Larco Hoyle 1938). Larco proposed a five-phase division of the ceramic style in the 1940s based on the stratigraphic superposition of burials in a single cemetery and a seriation of the features of stirrup spout bottles (Larco Hoyle 1948). Further analysis of the sequence and the iconography have been undertaken by Christopher Donnan and Elizabeth Benson among others (Donnan 1976, 1978; Benson 1972).

Most specialists regard the Chicama and Moche Valleys as the heartland of the Moche Culture. Only here are the earliest phases of the pottery represented in quantity (Phases I and II). And here is where we find the largest and most impressive Moche sites. Moche was a regional state that expanded by military means to engulf an area ranging from the Lambayeque River system in the north to the Nepeña Valley in the south. The spread southward to the Santa and Nepeña Valleys took place during Phases III and IV (corresponding to the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period). Evidence for the military nature of this expansion can be seen in three lines of evidence: the sudden appearance of Moche pottery and other artifacts in the conquered valleys (with some stratigraphic evidence of rapid change in some locations); warriors and battle scenes frequently depicted in the iconography; and the appearance of monumental Moche style architecture in the conquered regions. One of the most outstanding of these monuments is Pañamarca in the Nepeña Valley which will be described below.

275
The Moche Culture controlled a regional empire that encompassed the major part of the north coast. The Nepeña Valley was the southern frontier of this empire (Kosok 1965; Proulx 1968a, 1982). The implications of this frontier position on the Nepeña Valley will be explored in the sections below.

**Definition**

The presence of the Moche Culture in the Nepeña Valley is defined on the basis of the discovery of clearly identifiable Moche style pottery at 37 sites in the valley. In addition, excellent examples of Moche modeled pottery are present in several private collections in the valley—collections with good evidence of valley provenience. Some of these pieces are illustrated in my earlier monographs (Proulx 1968a: Plates 11 and 12; 1973: Plates 5 and 6). Christopher Donnan has also illustrated a unique vessel with Nepeña Valley provenience depicting a smelter with several metalsmiths (Donnan 1973a).

Additional evidence for Moche presence in the valley comes from the ceremonial/administrative site of Pañamarca. Here the architectural style (a massive terraced pyramid) and construction materials (rectangular adobes) are identical to those at the type site in the Moche Valley. Polychrome murals in pure Moche IV style are found at several places within the site (Bonavia 1959, 1974; Schaedel 1951a; Proulx 1968a: Plate 4). Burials with Moche pottery were located on and surrounding Pañamarca.

The homogeneity of the Moche artifacts and architecture found in the Nepeña Valley allow a precise dating of this cultural manifestation for this part of the coast. Donnan (1973b) has previously demonstrated the sudden intrusion of Moche into the Santa Valley during Phases III and IV. All artifacts found in the Nepeña Valley are also restricted to those phases.

**Artifacts**

Moche modeled pottery is abundant in the private collections in the valley. Approximately 60 complete vessels with supposedly middle valley provenience have been photographed by me from eight private collections. These vessels include the following forms: stirrup spout bottles, single spout and bridge bottles, spout and handle jars, dippers, collared jars, face neck jars, and flaring rim bowls. In addition, surface collections of Moche style sherds were made at the 37 recorded sites in the valley.

In 1979 another private collection was examined containing large amounts of Recuay and Moche pottery said to have come from tombs near the town of Rayán at an elevation of 3000 m (Gambini 1975: Figs. pp. 120-124). Approximately 100 Moche vessels are
present in this collection, many of fine quality. The area from which they come is technically not within the Nepeña Valley but rather lies in the intermountain region between the coastal valley and the Callejon de Huaylas. Nevertheless, the implications of these findings will be discussed under the section on settlement patterns.

In analyzing the pottery from the middle valley, an interesting fact can be noted. Although modeled pottery is quite prevalent, fine-line figure painted pottery is practically nonexistent in our sample. Curiously, this is also true for the large sample from the intermountain area as well. In light of the many figure-painted vessels found in the Moche heartland, as well as the painted murals at Pañamarca (which appear to replicate the themes on the figure-painted pottery), it seems strange indeed that this manner of decoration is so poorly represented in Nepeña. Painted Moche vessels are found, but these consist of white-on-red geometric designs rather than the fancy figure painted wares.

Settlement Pattern

Thirty-seven sites containing identifiable Moche artifacts have thus far been recorded in the Nepeña Valley, and all but eight of these are situated in the middle valley area (Map 6). The majority of the sites are located on the southern edge of the cultivated valley floor or on natural hills protruding from the valley bottom. The focal point of Moche control in the Nepeña Valley is the Pañamarca ceremonial complex. Pañamarca (PV 31-38) is situated on the top and sides of a large natural hill on the valley floor about nine kilometers up-valley from the Pan American Highway and about four kilometers southwest of the town of Nepeña. The site is described in detail in another section of this work, but the more salient aspects are repeated here.

Pañamarca is a large ruin covering an area of 300 by 650 m and rising to an altitude of between 60 and 70 meters above the valley floor. The main structure of the ruin is a large terraced pyramid built of rectangular adobes on the summit of the hill. It is ascended by way of a zigzag ramp running up the face of the monument. To the east and north of the pyramid are walled courtyards containing graves, most of which have been badly looted. The north wall of the main court contains the famous group of murals known as the "freize of the warriors and the priests" (Schaedel 1951a; Bonavia 1959, 1974; Proulx 1968a: Plate 4b). Other murals are located in a room to the north of the pyramid, including the "presentation theme" (Bonavia 1959; Donnan 1978: Fig. 243 and text); a mural of two combatants locked in arm-to-arm combat (Proulx 1968a: Plate 4a); and a mythical dragon. Most
of the murals have been destroyed by vandalism, neglect and the
effects of the 1970 earthquake.

Pañamarca forms the centerpiece of a complex of interrela-
ted sites in this part of the valley. To the west, in the fields
known as San Gregorio, are two isolated artificial mounds of
adobe (PV 31-69 and PV 31-70) and three additional mounds built
on natural outcrops near Pañamarca (PV 31-40, 218, and 220). A
large necropolis, composed of five distinct cemeteries (PV 31-39,
215, 216, 217 and 219) is located around the base of a natural
hill immediately to the south of Pañamarca. These ruins and
cemeteries played subsidiary roles to the main ceremonial com-
plex.

The majority of the remaining Moche sites in the middle
valley area are cemeteries: PV 31-11a, 17, 19, 73, 108, 114,
115, 119, 121a, 123, 187 and 352. Almost all of these cemeter-
ies were later reused during the subsequent Middle Horizon.
Moche graves were excavated directly into the sand, and in some
cases were lined with adobe brick. Skulls often exhibit green
stains on the palate and mandible from metals placed in or
around the mouth at death. No scientific excavation of a Moche
grave has yet been made in the Nepeña Valley.

The problem of identifying Moche habitation sites in the
Nepeña Valley has long plagued us (see Proulx 1968a, 1968b, and
1973). Of the 37 sites surveyed, only five—Huambacho Viejo
(PV 31-103, the only Moche site located in the lower valley);
PV 31-352, 354 and 355, located at the juncture of the upper and
middle valley areas; and PV 31-276, in the upper valley—have
traces of what appears to be domestic architecture. The lack of
habitation sites might be explained by one of a pair of hypo-
theses: (1) that Moche habitations were scattered on the valley
floor and were destroyed by alluviation, flooding and modern
agricultural activities; or (2) that the Moche frontier occupa-
tion of the valley was so tenuous and abbreviated that the only
actual Moche personnel in the valley were administrators living
in the ceremonial complex of Pañamarca. They controlled local
populations who continued to make their local style of pottery
and who continued to live in their traditional ways (see Proulx
1982 for a further discussion).

Neither hypothesis is completely satisfactory. Although
Donnan had similar problems in identifying Moche habitation sites
in the Santa Valley (only 7 out of 85 sites were habitational—
Donan 1973b), Wilson's more recent survey has revealed a total
of 205 Guadalupita (Moche Period) sites of which 85 are identi-
fied as habitation sites and 116 as cemeteries (Wilson 1983:243).
The majority of the Santa Valley sites were in the lower valley,
MAP 6
EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD SITES

- RECUAY SITE
- MOCHE SITE
- MIXED RECUAY & MOCHE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
NEPEÑA VALLEY, PERU

KEY
- SITES
- TOWNS -- HACIENDAS
- RIVERS
- CULTIVATION LINE
- MOUNTAINS

MAP OF PERU
ECUADOR
BRAZIL

LOWER VALLEY AREA
MIDDLE VALLEY AREA
UPPER VALLEY AREA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES:
- RECUAY SITE
- MOCHE SITE
- MIXED RECUAY & MOCHE

CULTIVATION LINE
MOUNTAINS
TOWNS -- HACIENDAS
RIVERS
while those in the Nepeña Valley are in the middle valley. Wilson appears to have refuted Donnan's claim that Moche habitation sites were covered by alluvium. Perhaps we need to look more carefully in the Nepeña Valley for evidence of these sites. If they were reoccupied by later cultures, as was so often the case, we may be missing them.

My second hypothesis also has some faults. If only a handful of Moche administrators were present in the Nepeña Valley using local labor to build the monuments, we should have found more traces of these local habitation sites in the middle valley. So far our site sample is heavily weighted toward ceremonial structures and cemeteries with little real knowledge of the living sites of the population. This is another area that requires further research in the future.

Turning to the upper valley, it is noteworthy to indicate that a Moche presence in this area is largely non-existent due to the contemporary occupation of this sector by people of the Recuay Culture. The nature of this Recuay occupation and the territorial division of the valley by the two polities will be described in the next section (also see Proulx 1982). There are eight sites in the upper valley where possible Moche artifacts have been found. FV 31-60 is a fortress with extremely thick walls of fieldstone located on a plateau overlooking the town of Moro and the Rio Nepeña. Moche sherds are scattered over this site, along with Recuay sherds, suggesting to me that this structure represents an effort by the Moche to gain a foothold in the upper valley area.

Apparently their efforts were not successful. "Moche" sherds appear at no more than seven additional sites in the upper valley: FV 31-158, 231, 235, 244, 248, 276 and 284. In all, only 27 sherds total were found at these sites that could possibly be Moche in style—indeed, some of the white-on-red pottery may belong to other related Early Intermediate Period cultures. These 27 sherds could easily be the result of trade rather than Moche occupation in the region. The Moche presence in the Nepeña Valley, therefore, seems to have been restricted to the middle valley area, close to the natural entry into the valley from the north.

One anomaly does need to be discussed. In the intermountain region between the upper valley and the Callejon de Huaylas, near the town of Rayán at an elevation of 3000 meters, Wilfredo Gambini claims to have found graves with typical Moche modeled and painted pottery (1975, Figs. pp. 120-124). Those ceramics, and others which I viewed in his collection, appear to date to Phases III and IV of the Moche style. The lower part of the Nepeña Valley does not appear to have been the source of this
pottery. The most likely route by which it reached this region is through the Lacramarca Quebrada which has its upper headwaters near Rayán. This interpretation is partially supported by Wilson's Santa Valley survey which included portions of the lower Lacramarca Quebrada. Wilson states:

Interestingly, for the first and only time in the prehispanic sequence, the north and south margins of Quebrada de Lacramarca are occupied [during the Moche Period]. Judging from sections of ancient canals found along the north margin as well as from the location of modern intakes, the canal serving Lacramarca from the lower part of the Middle Santa Valley was 40 km long (Wilson 1983:243).

Whether or not this intermountain region near Rayán was actually controlled by the Moche as part of their expansion, or whether these examples of fancy Moche pottery represent trade pieces, is unknown.

Summary

The Nepeña Valley formed the effective southern boundary of the Moche empire during the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period. As a frontier area, the valley provides a number of unique or atypical manifestations of the Moche Culture. The territorial division of the valley by the Moche and Recuay polities is one such feature; the emphasis on ceremonial and administrative architecture as opposed to habitation sites is another. It is interesting to note that the Nepeña Valley throughout its cultural history was always on the fringes of major events, usually a receiver of ideas rather than an innovator or donor. The valley is an excellent location to study the interactions between coast and highland and between major political entities.

The Early Intermediate Period:

The Recuay Culture

Recuay is the name of an enigmatic culture which produced a distinctive style of pottery characterized by thin-walled vessels made of white kaolin paste and decorated with motifs executed in either a positive or negative painted technique. The motifs consist of geometric elements painted in black, red or brown on the white background, or may consist of rather naturalistic mythical figures. Modeling is a common technique, with humans and animals playing an important role in the style. Shapes include pedestal-based bowls, open bowls, flat disk rim jars, handled bowls, cups and spoons, and effigy vessels.
Little is known of the origin and nature of the culture that produced the Recuay ceramics. Most specialists believe that it originated in the Callejon de Huaylas in the northern highlands, for the most elaborate manifestations of the culture are found there. Bennett (1944:99) states that the style has been found in many parts of the Callejon and particularly around the site of Aija. He excavated Recuay sherds in the subterranean galleries near Wilkawain, in gallery refuse sites near Shankaiyan, and elsewhere. More recently, Grieder (1978) excavated a temple and associated graves with exquisite Recuay ceramics at Pashash in the upper reaches of the Santa Valley, and Steven Wegner (1981) has excavated Recuay utilitarian pottery at the Balcón de Judas site (PAn5-5) outside the city of Huaraz.

On the coast, Recuay pottery was discovered in the Santa Valley (Larco Hoyle 1960, 1962 and 1966; Clothier 1943; Wilson 1981), and to a lesser extent in the Virú (Bennett 1939; Strong and Evans 1952), Chao and Moche Valleys. Larco argued that the Recuay style (he called it his "Santa" style) originated on the coast in the Santa Valley developing out of the earlier Gallinazo style. Larco (1966:104) was one of the first to suggest that Recuay pottery may also be present in the Nepeña Valley. One of the most important contributions of the 1979 fieldwork was the discovery of substantial amounts of Recuay style pottery in a number of sites in the upper valley area and the verification of the impact that this highland culture had on the Nepeña Valley.

Definition

I have related the story of my initial discovery of Recuay ceramics in the Nepeña Valley elsewhere (Proulx 1982; see also Proulx 1968a and 1973). In 1967 several Recuay style vessels were seen and photographed by me in local collections. During that same year a looted Recuay grave was discovered in the middle valley at the site of Tres Marias (PV 31-73). A surface collection from Huancarpon (PV 31-59) in the upper valley also produced sherds which were later identified as Recuay. Soon afterward, a Recuay gravelot reportedly found by a huaquero at Tres Marias, was recorded by Michael Moseley (Proulx 1973:35-39; Plate 3). In spite of these discoveries, however, the exact nature and distribution of Recuay materials in the Nepeña Valley was very uncertain until 1979.

During the field seasons of 1979 and 1980, a total of 42 sites containing typical Recuay style kaolin paste ware were recorded in our survey. All were located in the upper valley area with the exception of two sites--Tres Marias (PV 31-73) and another cemetery (PV 31-71)--located in the middle valley area. The significance of this distribution will be discussed in the section dealing with settlement patterns.
The chronological position of Recuay has been firmly established through stratigraphy and radiocarbon dating. Stratigraphically, Recuay pottery has been found above Chavin pottery at the site of Chavin de Huantar (Lumbreras 1974b: 39-40 and 1977:7-9). At Ichic Wilkawain, outside the city of Huaraz in the Callejon de Huaylas, Bennett found Recuay pottery in slab-lined gallery tombs that were stratigraphically beneath a structure containing Huari-related pottery of the Middle Horizon (Bennett 1977:38-50). Seven radiocarbon dates from the Recuay site of Pashash in the highlands range from A.D. 340±170 to A.D. 570±100 (Grieder 1978:191-193) suggesting that the high point of Recuay influence was during the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period. The basic contemporaneity of the Recuay and Moche cultures of northern Peru is confirmed by these dates, as well as by the sharing of stylistic traits between the two cultures and the presence of Moche trade pieces in the burial offering at the Temple of Pashash (Grieder 1978:72-73 and Figs. 41-43; see Proulx 1982 for a more thorough discussion of the chronology). The importance of the contemporaneity of these two cultures for the cultural history of the Nepeña Valley will be seen shortly.

The data suggest a significant cultural influence on the upper Nepeña Valley from the Callejon de Huaylas during the last half of the Early Intermediate Period. The exact nature of this interaction remains unclear. Little is known about Recuay as a political entity. No "capital" or major center of this culture has yet been identified, and the territorial distribution of the style has yet to be determined. Recent work on Recuay has concentrated on aspects of its artistic style (Reichert 1977; Smith 1978; Bankmann 1979 and 1981) leaving questions of the social and political organization of the society largely unanswered. Steven Wegner has completed fieldwork at a domestic Recuay site in the Callejon de Huaylas, and his forthcoming dissertation will be useful for the understanding of non-ceremonial sites and artifacts. His study of Recuay stone sculpture will add a new dimension to our knowledge of the Recuay style.

With so little known about the Recuay Culture in its Callejon de Huaylas "heartland," it is even more difficult to discuss its nature in a coastal valley such as Nepeña. It is clear that the highland Recuay culture extended its influence over the upper part of the Nepeña Valley, either directly or indirectly. Whether or not there was a movement of people into the valley with subsequent political control cannot be determined on the basis of the present evidence.

Artifacts

The most distinctive artifact in the surface collections from Recuay sites is a ceramic type I am calling Huancarporn White
Painted. Named after the site of Huancarpon where it was first discovered and where it is found in great quantities, this pottery is identical to highland examples. Constructed of thin-walled kaolin paste, these vessels are most frequently painted with geometric designs in black, red, orange or red-brown colors. Some modeled examples occur as well in the private collections (Proulx 1968a, Plate 13 and 1973, Plates 3 and 4). The most common shapes are pedestal-based bowls and ordinary bowls. Many of these vessels may have been imported into the valley from the Callejon de Huaylas, for no local sources of kaolin have yet been discovered in the valley.

Negative painted pottery is extremely rare in the sample, although several fragments were found at Huancarpon and one of the vessels from Tres Marias was negative painted. At Pashash negative painting decreases in the last phase of the Recuay style according to Grieder (1978:77).

Other pottery found in the surface collections include Huancarpon Grey Painted, a variety which includes both grey and pinkish colored paste which may be local imitations of the kaolin paste ware. A very thin-walled orangeware, sometimes painted and sometimes plain, is also characteristic of this time period. Finally, a crude variety of pottery, decorated with textile impressions, forms part of the utilitarian pottery associated with this period. Daggett has found typical Recuay kaolin paste spoons at PV 31-185 located on Cerro Chachascucho in the Rio Vinchamarca tributary.

Not part of our survey nor included in our sample is a large collection of Recuay vessels from the far upper tributaries of the Nepeña Valley. According to Wilfredo Gambini, a resident of Jimbe in the upper valley and an amateur archaeologist, many Recuay tombs are located near the town of Rayán along the Rio Colcap tributary at an elevation of 3000 meters (Gambini 1975:111-126). Gambini's collection contains approximately 120 complete Recuay vessels said to have come from this intermountain area. The collection contains a wide variety of vessel forms and decorative techniques, including kaolin paste pedestal bowls, modeled ware decorated in both positive and negative techniques, blackware vessels, vessels with long handles, spoons, etc. The presence of these vessels at 3000 meters further strengthens our argument for a strong influence on the valley from the Callejon, and it provides some geographic continuity in linking the Callejon with the upper valley area. Further work needs to be done in the Rayán area to determine the nature and extent of the occupation there.

The vessels from the Gambini Collection, photographed by myself and by Steven Wegner and classified by Wegner, provide a
useful aid in the identification and study of surface sherds from
the upper valley. The most common vessel type found in the 41
upper valley sites is the thin-walled, kaolin paste pedestal bowl
painted with positive geometric designs. At Huancarpon (PV 31-59),
for example, most of the decorated pottery (143 pieces to be
exact) found in the vicinity of the pyramids conformed to this
type. Open bowls, painted on the exterior walls, form the next
largest category. Further research and analysis is needed to
identify the complete range of Recuay pottery—especially the
utilitarian vessels.

Settlement Pattern

The results of our survey demonstrate that with two excep-
tions, all of the 42 Recuay sites discovered in the Nepeña Val-
ley are confined to the upper valley area. This distribution
supports the argument of a highland source for the Recuay influ-
ence and illustrates the highland orientation of the peoples who
occupied the sites. The sites are situated mainly on hilltops or
plateaus overlooking the river bottom below, both along the Rio
Nepeña itself as well as along the Rio Salitre tributary. Only a
few sites are found on the valley floor, and these are located
on the tops of natural or artificial mounds (e.g., PV 31-48, 50
and 51).

Elsewhere (Proulx 1982) I have demonstrated the basic con-
temporaneity of the Moche and Recuay cultures during the Early
Intermediate Period. In the Nepeña Valley, the Moche are con-
fined to the middle valley area, while the Recuay-influenced
populations are found only in the upper valley. I have inter-
preted this as a territorial division of the valley between a
population heavily influenced by a prestigious highland group (the
Recuay) and a frontier colony of a well-organized military empire
(the Moche). The two groups lived side-by-side in the same val-
ley with each controlling different zones (See Map 6). The
interaction between the two groups appears to be marked by mutual
respect, with both societies valuing the prestigious ceramics of
the other. Although there are hints that the Moche coveted and
attempted to penetrate the upper valley, there are remarkably few
signs of military activity within the valley at this time. The
presumably incomplete control of the Moche over this, their
southern boundary, prevented them from realizing their ambitions.
The result was a stand-off with both groups pursuing their
interests within their own territories.

The largest and most complex Recuay site in the Nepeña Val-
ley is Huancarpon (PV 31-59) located on a plateau overlooking
the confluence of the Rio Salitre tributary with the main branch
of the Rio Nepeña. Huancarpon was first described in the litera-
ture by Ernst Middendorf 1973, Vol 2) and noted later by other
travelers and specialists (e.g., Horkheimer 1965), but it has been a site largely neglected prior to our survey.

Huancarpon is mainly a ceremonial site consisting of two large terraced pyramids separated by an enclosed courtyard. Cemeteries and other construction surround the pyramid area, and remains of habitations are located on other parts of the plateau. I have described this site in detail elsewhere in this report. Of importance to our discussion are various architectural features which appear to be highland (Recuay) influenced. The southern pyramid, for example, appears to contain underground galleries. An exposed entrance with lintel stone vaulting was discovered on the north face of this pyramid in 1979. Unfortunately the passageway was blocked with fallen debris as it descended into the structure, so the interior configuration of the gallery is not known. On top of that same pyramid, parallel rows of walls forming narrow passageways could be seen on the surface, another unique trait in the valley with close highland parallels. The majority of the Recuay kaolin paste sherds were scattered on the surface of the pyramid area of the site.

I would suggest that Huancarpon served as the major center of Recuay influence in the valley, perhaps the most prestigious religious and possibly administrative focus for the Recuay influence. It is a site that was previously occupied during the Early Horizon and which supported later populations as well. However, I contend that the bulk of the architecture and the major period of occupation date to the Early Intermediate Period. Huancarpon merits additional research in the future to sort out its occupational history and to expose the extent of Recuay influence during the Early Intermediate Period.

Setting aside the unique site of Huancarpon, the most common type of site containing Recuay pottery in the upper Nepeña Valley is the hilltop platform mound. This term covers a broad range of sites located on ridges and peaks above the valley floor. In most cases, the hilltop has been flattened artificially, and little or no architecture is present. Some terracing may occur along with stone walls apparently constructed for defensive purposes. In other instances a low artificial stone mound with terraced sites is present. It is an unfortunate fact that no single-component Recuay sites have been discovered. Most of the sites containing Recuay pottery had been previously occupied during the Early Horizon or the first half of the Early Intermediate Period or both. For this reason, dating the architecture by surface sherds is a risky process, but not an impossible one. Many of these hilltop platform mounds may have been constructed in the Early Horizon and later reoccupied by the Recuay-influenced culture. The concept of hilltop sites, how-
ever, continued as an important site category in the Early Intermediate Period. Recuay sites in this category are the following: PV 31-51, 57, 61, 158, 184, 185, 229, 240, 244, 249, 256, 257, 265, 266, 274, 293, 299, 310, 312, 331, 348, and 349. Although some of the hilltop platform sites may have served as individual habitation sites, their true function is still unclear.

Other, larger sites—containing house foundations, occupational debris, and traces of graves—can be more definitely categorized as Recuay habitation sites. These sites, like the former, are located on ridges, peaks and plateaus overlooking the valley floor. An example of such a site is PV 31-159 located on a ridge above the mouth of the Rio Salitre, not distant from the site of Huancarpon. The site covers an oval-shaped area measuring 47 by 75 meters and is surrounded on the three exposed sides by a stone wall. Several structures of fieldstone crown the highest point of the site with terraces sloping to the south. Possible storage rooms are found adjacent to the boundary wall. Almost half the pottery found at the site is Recuay in style, with large numbers of fabric-impressed utilitarian ware. Other possible Recuay habitation sites are PV 31-231, 238, 239, 241, 253, 292, 297, and 342.

Recuay pottery has also been found at several fortifications, most of which were built in the Early Horizon and reoccupied during the Early Intermediate Period. These sites include the twin fortresses of PV 31-162 and 163 as well as 254, 50, 60 and 157E. Recuay graves have been found at many of the habitation sites described above, as well as in ceremonial sites and fortresses. Three additional cemeteries with Recuay style ceramics are PV 31-73, 255 and 267.

Summary

In the second half of the Early Intermediate Period, two cultures occupied the Nepeña Valley. In the middle valley area a penetration by the military forces of the Moche empire is evidenced by the establishment of a major ceremonial complex and administrative center at Pañamarca. At the same time, the Recuay Culture of the Callejon de Huaylas exerted heavy influence—perhaps even political control—over the upper valley. Through the work of Larco, Donnan, Benson, Kutscher, Bankmann, Berezkin and others, a clear picture of the nature of Moche society has emerged. The same cannot be said for Recuay. Until our survey, the coastal region most influenced by Recuay appeared to be the Santa Valley. The discovery of 42 Recuay sites in the Nepeña Valley was a surprising development of our research. Nepeña must now be viewed as an important coastal extension of Recuay influence, one which, because of its proximity to the Callejon,
can provide important data about the nature of this interesting cultural manifestation.

Suggestions for future research include a more comprehensive study of highland Recuay sites; a broader survey of adjacent coastal valleys, such as Casma, to locate possible other Recuay concentrations; and a study of the routes of communication between the Callejon de Huaylas and the upper reaches of the various coastal valleys. Sites such as Huancarpon should be excavated to explore the architectural features with the object of comparison with the highland counterparts. Cemetery areas, such as Rayán, should be scientifically excavated to recover intact Recuay gravelots and to learn more about Recuay burial practices. Rayán would be a particularly interesting location because of the presence of rich Moche tombs in the same location as the Recuay graves.

A great deal has been learned about Recuay in the last decade through the efforts of individuals such as Reichert, Smith, Wegner, Grieder, and Bankmann. We are at the threshold of many new important discoveries that should provide a much more complete picture of interactions during the Early Intermediate Period.
APPENDIX I

Distribution of Ceramic Types by Site
## DISTRIBUTION OF CERAMIC TYPES BY SITE

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317
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Williams León, Carlos


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PLATES
PLATE 1A: **Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot** (plain circles)

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PLATE 1B: **Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot** (multiple dots)

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PLATE 1C: **Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot** (size variation)

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PLATE 2A: Nepeña Stamped Circle and Dot (multiple circles)

PV 31-253
PV 31-247
PV 31-230
PV 31-252
PV 31-61
PV 31-61

PLATE 2B: Nepeña Triangular Zoned Punctate

PV 31-48BC
PV 31-1758

PLATE 2C: Nepeña Banded Lozenge

PV 31-247
PV 31-253
PV 31-254
PV 31-234BC

326
PLATE 3A: \textit{Nepeña Banded Lozenge}

PV 31-61
PV 31-247

PLATE 3B: \textit{Nepeña Sinuous Zoned Punctate}

PV 31-234BC
PV 31-249
PV 31-154
PV 31-234BC

PLATE 3C: \textit{Nepeña Angular Zoned Punctate}

PV 31-249
PV 31-249
PLATE 4A: Nepeña Cylinder Stamped
PV 31-227    PV 31-51

PLATE 4B: Nepeña Broad Lined Incised
PV 31-59    PV 31-227
PV 31-61
PV 31-175S    PV 31-59

PLATE 4C: Nepeña Plain Black
PV 31-48C    unknown

330
PLATE 5A: Nepeña Applique Nubbin

PV 31-163

PLATE 5B: Nepeña Painted Incised

PV 31-250

PLATE 5C: Miscellaneous Incised and Engraved

PV 31-238
PV 31-163
PV 31-163
PV 31-61

332
PLATE 6A: Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished
PV 31-56 PV 31-48AB

PLATE 6B: Kushi-Pampa Pattern-Burnished
PV 31-56 PV 31-238 PV 31-56

PLATE 6C: Kushi-Pampa Post-Fired Scratched
PV 31-56 PV 31-56
PLATE 7A: Huancarpon White Painted

PV 31-241   PV 31-59   PV 31-59p
PV 31-241   PV 31-59p  PV 31-59p
PV 31-59p   PV 31-59p  PV 31-59p
PV 31-59p   PV 31-59p  PV 31-59p

PLATE 7B: Huancarpon Negative Painted

PV 31-59

PLATE 7C: Huancarpon Grey Painted

PV 31-59   PV 31-59p
PV 31-59p
PV 31-59p   PV 31-59p

336
PLATE 8A: Huancarpon Orange Plain
PV 31-48C PV 31-240

PLATE 8B: Huancarpon Textile Impressed
PV 31-159 PV 31-159
PV 31-159 PV 31-159

PLATE 8C: Huancarpon Textile Impressed
PV 31-159
PLATE 9A: *Ridged Applique Technique*
PV 31-159    PV 31-233

PLATE 9B: *Serrated Edge Technique*
PV 31-241    PV 31-254

PLATE 9C: *Miscellaneous Early Horizon Punctuation*
PV 31-48C    unknown
PV 31-47A    PV 31-157    PV 31-47
PLATE 10A: Polished Stone Projectile Points
PV 31-253  PV 31-159  PV 31-59p  unknown
PV 31-254  PV 31-162  PV 31-159  PV 31-254

PLATE 10B: Stone Projectile Points
PV 31-234BC
PV 31-253

PLATE 10C: Stone Projectile Point in process of being sawed from its matrix. PV 31-162

342
PLATE 11A: **Spindle Whorls**

PV 31-238
PV 31-230
unknown
PV 31-253
PV 31-56

PLATE 11B: **Figurine Head** (front)

PV 31-47

PLATE 11C: **Figurine Head** (reverse)

PV 31-47

344
PLATE 12A: Early Horizon Hilltop Site, PV 31-349B, located in the upper valley area.

PLATE 12B: Caylán, PV 31-30, located in the middle valley area on the north side of the valley. View of the agglutinated "rooms" comprising the major part of the site.

PLATE 12C: Caylán, PV 31-30, located in the middle valley area. View of the terraced stone pyramid which may date to the Early Horizon.
PLATE 13A: Early Horizon Fortress, PV 31-162 (Chilhuay bajo), in the upper valley area near the mouth of the Rio Salitre. View of the northeast corner and the megalithic architecture.

PLATE 13B: Early Horizon Fortress, PV 31-162 (Chilhuay bajo). View of the jagged "bastions" of the northern wall.

PLATE 13C: Varieties of adobe bricks at the site of Punkuri, PV 31-10.

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PLATE 15A: Kushi-Pampa, PV 31-56, a late Early Horizon ceremonial/administrative site located in the upper valley area. View of the megalithic enclosure wall of the compound at the site.

PLATE 15B: Kushi-Pampa, PV 31-56. View of the interior walls and large expansive courtyards of the enclosure.

PLATE 15C: Kushi-Pampa, PV 31-56. Unfinished carved lintel found adjacent to the entrance through the southeast wall of the site. The carving portrays a human figure holding a club in its right hand. Along the back flows a portion of a cloak or other piece of clothing. Closest similarity of this carving is with the warriors depicted on the walls of the temple at Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley.
PLATE 16A: Kushi-Pampa, PV 31-56. View of the finely cut granite blocks comprising the eastern corner of the megalithic enclosure wall.

PLATE 16B: Paradones, PV 31-64. Section of a megalithic retaining wall.

PLATE 16C: Motocachy, PV 31-48. Megalithic wall adjacent to Pyramid B.
PLATE 17A:  Paradones, PV 31-64. View of the megalithic portal.

PLATE 17B:  Santa Valley megalithic wall construction similar to that of the Kushi-Pampa Phase in the Nepeña Valley. View of a corner of Structure 28, a Cayhuamarca Period (Early Horizon) fortress located in the Tablones area of the upper Santa Valley.

PLATE 17C:  Detail of the wall construction of Structure 28, a Cayhuamarca Period (Early Horizon) fortress in the upper Santa Valley.
PLATE 18A: Pañamarca, PV 31-38, a Moche ceremonial complex located in the middle part of the Nepeña Valley. View of the terraced adobe pyramid and the walled courtyards in front of it.

PLATE 18B: Pañamarca, PV 31-38. View of the walled courtyards to the north of the pyramid.

PLATE 18C: Pañamarca, PV 31-38. View of a portion of the megalithic stone walls located at the summit of the hill immediately behind (south) of the Moche pyramid at the site. Once attributed to the Middle Horizon Huari Culture, these walls have now been dated to the Kushi-Pampa Phase of the late Early Horizon, demonstrating a pre-Moche occupation of the site.