

Temporal Changes in the Use of Ritual Space in the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex : From the Perspective of Pottery Analysis

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10. Temporal Changes in the Use of Ritual Space in the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex: From the Perspective of Pottery Analysis

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1. Introduction

We present recent data on the architecture and potteries at Pacopampa Archaeological Complex and discuss the diachronic changes in space use in this complex. We show that the complex was developed during the Pacopampa I phase, which is the Middle Formative Period and explain that the use of the complex was concentrated on the Pacopampa site, which was part of the complex in the Late Formative Period. The Pacopampa Archaeological Project has been excavating and investigating not only the Pacopampa site, but also several sites close to it since 2005 under the inter-institutional cooperation between the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and the National Museum of Ethnology of Japan. Pacopampa is located 1.5 km from the Pacopampa village, Querocoto district, Chota province in the Cajamarca region. The appearance of power in the Formative Period on the site has been clarified (Seki 2014). The project identified other sites around Pacopampa from the same period, which could be considered to constitute the overarching Pacopampa Archaeological Complex.

2. The Social Process at the Pacopampa Site

First, the social process at the Pacopampa site is shown. Two phases in the Formative Period were confirmed at the site, namely the Pacopampa I phase (1200 BC–700 BC; PC-I phase), the Middle Formative Period, and the Pacopampa II phase (700 BC to 400 BC; PC-II phase), the Late Formative Period (Seki et al. 2010, 2019). Each phase can be divided into two sub-phases: IA/IB and IIA/IIB (Table 10-1). Around the Pacopampa site, the Pandanche phase was recognized before sub-phase IA (Kaulicke 1981). Fragments of the Pandanche type pottery have been found in the Pacopampa site, too. However, as there is no architecture associated with those shards, it is difficult to identify whether there was any architectural activity during this phase at the site. So far, we would like to assume that the large-scale architectural activities at Pacopampa began in sub-phase IA.

Table 10-1 Chronology at Pacopampa

		Pacopampa
1532		
	Final Cajamarca	some activities
1200	Late Cajamarca	
900	Middle Cajamarca	
450	Early Cajamarca	
200	Initial Cajamarca	
A. C.50		Ritual activity in Plaza Hundida
B. C.50	Final Formative Period	Destruction of the floor of Plaza Hundida
250	Late Formative Period II	
550	Late Formative Period I	PC-II
800	Middle Formative Period II	PC-I
950	Middle Formative Period I	
1200	Early Formative Period	
		(Pandanche)

(produced by Nagisa Nakagawa)

For architecture and burials, we refer to the papers we have published (Seki 2017; Seki et al. 2010, 2019).

The architectural activity in sub-phase IA comprised leveling the ridge top and building a few platforms. In sub-phase IB, the landscape of Pacopampa was extensively altered. Using the mountain ridge, retaining walls were installed on the slope to build three large platforms. They have previously been referred to as the First, Second, and Third Platforms from the bottom, and this will be followed here. The most important constructions can be seen on the uppermost platform, that is, the Third Platform. In some cases, the constructions from the previous sub-phase were covered with clay fill in order to build over them; in other cases, the previous constructions were reused.

The representative one of the sub-phase IB is the Western Platform, on which the Circular Building with a diameter of 28 m was built. The Square Sunken Plaza was built at the same time. It was 30 m x 30 m in size, and had a staircase in the middle of each

side. Lower platforms were built around three sides of the plaza, with several rooms on them (Figures 10-1 and 10-2). The central axis of the rooms on the western lower platform (Main Platform-I) coincides with the center of the plaza, and extending it further east, it passes through the center of the staircase of the Second Platform, and then the center of the staircase of the First Platform. The buildings at Pacopampa were arranged along this central axis. We also know that this architectural axis runs through the center of other adjacent mounds, beyond the Pacopampa site.



Figure 10-1 The Pacopampa Archaeological site ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

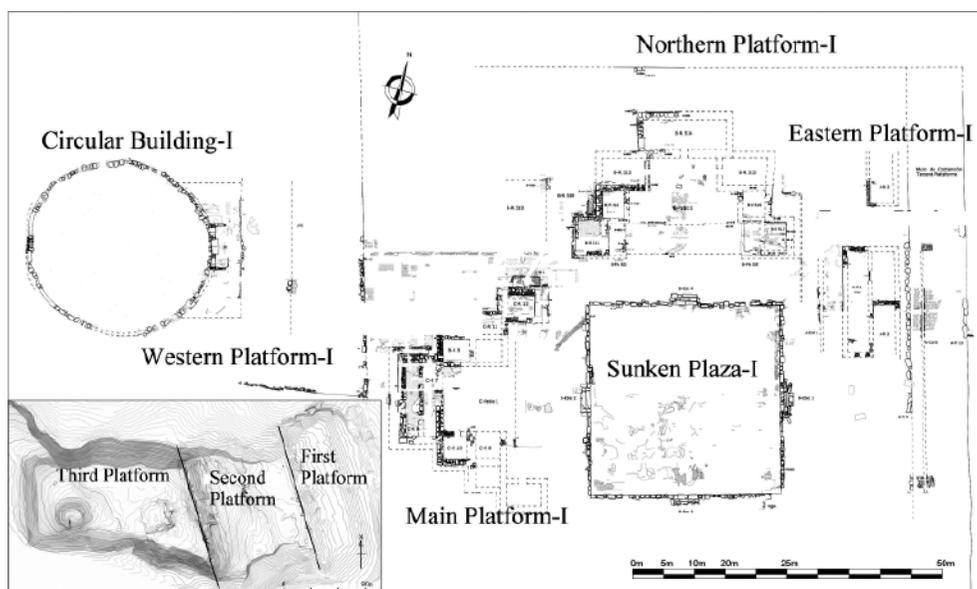


Figure 10-2 The Constructions on the Third Platform in the PC-IB Phase
©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

In sub-phase IIA, a completely different pottery complex appears, which will be discussed later. It has similarities with the pottery complex of the Late Formative Period at the Kuntur Wasi site. Despite these dramatic changes in pottery, the architecture of sub-phase IB has been reused, including the Circular Building, the Sunken Plaza, and the staircases connecting the three large platforms (Figure 10-3). The rooms surrounding the Sunken Plaza were covered with new, lower platforms, on top of which more rooms were built. The large cut stones used in the buildings in the previous sub-phase were reused as building materials.

The major difference between the two sub-phases is the presence of tombs with rich grave goods. The “Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa” was founded in a room on the axis of the site in sub-phase IIA. It is a shaft tomb under the floor. The tomb shaft was dug in the clay fill that was piled up before the floor was finished. The deceased was a woman who had gold ornaments such as earplugs and earrings. Her head was covered with cinnabar and azurite powder. In the PC-II phase, we found many simple pit burials around the Sunken Patio on the Northern Platform. Some were associated with grave goods. Judging from the particular shape of the tomb, the presence of lavish burial offerings, and the placement of the tomb on the central axis of the Main Building, the social leaders could be established in this phase. Toward the end of sub-phase IIA, the feasting began. The feasting could be related to the installation of the “Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests” (Nakagawa et al. 2019; Seki et al. 2016, 2017). In sub-phase IIB, the constructions were either renovated or modified again. Feasting continued in the Sunken Patio. The number of burials with grave goods decreased (Seki this volume

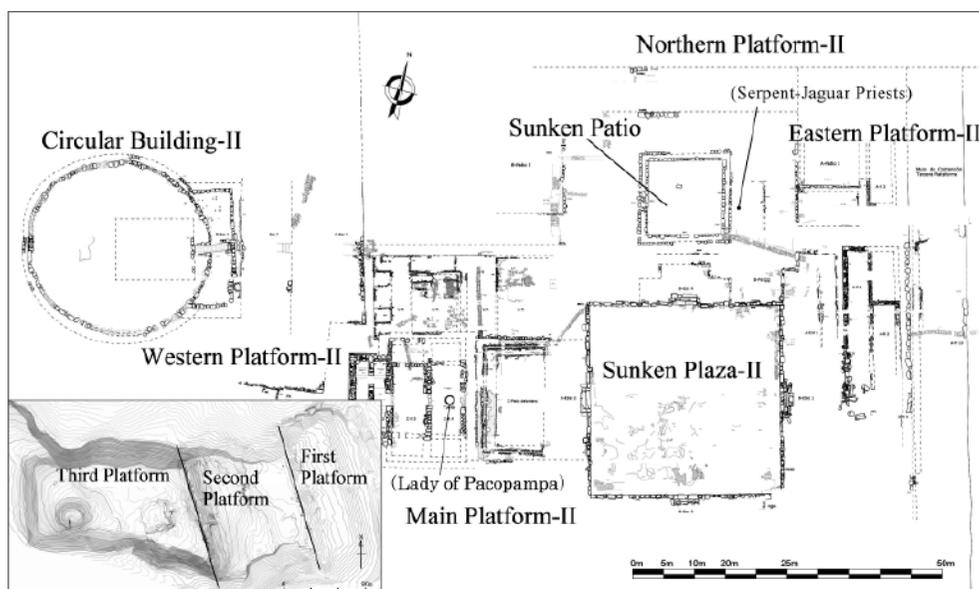


Figure 10-3 Constructions on the Third Platform in the PC-IIA phase
©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

p. 273), and access to the buildings changed and the central axis used until sub-phase IIA was no longer considered, which is associated with a transformation of cosmology owing to the decline of elite power (Sakai et al. 2019). Thus, feasting was a new device to create group reintegration in the midst of such social disorder.

The function as the ceremonial center at Pacopampa ceased in the final stage of sub-phase IIB. Since then, the floor of the Sunken Plaza on the Third Platform was destroyed by the people of the Final Formative Period or the Initial Cajamarca Period. In the Early Cajamarca Period, the Sunken Plaza was reused to build small platforms and rooms, and rituals were held around these structures (Figure 10-4) (Alemán et al. 2017). A large number of miniature potteries (Figure 10-5) and some human skulls were



Figure 10-4 The Small Platforms and Rooms in the Early Cajamarca Phase at Pacopampa ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project



Figure 10-5 Miniature Potteries Discovered at Pacopampa ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

unearthed. The reason for identifying it as the Early Cajamarca Period is that the form and decoration of the kaolin pottery associated with miniature potteries are very similar to those of the Early Cajamarca Period in the Cajamarca basin (Matsumoto 1982: 112–113). The activities that followed are not yet detailed, but some traces of Late or Final Cajamarca have been confirmed.

3. Brief Description of Pottery Types at Pacopampa

To compare Pacopampa with other sites in the vicinity, it is necessary to compare pottery and architecture, and for this purpose, it is necessary to establish the chronology and typology of the pottery. Thus, we would like to briefly show the representative types of ceramic here. We have classified the fragments of pottery recovered from the Pacopampa site into several types by phase. The typology of the pottery was based on color, treatment, and decorative attributes. Each type was named using Spanish terms, after combining these attributes. The English translation of the type name is given in parentheses. Pottery from the PC-I (Figure 10-6) and PC-II (Figure 10-7) phases have different characteristics.

<PC-I types>

PC-I Alisado (PC-I Smoothed) (Figure 10-6-1): This type has a smooth surface. It is plain-ware, however, sometimes has a geometric design by burnished lines on the exterior surface (Figure 10-6-1 (2)). The color of the surface ranges from brown to black or is covered by red slip.

PC-I Rojo Pintado (PC-I Red Painted): The rim of the pottery is painted in red. The exterior surface of the bowl or on the neck of the pot are often decorated with appliqué fillets impressed by fingers or nicked by the tips of a spatula-like instrument.

PC-I Pulido (PC-I Polished) (Figure 10-6-2): This type has a polished surface and is simple and plain, with no noticeable decoration. The surface ranges from brown to black or is covered by red slip.

PC-I Inciso Tosco (PC-I Coarse Incised) (Figure 10-6-3): The decoration of this type includes deep lines that were incised when the clay was still wet and soft. Two parallel incised lines were drawn horizontally as zoning lines on the exterior surface of the bowl near the rim and bottom. Geometric or figurative designs were outlined by incised lines used in the zoning. The incised lines are sometimes filled with red or white pigment after firing. The surface ranges from brown to black or is covered by red slip.

PC-I Inciso Fino (PC-I Fine-line Incised) (Figure 10-6-4): The decoration of this type includes fine and shallow incised lines that were drawn after the clay became nearly dry and hard. Geometric or figurative designs are presented on the exterior surface of the bowl or the neck of the bottle. The incised lines are sometimes filled with red or white pigments after firing (Figure 10-6-4 (18)). The surface ranges from brown to black or is covered by red slip.

PC-I Inciso Ancho (PC-I Broad-line Incised) (Figure 10-6-5): The decoration of this type includes broad incised lines. Geometric or figurative designs are presented on the exterior surface of the vessel. There is no zoning with incised lines to draw designs as in

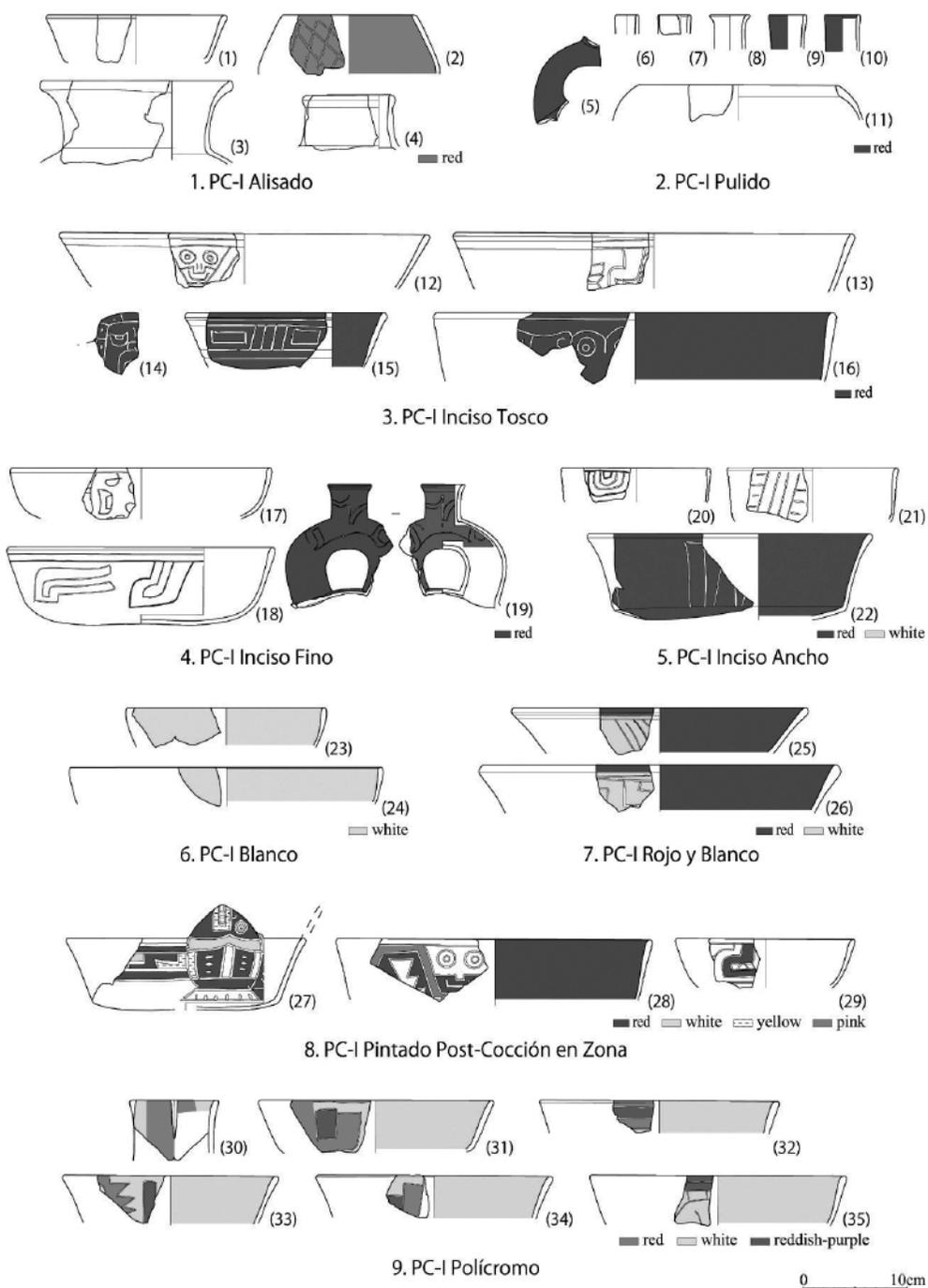


Figure 10-6 PC-I Potteries from Pacopampa ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

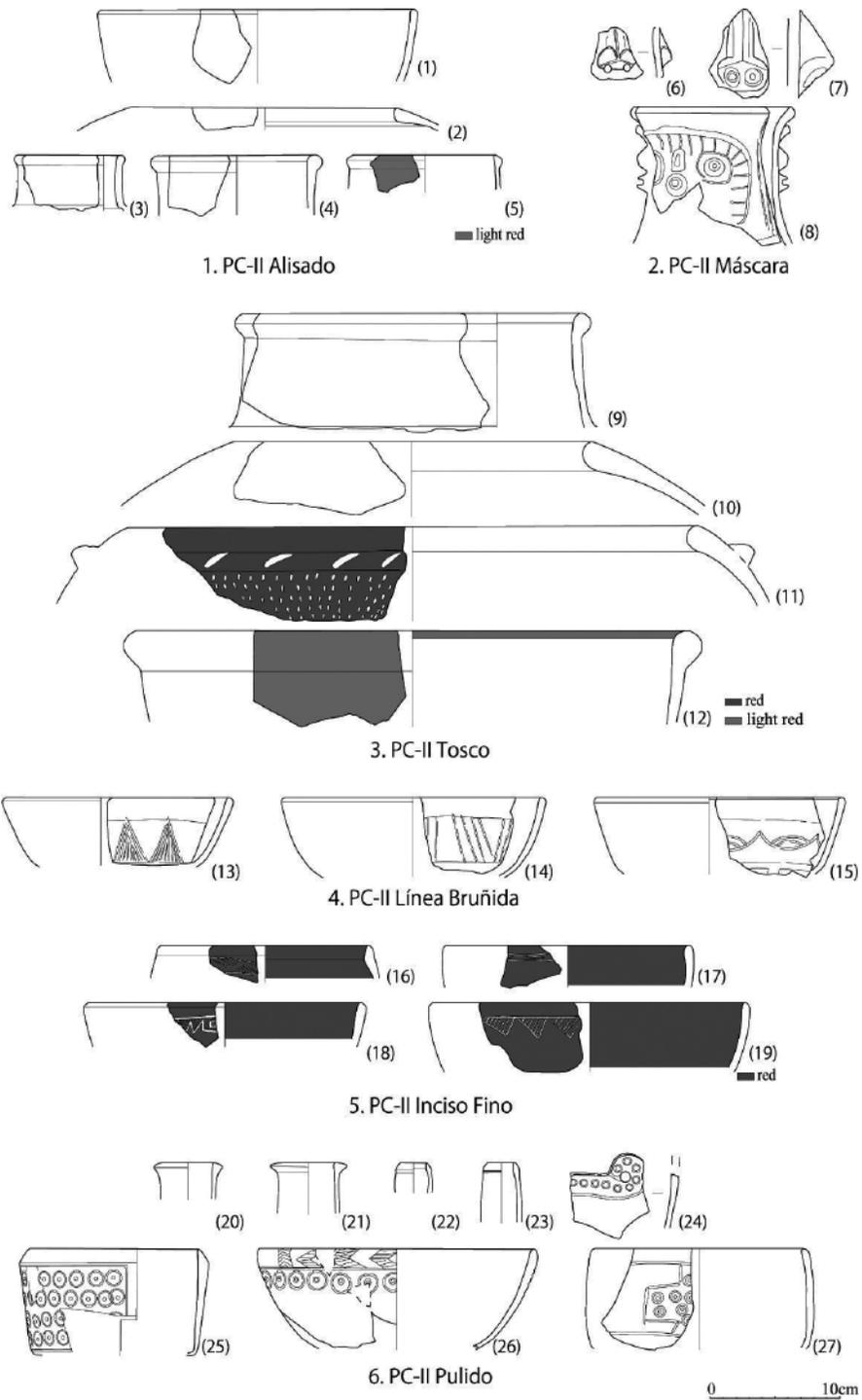


Figure 10-7 PC-II Potteries from Pacopampa ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

PC-I Inciso Tosco. The surface ranges from brown to black or is covered by red slip or paint.

PC-I Blanco Pintado (PC-I White Painted) (Figure 10-6-6): The pottery of this type is painted white. Some have geometric designs from incisions on the exterior surface of the vessel.

PC-I Rojo y Blanco (PC-I Red and White) (Figure 10-6-7): The pottery of this type is painted with red and white pigments. It sometimes has geometric designs with incisions on the exterior surface of the bowl.

PC-I Rojo sobre Anaranjado (PC-I Red on Orange): The pottery of this type presents geometric designs with red paint on the orange surface. This type was rarely seen on site.

PC-I Pintado Post-cocción en Zona (PC-I Zoned Post-coction Painted) (Figure 10-6-8): The decoration of this type includes deep incisions that were drawn when the clay was still wet and soft. Two parallel incised lines were drawn horizontally as zoning lines on the exterior surface of the bowl near the rim and bottom. Geometric or figurative designs were outlined by incisions used in the zoning. We can see the post-coction or after-firing application of pigments like red, yellow, white, and green on the matte surfaces zoned by incised lines. Some bowls have rims or interior walls painted with red pigment before firing (Figure 10-6-8 (28)).

PC-I Polícromo (PC-I Polychrome) (Figure 10-6-9): The pottery of this type was painted before firing (pre-coction) with various pigments such as red, reddish-purple, orange, and white. The painted areas were often bordered with incised lines. Geometric designs are sometimes seen.

<PC-II types>

PC-II Alisado (PC-II Smoothed) (Figure 10-7-1): This type has a smooth surface. It is plain-ware, however, sometimes nicked appliqué fillets are seen on the exterior surface of the jar. The surface ranges from brown to black or red.

PC-II Tosco (PC-II Coarse) (Figure 10-7-3): The surface of this type is smoothed, and brush marks by comb or spatula are often left on the interior surface. Most of them are plain-ware, however, sometimes nicked appliqué fillets are seen on the exterior surface of the jar (Figure 10-7-3 (11)). The vessel walls are thick, and there is much large pottery. The colors of the surface are brown, black, red, light red, or white.

PC-II Marrón Rojizo (PC-II Reddish-brown): This type has a smooth surface. The color of the paste ranges from reddish-brown or orange. Most of them are plain-ware, however, sometimes nicked appliqué fillets are seen on the exterior surface of the jar.

PC-II Línea Bruñida (PC-II Line-burnished) (Figure 10-7-4): The decoration of this type is composed of very shallow, burnished lines or bands applied with blunt pointed instruments on the surface. The interior side of the rim is applied with a burnished band, and below the band, geometric designs are drawn by the burnished line. The colors of the surface are black from reduction firing, but, sometimes brown or red slips or paint can be seen.

PC-II Inciso Fino (PC-II Fine-line Incised) (Figure 10-7-5): The decoration of this type comprises narrow and shallow incised lines. After the clay dries, a horizontal incised line is drawn below the rim and continuous geometric designs are depicted below the

line. The surface is covered with red slip or paint, or sometimes black from reduction firing.

PC-II Pulido (PC-II Polished) (Figure 10-7-6): The surface of this type is highly polished. The color of the surface is black or covered with red slip or paint, rarely brown or white. The exterior surface of the bowl is decorated with circular designs, that is, circles with dots or double circles made by shallow incised lines or stamped impressions. Designs are applied below the rim or between incised lines. In the case of the necked jar, these designs are found on the body. Circle designs are sometimes applied in conjunction with PC-II Inciso Fino decorations (Figure 10-7-6 (26)). There are also figurative designs by the combination of incision, modeling, and puncture. A geometric design with wide incised lines and a zig-zag design is rarely found.

PC-II Máscara (PC-II Mask) (Figure 10-7-2): This type of decoration often includes representations of human and animal faces, like that of a jaguar. The technique used is a combination of modeling, application, incision, puncture, and scraping. Although we cannot deny that they may have been part of vessels, most are thought to have been used as masks or ritual ornaments.

PC-II Gris Pulido (PC-II Gray Polished): The gray-colored surface is highly polished. The paste is very compact. The decorative attribute is similar to that of PC-II Pulido. This type is rarely seen on site.

In the following, we will identify the potteries unearthened or collected from the sites within the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex, based on the classification of pottery types mentioned above. We would like to observe the time and mode of use of each site along with the data of the excavated architecture.

4. Pacopampa Archaeological Complex

There are several sites within a radius of 1 km from the Pacopampa site (Figure 10-8): La Laguna, La Capilla, El Mirador (Figure 10-9), and Coche Corral. Daniel Morales, one of the authors, previously conducted a survey and classified the hierarchy of the sites. He considered that La Capilla, El Mirador, and Coche Corral are strongly related to the Pacopampa site and should be considered constituting the same complex (Morales 1999). Following this opinion, our team decided to name what these sites comprise the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex. La Capilla and El Mirador were previously excavated by Peruvian archaeologists (Flores 1975; Morales 1980). We realized newly intensive excavations at the La Capilla site, whereas we have not excavated at the Mirador site. La Laguna, the area (DG sector) between Montículo Laguna and La Capilla, and Coche Corral were investigated for the first time by our team.

4.1 La Laguna

La Laguna is located 350 m to the east of Pacopampa, and its architecture was built following the central axis of the Pacopampa site. It was excavated in 2007 by our project to clarify the relationship with Pacopampa. In the PC-I phase, stepped platforms, a stairway (Figure 10-10), and a sunken plaza on the summit were built. No architecture



Figure 10-8 The View of La Laguna (a), La Capilla (b), and El Mirador (c) from the Third Platform at Pacopampa ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

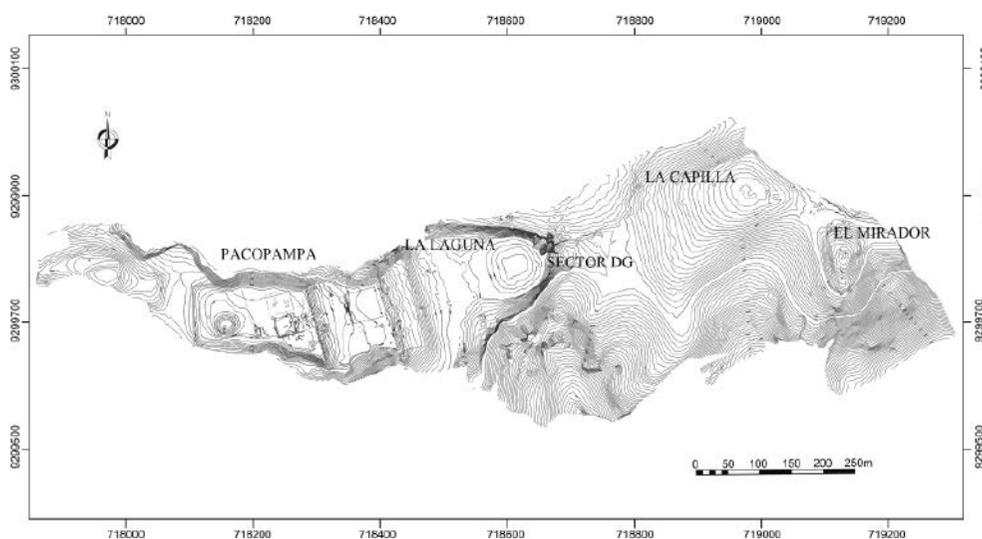


Figure 10-9 Locations of the Sites in the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

was found in the PC-II phase, other than the burial of a camelid (Seki and Tosso 2008). Most ceramic types found at the site correspond to the PC-I phase or Cajamarca, and some shards of the Pandanche type and the PC-II phase were recognized. The composition of the ceramic types of the PC-I phase is almost similar to that of the Pacopampa site (Figure 10-11). In the ceramic type specific to PC-II, we could identify only the PC-II

Alisado, PC-II Tosco, and PC-II Pulido types (Figure 10-12). We could not determine the phase they were in during the Cajamarca period because almost all fragments of pottery are plain wares.

4.2 Sector DG

Sector DG is located 500 m to the east of Pacopampa, between La Laguna and La Capilla. This sector was excavated in 2017 by our project to identify the residential area

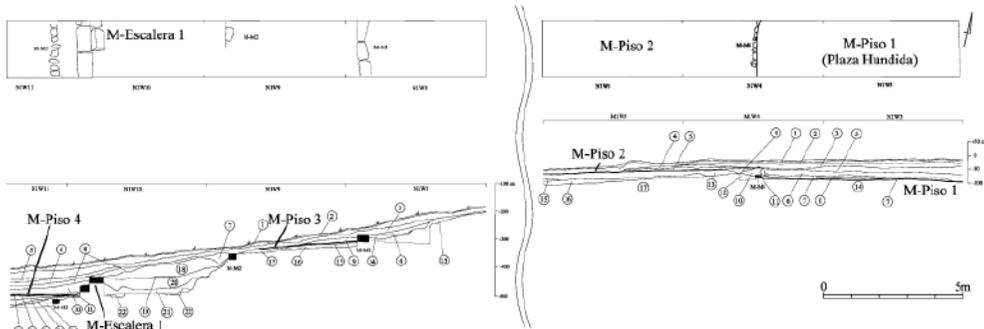


Figure 10-10 Profile of the Stepped Platform at La Laguna ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

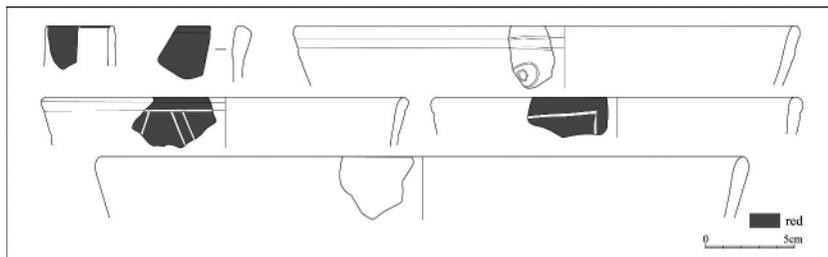


Figure 10-11 PC-I Potteries from La Laguna ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

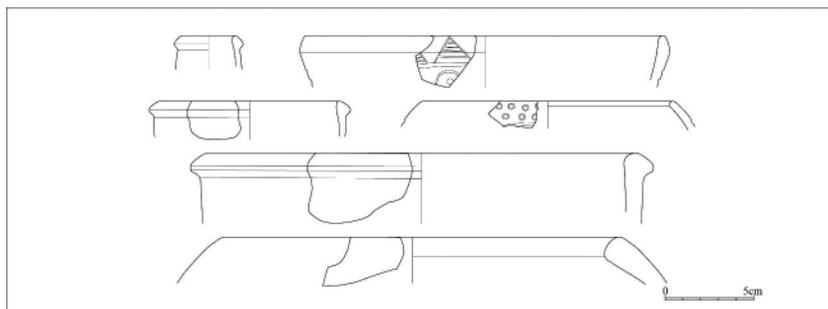


Figure 10-12 PC-II Potteries from La Laguna ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

in the complex and to examine whether there was an unused area within the complex (Seki and Morales 2018). However, the excavation allowed the discovery of a sequence of floors of the PC-I phase at different heights and distances, which could correspond to platforms although we could not find any retaining walls (Figure 10-13). In the PC-II phase, a ditch was discovered whose function is still unknown. Anyway, it seems that this area was not for the residents who realized or supported the ritual activities. Rather, it may have been the ritual space.

Most pottery shards were from the PC-I phase. Some from the Pandanche, the PC-II phase, and Cajamarca periods also were detected. The Pandanche type pottery was associated with the PC-I phase pottery types. The composition of ceramic types of the PC-I phase is similar to that of Pacopampa (Figure 10-14). There were only a few potteries from the PC-II phase. We have not been able to determine the phase they were in during the Cajamarca period because almost all fragments of pottery are plain wares.

4.3 La Capilla

La Capilla was located 740 m to the east of Pacopampa and excavated by Morales (1980,

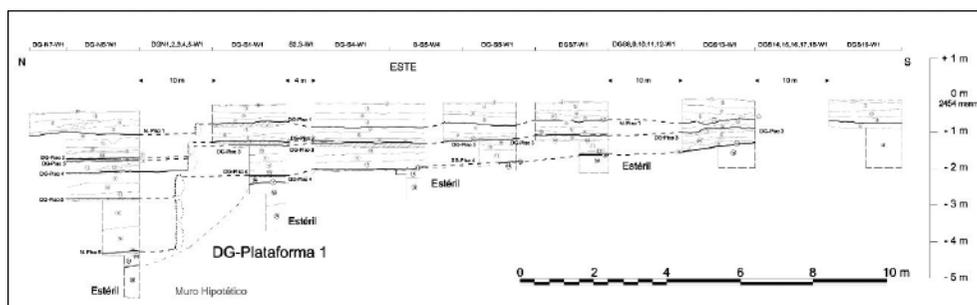


Figure 10-13 Sequence of Floors in Sector DG ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

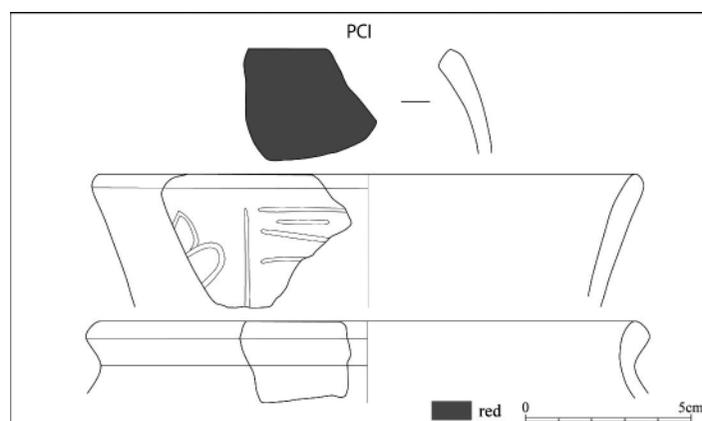


Figure 10-14 PC-I Potteries from Sector DG ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

1999) in the 1970s; we newly excavated the site in 2015, 2019, and 2021 to clarify the sequence of the constructions, the chronology, and its relationship with the Pacopampa site (Seki and Morales 2016, 2020; Villanueva 2022). There was significant construction activity in the form of stepped platforms and channels that cut through the ground sterile (Figures 10-15 and 10-16) in the PC-I phase. After three seasons of excavation, other than a few potteries, no clear evidence of construction activity in the PC-II phase has

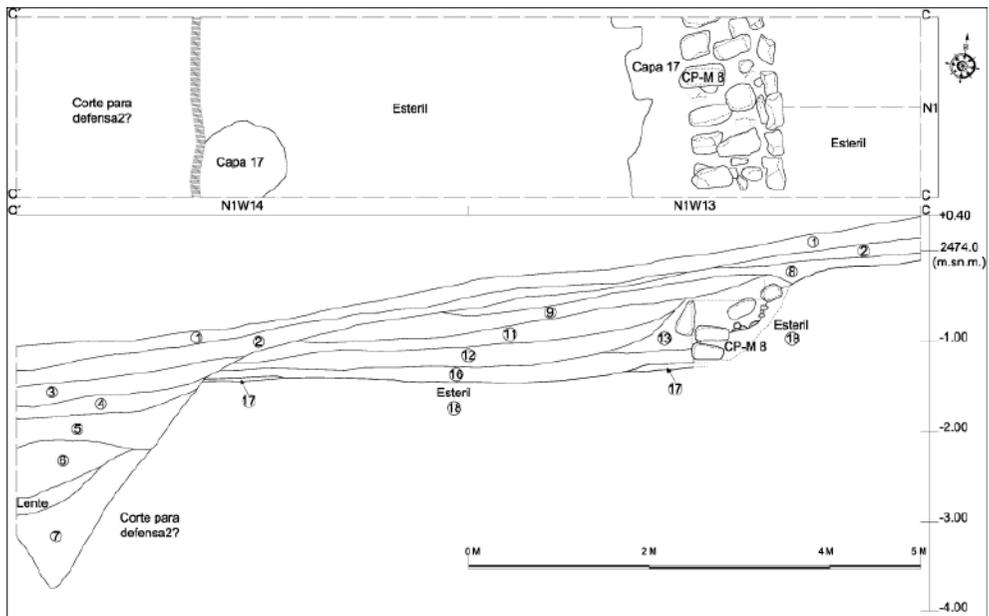


Figure 10-15 The Profile of a Platform and Retaining Wall in the PC-I Phase at La Capilla
©Pacopampa Archaeological Project



Figure 10-16 A Platform and Retaining Wall in the PC-I Phase at La Capilla
©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

been found. The constructions in the PC-I phase were destroyed at the end of the Late Formative Period, named the La Capilla phase (CP). CP could be divided into CP-I, CP-II, and CP-III. CP began in the Final Formative Period and continued until the Early Cajamarca Period (Table 10-2). During CP, some rooms were built on top of the mound (Figure 10-17).

After CP, the site fell into temporary disuse, with the next use coming in the Final Cajamarca Period. A large amount of pottery from this period was found along with a yellowish-brown floor and a small stone wall although the retaining walls of the platforms that supported these structures have not been found. Some pit tombs were unearthed in this period, one of which contained an effigy jar of the Chimú style of the northern coast (Seki and Morales 2016: 219–220). The Chimú period is parallel to the Final Cajamarca period (Terada and Matsumoto 1985: 89), so this pottery is thought to have been imported. Deep ditches were found on the slope of the mound, and Inca- and Final Cajamarca-style potteries were found in the fill (Villanueva 2022). The natural

Table 10-2 Chronology at La Capilla

		La Capilla
1532		
	Final Cajamarca	some activities
1200	Late Cajamarca	
900	Middle Cajamarca	
450	Early Cajamarca	CP-III
200	Initial Cajamarca	
A. C.50		CP-II
B. C.50	Final Formative Period	CP-I
250	Late Formative Period II	
550	Late Formative Period I	PC-II
800	Middle Formative Period II	PC-I
950	Middle Formative Period I	
1200	Early Formative Period	

(produced by Nagisa Nakagawa)

sidewalls of the ditch are sloped steeply, suggesting a defensive nature. This evidence suggests a struggle between the Incas and the Final Cajamarca Period people.

A large quantity of the PC-I potteries was found at the site. The composition of the types of this phase is similar to that of Pacopampa (Figure 10-18). The Pandanche type has not been identified. In terms of composition, the types in the PC-II phase are similar to those in Pacopampa, although the quantity is small. The pottery features of CP are



Figure 10-17 A Room in the CP Phase at La Capilla ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

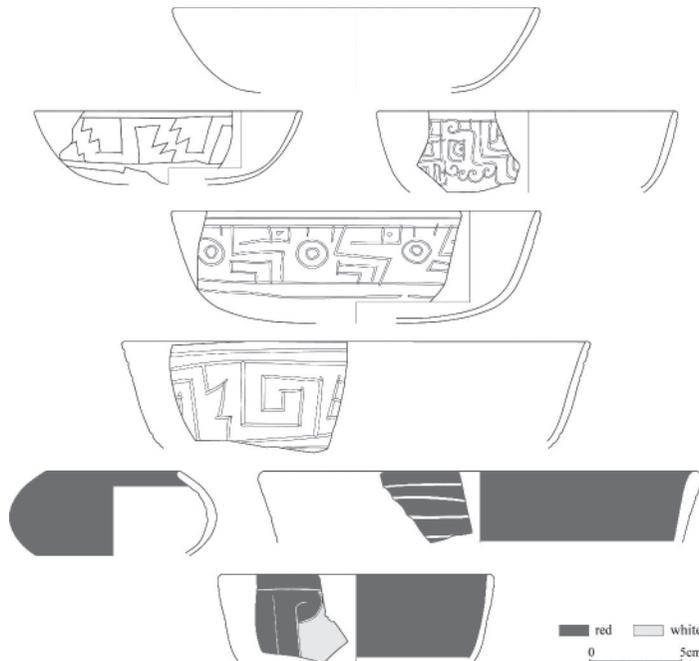


Figure 10-18 PC-I Potteries at La Capilla ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

different from those from the PC-I and PC-II phases. They include red bowls, bowls with cross designs, black bowls with circle applications, red-necked jars, wide-mouth jars, and rough treatment (Figure 10-19). The White on Red type potteries are included. Some pottery derived from the Late Cajamarca Period was included in the Final Cajamarca potteries (Figure 10-20).

4.4 El Mirador

This site is located 800 m to the east of Pacopampa. In the 1970s, Isabel Flores

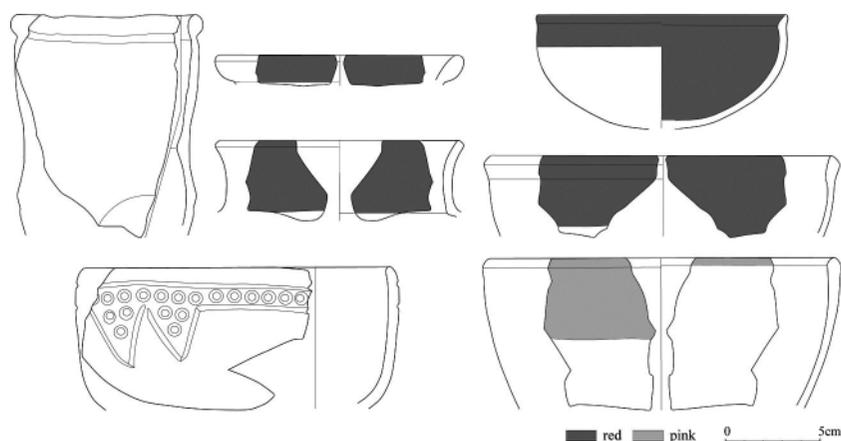


Figure 10-19 CP Phase Potteries from La Capilla ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project



Figure 10-20 Cajamarca Potteries from La Capilla ©Pacopampa Archaeological Project



Figure 10-21 PC-I Potteries from El Mirador (Flores 1975)

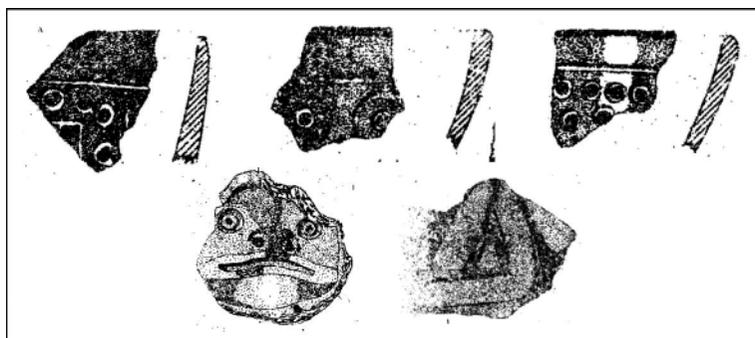


Figure 10-22 PC-II Potteries from El Mirador (Flores 1975)

excavated on the summit of El Mirador and found floors, walls, pits, and many firepits (Flores 1975). She mentioned four burials accompanied by Late Formative potteries. She found a lot of pottery shards in a large pit, and classified and presented the drawings on the pottery types in a report although they were not related to the stratigraphy. Referring to her report we identified PC-I Inciso Tosco and PC-I Inciso Fino from the PC-I phase (Figure 10-21), and PC-II Alisado, PC-II Tosco, PC-II Pulido, and PC-II Máscara from the PC-II phase (Figure 10-22), and shards from the Cajamarca period. Otherwise, a few pottery shards of the surface collection realized by our team had the Cajamarca feature with one exception of the PC-II phase. An interview with geologists Masaaki and Marina Shimizu, both of whom were in our team, showed that the limestone materials used in the PC-I building at the Pacopampa site were brought from El Mirador (Seki et al. 2017: 46). The unnatural mid-slope of El Mirador appears to have been created by human intervention. In the PC-II phase, it seems that stone materials from Agua Blanca near the site were used. They were brought in from the northwestern side of the Pacopampa site. From these points, it is expected that El Mirador was used extensively in the PC-I phase.

4.5 Coche Corral

Coche Corral is located at the southern foot of Pacopampa. Morales mentioned the existence of a sunken plaza, a stairway, small rooms, underground channels, and an agricultural area around the site (Molares 1999), although their chronological assignment has not been identified yet. In our surface survey, some pottery shards of PC-I Alisado

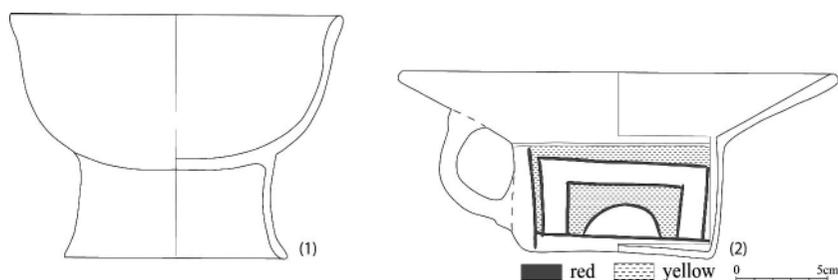


Figure 10-23 The Pedestaled Dish “Computera” and Flaring Bowl from Coche Corral
©Pacopampa Archaeological Project

and Incised Tosco from the PC-I phase, and PC-II Alisado and Máscara were obtained at this site.

In 2013, water pipes were installed in the village of Pacopampa, adjacent to the Pacopampa site. In the process, a burial was discovered at Coche Corral. Rescue excavations were carried out by our team under the supervision of the Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cajamarca (DDC Cajamarca 2013). Through this excavation, multiple burials with stone beads and potteries were found. An interior wall of irregular stones can be seen in the large square pit. The pedestaled dish “computera” recovered there (Figure 10-23 (1)) resembles that of the “Tomb of the Lady of the Pacopampa” in sub-phase IIA. Another vessel associated with Coche Corral burials has a flaring bowl that is a representative form of the PC-II phase (Figure 10-23 (2)). Thus, these burials belong to the PC-II phase.

The tomb was severely destroyed by the installation of water pipes, but many gold objects were unearthed from the excavated soil. A thin gold plate with a snake’s head, ornaments in the shape of a human head, conical ornaments, and hollow spherical ornaments among others, were unearthed. At least the last three may have been part of the necklace. These offerings suggest that the Coche Corral was an elite space associated with the Pacopampa.

A short distance away from the burial, a whole *Strombus* conch (*Strombus galeatus*) was found while laying a water pipe. The conch is found in the warm waters of Ecuador. It indicates that it was brought here by long-distance trade. The *Strombus* conch must have been used as a ceremonial instrument such as a trumpet, and the one from Coche Corral had a hole in the apex or protoconch for the mouthpiece of the trumpet. In the Formative Period, these conchs were unearthed in limited spaces such as tombs and corridors at a few sites, such as Chavín de Huántar (Rick 2008: 24–27) and Kuntur Wasi (Onuki et al. 1995: 16). While the stratigraphic relationship between the conch and the tomb mentioned before is unknown, it is highly likely that the elite obtained it for ceremonial purposes.

5. The Social Process of the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex

We analyze the temporal changes in the use of ritual space in the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex based on the data on pottery and architecture that we have described. Pandanche type pottery was found in Pacopampa, La Laguna, and Sector DG. However, all shards were in the constructive fill and it cannot be determined whether there was any architectural activity in this phase. Judging from the lack of architectural traces, it is better to assume that the residence of the Pandanche phase was located elsewhere in the vicinity of the complex, and that Pandanche pottery was probably derived from the soil brought by the later PC-I people for the construction of their ritual space.

The architectural activities began in the PC-I phase at Pacopampa, La Laguna, La Capilla, and Sector DG. PC-I potteries with similar compositions in terms of type were found in all sites. We also found architectural evidence at these four sites. At most archaeological sites except Coche Corral, construction activities were carried out along a central axis. As already noted, stone materials from El Mirador were used for the constructions in the PC-I phase at Pacopampa. El Mirador was undoubtedly used intensively in the PC-I phase.

At the beginning of the PC-II phase, social leaders were established at Pacopampa as the burials associated with gold objects suggest¹⁾. The evidence of the leaders brings us an idea of the architectural expansion (Burger 2019). However, we observe the opposite situation. Although we can see a similar composition of the ceramic types at all sites in the complex, no clear evidence of architectural activity has been confirmed except on Pacopampa and Coche Corral. The architectural activities at Pacopampa and Coche Corral may have been associated with that leader's exercise of religious power. Thus, what happened with the birth of the leader was not the expansion of the ritual space within the complex, but rather the intensive throwing of energy into two archaeological sites, namely Pacopampa and Coche Corral. Later, its operations as a ceremonial complex ceased in the final stage of sub-phase IIB. The pottery shards in the CP phase had been recognized only in Pacopampa and La Capilla. In the CP phase, the architectural activities were remarkably decreased. In this sub-phase, new pottery styles began to be manufactured, and some rooms were built at La Capilla.

Pottery shards in the Cajamarca periods were found at almost all sites, but most of them were plain wares and it is difficult to identify the chronological position in the Cajamarca periods. However, in Pacopampa, many miniature potteries associated with kaolin potteries in the Early Cajamarca Period were found. The ritual space of the Formative Period was partially reused and new rituals were performed, including the dedication of miniature potteries. They could be contemporary with CP-III. After that, it seems that the space in the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex was not used in the Middle and Late Cajamarca Periods, but was used again in the Final Cajamarca and Inca Periods. Especially at La Capilla, a large number of pottery wares in the Final Cajamarca Period were unearthed.

We observed the use of space in the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex from the

Formative to the Inca Periods. The Pacopampa Archaeological Complex had shrunk rather than expanded from the space that was used in the Late Formative Period when social differences became apparent. In the Late Formative Period, the data from Kuntur Wasi and Chavín-related sites show that the trading network was activated and became the power base of the leaders (Burger 2008; Seki 2014). From here onward, the activation of rituals is expected. There is no doubt that Pacopampa entered the network, but the strategy the leader took was the selective concentration of rituals on one or two sites in the complex. This shows that each local center adopted its tactics for the reintegration of society, whereas the ceremonial centers throughout the Central Andes had strong interrelationships. A thorough study on the ritual activities at each center is necessary to understand the social process in the Formative Period. The data from the Pacopampa Archaeological Complex may be valuable in that sense.

Note

- 1) I would like to add that careful consideration of this view is desirable in the future. In 2022, we discovered a burial that corresponds to the Middle Formative Period (PC-I phase) at the La Capilla site. The tomb was 1 m deep and sealed with several tons of large stone. The body was placed on top of 20 *Strombus* conchs, and was decorated with blue stones, probably chrysocolla, blue-purple stones, possibly sodalite, and white shell necklaces. The *Strombus* shells were put with large amounts of red pigment, possibly cinnabar. This situation indicates the presence of leaders and long-distance trade even in the Middle Formative Period. In this sense, we can no longer deny the possibility that the characteristics of the Late Formative Period society described in this paper can be traced back to the Middle Formative Period.

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