The Creation and Transformation of Power from the Perspective of Burials : A Comparison of the Pacopampa and Kuntur Wasi Sites

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11. The Creation and Transformation of Power from the Perspective of Burials: A Comparison of the Pacopampa and Kuntur Wasi Sites

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1. Introduction

In archaeology, burials have long been the subject of analysis as evidence of the deceased's status before death. Andean archaeology has emphasized the relationship between burial patterns and the development of social ranking and stratification (Dillehay 1995a: 11). In studies on Moche, which is the first state-level society in the Andes, the existence of elites such as warrior-priests and female priests was identified. The differences among them were discussed by combining the analysis of burial patterns, grave goods associated with the individuals, and iconography (Alva and Donnan 1993; Castillo 2001).

Studies on burial patterns have not been limited to these approaches. The focus of research has shifted from death to life. Many studies have pointed out that the rituals of mourning and praying for the dead create unity and order in the world of the living (Dillehay 1995b; Hastorf 2003). The kinship connection with the dead, such as lineage, helps explain inequality in the world of living. Specially constructed tombs, or individual and grave goods buried in them, represent the social status of the deceased and serve as a source of power for the leaders of the living world.

Burial data provide valuable information for analyzing various aspects of society. We analyze the burials at two archaeological sites belonging to the Formative Period: the Kuntur Wasi site, where we participated in the excavation as members, and the Pacopampa site, where we are currently excavating as part of a joint project with the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Peru. We present data on burials at the Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa sites to understand their general characteristics, identify special tombs with some indicators, and conduct a diachronic analysis using these indicators as clues. We discuss the emergence and transformation of social differences in the Late Formative Period society.

The act or situation of burying a body in the ground is called "burial." The space where the deceased is buried is called the "tomb." There are known cases of secondary

burials, where the bones are removed after a certain period and buried elsewhere. However, this has not been reported in Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa. Goods associated with a burial are given various names, such as burial offerings, and tomb and funeral goods; in this chapter, we call them "grave goods" for a more neutral expression (Sprague 2005: 32). Human remains were first removed by archaeologists and then analyzed by a physical anthropologist.

2. The Kuntur Wasi Site

As described in detail by Kinya Inokuchi in this volume, Kuntur Wasi is one of the representative sites of the Formative Period, located in the Province of San Pablo, Cajamarca, at 2,200 m above sea level (Figure 11-1). The site was excavated by the disciples of the famous Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello, but intensive and extensive excavations have been conducted since 1988 by a Japanese research team. Considering the pottery and architecture unearthed thus far, four phases of occupation have been identified (Figure 11-2): the Ídolo (1000–800 BC), Kuntur Wasi (800–550 BC), Copa (550–250 BC), and Sotera (250–50 BC) phases (Onuki 1995). All of these belong to the Formative Period, but the Ídolo phase corresponds to the Middle Formative Period; the Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases to the Late Formative Period; and the Sotera phase to the Final Formative Period. The Sotera phase was only partially confirmed. In the Ídolo phase, it is thought that the site was already functioning as a ceremonial center and was accompanied by pottery similar to that of the Late Huacaloma phase found at the Huacaloma site in the Cajamarca Basin, 35 km away by a straight line. In the Kuntur Wasi phase, the Kuntur Wasi site began to have multi-tiered terraces and the uppermost platform we see today. In this phase, a sunken plaza and lower platform were built above the platform and a circular sunken plaza was built behind these architectural complexes. Stone sculptures were created. In the Copa phase that followed, the central buildings located on the northern side of the Kuntur Wasi phase were reused as they were, whereas the circular sunken plaza was filled in and platforms and patios were built on top. In the Sotera phase, these ritual structures were abandoned and buried, and residential-like buildings were built on top of them. In the Cajamarca periods, Kuntur Wasi was probably used as a cemetery by the nearby communities.

2.1 Burials at Kuntur Wasi

Most burials at the Kuntur Wasi were reported as tombs with rich grave goods, such as gold objects (Matsumura et al. 1997; Onuki 1997, 2011; Onuki et al. 1995). A series of burials from the Kuntur Wasi phase were discovered in the central platform, the core of the site, between 1989 and 1990. Three burials in the Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases were found in the southern corner of the principal platform in 1996, and a burial was discovered inside the small platform adjacent to the southwestern corner of the central platform in 1997 (Figures 11-3 and 11-4). These are special tombs associated with gold objects. Since 1989, a large number of burials and human remains have been unearthed at the Kuntur Wasi site. Physical characteristics and dietary analyses through collagen

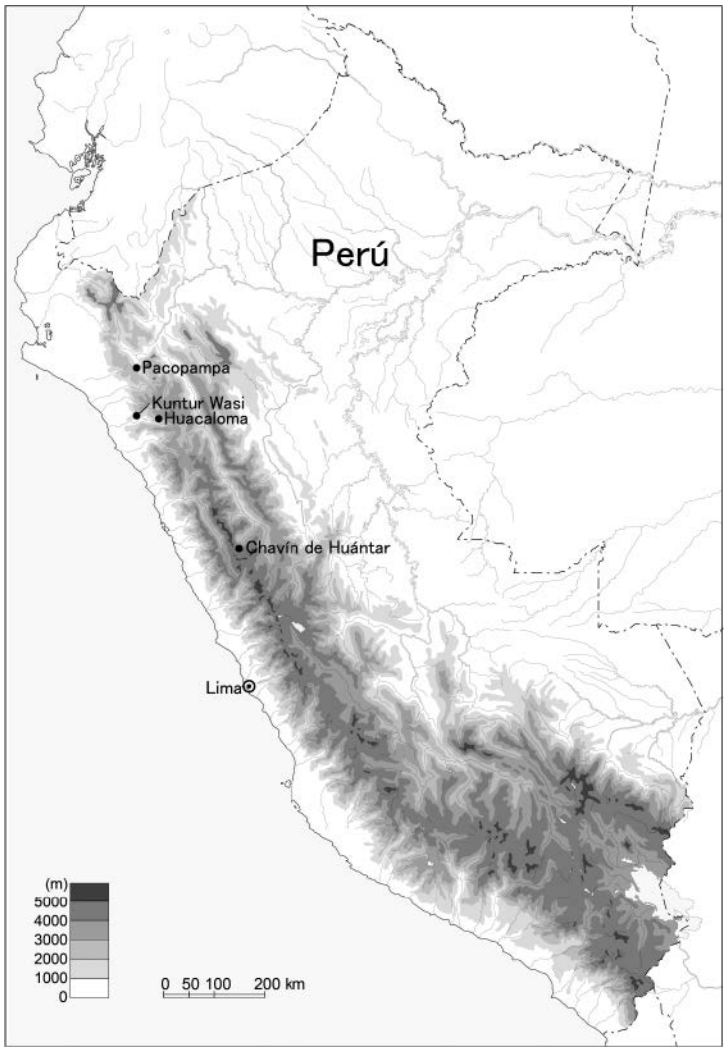

Figure 11-1 Map of the location of Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa (produced by Yuji Seki)

analysis have been carried out on these materials. However, no coherent archaeological analysis has been published, except for some of the tombs mentioned above.

Table 11-1 summarizes Kuntur Wasi's burials. The following items are listed in it: phase, registration number, sex, age, direction of the head position, burial position, presence of cranial deformation, grave goods, and presence of cinnabar. The phase was divided into the Ídolo, Kuntur Wasi, Copa, Sotera, and Cajamarca periods. The Copa phase was subdivided into three sub-phases. At the Kuntur Wasi site, the space was partially reused and several tombs were built during the Cajamarca periods after the site ceased to be a space for full-fledged ceremonial activity. This chapter analyzes burials in the Formative Period; thus, those in the Cajamarca periods are not included in the

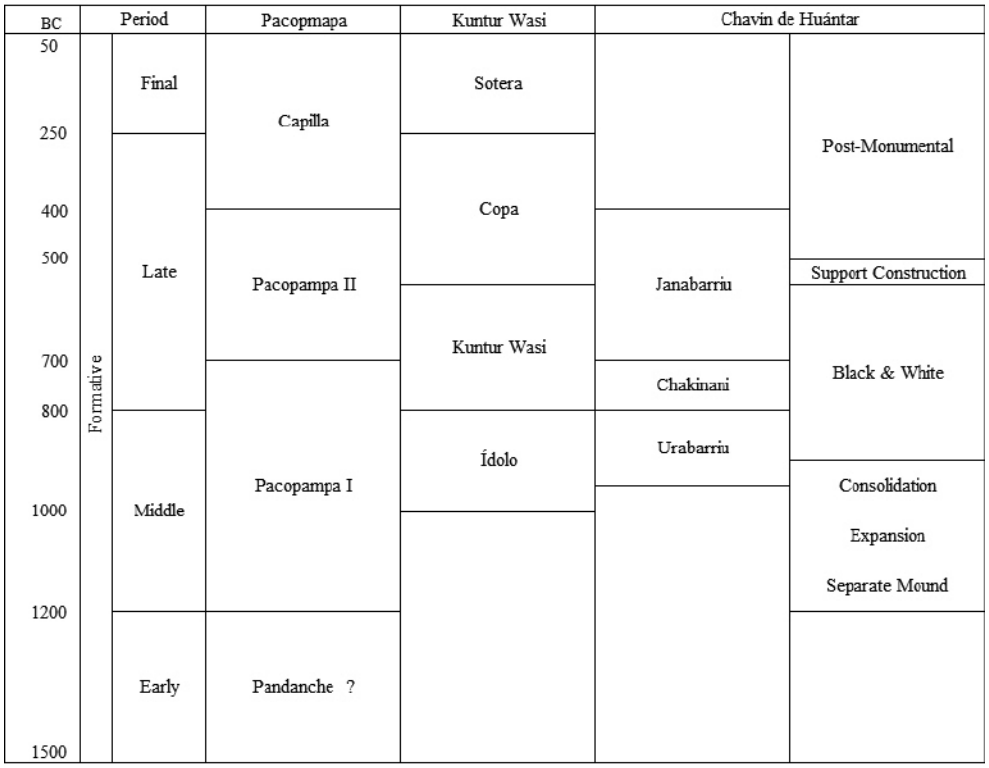

Figure 11-2 Chronology of the Formative Period sites in the northern highlands (produced by Yuji Seki)

discussion, although data from the Cajamarca periods are also presented only for the total number of burials.

Physical anthropologist Kazuharu Mine was responsible for the analysis of human bones to identify characteristics such as sex, age, and the presence of cranial deformation (Mine 2002). The total number of burials at Kuntur Wasi was 120, but 134 bodies were counted (Table 11-2). In the Formative Period alone, we found 71 burials and 80 bodies. The number of burials and bodies did not match as multiple bodies were allowed in a single burial. The number of double or multiple burials (double or multiple bodies in a burial) at Kuntur Wasi was 11, which is approximately 9% of the total number of burials. In the Formative Period alone, there were nine burials. In 39 cases from the Formative Period context, the sex of the dead could not be identified because the buried person was a fetus or a child before sexual characteristics appeared on the bones, or because the bones were preserved poorly. Among those that were identified, 23 were men and 18 were women (Figure 11-5), with no statistically significant difference. In terms of age, Kazuharu Mine used the following categories:

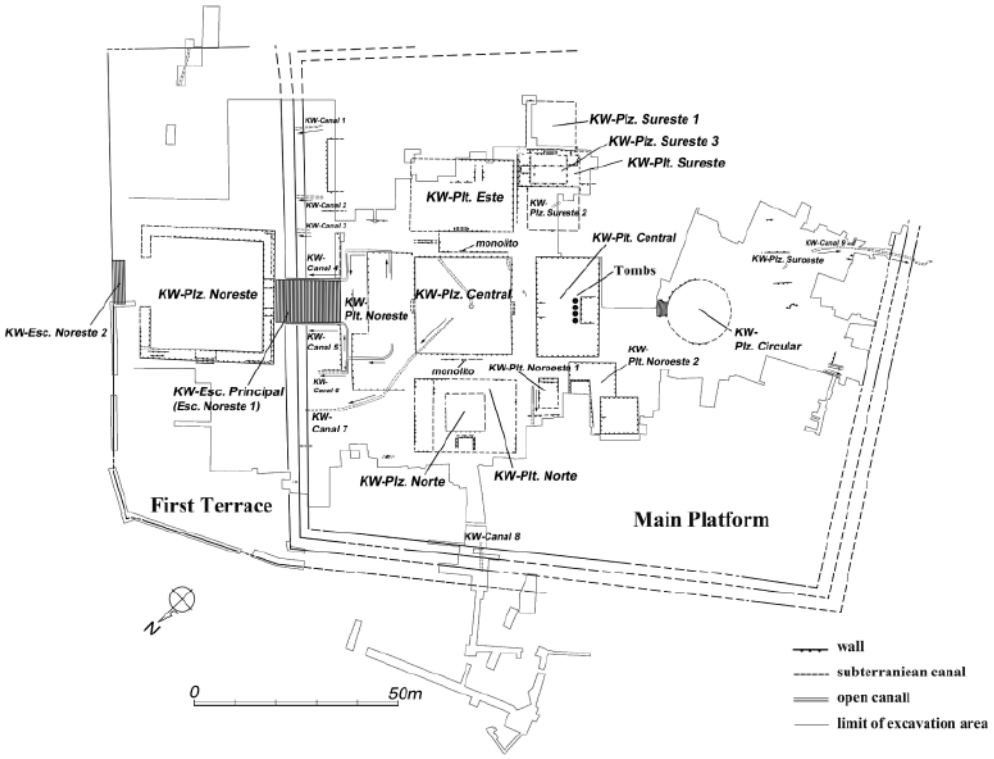

Figure 11-3 Architectural plan of the Kuntur Wasi phase at Kuntur Wasi
@Kuntur Wasi Archaeological Project

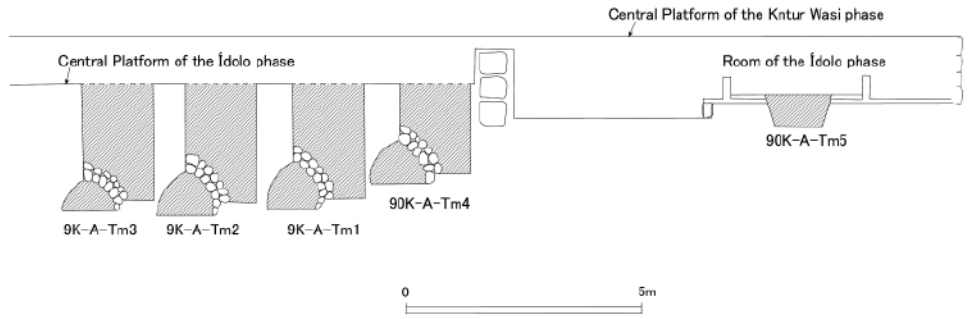

Figure 11-4 Cross-section of the tombs in the Central Platform at Kuntur Wasi
@Kuntur Wasi Archaeological Project

Table 11-1 List of burials by phase in the Formative Period at Kuntur Wasi

Phase	Registor No.	Sex	Age	Direction of head	Cranial Deformation	Position	Tumb Type	Cinnabar	Grave Goods					
									Gold	Silver	Copper	Beads	Pottery	Others
ID	98KW-C-Tm2	?	early childhood (2,3yrs.)	上	?	flexed	pit	○						
KW1	9K-A-Tm3	M	prime adult	S	○	flexed	shaft	○	○				○	○
KW1	9K-A-Tm2	M	old adult	NE	?	flexed	shaft	○	○			○	○	
KW1	9K-A-Tm1	M	late senior adult-old adult	E	○	flexed	shaft	○	○				○	○
KW1	90K-A-Tm4	F	old adult	W	?	flexed	shaft	○	○			○	○	○
KW1	90K-A-Tm5	M	prime adult	下		flexed	pit				○	○		○
KW1	90K-A-Tm5	?	early childhood	?	?	?	pit				○	○		○
KW1	3KW-A-H5	?	?	W	?	flexed	?							
KW1	3KW-A-H6	?	?	W	?	flexed	?							
KW1	7KW-B-Tm1	M	early senior adult	NW	○	r.flexed	shaft	○	○			○	○	
KW1	7KW-C-Tm1	M	late prime adult	W		flexed	pit stone slabs	○					○	
KW2	6KW-G-Tm6	M	late senior adult	NE	○	flexed	shaft	○	○			○	○	
KW	90K-A-H-1	?	?	?	?	?	?	○				○		
KW	90K-A-Tm102	?	adult	?	?	?	?	○						
KW	90K-A-H-5	M	prime adult	?	?	?	?	○				○		
KW	90K-A-H-7	?	?	?	?	?	?					○		
KW	90K-A-Tm102-1	?	childhood*	?	?	?	?	○	○			○		○
KW	90K-A-Tm102-2	F	adult	?	?	?	?	○	○			○		○
KW	90K-A-Tm102-1	M	early prime adult	?	?	?	?	○						
KW	90K-A-Tm102-2	?	childhood*	?	?	?	?	○						
KW	90K-A-Tm102	M?	adult	?	?	?	?	○						
CP1	9K-C-Tm4	?	early childhood(c.3yrs.)	W	?	flexed	pit					○		○
CP1	9K-C-Tm4 east	?	infant	?	?	?	?							
CP1	9K-C-Tm5	M	old adult	?		?	?							
CP1	4KW-B-Tm301	?	early childhood(c.4yrs.)	NE	?	flexed	pit						○	
CP1	4KW-B-Tm302	?	early childhood(1.5-2yrs.)	SW	?	?	pit stone slabs						○	
CP1	4KW-B-Tm303	?	early childhood (c.3.5yrs.)	?	?	?	pit stone slabs					○	○	○
CP1	4KW-B-Tm303	?	early childhood (c.2.5yrs.)	?	?	?	pit stone slabs					○	○	○
CP1	6KW-G-Tm5	M	late prime adult	N	?	flexed	shaft	○	○			○	○	
CP1	6KW-G-Tm1	F	early prime adult	SE		flexed	pit stone slabs						○	
CP1	6KW-G-Tm3A	F	early senior adult	NW	○	flexed	shaft					○	○	
CP1	6KW-G-Tm3B	F	juvenile (17-18 yrs.)	E		flexed	shaft	○				○		
CP1	6KW-H-Tm3-1	?	infant (c.6 months)	?	?	flexed	pit							
CP1	6KW-H-Tm3-2	?	infant (c.3 months)	?	?	flexed	pit						○	
CP1	7KW-A-Tm4	M	prime adult	SW	?	flexed	pit					○		
CP1	7KW G-H-6	?	early childhood (c.4yrs.)	SW	?	flexed	pit							
CP1	7KW G-H-7	?	early childhood (c.2yrs.)	NW	?	flexed	pit							
CP1	7KW G-H-10	?	infant (new-born)	NE	?	flexed	pit					○		
CP1	7KW G-H-11	?	early childhood (c.2yrs.)	W	?	?	pit							
CP1	99KW-A-Tm7	?	childhood (c.7yrs.)	?	?	flexed	pit						○	
CP1-3	6KW-H-Tm4	F	prime adult	SE	○	flexed	pit						○	
CP2	9K-C-Tm2	F	prime adult	?		?	l.pit					○	○	
CP2	6KW-G-Tm4	F	prime adult	NE	?	bound wrists & ankles	shaft	○	○	○			○	
CP2	7KW-G-Tm7	?	adult	N	?	flexed	pit							
CP2	98KW-A-Tm1	?	juvenile (c.14yrs.)	NE	○	r.flexed	pit	○					○	
CP2	98KW-B-Tm5	M	early prime adult	SE	?	flexed	pitstone fill							
CP2	99KW-C-Tm3	?	early childhood (2yrs.)	NW	?	flexed	pit							○
CP2-3	4KW-B-Tm1501	?	adult	E	?	flexed	pit						○	○
CP2-3	4KW-B-Tm1501	M	prime adult	E	?	flexed	pit						○	○
CP3	9K-C-Tm3	?	?	NE	?	r.flexed	pit stone slabs							
CP3	3KW-B-Tm201	?	?	NW	?	flexed	pit							
CP3	6KW-B-Tm4	?	early childhood (c.3.5yrs.)	W	?	flexed	pit							
CP3	6KW-B-Tm5	M	early prime adult	SW	?	flexed	l.pit						○	
CP3	6KW-G-Tm2	F	prime adult	S	?	flexed	pit･stone fill							
CP3	7KW A-H-7-11	F?	late prime adult	N	○	flexed	pit							
CP3	7KW-A-Tm3	F	prime adult	?	?	flexed	pit					○	○	
CP3	7KW A-H-14-30	?	childhood (c.7yrs)	S	○	flexed	pit							
CP3	98KW-B-Tm2	M	senior adult	NE	○	flexed	pitstone fill							

CP3	98KW-B-Tm3-1	F	late prime adult	W	?	flexed	pitstone fill						○	
CP3	98KW-B-Tm3-2	?	infant (2,3 months)	?	?	flexed	pitstone fill						○	
CP3	98KW-B-Tm4	?	juvenile (c.15yrs.)	W	?	flexed	pitstone fill						○	
CP3	99KW-A-Tm1	M	late prime adult	SW	?	flexed	pit						○	
CP3	99KW-A-Tm3	F	late prime adult (35-45yrs.)	NW?	?	flexed	pit							
CP3	99KW-A-Tm4	F	early prime adult (20-30yrs.)	W		flexed	pitstone fill							
CP3	99KW-A-Tm6	M	early prime adult (20-23yrs.)	SW	?	flexed	pitstone fill						○	
CP3	99KW-C-Tm2	?	early childhood (-4yrs.)	W	?	?	pitstone fill						○	
CP3	99KW-C-Tm5	F	juvenile (16-18yrs.)	NW	?	flexed	pit							
CP3?	98KW-B-Tm1	M	senior adult	S	?	flexed	pitstone fill							
CP	7KW-C-Tm3	?	early childhood (c.3yrs.)	N	?	flexed	pit stone slabs						○	
CP	7KW-C-Tm2	?	early childhood (c.5yrs.)	N	?	flexed	pit						○	
CP	98KW-C-Tm1	F?	early prime adult	E	?	flexed	pitstone fill	○					○	
CP	98KW-C-Tm3	M	senior adult	S	?	flexed	shaft	○					○	○
CP	98KW-N-Tm1	F	early prime adult (20yrs.)	NW	?	r.flexed	pit						○	
CP?	9K-C-Tm6	?	senior adult	?	?	?	?							
CP?	99KW-C-Tm1	F	early senior adult	W		flexed	pit						○	
CP?	99KW-C-Tm4	?	infant(3months)	?	?	?	pit							
ST	6KW-B-Tm1	M	late senior adult	W	○	flexed	l.pit						○	
ST	6KW-B-Tm2	M	early senior adult	N		flexed	l.pit						○	
ST	99KW-A-Tm2	?	early childhood (3yrs.-)	W?	?	flexed	?						○	
ST?	7KW G-S-35	?	infant (6 months-1yrs.)	?	?	flexed	pit							

ID: Ídolo phase KW: Kuntur Wasi phase CP: Copa phase ST: Sotera phase (produced by Yuji Seki)
r.flexed: reverse flexed burial on face
l.pit: tomb with stones lining the edge of the pit

Table 11-2 Frequency of bodies recovered from tombs by phase at Kuntur Wasi

Phase	Num. of body	%
Ídolo	1	0.75 %
Kuntur Wasi	20	14.93 %
Copa	51	38.06 %
Sotera	3	2.24 %
Cajamarca	51	38.06 %
Non-identified	8	5.97 %
Total	134	100.00 %

(produced by Yuji Seki)

Infant (under one year of age, including newborns)
Early childhood (1–6 years old)
Childhood (7–12 years old)
Juvenile (13–20 years old)
Early prime adult (21–30 years old)
Late prime adult (31–40 years old)
Early senior adult (41–50 years old)
Late senior adult (51–60 years old)
Old adult (over 60 years old)

As seen in Figure 11-6, 38.75% of the burials were of subadults, including infants, and children in their early childhood, childhood, and juvenile stages combined. The burials of adults and above were predominant.

2.2 Indicators for Burial Classification

The criteria for classifying the burials are the shape and structure of the tomb, ritual use of rare materials like gold objects and other grave goods, and the physical characteristics of the dead, such as cranial deformation. Rare and valuable grave goods, such as gold objects, cannot necessarily be unearthed from every tomb. Given the labor and time required to collect large amounts of gold sand as raw material, and the special skills and knowledge required to produce them, it is possible to infer the differences among members of society through the burial of gold objects.

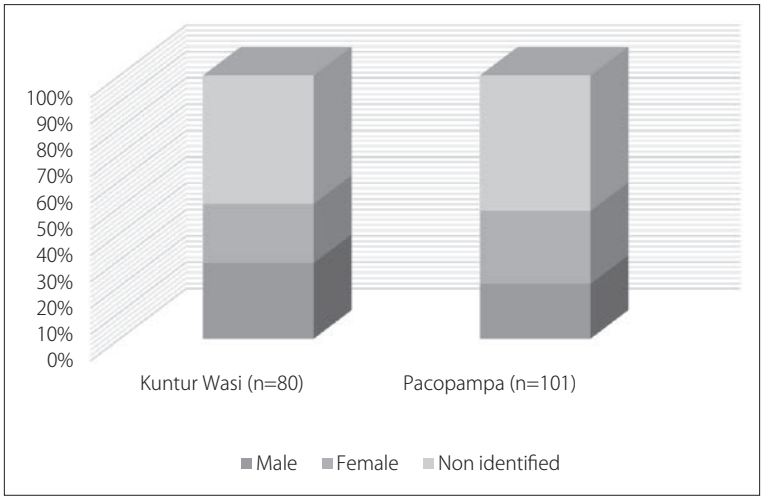

Figure 11-5 Ratio of male to female burials in Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa in the Formative Period (produced by Yuji Seki)

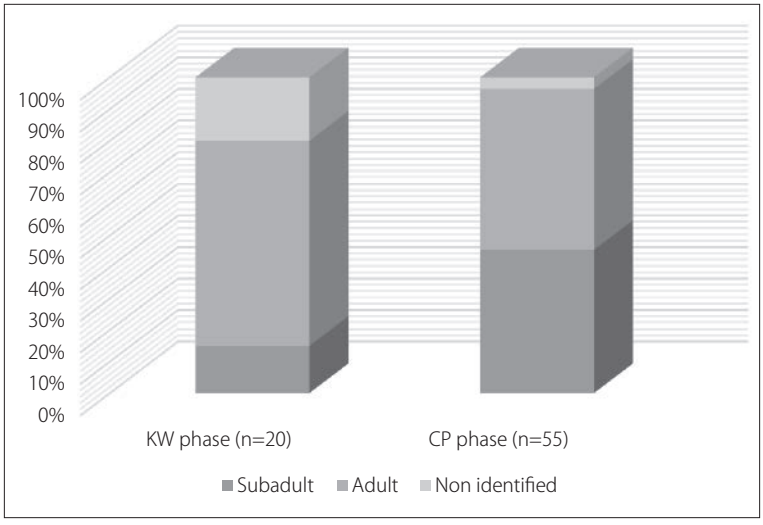

Figure 11-6 Ratio of adult to subadult burials in the Formative Period at Kuntur Wasi (produced by Yuji Seki)

This was true for cinnabar. Whereas it is difficult to understand the ideology behind the practice, it is important to note that cinnabar is a rare substance that does not exist in the region around Kuntur Wasi. Cooke and his colleagues identified cinnabar recovered from the Kuntur Wasi site as coming from the Huancavelica region in the central highlands of Peru (Cooke et al. 2013). Similar results were drawn from the isotopic analysis of cinnabar on the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa" (Burger et al. 2016). Most of the cinnabar excavated in northern Peru was likely brought from remote areas. Judging from its rarity and the difficulty in obtaining it, it was probably not sprinkled on or applied to any buried person. Cranial deformation must be applied to infants and other children in the early stages of growth (Ricci et al. 2008: 384). If the number of such cases is small, there is a possibility that the number of people who had cranial deformation was limited. We can infer the existence of a person born with secure social status.

2.3 Special Burials at Kuntur Wasi

By structure, tombs can be divided into two categories. One is the shaft tomb, where a hole is dug deep and the body is buried at the bottom, and the other is the shallow pit tomb. In the Kuntur Wasi site, the cross-section of the shaft tomb resembled a long boot that is commonly known as a boot-shaped tomb (Figure 11-4). The toe part is the space in which the dead are enshrined. At the Kuntur Wasi site, the space between the toe and shaft is sealed with a pile of uneven stone blocks. Only 11 such shaft tombs have been reported, indicating rarity. The labor required to dig the tombs, enshrine the bodies, and bury the shaft with fill is far greater than that required for the construction of a simple pit tomb. Thus, shaft tombs can be considered evidence of the special treatment of the deceased. These burials have been reported in detail (Onuki 2011; Onuki et al. 1995: 15–19), so they will not be elaborated on in this section. Table 11-3 extracts and summarizes the burials with the above indicators. There are only 10 examples of gold objects that can be associated with special burials. There are only 22 cases of cinnabar at the Kuntur Wasi site. As for cranial deformation, 12 cases were confirmed, which is a small number. The number of burials with the selected indicators is generally limited.

The "Tomb of the Sacrifice" (90 K-A-Tm 5), which does not have any of the above indicators, has different characteristics from those of the other pit tombs. First, the male prime adult was buried in an upside-down position with his head down and feet up. The skull appeared to be caved in by blows, which was thought to be the cause of death. The buried person wore a sea animal bone disk and a pair of copper disks, and bone and shell necklaces. The burial was found near the shaft tombs with gold objects, suggesting that it was a sacrifice made during the construction of the four shaft tombs. This evidence suggests that the buried person ranks second only to that in the shaft tombs.

The shaft tombs of the Kuntur Wasi phase met all the indicators. However, although gold objects were only found in the shaft tombs in the Copa phase, cranial deformation and cinnabar were also found in the pit tombs. Given that most Copa phase pit tombs have no evidence of cranial deformation, cinnabar, or gold objects, it is highly likely that burials with any of these indicators would have special significance. Burials with one or two indicators were likely the second most generous ones after those in the shaft tombs.

There is a possibility of the subdivision of special burials and ranking orders among social leaders. This possibility of hierarchies among social leaders is in line with a previous report that inferred the existence of hierarchies among elites from the compositional analysis of gold objects at the Kuntur Wasi site (Hidaka et al. 2014).

3. Diachronic Changes in Burials at Kuntur Wasi

The previous discussion showed that there are differences in burials, which possibly reflect differences in social status. In this section, we analyze the burials to understand when these social differences emerged and how they changed. We focus on microscopic changes while considering the chronological position of the burials. There are a few points to note in Table 11-2. The burials are concentrated in the Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases, that is, in the Late Formative Period. Only one tomb was found in the Ídolo phase, which was in the Middle Formative Period. As for the rapid increase in burials during the Kuntur Wasi phase (Late Formative Period), we may have to consider the fact that the excavated area and volume of the layers of the Ídolo phase were smaller than those of the Kuntur Wasi phase, but this will be discussed later along with the case of Pacopampa. In any case, the small number of burials in the Middle Formative Period makes it difficult to show the qualitative changes in burials from the Middle to Late Formative Periods. Therefore, we focused on the Late Formative Period, in which the largest number of burials has been reported, and on whether or not there are diachronic changes from the Kuntur Wasi to the Copa phase, where, the number of burials more than doubled from 20 to 51. This can be considered evidence of increased burial activity in the Copa phase. Thus, the purpose of this section is to examine the relationship between quantitative and qualitative changes in burials. Quality refers to the structure or shape of the tombs, sex and age composition of the burials, cranial deformation, and presence or absence of grave goods.

3.1 Tomb Structure in Diachronic View

Six shaft tombs were found in the Kuntur Wasi phase, and five in the Copa phase. The rest were simple pit tombs. Thus, there were no significant changes in the form and structure of the tombs in both phases. The posture of the buried person was flexed, and reverse-flexed burials were observed in both phases. No changes were observed over time. There was only one example of a stone slab sealing the burial and tomb in the Kuntur Wasi phase, but there were 6 tombs with sealing slabs, 10 filled with stones, and 2 with stones lining the edge of the pit in the Copa phase. The construction and burial methods of the tombs became more diverse in the Copa phase.

3.2 Ratio of Male to Female Burials in Diachronic View

Next, we consider sex (Figure 11-5). It is very difficult to determine the sex of infants and children based on their physical characteristics. Thus, only adult bones were used to identify and classify the sex. The proportion of female burials, which was low in the Kuntur Wasi phase, appeared to increase in the Copa phase.

3.3 Changes in the Age Ratio of the Buried Persons in Diachronic View

As the age categories are detailed, the graph classifies infants and juveniles as children and the rest as adults (Figure 11-6). The Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases share a similar proportion of adult burials. However, there is a large change in the proportion of children. The children's burials accounted for 15% and nearly 40% in the Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases, respectively.

3.4 Direction of the Head Position in Diachronic View

Whether or not there is a pattern in the direction in which the entire body is placed is important in understanding the religious views of the people at the time. We observed the direction in which the head pointed (Figure 11-7). The most common head position in the Kuntur Wasi phase was west. The body was placed in an east-west direction. In future research, the meaning of the western direction must be analyzed vis-à-vis the architectural remains. In the Copa phase, the head was pointed in various directions.

Table 11-3 Special burials in the Formative Period at Kuntur Wasi

Registor No.	Nickname	Phase	Type	Sex	Age	Craneal Deformation	Cinnabar	Offerings	
								Gold	Pottery
98KW-C-Tm 2		ID	Pit	?	1-6	?	○	×	×
9K-A-Tm 1	Tomb of the Gold Crown with 14 Human Faces	KW1	Shaft	M	51+	○	○	○	○
9K-A-Tm 2	Tomb of the Gold Crown with 5 Jauagr Heads	KW1	Shaft	M	61+	?	○	○	○
9K-A-Tm 3	Tomb of the Gold Earplugs	KW1	Shaft	M	21-40	○	○	○	○
90K-A-Tm 4	Tomb of the Beads Ornaments	KW1	Shaft	F	61+	?	○	○	○
7KW-B-Tm 1	Tomb of the Gold Earrings with Serpent-Jaguar Design	KW1	Shaft	M	41-50	○	○	○	○
90-A-Tm 5	Tomb of the Sacrifice	KW1	Pit	M	21-40	×	×	Copper	×
6KW-G-Tm 6	Tomb of the Effigy Bottle with Frog Design	KW2	Shaft	M	51-60	○	○	○	○
90K-A-H 1		KW	?	?	?	?	○	×	×
90K-A-Tm 102		KW	?	?	21+	?	○	×	×
90K-A-Tm 102		KW	?	M	21+	?	○	×	×
90K-A-Tm 102-1		KW	?	?	7-12	?	○	○	×
90K-A-Tm 102-1		KW	?	M	21-30	?	○	×	×
90K-A-Tm 102-2		KW	?	F	21+	?	○	○	×
90K-A-Tm 102-2		KW	?	?	7-12	?	○	×	×
90K-A-H 5		KW	?	M	21-40	?	○	×	×
6KW-G-Tm 5	Tomb of the Gold Tweezers	CP1	Shaft	M	31-40	?	○	○	○
6KW-G-Tm 3A		CP1	Shaft	F	41-50	○	○	×	○
6KW-G-Tm 3B		CP1	Shaft	F	17-18	?	○	×	×
6KW-G-Tm 4	Tomb of the Gold Necklaces	CP2	Shaft	F	31-40	?	○	○	○
98KW-A-Tm 1		CP2	Pit	?	14	○	○	×	○
7KW-A-H-7～11		CP3	Pit	F	31-40	○	×	×	×
7KW-A-H-14～30		CP3	Pit	?	7	○	×	×	×
98KW-B-Tm 2		CP3	Pit	M	41-60	○	×	×	×
6KW-H-Tm 4		CP	Pit	F	31-40	○	×	×	○
98KW-C-Tm 1		CP	Pit	F	21-30	?	○	×	○
98KW-C-Tm 3		CP	Shaft	M	41-60	?	○	×	○
96KW-B-Tm 1		ST	Pit	M	51-60	○	×	×	○

ID: Ídolo phase KW: Kuntur Wasi phase CP: Copa phase ST: Sotera phase (produced by Yuji Seki)

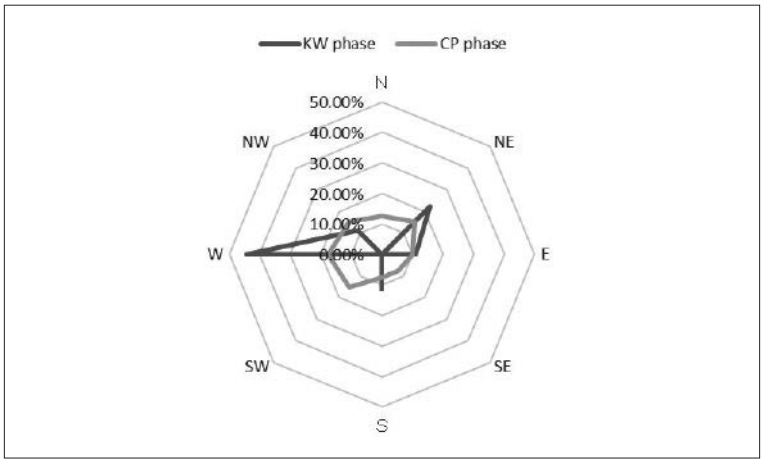

Figure 11-7 Direction of heads in Kuntur Wasi Burials (produced by Yuji Seki)

3.5 Changes in the Proportion of Cranial Deformation in the Diachronic View

It is difficult to conduct a statistical analysis of cranial deformation because few individuals can determine it. However, while cranial deformation in the Kuntur Wasi phase was limited to those who were buried in shaft tombs with gold objects, it was also found in tombs without gold objects in the Copa phase, suggesting that the meaning of cranial deformation had changed (Table 11-3).

3.6 Frequency of Cinnabar in the Diachronic View

Compared with cranial deformation, the identification of cinnabar is easier. However, because of the number of samples, we limited our observations to the Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases. Figure 11-8 shows that the proportion of cinnabar in the Copa phase was drastically reduced. It is also characteristic that most burials identified as cinnabar were shaft tombs.

3.7 Composition of Grave Goods in Diachronic View

Finally, we would like to observe grave goods. As seen in Table 11-1, the main types of grave goods are pottery; stone ornaments, such as beads; shell ornaments; and metal objects, such as needles, earplugs, and earrings. The frequency of burials with grave goods did not change from the Kuntur Wasi to the Copa phases (Figure 11-9). However, in the Kuntur Wasi phase, there were many burials with grave goods such as gold and shell and bone objects, whereas in the Copa phase, the number of burials with metal objects decreased, and those with complete pottery increased.

3.8 Summary of the Diachronic Changes in Burials

There was some qualitative or quantitative change from the Kuntur Wasi to the Copa phases in terms of the shape or structure of the tombs and burials associated with grave goods. First, there was an increase in the number of infants, children, and juveniles in

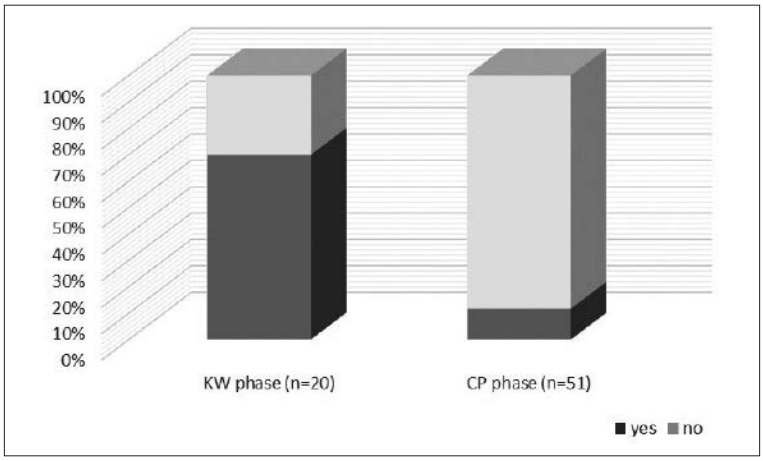

Figure 11-8 Frequency of the cinnabar associated with the Kuntur Wasi Burials (produced by Yuji Seki)

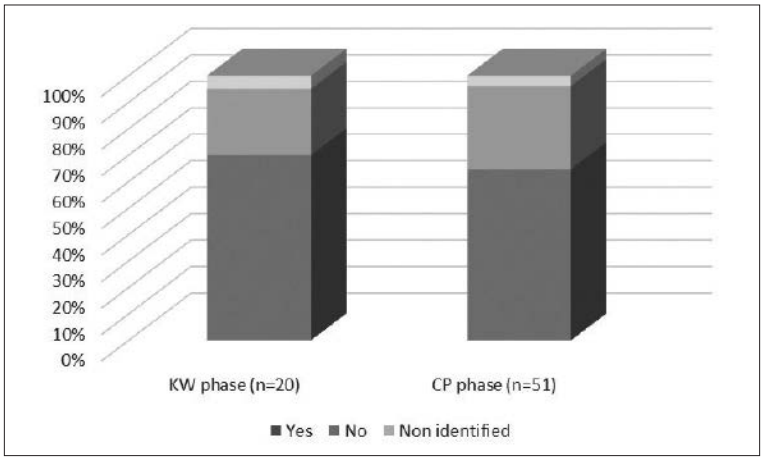

Figure 11-9 Frequency of the burials with grave goods at Kuntur Wasi (produced by Yuji Seki)

the Copa phase. Whether there had actually been an increase in child deaths or a shift toward religious treatment of child deaths that disrupt the social order remains a question for the future. Most burials faced west in the Kuntur Wasi phase, whereas the bodies were placed in various directions in the Copa phase. This point needs to be studied in the future in relation to architectural changes.

Burials with cranial deformation in the Copa phase were found in shaft and shallow pit tombs. If cranial deformation is an indicator of social differences, as analyzed in the section on special burials, the range of people to whom cranial deformation was applied may have expanded in the Copa phase. As Inokuchi (2019) pointed out, the ritual space in the Copa phase was modified, and several units of ritual buildings comprised a small patio and a group of small rooms surrounding it. This can be interpreted as an increase in the number of elites or priests who preside over rituals. Based on this assumption, the

fact that traces of cranial deformation are found even in shallow pit tombs is likely to be related to the increase in the number of leaders. In the Copa phase, cinnabar was restricted to burials in the shaft tombs and appeared with decreasing frequency. Given that grave goods like gold objects and pottery are still being excavated, this evidence suggests that Copa-phase leaders may have made changes in the use of rare goods for rituals and the show of prestige. Alternatively, this may have been so perhaps because they were no longer in control of access to cinnabar.

4. The Pacopampa Site

The Pacopampa site is located in the northern highlands of Peru, approximately 90 km to the north of the Kuntur Wasi site (Figures 11-1 and 11-10). It is located on a ridge 2,500 m above sea level. Three platforms were built using the slope of the ridge, and various ritual structures were concentrated at the top of the platform. Since 2005, the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, and the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Peru, have been conducting joint excavations and studies, and have found that the site was used in two phases: the Pacopampa I phase (1200–700 BC), the Middle Formative Period (PC-I), and the Pacopampa II phase (700–400 BC), the Late Formative Period (PC-II). At Pacopampa, a square sunken plaza and the surrounding low platforms were constructed in the PC-I phase. Another feature is the construction of a circular building that is not found in Kuntur Wasi. Several sites have been found in the vicinity of the Pacopampa site, which together, form a single architectural complex. All these are thought to have been built along the central axis, extending from Pacopampa in the PC-I phase.

In contrast to Kuntur Wasi, buildings from the previous period were reused in the PC-II phase or the Late Formative Period (Figure 11-11). Stone carvings began to appear in this phase. In Pacopampa, most burials were reported from the PC-II phase. As the

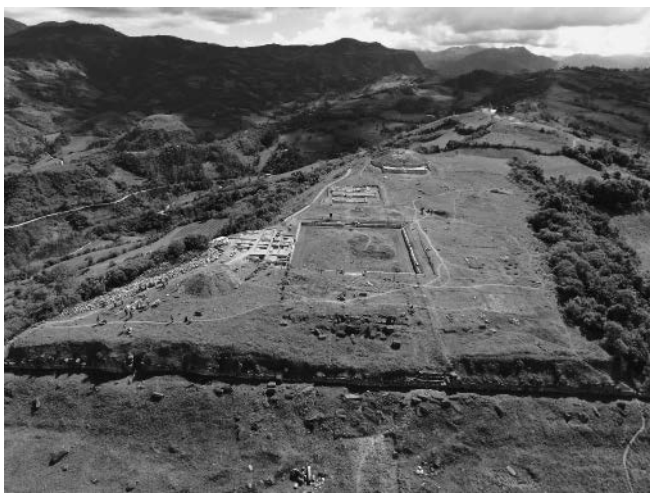

Figure 11-10 General view of the Pacopampa archaeological site @Heinz Plenge

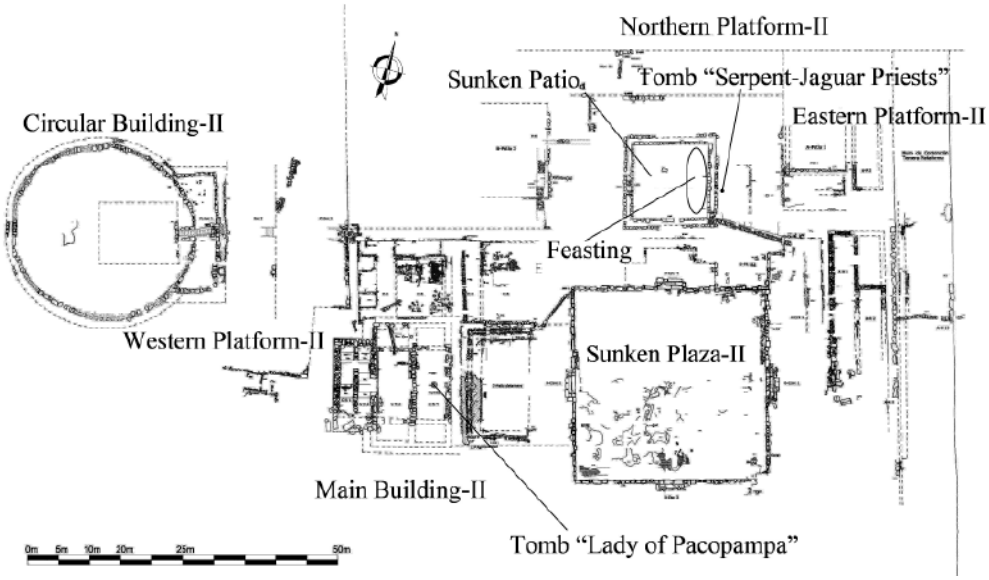

Figure 11-11 Architectural plan of sub-phase IIA at Pacopampa
@Pacopampa Archaeological Project

area surveyed in the PC-I phase is approximately the same as that in the PC-II phase, a large number of burials in the PC-II phase is not because of the difference in the excavation area or volume, but rather because the incorporation of burials in the ritual space began in earnest in the PC-II phase. This is discussed later.

4.1 Burials at Pacopampa

Although the physical characteristics of the human bones have been discussed in some papers (Nagaoka et al. 2012, 2017, 2018, 2020), the archaeological analysis of the burials at the Pacopampa site has always focused on those associated with gold objects and other grave goods (Seki 2014; Seki et al. 2010, 2016). In the latter articles, we have discussed the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa" (09PC-C-Ent 09-02) and the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" (15PC-B2-Ent 541), both of which were discovered in 2009 and 2015, respectively, and belong to the PC-II phase. Compared to other burials, these are noteworthy owing to their unique shape and quality and quantity of grave goods as described below.

A large number of burials were unearthed at the Pacopampa site since the 2005 survey, and by 2015, 75 burials had been registered. We are currently analyzing these materials for physical characteristics and reconstructing their dietary habits using isotope analysis (Nagaoka et al. 2012, 2017, 2018, 2020; Takigami et al. 2021). However, the main focus of this chapter is the archaeological discussion. The human remains were first taken up by the excavators and subsequently analyzed by a physical anthropologist, Tomohito Nagaoka. Table 11-4 summarizes the burials. The format of the table is the same as that for Kuntur Wasi. We subdivided the phases of PC-I and PC-II into

Table 11-4 List of burials by phase in the Formative Period at Pacopampa

Phase	Registor No.	Sex	Age	Direction of head	Cranial Deformation	Position	Tumb Type	Cinnabar	Grave Goods					
									Gold	Silver	Copper	Beads	Pottery	Others
IA	11PC-C-Ent 01	F?	adult	W		flexed	pit							
IA	11PC-C-Ent 02	?	?	?		?	pit							
IA	12PC-C-Ent 12-03	?	fetus 9month	W		?	pit	○				○		
IIA	07PC-C-Ent 01	F	55+	W		flexed	pit							
IIA	09PC-B2-Ent 508	M	15 yrs.	N		flexed	pit						○	
IIA	09PC-B2-Ent 509	M	15-34 yrs.	NW		flexed	pit	○					○	○
IIA	09PC-C-Ent 09-01	F	15-34 yrs.	E		flexed	pit					○		
IIA	09PC-C-Ent 09-02	F	15-34 yrs.	SW	○	flexed	shaft	○	○			○	○	
IIA	11PC-A-Ent 04	?	fetus 9month	?		?	pit							
IIA	11PC-A-Ent 05	?	fetus 9month	?		?	pit							
IIA	11PC-A-Ent 06	?	fetus 8month	W		?	pit							
IIA	11PC-B2-Ent 517	F	35-54 yrs.	NW		flexed	pit							
IIA	11PC-B2-Ent 518	F	35-54 yrs.	S		flexed	pit							○
		?	?	?		?								
IIA	11PC-C-Ent 03	? ?	fetus fetus	S ?		?	pit							
IIA	11PC-C-Ent 05	?	fetus 9month	?		?	pit							
IIA	12PC-B2-Ent 531	M	35-54 yrs.	S		flexed	pit					○		
		F	55+ yrs.	S		flexed						○	○	
IIA	12PC-B2-Ent 532	F	55+ yrs.	NE	○	flexed	pit	○		○		○	○	
		F	15-34 yrs.	SE								○	○	
IIA	13PC-B2-Ent 504	?	fetus 10month	?		?	pit							
		F	35-54 yrs.	S		flexed						○		
IIA	13PC-D-Ent 04	F ?	35-54 yrs. infant	W ?		flexed	pit						○	○
IIB	05PC-A-Ent 01	?	fetus 9month	W		?	pit							
IIB	06PC-A-Ent 01	F ?	55+ yrs. ?	W ?		flexed	pit							
IIB	06PC-B2-Ent 500	?	infant	SE		flexed	pit							
IIB	06PC-B2-Ent 501	?	fetus 8month	W		flexed	pit							
IIB	06PC-B2-Ent 502	?	fetus 10month	?		?	pit							
IIB	06PC-B2-Ent 503	?	?	?		?	pit							
IIB	06PC-B2-Ent 505	M?	adult ?	?		?	pit							
IIB	06PC-C-Ent 01	M M	15-34 yrs. adult	? ?		?	pit							
IIB	09PC-B2-Ent 506	?	adult	?		?	pit							
IIB	09PC-B2-Ent 507	?	fetus 10month	SE		?	pit							
IIB	09PC-C-Ent 09-03	?	15-34 yrs.	?		?	pit							
IIB	10PC-A-Ent 03	F ?	35-54 yrs.	?		?	pit							
IIB	10PC-B2-Ent 510	F	35-54 yrs.	S		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	10PC-B2-Ent 511	F	35-54 yrs.	E		flexed	pit						○	
		M ?	15-34 yrs.	?		?								
IIB	10PC-B2-Ent 512	M	35-54 yrs.	E		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	10PC-B2-Ent 513	M	15-34 yrs.	SW		flexed	pit					○	○	○
		F	15-34 yrs.	SW		flexed								
IIB	10PC-B2-Ent 514	F	35-54 yrs.	E		flexed	pit							
IIB	10PC-B2-Ent 515	M	35-54 yrs.	E		flexed	pit							
IIB	11PC-B2-Ent 516	M	35-54 yrs.	E		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	11PC-B2-Ent 519	? ? ? ? ? ? M F F	6month 15-34 yrs. 15-34 yrs. 15-34 yrs. adult adult 15-34 yrs. 35-54 yrs. 35-54 yrs.	? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?		?	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 520	Unanalyzed	Unanalyzed	W		flexed	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 521	?	新生児	?		?	pit							○
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 522	F	55+ yrs.	S		flexed	pit							○
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 523	?	1-1.5 yrs.	NE		?	pit							

IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 524	? ? ? ?	0-6 month 0-6 month fetus 9month fetus 9month	? ? ? ?		?	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 525	F	35-54 yrs.	N		Semi-flexed	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 526	F	35-54 yrs.	N		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 527	M	15-34 yrs.	SE	○	flexed	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 528	?	fetus 10month	SE		?	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 529	?	fetus 9month	N		?	pit							
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent-530	F	15-34 yrs.	S		flexed	pit		○			○	○	
IIB	12PC-B2-Ent 534	M	15-34 yrs.	S		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	12PC-C-Ent 12-01	?	5 yrs.	SW		flexed	pit							
IIB	12PC-C-Ent 12-02	?	adult	?		?	pit							
IIB	13PC-B2-Ent 536	?	infant?	E		?	pit							
IIB	14PC-A-Ent 07	M	55+ yrs.	N		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	14PC-A-Ent 08	M	15-34 yrs.	NW		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	14PC-A-Ent 09	? ?	adult fetus	S ?		flexed	pit							
		M	15-34 yrs.	W		flexed								
IIB	14PC-B2-Ent 537	M	35-54 yrs.	S		flexed	pit					○	○	
		F	55+ yrs.	NE		flexed					○		○	
		F	35-54 yrs.	W		flexed								○
IIB	14PC-B2-Ent 538	F ?	15-34 yrs. ?	? ?		?	pit							
		F ?	15-34 yrs. infant	? ?		?								
		? ?	? infant	? ?		?								
		? ? ?	adult ? infant	? ? ?		?								
IIB	14PC-B2-Ent 539	?	fetus 10month	SW		?	pit							○
IIB	15PC-A-Ent 10	M	15-34 yrs.	SE	○	flexed	pit							
IIB	15PC-A-Ent 12	?	0 yrs.	NW		?	pit							
IIB	15PC-B2-Ent 540	?	fetus 9month	E		?	pit							
IIB	15PC-B2-Ent 541	F	35-54 yrs.	W		flexed	shaft	○					○	
		M	15-34 yrs.	E		flexed		○	○					
IIB	15PC-B2-Ent 542	M	35-54 yrs.	W		flexed	pit						○	
IIB	15PC-B2-Ent 543	?	fetus 9month	SW		?	pit							
IIB	15PC-B2-Ent 544	?	0 yrs.	SW		?	pit							

(produced by Yuji seki)

sub-phases IA, IB, IIA, and IIB based on changes in the use of ritual space. In Pacopampa, there were 75 burials and 113 bodies. A total of 18 cases of double or multiple burials were included, accounting for approximately 24% of the total number of burials. This figure is relatively larger than that of Kuntur Wasi. Next, we focused on the sex of the dead (Figure 11-5). The sex could not be identified in 61 cases. There were 22 men and 28 women. There was no statistically significant difference in the sex ratio. In terms of age, Tomohito Nagaoka used the following categories:

Fetus
Infant
15–35 years
35–54 years
Over 55 years
Adult
Non-identified

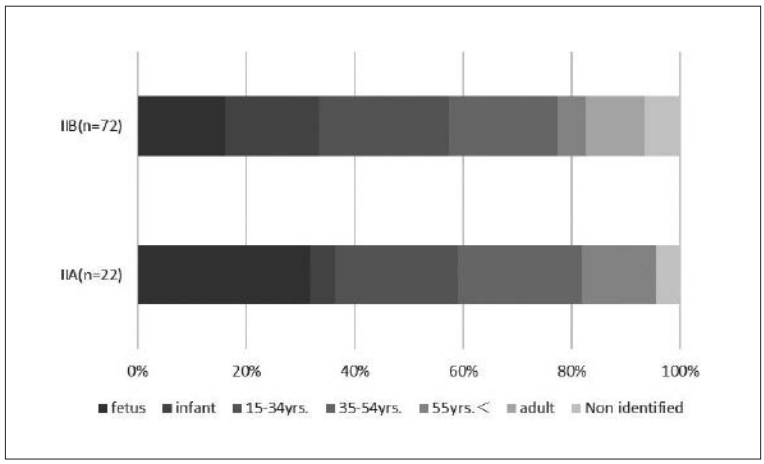

Figure 11-12 Frequency of occurrence by age in Pacopampa burials in the Formative Period (produced by Yuji seki)

As shown in Figure 11-12, the proportion of adults aged 15 years and above (58.6%) was considerably higher than that of fetuses and children combined (34.2%). Among the adult burials, the highest proportion was found in the category of 15–34 years of age. It is difficult to compare directly the age structure of the Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa sites because anthropologists who analyzed human remains used different age categories. However, there are not many burials of children as in the case of Kuntur Wasi.

4.2 Special Burials at Pacopampa

The structure or shape of tombs can be divided into two categories. One is a shaft tomb and the other is a shallow pit tomb. One of the shaft tombs, the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa," has a depth of 2 m, and a width that narrows abruptly at approximately 1.5 m (Figure 11-13). Owing to its two-stage structure, it is more appropriate to call it a stepped tomb or grave (Sprague 2005: 154). The level of the step was lined with andesite slabs under which potteries were unearthed as offerings. A small, long-necked jar was placed north of the step, and a bowl with a spout decorated with double-circle incisions, a pedestaled dish, and a small bowl were placed to the south of the step. The small bowl was excavated overlapping the pedestaled dish, in which evidence of the use of fire to perform rituals during burials was found. The deceased was a woman aged between 20 and 39 years (Nagaoka et al. 2012). The skulls of the deceased were covered with cinnabar and blue-violet colored azurite powder. A large number of square beads made of shells (Pteridae) were excavated from the neck and ankles, and a large number of tiny tubular shell beads were found near the femur.

The "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" is not strictly boot-shaped, as the bottom of the shaft is wider than the mouth of the pit (Figures 11-14). Like the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa," the upper part was filled with large stones, and several slabs were excavated from below. The largest slab was placed at an angle, and underneath it, two

burials were excavated, overlapping each other. The upper one was an adult woman, with a stirrup effigy bottle in the form of a snake and jaguar placed on her chest (Nagaoka et al. 2020). The left foot did not remain in its original position and was excavated from near the head. There was no evidence of amputation, but the fact that this was not a

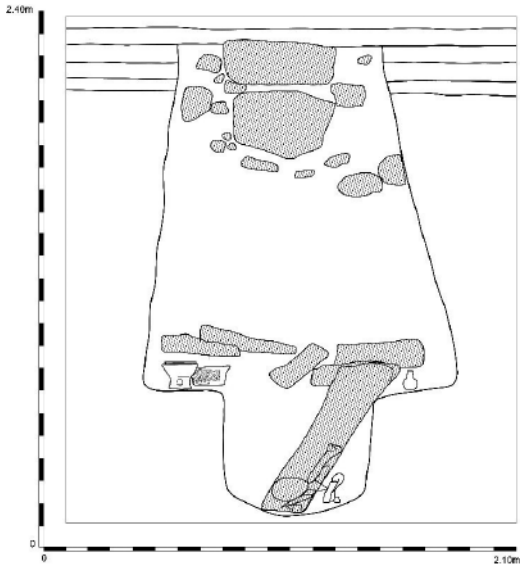

Figure 11-13 Cross-section of the tomb C-Entierro 09-02 ("Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa") in sub-phase IIA at Pacopampa @Pacopampa Archaeological Project

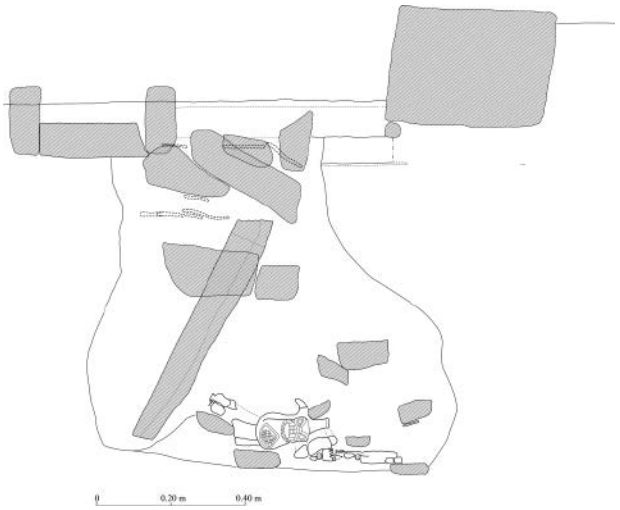

Figure 11-14 Cross-section of the tomb 15PC-B2-Ent 541 "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" in sub-phase IIA at Pacopampa @Pacopampa Archaeological Project

secondary burial suggests that the foot was intentionally separated and moved. The lower burial was of a male juvenile, wearing a gold necklace and heaped with six different powdered minerals (azurite, malachite, hematite, cinnabar, magnetite, and barite) near his head. In any case, there are only two examples of shaft tombs at the Pacopampa site that can be considered special burials. Only three burials are associated with gold objects at the Pacopampa site, which is also unique. As for cinnabar, there were only four burials at the Pacopampa site. Only four cases of cranial deformation have been confirmed in Pacopampa, which is a small number. The number of tombs with the selected indicators is generally limited.

Table 11-5 shows the presence or absence of the indicators by extracting burials from any of the above. In Pacopampa, among the shaft tombs, the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa" meets all indicators. In the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" of the same shaft tomb, it was not possible to identify the presence of cranial deformation owing to the poor preservation of the skull, but almost all of the other indicators were confirmed. However, in the case of simple pit tombs, cranial deformation, cinnabar, and gold objects can only be partially identified, and no case combines multiple indicators, as in the case of shaft tombs. In Pacopampa, the burial 12PC-B2-Ent 532 "Tomb of the Shaman," in which both cinnabar and cranial deformation can be seen, does not contain any gold objects (Figure 11-15). Conversely, even in the case of the burial 12PC-B2-Ent 530 "Tomb of the Gold Pendant," in which gold objects were found (Figure 11-16), there is no cranial deformation or cinnabar, which shows the uniqueness of the shaft tombs. However, considering that most pit tombs do not have any cranial deformations, cinnabar, or gold objects, we can say to some extent that these tombs are unique in that they have at least one of these indicators. If a burial has one or two indicators, such as cranial deformation, cinnabar, or gold objects, it is assumed that the burial was the second most generous after that in the shaft tombs. In conclusion, special burials can be subdivided. The possibility of such a ranking order among social leaders is similar to that at the Kuntur Wasi site.

5. Diachronic Changes in Burials at Pacopampa

There are a few points to note in Table 11-6. One is that there is an extremely large number of burials in the PC-II phase. In Pacopampa, unlike the Kuntur Wasi site, the

Table 11-5 Special burials in the Formative Period at Pacopampa

Registor No.	Nickname	Phase	Type	Sex	Age	Craneal Deformation	Cinnabar	Offerings	
								Gold	Pottery
09PC-B2-Ent 509		IIA	Pit	M	15-34	×	○	×	○
09PC-C-Ent 09-02	Lady of Pacopampa	IIA	Shaft	F	15-34	○	○	○	○
12PC-B2-Ent 532	Shaman	IIA	Pit	F	55+	○	○	×	○
12PC-B2-Ent 527		IIB	Pit	M	15-34	○	×	×	×
12PC-B2-Ent-530	Gold Pendant	IIB	Pit	F	15-34	×	×	○	○
15PC-A-Ent 10		IIB	Pit	M	15-34	○	×	×	×
15PC-B2-Ent 541	Serpent-Jaguar Priests	IIB	Shaft	M	15-34	?	○	○	○
				F	35-54	×	×	×	○

Figure 11-15 "Tomb of the Shaman" (12PC-B2-Ent 532). A silver needle, a malachite spindle wheel, and small beads were buried beside the face of the left deceased, and a black polished bowl with a cactus design was buried beside the head of the same person. @Pacopampa Archaeological Project

Figure 11-16 "Tomb of the Gold Pendant" (12PC-B2-Ent 530): A gold ring was found under the lower jaw of the deceased, and black potteries were found in the vicinity. A malachite cylindrical bead was found in the palate. @Pacopampa Archaeological Project

area surveyed in the PC-I phase was large. It is unlikely that the excavation area or volume affected the number of confirmed burials. Therefore, other factors should be considered while increasing the number of burials. This is discussed later. The small number of burials in the Middle Formative Period (PC-I phase) makes it difficult to show qualitative changes in burials and bodies from the Middle to Late Formative Periods. Therefore, we focus on the Late Formative Period, which has the largest number of burial reports, and on whether there is a diachronic change in that phase. We focus on the changes from sub-phase IIA to IIB. Quantitatively, the number of burials and bodies increased from 16 and 22 in sub-phase IIA to 48 and 72 in sub-phase IIB, respectively (Table 11-4). Now, we would like to discuss the qualitative changes. At the Pacopampa

Table 11-6 Frequency of bodies recovered from tombs by phase at Pacopampa

Phase	Num. of body	%
PC-I	3	2.75 %
PC-II	94	86.24 %
Cajamarca	12	11.01 %
non-identified	0	0.00 %
Total	109	100.00 %

(produced by Yuji Seki)

site, in the Cajamarca periods, the space was partially reused and burials were installed. However, this is beyond the scope of this chapter, which is concerned with the analysis of burials in the Formative Period society.

5.1 The Structure of the Tombs in the Diachronic View

The number of shaft tombs is small at Pacopampa, with only two examples, namely one each in sub-phases IIA and IIB, showing no change (Tables 11-4 and 11-5). The remaining were shallow pit tombs. Thus, there was no significant change in the shape or structure of the tombs in the PC-II phase. Of the 16 pit tombs in sub-phase IIA, 11 were filled with a large amount of irregular limestone (approximately 68%), and 5 were covered with andesite slabs. In sub-phase IIB, of the 48 pit tombs, 29 (approximately 60%) were filled with stones, including 5 pit tombs containing stone slabs. Thus, in both sub-phases IIA and IIB, over half the pit tombs were filled with numerous stones. This pattern of burial shows continuity rather than change. The body posture was flexed and there was no evidence of change over time.

5.2 The Ratio of Male to Female Burials in the Diachronic View

The analysis of the relative ratio of male to female burials was performed only on adult bones (Figure 11-5). The results show that the proportion of women who were predominant in sub-phase IIA appeared to decrease in sub-phase IIB. However, it is difficult to statistically discuss the relative ratio between men and women as most burials cannot be identified by sex.

5.3 Age Ratio of the Buried Persons in Diachronic View

In Pacopampa, the following categories were established: fetus, infant, 15–34 years, 35–54 years, and 55 years and above. Two categories were added: those whose age could not be identified owing to the extremely poor state of preservation of the bones and those whose exact age was difficult to identify but could be determined as adult bones (Figure 11-12). This graph shows that the fetus, which accounted for approximately 30% of the body in sub-phase IIA, was reduced to approximately half in sub-phase IIB. The number of bones in infants increases rapidly. Nevertheless, when the proportions of fetuses and infants are added, there is almost no difference between sub-phases IIA and IIB. This indicates that there was no difference in the relative proportions of adults and subadults.

5.4 Direction of Head Position in Diachronic View

In Pacopampa, there are many unidentified head directions, but in sub-phase IIA, there are a few cases that face south (Figure 11-17). In sub-phase IIB, all directions appear, but this difference is only based on directional factors. In reality, the direction of the body may be determined by its relationship with the surrounding architecture. Therefore, we sought to find a correlation between the location of the burial and direction of the head position, which has not been done at Kuntur Wasi.

Figure 11-18 shows the location of the burials in Northern Platform II in sub-phase IIA. As most PC-II phase burials were reported from this platform, it is reasonable to analyze the trend in this area alone. This figure shows that most burials were located around the patio. In sub-phase IIB, most burials were still near the patio (Figure 11-19). Although some were found on small platforms built inside the patio, there were no burials at the bottom of the patio in either IIA or IIB. A pattern of burials at the periphery of the patio was observed throughout the PC-II phase. Even on the patio periphery, few burials were found in the northern side.

There were only two burials in sub-phase IIA in which the head was placed facing the patio, and no particular trend was observed. In sub-phase IIB, 13 of the 38 burials had their heads facing the patio, 20 faced other directions, and 5 were in an unknown direction. As 35% of the burials were placed in the direction of the patio, which is not high, it is difficult to point out the relationship between the direction of the head and the building. For now, we consider that people in the PC-II phase were aware of the patio and buried their dead around it.

5.5 Proportion of Cranial Deformations in the Diachronic View

Cranial deformation was identified in only four cases in Pacopampa (Table 11-5). To date, we only know that cranial deformation appears in the PC-II phase. Although two men and two women with cranial deformation were identified, the small sample size

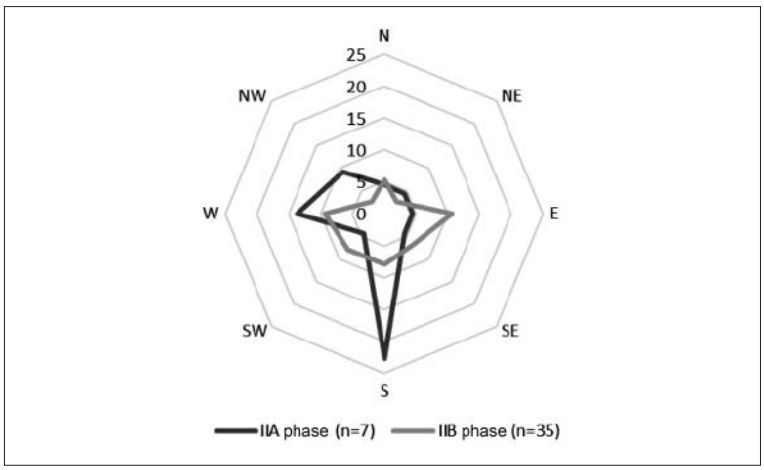

Figure 11-17 Direction of heads in Pacopampa Burials (produced by Yuji Seki)

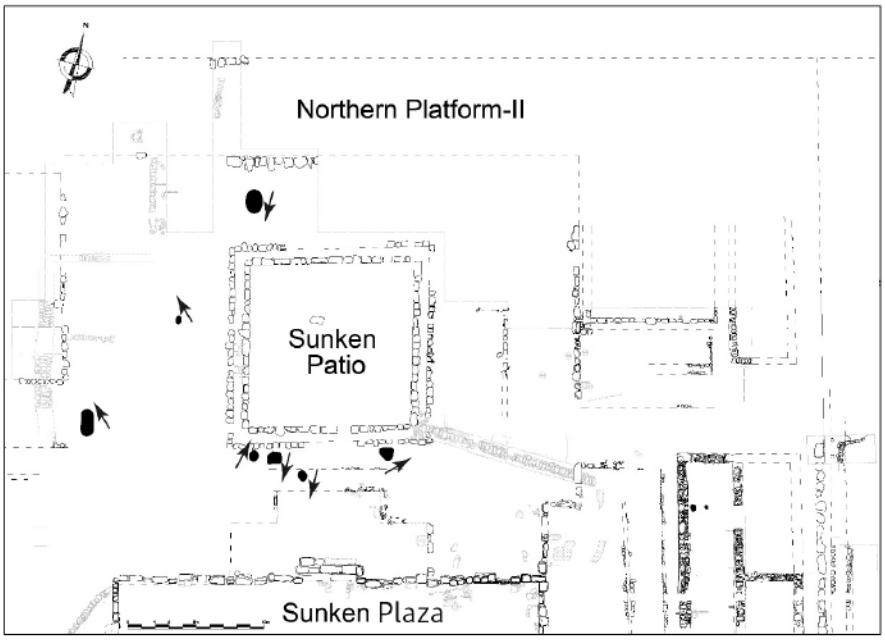

Figure 11-18 The distribution of the sub-phase IIA burials unearthed around the Sunken Patio at Pacopampa. The arrows indicate the direction of the head position.
@Pacopampa Archaeological Project

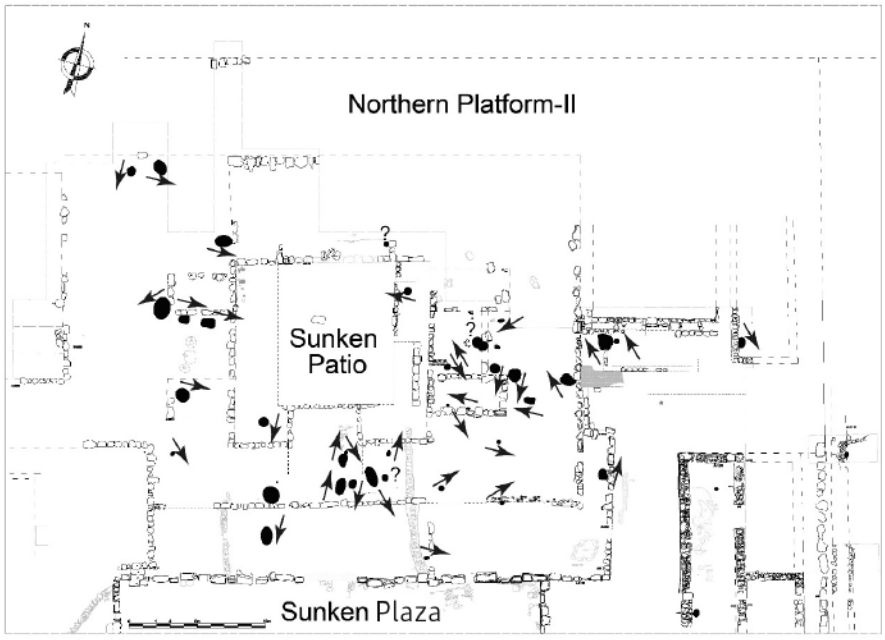

Figure 11-19 Distribution of the sub-phase IIB burials unearthed around the Sunken Patio at Pacopampa. The arrows indicate the direction of the head position.
@Pacopampa Archaeological Project

made it difficult to determine the relationship between the sex of the buried person and cranial deformation.

5.6 Frequency of Cinnabar in the Diachronic View

In Pacopampa, one case was identified in the burial in Phase I. In the PC-II phase (Table 11-5), three cases were reported in sub-phase IIA, and one in sub-phase IIB, which was reported from the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests." Despite the increase in the number of burials in sub-phase IIB, the fact that there was only one burial with cinnabar may indicate that its use was more limited. There was no particular relationship between the sex of the buried person and the presence of cinnabar.

5.7 Composition of Grave Goods in the Diachronic View

As Figure 11-20 shows, there is a change in burials associated with grave goods at Pacopampa: Grave goods are reported for 11 bodies in 9 burials in sub-phase IIA and 18 bodies in 14 burials in sub-phase IIB. The relative frequency of burials with grave goods, which was approximately 50% in sub-phase IIA, dropped to 25% in sub-phase IIB. Three burials are reported to contain gold objects (Table 11-5), one of which is the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa" in sub-phase IIA, and the other two are from burials in sub-phase IIB, one of which is the "Tomb of Serpent-Jaguar Priests." Given the small number, it cannot necessarily be said that there has been an increase. One burial associated with a silver needle was reported in sub-phase IIA.

Only one example of a copper object was reported as a grave good (Table 11-4), which must be considered separately from gold and silver objects. The reason for this is that at the Pacopampa site, rather than being rare and valuable, they were found in large quantities in layers other than burials (Seki et al. 2019). The fact that there were such few burials suggests that copper products were not often used as symbols of authority.

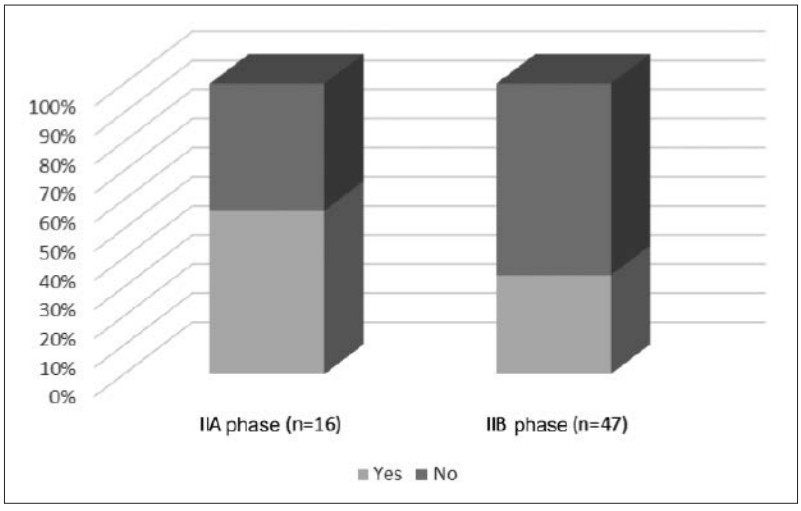

Figure 11-20 The frequency of burials with grave goods at Pacopampa (produced by Yuji Seki)

Copper objects may have been used on a daily basis. This is different from the situation at the Kuntur Wasi site, where copper disks were excavated from the "Tomb of the Sacrifice," in which a person of the second rank to the deceased in the tombs associated with gold objects was buried as previously mentioned. This may be because of a difference in the way copper products are handled at the production site (Pacopampa) and the destination (Kuntur Wasi). Of course, this relationship between production and consumption needs to be verifed in the future.

Stone or shell beads, such as necklaces, bracelets, or ankle ornaments, are also more limited. There are reports of six and two burials in sub-phases IIA and IIB, respectively. In terms of the relative proportion of burials, there was a marked downward trend from 38% to 4%, with 5 female burials (including multiple burials) in sub-phase IIA and one man and one woman in sub-phase IIB. The most common grave good was pottery. In terms of complete or semi-complete pottery, there were six and nine reports from sub-phases IIA and IIB, respectively. The relative proportion of grave goods decreased from 38% to 19%.

6. Consolidation or Decline in Power?

If we synthesize the diachronic analysis thus far, we can see that there was no particular change from sub-phases IIA to IIB in the shape or structure of the tombs, age structure of the burials, cranial deformation, cinnabar, or the direction of the head position. The only clear change was a decrease in the number of burials associated with grave goods. The decreasing frequency of burials with beads and pottery seems to be associated with a decline in the power of elites and leaders. However, we should not forget that tombs with gold objects were still being built at the time. It can also be interpreted that there was a decline in burials with grave goods because only a few elites and leaders were allowed to be buried with them. This reflects a concentration of the power. It is difficult to decide which interpretation to follow, but an analysis of the architectural remains so far suggests that the ritual space that functioned until sub-phase IIA was drastically altered in sub-phase IIB, and that the alterations were not architectural improvements, but rather a disruption of the ordered spatial structure (Seki et al. 2010). The abandonment of sub-phase IIA architectural axes in sub-phase IIB was reported. It is likely that the elite ideology held in sub-phase IIA weakened in sub-phase IIB (Sakai et al. 2019). If this is so, it is easier to link the decline in burials with grave goods to the former, that is, the decline in elite power.

The period that marked the decline of power in Pacopampa partially corresponds to the period that marked the rise of the elite group in Kuntur Wasi. At Kuntur Wasi, there was an increase in the number of ritual space units controlled by the elite and the use of cinnabar in simple pit tombs. There was no quantitative decrease in the number of grave goods, a trend that differs from that seen at Pacopampa. Although the timing of the changes in the social structure is synchronized, we should perhaps consider that there were regional differences in the situation.

7. Comparison and Synthesis

7.1 Ancestor Worship and Power Generation

The burial data from Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa share the common feature that burials were extremely rare in the Middle Formative Period, that is, the Ídolo and PC-I phase. This means that the concept of incorporating a burial into the ritual space itself was rare in the Middle Formative Period. However, the number of burials increased dramatically in the Kuntur Wasi and Copa phases and in the PC-II phase, that is, the Late Formative Period. The increase in the number of burials in the ritual space in the Late Formative Period indicates that death was strongly associated with rituals. Both the Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa sites had special burials at the core of the ritual space. In both cases, the fact that the burials were installed during the construction of the ritual space indicated that the people or leaders who conducted the rituals after the completion of the ritual space sought a strong bond with buried persons.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the kinship connection with the dead, such as lineage, helps explain the inequality in the world of the living. Specially constructed tombs associated with special grave goods represent the social status of the deceased and provide a source of power for the leaders of the living world. Dillehay (1990, 1995b) argued that the renewal of mounds constructed by the Mapuche people in detachment from burials was an enactment of social ties on many levels, based on ethnographic data. Hastorf (2003) discussed the formation of social memory related to ancestor worship by relating burials and the expansion of public buildings to the Formative Period sites in the southeastern lakeshore region of Lake Titicaca in Bolivia.

Although we cannot determine whether the cases of both Formative sites discussed in this chapter are because of lineage, we consider the possibility that ancestral worship was incorporated into the rituals. This can be reinforced by the Pacopampa site (Seki 2023 in press). Differences and similarities exist between the “Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa” and the “Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests,” which are typical, special burials. Although they are the same shaft tomb, the former is two meters deep and is a stepped tomb, whereas the latter is only one meter deep and has a buttress. There is also a conspicuous difference in the pottery used as an offering: in the former, the pottery was placed on a step away from the deceased and showed signs of having been used for fire rituals; and in the latter, the pottery was placed on the deceased. Similarities can be found in the way the shafts are filled. To protect the body of the deceased, long and thin slabs of andesite were placed diagonally across the shaft, and large stone blocks were used to seal the shaft after it was covered with soil (Figures 11-13 and 11-14). In other pit tombs, there were cases of slabs placed on top of the deceased, but the above pattern has not been found. Found only in the two shaft tombs, this commonality suggests that there are special burial methods. The act of making a tomb is part of the funeral ritual, and the ritual promises were indeed carried out.

There is a clear chronological relationship between both burials. The “Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa” was embedded during the construction of the Main Building in sub-phase IIA. However, the “Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests” was installed in the latter part of the PC-II phase or sub-phase IIB. It is highly probable that the people

buried in the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" were the last to use the ritual space in sub-phase IIA or the people who led the alteration in sub-phase IIB. In this respect, there is a time difference. It is difficult to say how much of a difference there is, but the knowledge of how to bury the dead was passed down. What are the implications of this? As the two burials belonged to people of high social status, the tomb builders likely wanted to show the connection between the burials in the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" and "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa." The next step would have been for him or her to show his or her relationship with the deceased in the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" and, by extension, with that in the "Tomb of the Lady of Pacopampa." This association may be genealogical. The establishment of genealogical relationships with influential people is recognized in cultures world over as a source of power (Earle 1997: 5, 6). In Pacopampa, the genealogical succession of power may have been established in the Late Formative Period[1]. In the future, it will be necessary to prove this hypothesis by adding scientific analysis, including DNA analysis.

7.2 The Transformation of Ancestor Worship

This section discusses the transformation of power generation through an analysis of the changes in the burials at both sites from the first to the second half of the Late Formative Period. At Kuntur Wasi, we studied the changes from the Kuntur Wasi to the Copa phases and from the IIA to the IIB sub-phases at the Pacopampa site. At Kuntur Wasi, the following changes were observed: an increase in the number of burials of infants and children, a diverse range of head position directions, cranial deformation in a variety of burials, and a decrease in the use of cinnabar. Cranial deformation was the focus of our attention, and its appearance in various burials was positioned as evidence of the increase and diversification of the leader group concerning architectural data. In Pacopampa, diversification within leadership was noted in the discussion of special burials. However, there was a decline in the number of burials with grave goods. We considered this evidence of the weakening of the leader's power, and linked it to the significant architectural changes from sub-phase IIA to IIB. The increase in the number and diversification and weakening of leaders seem to be opposite phenomena. How can this situation be interpreted?

In Pacopampa, it seems that non-leaders had taken advantage of the weakening of the leaders' power to freely use the ritual space and establish tombs in search of ties with their ancestors. At the time, leaders continued to try to show their genealogical relationships, whereas non-leaders began to take independent action, as one of the authors argued (Seki 2017: 288). However, this view should be modified because there seems to be a problem with the assumption that the dichotomous social structure of leaders and non-leaders was reflected in burials in the ritual space. The number of people who were involved in the construction and renovation of the huge architecture and participated in ritual activities at Pacopampa must have been considerable. If any of them were buried in the ritual space, more burials would have been discovered. Seen in this light, all burials may be socially selected, even if they involved simple pit tombs. That is, even if the decrease in burials with grave goods weakens a leader's power, the large number of

burials in simple pit tombs should be considered "an increase in the number of people next to the leader." Thus, the weakening of the leaders' power does not contradict the diversification of burials, but rather explains the phenomenon. Not all burials were indicative of social status, and some may have had religious purposes such as dealing with unnatural deaths. However, it is more convincing to argue for diversity within leader groups, even from other data, as discussed below.

Another important piece of evidence on ancestor worship is the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests" from the beginning of sub-phase IIB, which is located at the edge of the Sunken Patio built on the Northern Platform (Figure 11-11). It is stratigraphically related to the evidence of feasting held thrice in the Sunken Patio (Seki et al. 2016, 2017; Nakagawa et al. this volume). The feasting itself probably played a role in memorializing the deceased of the "Tomb of the Serpent-Jaguar Priests." In sub-phase IIB, a few leaders gathered on the Sunken Patio for the feasting, which was newly incorporated into ancestor worship, along with a large number of participants. This is also linked to the discussion on the increase and diversification of leadership groups.

Thus, in the two large ceremonial centers of the northern highlands of Peru in the Late Formative Period, social differentiation became apparent, especially in burials, but its aspects changed in the latter half of this period. Whether this social transformation led to the end of the Formative Period and how the expansion of the elite class was related to the collapse of the Formative Period society, should be discussed in the future.

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, located about 600 m east of the Pacopampa site. It is known that this site was constructed in the Middle Formative Period together with the Pacopampa site, and functioned as an integral part of the Pacopampa 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 conchs 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, although the provenance of these materials has not yet been identified. In this sense, we can no longer deny the possibility that the characteristics of the Late Formative Period society regarding the ancestor worship described in this paper can be traced back to the Middle Formative Period. Nevertheless, the overwhelming archaeological evidence is unequivocal that they appeared in the Late Formative Period.

Acknowledgments

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