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The Nasca and the Valley of Acari:
Cultural Interaction on the Peruvian South Coast During
the First Four Centuries A.D.

by

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ABSTRACT

The Nasca and the Valley of Acarí: Cultural Interaction on the Peruvian South Coast During the First Four Centuries A.D.

On the basis of the initial studies carried out by D. Menzel and F. A. Riddell in 1954 in the Acarí Valley, Peru, and from further visits, J. H. Rowe argued that the Nasca 3 pottery found in Acarí "likely" represented a "Nasca invasion." Rowe's hypothesis was never tested, but frequently was cited as evidence of the Nasca invasion/occupation of Acarí. This dissertation is aimed at evaluating the above assumption. Since Rowe's model was developed on the basis of pottery found in Acarí, the pottery associated with the so-called "Nasca" walled sites of Acarí is evaluated.

According to this study, early Nasca is not the pottery style common to the Acarí sites. Instead, there is an overwhelming presence of a type of pottery which is markedly different from the Nasca style. This style appears to be local and is referred to in this study as *Huarato* pottery. The presence of settlements distinctive from Nasca in Acarí strongly suggests that during the first four centuries A.D. the Acarí Valley was inhabited by a local cultural tradition.

It was into the context of this local culture that a few Nasca ceramics were first introduced, during Nasca phase 2. During Nasca phase 3 the number of Nasca items introduced to Acarí increased, but began to decline during Nasca phase 4. Nasca 5 pottery has not been reported from Acarí. In addition to securing some Nasca goods, the local inhabitants of Acarí imitated early Nasca motifs. While early Nasca art was so rich in themes, only specific ones were emulated in Acarí, however. It is of interest to point out that the introduction of the few Nasca goods to Acarí took place when the early Nasca ceremonial center of Cahuachi was at its climax. It is possible, then, that the introduced items were brought to Acarí by local residents who had made pilgrimage visits to this center.

Considering the ideological significance of Cahuachi, it can be argued that the Nasca goods found in Acarí perhaps symbolized the prestige of this center and as such likely were owned by specific individuals. If so, these foreign goods must have been regarded as "status insignia." In this regard, on the basis of current information, Rowe's hypothesis cannot be validated.

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To the memory of
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my grandparents

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

"The fact that Cahuachi and the urban settlements in Acarí were deserted about the same time is suggestive, in view of the evidence that the fortified settlements in Acarí represent an invasion of Nasca. Perhaps Cahuachi conquered a little empire on the south coast which was destroyed after a generation or two" (Rowe 1963:12).

Introduction

Ever since the discovery of some early Nasca ⁽¹⁾ pottery sherds in the Acarí Valley of the Peruvian South Coast (Figure 1), archaeologists often argued that that Acarí was the southern boundary of the Nasca culture that flourished during the Early Intermediate Period (ca. A.D. 1 - 650). As part of the *Inka Highway Expedition*, directed by V. von Hagen, and the *Fourth Archaeological Expedition of the University of California to Peru*, directed by J. H. Rowe (1956), Dorothy Menzel and Francis A. Riddell carried out the first archaeological studies at the multicomponent site of Tambo Viejo. During these studies, Menzel and Riddell collected pottery samples from the entire site to assess its relative chronology. It was among the samples collected from Area C that early Nasca sherds were present, which Rowe (1956:137) identified as belonging to Nasca phases 2 and 3. After further visits made to Acarí in the early 1960's (see Gayton 1967:1), Rowe (1963:11) suggested that the early Nasca ceramics found in Acarí "likely" represented "an actual Nasca invasion" of the Acarí Valley.

Beyond Rowe's (1963) speculation, the Nasca invasion hypothesis has never been tested. However, this conjecture has continuously been cited as evidence of the Nasca invasion/occupation of Acarí. For instance, Lanning (1967:121) is explicit as he argued that Nasca "conquered the Acarí Valley." Similarly, Proulx (1968:83) is clear in noting that "Nasca was an expansionist state that extended to the neighboring valleys by force." This dissertation is an attempt to evaluate the above hypothesis; in particular, this study is concerned with evaluating whether the early Nasca pottery found in Acarí fully represents a Nasca conquest.

Nasca is the name of the ancient Andean culture that flourished on the Peruvian south coast. It was discovered at the beginning of the century (1901) by Max Uhle at the Hacienda Ocucaje, in the Ica Valley. At Ocucaje, Uhle uncovered many beautiful Nasca pottery pieces (Kroeber and Strong 1924) and shortly after he collected another large collection from the adjacent Nasca Valley (Gayton and Kroeber 1927). The Uhle collections clearly showed the remarkable high quality of the Nasca pottery which indeed made Nasca famous worldwide (2). Following Uhle's work, the famous geoglyphs of the Nasca pampa, also called the "Nasca lines," were discovered in the 1920s (see Aveni 1986; Clarkson 1990). This discovery, more than any other, got the attention of the general public, who since then began to mystify the geoglyphs, and therefore the Nasca (see Willey 1971:148). Meanwhile, scholars from many different countries were also attracted by the beautiful textiles, the polychrome pottery, and the magnificent geoglyphs and began to spend a great amount of time studying these splendid art works.

From the very beginning, the polychrome Nasca pottery, regarded by Carmichael (1988:238) as "one of the most colorful ceramic traditions of the entire ancient world," has been the single most studied material of the Nasca. On the one hand, Nasca pottery has been the subject of iconographic and stylistic studies (e.g., Gayton and Kroeber 1927; Kroeber 1956; Roark 1965; Sawyer 1966, 1968, 1975; Allen 1981; Wolfe 1982; Townsend 1985; Proulx 1968, 1983, 1994; Carmichael 1992a, 1994). Stylistic studies, in particular, have allowed the establishment of the initial relative chronology (Chapter 2) and thus the Nasca temporal framework (Rowe 1960a). On the other hand, the spatial distribution of the Nasca pottery style has been the basis to develop arguments regarding the socio-political organization of this culture as well as the geographical area likely occupied by the ancient Nasca culture (Rowe 1963; Lanning 1967).

According to the most common view, the early Nasca culture (phases 1 - 4), with its capital centered at Cahuachi in the Nasca Valley, attained a *state* level of socio-political organization (see Proulx 1968:83; Massey 1986:338; Silverman 1987:7, 1988a:427). It has been explicitly argued that this early Nasca state began its expansion out of its Nasca Valley heartland during Nasca phase 2 and established multivalley hegemony during phase 3. The apparent stylistic homogeneity found on the south coast was assumed to represent political unity established by the early Nasca state. Why and exactly how the assumed early Nasca state began its expansion has not been fully explained, however.

It is important to point out that during the pre-1980 period, much of the

discussion about the ancient socio-political organization of Nasca was based on very fragmentary archaeological data. The presence of some early Nasca pottery in the adjacent valleys of the Nasca heartland area, such as Acarí, was interpreted as representing a Nasca occupation (Chapters 3 and 4). Walled sites, such as those from Acarí (Chapter 5), were seen exclusively as "defensive" settlements and therefore representing warfare and conquest. The finding of bodiless skulls, often referred to as "trophy heads" (Proulx 1971), was frequently considered as additional evidence of warfare, where the likely conquered peoples were decapitated by the victorious Nasca. In this manner, before the 1980s, there was the generalized impression that early Nasca society constituted a conquest state, a notion that some continued reinforcing during the 1980s (see Massey 1986; Proulx 1989).

Beginning in the early 1980s, several field studies were carried out on the South Coast to address questions regarding Nasca's socio-political structure. Almost simultaneously, Sarah Massey (1986) and Helaine Silverman (1986) carried out archaeological studies in the upper Ica Valley and at the Nasca site of Cahuachi, respectively. In addition, David Browne (1992) undertook intensive archaeological survey in the Palpa Valley (Browne and Baraybar 1988), one of the tributaries of the Río Grande drainage of Nasca. The Nasca, Taruga and Las Trancas valleys were surveyed by Katharine Schreiber (1989; Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1988, 1995), while Giuseppe Orefici (1985, 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1994, 1996) carried out intensive archaeological excavations at Pueblo Viejo and Cahuachi, both located in the Nasca

Valley. Patrick Carmichael (1988) conducted a study of Nasca mortuary customs and shortly after carried out archaeological survey of the littoral from the Bahía de la Independencia, in Ica, to Marcona, south of the contemporary city of Nazca. After her studies at Cahuachi, Silverman (1990a) started new archaeological surveys in the Ingenio Valley, while Anita Cook (1992) concluded similar studies in the Ica Valley (down from Ocucaje). Finally, since 1984 Francis A. Riddell, founder of the *California Institute for Peruvian Studies*, has been engaged in archaeological studies in the Acarí Valley as well as in the valleys south of Acarí (Riddell 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989; Riddell and Valdez 1988). This amount of field research clearly illustrates that a great deal of attention has been given to Nasca studies during the past eighteen years or so, providing a new set of data that allows one to re-evaluate previous arguments regarding the Nasca culture as a whole.

At the beginning of the 1960s, Rowe (1963) recognized several Nasca and Nasca-related settlements as "urban" establishments. Since urbanism was, and is, regarded as an important feature of state level social organizations (see Lumbreras 1981:169), Nasca was frequently seen as a state society (e.g. Lanning 1967:121; Proulx 1968:96). The above view strongly influenced Massey's upper Ica Valley studies, leading her to favor the notion that during the earlier phases of the Early Intermediate period a regional Nasca state flourished on the South Coast. Conversely, Silverman's (1986:502) studies at Cahuachi argued against both the "urban" characterization of this Nasca center and the state level of organization of the Nasca. Meanwhile, Carmichael's

study was oriented to verifying whether social stratification was visible in mortuary customs. Since social stratification is regarded as one of the features of state level societies, Carmichael's study was a further step to test the alleged state organization of Nasca society. Interestingly, according to Carmichael (1988) there is no clear evidence of social stratification for Nasca. In this regard, recent archaeological information strongly argues against the state model, particularly considering that urbanism and stratification, for instance, are regarded as salient features of state level societies (see Lumbreras 1974a:220).

In addition to the above studies, several small but equally valuable contributions were produced during the past two decades. These contributions deal with different but specific issues such as the Nasca Lines (e.g., Aveni 1986; Silverman and Browne 1991; Clarkson 1990; Silverman 1990b), trophy heads (Baraybar 1987; Browne, Silverman, and García 1994; Verano 1995, 1997), iconography (Allen 1981; Carmichael 1992a, 1994; Proulx 1992, 1994), the puquios (3) (Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1988, 1995; Clarkson and Dorn 1991, 1995; Dorn et al. 1992); subsistence (Valdez 1986, 1988a, 1988b) and site occupation analysis (Isla 1993; Isla, Ruales, and Mendiola 1984), that overall constitute important additions to the studies previously referred to. More information is still to come, particularly from the long-term archaeological studies carried out by Orefici and his Italian team at Cahuachi, which certainly are awaited. Once all these new data become available our understanding of Nasca will certainly expand.

The Problem

The central concern of this study is to evaluate whether the Acarí Valley, located south of the Río Grande river system (Figure 2), was incorporated into the Nasca polity and whether the early Nasca pottery found in Acarí fully represents a Nasca invasion. In order to accomplish this, and on the basis of current archaeological studies (Chapter 4), the socio-political organization of Nasca is critically evaluated. This issue is considered critical in order to understand, for instance, the significance of the early Nasca pottery found in Acarí (Chapter 6) as well as to assess whether the surrounding walls of the Acarí sites are indeed defensive (Chapter 7).

Rowe (1963) suggested that the early Nasca phase 3 pottery found in Acarí represents a Nasca conquest of the Acarí Valley. To confirm this hypothesis, archaeological research in Acarí should not only determine the "sudden" and widespread presence of the Nasca phase 3 pottery, but also the substitution (partially or totally) of the local pottery style. In addition to a large amount of Nasca phase 3 ceramics, one would expect to find at least a Nasca 3 settlement in Acarí, which in most features should be different from the local settlements (pre-Nasca 3 sites). Furthermore, this intrusive site should also be associated with Nasca cultural diagnostics (e.g. abundant presence of Nasca 3 ceramics, which should also be varied in forms). Besides the settlement pattern, these are some of the diagnostic criteria used, for instance, by Wilson (1983:252-253) to confirm that the Santa Valley was a Moche province.

Research Objectives

As noted, Nasca pottery discovered at some Acarí walled settlements has been used to argue that Nasca political and economic control was forcefully extended into the Acarí Valley. On the basis of the early Nasca pottery distribution, it has been presumed that the Acarí Valley constituted the southern boundary of the Nasca, and that the site of Tambo Viejo was an early Nasca regional center built in Acarí (Massey 1986:338). It is important to emphasize, however, that these assumptions were forwarded without the benefit of a comprehensive evaluation of the data. The main objective of this study is to evaluate the "Nasca invasion hypothesis" of Acarí. Both the old (pre 1980's) and new (post 1980's) evidence will be analyzed. Alternative models of intervalley interaction will be evaluated as well. The following set of questions is considered critical to this analysis:

- . Does the presence of early Nasca pottery in Acarí necessarily represent a Nasca invasion?
- . Is the Nasca pottery found in Acarí truly Nasca?
- . Is there an intrusive early Nasca occupation (colony) in Acarí?
- . If so, exactly when and how did it take place?
- . Were the early manifestations of Nasca truly associated with fortified sites?
- . Do the walled sites of Acarí fully represent fortified settlements?
- . Or what other phenomenon was behind the introduction of the Nasca pottery?

Secondly, this study will evaluate the character of the Early Intermediate Period occupation of the Acarí Valley that supposedly was conquered by the early Nasca state. Carmichael (1992b) has argued that during this period there may have been an independent local tradition in Acarí. If so, it is important to know what the main features are that distinguish this local tradition from Nasca. In addition, it is crucial to assess whether the existence of this local tradition ended dramatically as a result of the assumed Nasca invasion. This evaluation, overall, will provide new light to verify the nature of the Nasca society, and in particular the significance of the Nasca items found in Acarí. To evaluate the character of this local tradition, an additional set of questions is in order:

- . To what extent was Acarí a local cultural tradition? and
- . What was its role in relation to the Nasca?

If, as current archaeological research on the Nasca culture suggests, Nasca was not associated with aggressive political / territorial expansion and domination (Carmichael 1995; Silverman 1993a, 1995), but was territorially restricted to the Río Grande drainage of Nasca and the middle and lower Ica Valley, it is crucial to understand the socio-political context that characterized the Nasca during the time that some Nasca goods found their way to the neighboring valley of Acarí. Thus, the recognition of Cahuachi, the assumed early Nasca capital, as a ceremonial and pilgrimage center (Silverman (1986, 1993a) is of particular interest. The third problem addressed, then, is to understand what was happening in the Nasca Valley during phases 2 and 3

of Nasca that perhaps had some bearing on the introduction of Nasca artifacts into the Acarí Valley and elsewhere.

The primary data base used for this dissertation study constitutes archaeological studies undertaken in the Acarí Valley during the past several years and the collections made by the *California Institute for Peruvian Studies* (CIPS) for the same valley since 1984. Moreover, the collection used to set the initial argument regarding the Nasca invasion of Acarí is also considered. Additionally, a field study was carried out in October 1996 to assess specific matters regarding this study. It is important to make clear, however, that no archaeological excavations were conducted for the purpose of this study, although that was initially considered. As a result, the chief limitation of this study is the lack of stratigraphic evidence. The evidence used in this study is very fragmentary, and hence revisions of interpretations need to be made as more data become available in the near future. Nonetheless, current information, compared to the one used to set the Nasca invasion hypothesis, is not only varied, but also much better in several ways. For instance, for the first time we have a general assessment of the amount of early Nasca pottery found at each of the Acarí sites, which was unknown until very recently.

Chronology

A word on chronology is important especially to familiarize the reader with the names and/or categories used in this study. The basic chronological framework developed by Rowe (1960b:627-628, 1962:49), which remains widely used among Peruvianists (Chapter 2), is the one adopted in this study. Rowe's (1960b, 1962) basic chronological framework was tested in the Ica Valley of the South Coast region "because [Rowe and associates] had made the best start toward establishing a detailed chronology of the pottery styles of that valley" (Rowe 1962:49). Within this scheme (Table 1), my interest is with phases 1 to 4 of the Early Intermediate Period, which roughly belongs to the time of Cahuachi's apogee as a ceremonial center (ca. A.D. 1 - 400).

In short, this study has as its main aim to verify the Nasca-Acarí cultural relationship during the earlier phases of the Early Intermediate Period. Because earlier positions regarding the Nasca invasion of Acarí were based on the observation of pottery remains found in some of the Early Intermediate period sites of this valley (Rowe 1956, 1963), and since pottery is considered the principal indicator of cultural traditions (Lumbreras 1984:3), major emphasis is given to this material culture (Chapters 5 and 6) to help us to clarify the above dilemma. However, in addition to pottery, other cultural traits such as settlement, architecture, and burial practices (Chapter 7), are also evaluated, first to define the local cultural tradition, and finally to compare them to the 'pure' Nasca traits already published.

Master Sequence Ica Valley	Years		RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY	Historical Events
	1534		COLONIAL PERIOD	Spanish Empire
Inka influence	1485-1500	1	LATE	Inka Empire
		2	HORIZON	
		8		
		7		
		6	LATE	
ICA STYLE		5	INTERMEDIATE	
		4	PERIOD	
		3		Ica Prestige
	1000	2		
		1		
		4		
	900	3	MIDDLE	
Wari influence		2	HORIZON	Wari Empire
		1		
		8		
	650	7		
		6	EARLY	
NASCA STYLE		5	INTERMEDIATE	Religious
		4	PERIOD	Innovation
		3		at Nasca
		2		
	A.D.	1		
	B.C.	10		
		9		
	300	8		Chavín
		7		Influence
OCUCAJE STYLE		6	EARLY	in Ica
		5	HORIZON	
		4		
		3		
		2		
		1		
	800		INITIAL	pottery technology
			PERIOD	introduced to Ica

Table No. 1.

Chronological scheme of the South Coast of Peru (based on Menzel, 1977)

Notes:

1. In this study the spelling of Nasca with "S" is used to refer to the archaeological culture as well as to the valley. When I quote, I respect the original spelling according to whether it is with "S" or with "Z." Helaine Silverman (1986) has proposed to use Nasca with "S" only to refer to the archaeological culture, and Nazca with "Z" for the valley, the river, and the contemporary town. However, few have adopted this convention (e.g. Carmichael 1988:2) and some have noted that Silverman's proposition has created more confusion than clarification. I write Nazca with "Z" only when I refer to the contemporary capital city of the southern province of the department of Ica, which is Nazca.

2. With the increase of scholarly interest in the Nasca artifacts, such as pottery, the interest of pre-Columbian art collectors also expanded. This resulted in the systematic and continuous looting of the Nasca sites by the *huaqueros* (pot-hunters), and distribution of the Nasca art works in many museums around the world. As noted by Sawyer (1961:269), "most of the Nazca materials in the world's museums were excavated without the benefit of scientific observations." Due to the continuous looting, currently it is very difficult to find a single Nasca site that has not been vandalized.

3. Barnes and Fleming (1991) have argued that the puquios may not necessarily be pre-Hispanic.

CHAPTER TWO

NASCA IN ANCIENT ANDEAN HISTORY

"The picture we have for Phase 3, then, is one of increased power and prestige of the Nasca Valley peoples over a wide area. To the north the Topará tradition was eclipsed by that of Nasca as far as the Pisco Valley. To the south Nasca influence was felt in the Acarí Valley" (Proulx 1968:97).

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with basic information regarding the ancient Nasca culture. The discovery of the Nasca culture is briefly reviewed, tracing the beginning of archaeological studies on this coastal society. Then, issues concerning relative and absolute chronology are addressed to locate Nasca in time and space within the chronological scheme employed by Peruvianists. Finally, former interpretations of the early Nasca culture are reviewed briefly from the perspective of archaeological investigations. This section provides the background to understand the "Nasca invasion hypothesis" of the Acarí Valley, which is addressed in Chapters 3 and 4. This final section also includes a review of the origins of the Nasca style with a consideration of the formative (Early Horizon) occupation of the South Coast.

The Discovery of the Nasca Style

Here I present an abbreviated account of the discovery of the Nasca style. For further, in depth, information on the matter the reader is referred to Rowe's (1954, 1960a) and Proulx's (1970) publications. Additional information is also found in Menzel (1977).

It is not surprising that the first reference regarding the Nasca culture is related to its polychrome pottery. In 1842 the French Captain Francois Joseph Amédée du Campe de Rosamel purchased a pottery collection in Ica which reportedly contained five Nasca specimens later deposited in the French *Provincial Museum of Bologne-sur-Mer* (Rowe 1960a:31; Proulx 1970:7). This particular collection constituted the basis for the first published information about the Nasca pottery, which appeared in 1898 in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris IV*, Volumen 9. The article was called "Les vases peints d'Ica (Pérou Moyen)" by the Frenchman named Jules Théodore Ernest Hamy. It is also of interest to know that eight years earlier, C. Weiner published the first illustrated Nasca pottery in his *Pérou et Bolivia* (Proulx 1970).

From the above, it is evident that before the 1890s several archaeological collections from Peru already had made their way to the European art market. According to Rowe (1960a:30), a Peruvian named José Mariano Macedo was one of those involved in collecting and selling archaeological artifacts. As stated by Rowe, in 1881 Macedo traveled to Europe to sell his collection and three years later he made transactions with the *Ethnographic Museum of Berlin*. In this collection at least three pieces belonged to

the Nasca culture. Adolf Bastian, who established the Berlin Museum, noted that these artifacts were rare, so he decided to contact Max Uhle, who at that time happened to be working at the mentioned museum.

After his pioneering archaeological studies in the Tiwanaku (Tiahuanaco) site of Bolivia and in the Central Coast of Peru, Uhle began his research on the South Coast as part of the *First Archaeological Expedition of the University of California to Peru* in 1901. Uhle began his explorations in the Chincha Valley, which is located just north of the Pisco Valley (see Figure 1). Rowe (1960a:31) states that Uhle selected this region precisely for the purpose of locating the exact provenience of the Nasca pottery style that he had first seen at the Berlin Museum. During his studies on the north and central coastal valleys, Uhle had not seen any pottery similar to the ones he saw at the Berlin Museum. In this regard, he pointed out that:

"This civilization seems to be of no great extent over Peru, though it is improbable that it is of purely local character. Among about three vessels of this kind in the Museum in Berlin, one bears the indication of being from Chala in the south of the department of Ica. I am determined to follow the traces of this interesting civilization wherever I find it." (Uhle, in Kroeber and Strong 1924: Appendix C, pp. 128).

As already noted, Uhle first visited the Chincha Valley, but he was unable to locate any Nasca pottery (Rowe 1960a). The same year, and as part of the *Second Archaeological Expedition of the University of California to Peru*, Uhle went to the Ica Valley, where at the Hacienda Ocucaje he uncovered 25 burials with Nasca pottery (Kroeber 1927:627; Proulx 1970:1), which were later studied by Kroeber and Strong

(1924). Proulx (1970:7) notes that this discovery took place on February the third of 1901. In 1905, Uhle visited the Nasca Valley where he also found the polychrome Nasca style. This collection was later sent to the Museum of Berkeley and studied by Gayton and Kroeber (1927), who established the first four-phase sequence for the Nasca style.

Relative and "Absolute" Chronology

Since its discovery, Nasca pottery has remained the single most studied material of the ancient Nasca society (see Lumbreras 1974b:123). Almost at the beginning of the century, Uhle established a chronological framework of most central Andean cultures, which certainly included Nasca (Kroeber 1927:625-626). On the basis of stylistic analysis, Uhle (1914) was able to place the Nasca style before his "Tiahuanaco culture" (Middle Horizon). In this regard, Kroeber (1927:627) noted that "the Nazca style is a highly individualized one [...] free of Tiahuanacoid influences." It is important to note that the name used by Uhle was "proto-Nazca" (see Menzel 1977:52), which Kroeber (1927:626) tried to correct by introducing "early" instead of "proto" because the latter implied before Nasca.

As noted by Kroeber, early in the century it was already clear that Nasca was a pre-Tiwanaku society. However, before the 1940s it remained unclear whether Nasca was pre-Chavín, post-Chavín, or contemporaneous to Chavín (see Kroeber 1927). Similarly, the antecedents of Nasca remained obscure (Kroeber 1927:641). According to Kroeber (1927:643), in 1925 and 1926 Tello found in the Paracas peninsula a type

of black and incised ware with Nasca forms but without the Nasca designs. Other designs indicated some relationship with Chavín de Huántar. As noted by Kroeber, on the basis of this finding Tello suggested that Chavín may have been earlier than Nasca. By the early 1940s, it became evident that Nasca was a post-Chavín culture as argued by Tello (see Kroeber 1944); and since then Nasca has been consistently placed as post-Chavín and pre-Wari (Middle Horizon) (e.g. Bennett 1948:6; Willey 1948:8-9). In this regard, it is important to note that the initial ordering provided by Uhle has been largely confirmed by later studies.

On the basis of the Uhle collections from the Nasca Valley, housed at Berkeley, Gayton and Kroeber (1927) made the first attempt to classify the Nasca pottery style by using a qualitative method based on shape, color, and design. In this classification, the Nasca style was divided in two principal phases labeled A and B, to which two additional phases (X and Y) were added. Kroeber (1927:640) points out that phase A corresponds "very closely to Uhle's small but pure type collection with data from Ica (Ocucaje), and also, though with somewhat less inclusiveness, to Tello's "Nazca." Kroeber also argues that phase X was "a transitional between A and B" and most importantly a "mixture of A and B" and "a strain containing intermediate forms." Finally, phase Y was mostly the whole set with "'Tiahuanacoid' elements added." This ordering, however, appeared vague and therefore problematic. In fact, besides Kroeber (1944) himself and Strong (1957), few adopted this classification (see Bennett 1948; Willey 1948), leading Kroeber (1956) to revise the initial sequence by substituting Y

with C and eliminating X. Andeanists never endorsed fully the Kroeber scheme, which led to the development of a new classification.

In 1952 Lawrence E. Dawson started a new and independent study of the Nasca ceramics (see Rowe 1960a). This study, which applied the method of similiary seriation, included more than one thousand Nasca vessels of different origins, most of which had been collected by Uhle and deposited at the R. H. Lowie Museum of Berkeley. Dawson's classification, which has been widely accepted by the specialists, consisted of nine stylistic phases, starting in Nasca 1 and ending in Nasca 9. As shown by Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964:251), Nasca 1 represents a transitional phase from Ocucaje (Paracas) to Nasca, while Nasca 2 - 4 is equal to Gayton and Kroeber's phase A and Strong's (1957:24) "Early Nazca." Finally, Nasca 5 and 6 is equal to Gayton and Kroeber's phase B, and Nasca 7 - 9 is equal to Gayton and Kroeber's phase Y or C.

It should be pointed out, however, that on the basis of current archaeological studies, only Nasca phases 1 to 7 are considered as belonging to the proper Nasca style, while the following two are regarded as belonging to the Middle Horizon and therefore are no longer regarded as Nasca (see Silverman 1988a, 1988b:24). Nasca phases 2 to 4, or early Nasca, are often regarded in the literature as "monumental" (Rowe 1960a), because "representation of natural and mythological themes by painted figures [were] executed with relatively depictive technique" (Roark 1965:2). Interestingly, this is the time that corresponds to the florescence of Cahuachi, a time with which this study is concerned. Nasca phase 5 is considered a transitional phase between the "monumental"

substyle and the "proliferous" substyle, which is represented by phases 6 and 7 (see Roark 1965:3), also called "late Nasca." In the "proliferous" substyle, "the proportion of geometric designs is greater, and representational themes often include abstract elements as part of the design" (Roark 1965:2).

Because the Nasca pottery style is so diverse in both shape and design (see Proulx 1968), a detailed classification of all these features is yet to be produced. In fact, there is no a single source where the whole Nasca sequence, as classified by Dawson, has been discussed in detail. Instead, scholars have opted for treating almost each phase separately. For instance, the only source on Nasca 1 is the one provided by Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson (1964). Nasca 2 has been discussed by both Silverman (1977) and Massey (1986), while Nasca phases 3 and 4 have received the special attention of Proulx (1968). Roark (1965) has discussed Nasca phases 5 and 6, and Nasca 8 has been reviewed by Silverman (1988b). A similar analysis for Nasca 7 is still lacking.

Recently, D. Browne has identified some problems with the Dawson classification. Regarding Nasca phases 3 and 4, Browne (1992:80) argues that "Nasca 4 is a stylistic but not a chronological division, a not necessarily sequential variety of Nasca 3." Following Browne, Silverman (1993a:327) also speaks of "cultural unity between Nasca 3 and 5." Their argument is based on the apparent absence of Nasca 4 sites in the Palpa and the Ingenio valleys, conversely to the well-represented Nasca 3 and 5 settlements. It is not totally clear if that is really the case and in order to solve the above ambiguities, as well as to understand better each phase, archaeological

excavations are needed in domestic settlements in particular. So far, excavations carried out at Cahuachi have been unable to verify the above ordering because the depositions are mixed. In addition, the duration of each phase remains unknown; for these and other issues, it is crucial to carry out excavations at domestic Nasca settlements.

When the Nasca society emerged is still an unresolved issue. This is primarily because the pre-Nasca (Early Horizon) occupation of the South Coast as a whole is far from clear (see Silverman 1991, 1996; Orefici 1996). Kroeber (1927:640-641) argued that

"How and where it originated, what the antecedents of Nazca A were, is something on which there is no evidence. We searched diligently for such a predecessor, but in vain. All that can be said at present is that Nazca A suddenly appears in Nazca and Ica valleys and is followed by such and such a development."

Following Tello and with additional studies, Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964) suggested that Paracas was the predecessor of the Nasca culture, and thus Paracas has long been regarded as representing the Early Horizon manifestation of the entire South Coast (see Sawyer 1961). Despite some changes, according to the study of Paracas and Nasca iconography there is continuity of "essentially the same iconography" (Sawyer 1961:278). On the basis of the study of Paracas (Ocucaje) materials from the Ica Valley, Menzel, Rowe and Dawson established a 10 phase sequence for the Paracas pottery style, where Ocucaje phase 1 not only signaled the beginning of the Paracas style, but also the beginning of Chavín influence in the Ica Valley (Menzel, Rowe and Dawson

1964:4). According to these authors, the beginning of the Early Horizon was guessed to be about 600 to 700 B.C., its end around 100 and 150 A.D.

According to recent studies, the Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964) classification of the Ocucaje pottery style appears to be problematic. Massey (1991:320) points out that the earliest Paracas occupation of the Ica Valley occurred during phases 3 and 4 in the Menzel, Rowe and Dawson sequence, and not during the assumed Ocucaje phases 1 - 2 that apparently do not exist. In addition, Massey notes the absence of "archaeological evidence to verify the existence of phases 5 through 7." On the basis of this information, Massey (1986, 1991) has suggested a new 4 phase sequence for the Paracas pottery style instead of 10 phases. In the new sequence (Table 2), the Chavín - Paracas interaction is placed in Early Horizon 2 (see Massey 1986:286).

According to Massey (1991:345), Ocucaje phase 10 sample (the end of Early Horizon) dates to 42 ± 150 B.C., which is in agreement with Rowe's (1960a:43) suggestion in placing Nasca phase 1 around A.D. 100 (see also Menzel, Rowe and Dawson 1964:4). Since then, additional carbon-14 dates have become available (see Silverman 1986:364-366, 1988a: Figure 10, 1988b: Figure 7), which, despite some disagreements, place the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period (therefore Nasca 1) about A.D. 1 (see Carmichael 1988:22). This is, overall, in agreement with the end of the Paracas sequence as suggested by Massey (1991). However, according Silverman (1988a:409), there is a tremendous overlapping between late Paracas and Nasca 1 - 4 radiocarbon dates, and thus "[w]hether the dating problem lies with the stylistic

sequence, synchronic intradrainage regional variation, or the radiocarbon determinations remains to be determined." Why there is no consistency in the carbon-14 dates is an issue that needs to be addressed in the near future, to clarify and refine, among others, issues such as the time and duration of each phase. Silverman (1988b:25) has placed the beginning of "Nasca 8" around A.D. 700. On the basis of this suggestion, I am roughly setting the end of the proper Nasca sequence (Nasca 7) around A.D. 650. A date of A.D. 636 ± 60 has been obtained for Early Intermediate Period phase 7 at Chaviña (see Lothrop and Mahler 1957:47).

Menzel, Rowe & Dawson (1964) Massey (1986, 1991)

Nasca 4	Nasca 4
Nasca 3	Nasca 3 (Cahuachi's climax)
Nasca 2	Nasca 2
Nasca 1	Nasca 1
Ocucaje 10	Early Horizon 4
Ocucaje 9	Early Horizon 3
Ocucaje 8	Early Horizon 2 (Chavín influence)
Ocucaje 5-7	eliminated
Ocucaje 3-4	Early Horizon 1
Ocucaje 1-2	eliminated

Table No. 2. Chronological scheme for the Ocucaje style and early phases of Nasca of the South Coast of Peru (based on Massey, 1986, 1991).

Overall, early Nasca society, as referred to in this study, comprises the time of development, apogee, and abandonment of Cahuachi, which in the Dawson sequence includes Nasca phases 1 to 4. Although not totally resolved, it appears that Cahuachi lasted about 400 years, beginning some time around A.D. 1. During this time, the Nasca iconography was characterized by naturalistic motifs (Rowe 1960a).

The "Expansive" Early Nasca Culture

The areal distribution of the Nasca style has been used as the chief evidence to define the ancient Nasca territory, as well as to speculate about the socio-political structuring of Nasca culture. As early as 1939, at the *27th International Congress of Americanists* held in Lima, Peru, Julio C. Tello (1942:694) was the first to point out that although Nasca was centered in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca, Nasca pottery was distributed from the Pisco Valley, in the north, to the Acarí Valley, in the south (Lumbreras 1974b:122; Carmichael 1988:25). This area, as discussed below, was later recognized as the Nasca territory by Rowe (1960a). Most importantly, during the early 1960s, several Nasca and Nasca-related sites were interpreted as *urban* settlements (see Rowe 1963), an identification that strengthened arguments that Nasca was a state level society (see Lanning 1967:121; Proulx 1968:83) (1). In this manner, the presence of early Nasca pottery outside the Río Grande drainage of Nasca was seen explicitly as a manifestation of a regional early Nasca state (see Massey 1986).

Massey (1986:341) has stated that "the Topará state originated in the Chincha Valley and expanded to include the Cañete, Topará, Chincha, Pisco and Upper Ica valleys by Early Intermediate 2." Some argue that the influence of the Topará style was extended as far south as the Nasca Valley. At the time that the presumed Topará state exercised control over the northern valleys, according to Massey (1986:347), "the diverse regions of the Nazca drainage began to consolidate under a single political leadership during Early

Intermediate Phase 2. By the close of Phase 2, a regional state had emerged and the polities occupying the Acarí and the Ica Valleys had been integrated into the Nasca state by the close of Phase 3." Thus, the Topará (2) and Nasca states, as argued, were not only contiguous neighbors, but also likely in competition for territory. In particular, the early Nasca state was seen as slowly expanding towards the north and thus limiting the influence of its counterpart, the Topará state, from the middle Ica, first, and then from the entire Ica Valley. In other words, by Early Intermediate Period phase 3, the whole Ica Valley was already under the control of the so-called early Nasca state. It should be noted that Nasca phase 3 is also seen as the time when the Acarí Valley was conquered by the "expansive" early Nasca state (Rowe 1963; Lanning 1967; Proulx 1968). Thus, as summarized by Proulx (1968:97), the picture for the Early Intermediate Period south coast was of an expansive early Nasca state that by the end of phase 3 managed to incorporate several adjacent valleys into a single political administration which was centered at Cahuachi.

"The corporate style was, for a time, associated with a multivalley state that incorporated four drainages during the early Nazca phases. Its northern incursion into the Pisco Valley is reflected in the phase 2 site of Dos Palmas ... Southern expansion into the Acarí Valley is expressed at Tambo Viejo..." (Moseley 1992:186).

On the basis of recent archaeological studies, the above view requires serious modification. The archaeological survey carried out by Cook (1992) in the Ica Valley has reported, once again, the presence of Nasca 1 occupation in that valley. Similarly, Nasca phases 2 and 3 are also well represented. In this regard, the situation of the Ica Valley at the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period appears to be very similar to the one of the

Nasca Valley. Therefore, on the basis of current archaeological information, it can be argued that the Ica Valley and the Río Grande drainage of Nasca constituted the center where the Nasca style flourished.

On the other hand, and as will be discussed in Chapter 4, there is hardly any evidence that would indicate that the early Nasca society achieved a state level of social structuring. Cahuachi, long viewed as the capital of the early Nasca state, as reported by Silverman (1988a, 1993a) and Orefici (1987, 1994), was not the assumed urban center, but an empty ceremonial center. Beyond Rowe's (1963) early identification, the alleged "urban" nature of other Early Intermediate Period sites of the south coast (e.g. Dos Palmas, Tambo Viejo) has not been demonstrated (for similar discussion, see Carmichael 1988:421). Therefore, the early assumption made on the basis of pottery distribution does not necessarily suggest that Nasca was associated with any type of aggressive and conquest oriented political organization. Recently, Silverman (1996:95) has argued that the South Coast of Peru "never saw the rise of an autochthonous state configuration" (see also Silverman 1997).

As noted by Kroeber (1944:109), Tello was the first who, on stylistic grounds, suggested that Nasca constituted a further development of the Paracas culture. From this initial observation, Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson (1964:2) and Proulx (1968:96), for instance, have also argued that Paracas pottery was indeed the precursor of Nasca (Sawyer 1961). The excavations carried out at Cahuachi in the early 1950s by Strong (1957) seemed to

have demonstrated that there was a stratigraphic superposition of early Nasca over late Paracas. Sawyer (1961) has also shown the continuation of Paracas iconography in Nasca, although some changes are notable as well. More explicitly, Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson (1964:251) argue that Paracas and Nasca "are parts of a single tradition in which there is a strong element of continuity between any two successive phases, and such continuity exists between Ocucaje Phase 10 and Nasca Phase 1 as well as elsewhere in the sequence." Moreover, they stated that "the distinction between the earlier 'Ocucaje' and the later 'Nasca' style at Ica is an arbitrary one," which clearly suggested that in effect Nasca was a further development of Paracas. Following Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, Silverman (1986:465) has also stated that "[t]he Nasca style evolves out of the preceding Paracas style."

Also on the basis of Strong's (1957:13) findings at Cahuachi of "Late Paracas" pottery, it was assumed that the Nasca style evolved from Paracas in the Nasca Valley. However, the entire pre-Nasca occupation of the Nasca Valley remained unclear, in particular because only "Late Paracas" material remains were reported south of the Ica Valley. In other words, if people with Paracas pottery entered the Nasca Valley almost at the end of the Early Horizon, who were the residents of this valley prior to Paracas? Even for the "late Pacaras" occupation of the Nasca Valley there was not a clear explanation, for instance, of how this may have begun or when exactly Paracas settlements may have been established in this valley.

Despite the fact that radiocarbon measurements have greatly clarified when the Nasca style may have begun, it is far from being clear how this style emerged in the first place. As noted, this is generally because the Early Horizon occupation of the entire South Coast remains unclear (see Silverman 1991, 1994, 1996). In contrast to the initial view which regarded the Nasca style evolving directly from Paracas in the Nasca Valley, Silverman (1994a:371) has recently argued not only that Ocucaje 10 and Nasca 1 may be contemporaneous, but also that the Nasca style "evolved directly out of the preceding Ocucaje (Paracas) style in situ in the Ica Valley" (Silverman 1993a:322), rather than in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca. Silverman (1991:400) goes further to note that while the Ocucaje style existed in the Ica Valley, a local *Tajo ceramic tradition* existed in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca during the Early Horizon (see Silverman 1994a:368-369). Elsewhere, Silverman (1996:122) recognizes Tajo as "the pre-Nasca ceramic style of the Río Grande de Nazca drainage." For his part, Orefici (1996) has also identified a new pottery style (called "Nasca 0") which appears to be contemporaneous with "Late Paracas" and Nasca phases 1 and 2. According to Orefici, this type of pottery is present at several early Nasca sites of the Río Grande area, including Cahuachi, and in the words of Orefici (1996:182), this is the same one referred to as "Tajo" by Silverman.

The main features of this supposed local Tajo style have yet to be reported. Following the Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964) scheme, Silverman (1991:353) places the Tajo style as being as old as the Paracas tradition, on the one hand, and as contemporaneous to the Initial period site of Hacha of Acarí, on the other hand. This

certainly is problematic considering that Hacha is dated around 1000 B.C. (see Riddell and Valdez 1987-88; Robinson 1994), while the very beginning of Paracas does not appear to be as old as Hacha (Massey 1991). In this regard, Silverman needs to present more substantive date in support of her assumption.

Silverman implies the presence and/or the substitution of Tajo by Paracas around Ocucaje phase 8, but there is no explication of how this took place. Silverman (1991:368) notes that there is some Paracas pottery in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca which belongs to Ocucaje phase 8 in the Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson (1964) sequence. In Massey's (1986, 1991) modified scheme this belongs to early Horizon 2 (see table 2). Furthermore, Silverman (1994a:378) points out that during Early Intermediate Period 1, there was a "sudden increase in size and number of habitation sites in the Ingenio Valley," which may be indicative of an "immigration of the Ica Valley peoples to the northern Río Grande de Nazca drainage at this time," but what happened with the local formative occupants of the Nasca Valley remains unknown. Did the inhabitants of the Ica Valley conquer their southern neighbors? Then, is the Nasca style intrusive in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca?

"I currently believe that in the late Early Horizon, Paracas pottery was intrusive into the existing Tajo society of the Río Grande de Nazca drainage, which at that time was in (close?) contact with peoples to the east in the Ayacucho highlands and to the south in Acarí" (Silverman 1994a:379).

However, Browne and Baraybar (1988:301) as well as Isla, Ruales and Mendiola (1984) have identified Paracas (Ocucaje 8 - 10) pottery from the Río Grande drainage of Nasca. More recently, Isla (personal communication, 1998) notes the finding of at least three Paracas (phases 8, 9, and 10) settlements in the Palpa Valley and at least one in the Grande Valley. Isla further argues that elsewhere in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca (e.g. Nasca Valley) there is evidence of Paracas occupation, which is contrary to Silverman's view. According to Isla, the pottery of these sites is "pure" Paracas and not Tajo or Nasca 1 (3). Further research is clearly needed and Isla's report is certainly awaited. Once all these new data become available, our understanding regarding the Early Horizon occupation of the Río Grande drainage of Nasca will certainly expand.

On the basis of current archaeological studies, it appears that during Nasca phase 1 both the Río Grande drainage of Nasca and the middle and lower Ica were inhabited by people who produced Nasca pottery. The initial study of Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964:251) and the recent archaeological surveys carried out by Cook (1992) in the middle and lower Ica Valley clearly indicate the presence of many Nasca 1 settlements from Ocucaje down to the area of Montegrande. Near the littoral, no Nasca site seems to have been found. Indeed, "a survey of the Ica-Grande littoral did not locate any EIP 2-8 settlements along the ocean front.." (Carmichael 1992a:188). Meanwhile, for the upper Ica Valley, Silverman (1986:465) notes that "abundant foreign pottery in the Topará style is found in the early Early Intermediate Period [sites]." In fact, Massey (1986:92-93) argues that "the Topará style dominated domestic production in the upper valley during Early

Intermediate 1," and no Nasca phase 1 pottery seems to be present there.

Browne's (1992: Figure 3) archaeological survey in the Palpa Valley of the Río Grande drainage of Nasca also found a large number of Nasca 1 sites. Silverman (1994a) herself has reported Nasca phase 1 sites from the Ingenio Valley, and thus Nasca 1 pottery is very common in the entire Río Grande drainage of Nasca as well as in the middle and lower Ica Valley. This pattern, perhaps, indicates that with the exception of the upper Ica, the Ica Valley and the whole Río Grande drainage of Nasca belonged to the same cultural tradition from the very beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. It should be noted that geographically the middle and lower Ica Valley are closer to the Río Grande river valleys, while the upper Ica is closer to the Pisco Valley. This may have had some cultural significance.

As noted by Menzel (1971:57), and despite some continuing general similarities, there are several visible innovations in the new Nasca style compared to the late Paracas (Ocucaje) style.

"The stylistic change marking the beginning of Nasca Phase 1 is the use of slip paint applied before firing, instead of resin paint applied after firing, as the means of producing polychrome designs of fancy pottery. The new slip colors were generally separated by incised lines in the first Nasca phase, as the resin pigments of earlier phases had been. Pottery with polychrome designs in slip paint outlined by incision is common in the refuse at Cahuachi in Nasca..." (Menzel, Rowe and Dawson 1964:251).

The geographical distribution of the Nasca phase 2 pottery is slightly different from that of Nasca 1. Nasca 2 pottery, besides being in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca, is again found in the middle and lower Ica Valley (see Cook 1992; Silverman 1986:466). In contrast to Nasca 1, interestingly, Massey (1986: Figure 3.8) has reported several Nasca 2 ceramics from the upper Ica Valley, despite the fact that this part of the Ica Valley remained under the Topará administration (Massey 1986:157). It is interesting to note that according to current studies in the Acarí Valley, it was also during this time that Nasca ceramics were introduced for the first time to Acarí. Thus, for the upper Ica as well as for Acarí, the presence of Nasca 3 pottery is not as sudden as some have argued before.

During the following phase, the Topará style is said to have disappeared from the upper Ica (Massey 1986:157), and thus for the first time the distribution of the Nasca style is noted in the whole Ica Valley (Silverman 1986:466). For the upper valley in particular, Massey (1986:129) has argued that during this phase, ceramic production "underwent dramatic transformation" as the Nasca style dominated "all aspects of local production." Besides the Ica Valley, some Nasca artifacts are also reported from the northern Pisco Valley (Peters 1986), and earlier Menzel (1971:121-124) reported that in the heartland of the Topará tradition some Nasca 3 designs were also selectively imitated. Thus, Nasca 3 pottery is indeed distributed from the Pisco Valley in the north, to the Acarí Valley in the south. However, whether this represents the existence of an "expansive" early Nasca state and an actual early Nasca invasion remains open to debate (see Chapters 4 and 5).

From the above, and at least for the early Nasca society, a general settlement pattern can be reassessed. As noted by Carmichael (1988:37), "data on settlement patterns are still very incomplete." Nevertheless, from the available information it is conceivable that early Nasca settlements (phases 1 to 4) are located in the valleys. This clearly suggests that the basic economy of the Nasca during the height of Cahuachi was based on valley resources, which included agricultural crops such as corn, beans, peanut, squash, besides tubers such as sweet potatoes, achira, manioc, among others (Valdez 1988b). In addition to the above, camelids, guinea pigs, and deer were also consumed (Valdez 1988a) but interestingly, the role of marine resources appears to have been only complementary (Valdez 1986, 1988b). Furthermore, Carmichael's (1992a:188) "survey of the Ica-Grande littoral did not locate any EIP 2-8 settlements along the ocean front." This strongly supports the initial view of Kroeber (1944:24) who stated that "the Nazca culture is coastal but not maritime." In this manner, despite the early Nasca iconography being very rich in marine motifs, there is no clear relationship between these designs and the amount of exploitation of sea resources (see Kennedy and Carmichael 1991).

In summary, according to the traditional view the entire South Coast of Peru was regarded as the territory occupied by the Nasca culture and therefore the Early Intermediate Period of this region was frequently associated with the Nasca culture. Thus, the impression given was something similar to that of the North Coast where the Moche administration incorporated several adjacent valleys. Working basically with pottery and pottery distribution in particular, scholars often emphasized the notion that behind the introduction

of the early Nasca pottery was an early Nasca state centered at Cahuachi. Some recent literature still emphasizes the above view, and therefore, it is not surprising to see the Chíncha and the Acarí valleys regarded as part of the Nasca polity (see Donnan 1992: 40). However, as early as 1971, Menzel (1971:121) noted that in valleys such as Pisco and Chíncha only selected features of Nasca 3 pottery were incorporated by the local style (imitation ?). Interestingly, the classical mythological early Nasca designs, apparently, were never adopted by those from the northern valleys. Overall, the socio-political structuring of Nasca needs to be reassessed on the basis of current data, where for instance the recent interpretation of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center needs to be stressed.

Notes:

1. To the best of my knowledge, Julian H. Steward (1949:13-20) was the first who classified Nasca among the Andean "theocratic states."
2. To the best of my knowledge, no one has demonstrated convincingly that the Topará social structuring was really of a state. For instance, there is no clear information regarding social stratification, craft specialization, or a defined site hierarchy.
3. Isla notes that "sé que Silverman dice que no hay Paracas en la cuenca del Río Grande de Nasca, pero eso no es correcto. Nosotros tenemos documentado varios sitios puramente Paracas en Palpa, y con K. Schreiber hemos encontrado otros sitios Paracas en el valle de Nasca."

CHAPTER THREE

THE NASCA CULTURE AND THE ACARI VALLEY

"At the height of its power, an early Nasca state probably administered a four-valley region including the Ica, Palpa, Nazca and Acarí valleys and had established economic relationships with the Pisco and Chincha Valleys as well as with valleys to the south of Acarí" (Massey 1986:338).

Introduction

Peruvianists have long assumed that the Early Intermediate Period was a time of strong regionalism, a period when multi-valley "regional entities" were established in most areas of the central Andes (Lumbreras 1974b:95). Within this perspective, Nasca was often seen not only as the regional manifestation of the South Coast area, but also as a *state* society that flourished in the Nasca Valley and expanded to the neighboring valleys of Pisco, in the north, and Acarí, in the south. This view, developed during the 1960s, was almost entirely based on finds of early Nasca pottery outside the Río Grande drainage of Nasca, interpreted until recently as clear evidence of the Nasca expansion. Besides the intrusive nature of the early Nasca pottery in valleys such as Acarí, the identification of the Early Intermediate Period sites of Acarí as fortifications (Rowe 1963), the interpretation of the "trophy heads" represented in Nasca art as a product of

warfare (Proulx 1971), and the earlier classification of the Nasca and Nasca-related sites as "urban" settlements (Rowe 1963; Lanning 1967), led many to the perception that Nasca was indeed a "state" society.

The first part of this chapter provides an overview of archaeological studies in the Acarí Valley up to the 1960s. This material is crucial to the current study from two perspectives: 1) it establishes the limited nature of most early work, which frequently amounted to little more than brief visits, thus illustrating the tenuous nature of the data upon which conclusions were based; 2) it shows that a number of artifact collections were made over the years, many of which are no longer available for study, thus removing an unknown amount of information from the archaeological landscape. The early and continuous destruction of sites in the Acarí Valley by pot-hunters is also mentioned. In the second part of this chapter the "Nasca invasion hypothesis," developed during the early 1960s, is critically evaluated in order to assess the basic archaeological data used to model the view which is reevaluated in this dissertation. Because J.H. Rowe has been often targeted as the one who identified many Nasca and Nasca-related sites as "urban settlements," Rowe's (1963) basic definition of "urban" is also discussed.

The First Archaeological Studies in Acarí

As in many Peruvian coastal valleys, the beginning of archaeological research in the Acarí Valley is associated with the work carried out by the Father of Peruvian Archaeology: Max Uhle. As noted in Chapter 2, immediately after arriving in Peru from Bolivia in 1896, Uhle made several visits to different coastal valleys of Peru from where he obtained large archaeological collections later sent to Berkeley (Rowe 1954:6-7). In a period of less than twenty years, Uhle visited and worked in the coastal valleys from Trujillo in the north to Chala in the south, in addition to highland locations. On the basis of these studies, Uhle arranged an overall stylistic sequence for the central Andes (Kroeber 1927:625-626; Menzel 1977:1-2; Willey and Sabloff 1980:73). It seems that Uhle's deep concern in understanding the origins of the Andean civilizations (see Uhle 1942:355), as well as his obligations to Mrs. Hearst who supported his work in Peru, were the main forces that encouraged him to do this continuous archaeological research.

According to Rowe (1954:7), Uhle's work on the South Coast began in September 1900. It was as part of the South Coast explorations that Uhle first visited the Acarí Valley during the Peruvian autumn of 1900 (Carpio 1942:487; Lothrop and Mahler 1957:3), and thus before his work in Ocucaje. Uhle's first visit to the Acarí Valley is clearly illustrated by Lothrop and Mahler (1957:3), who cite Uhle noting that

"[t]he cemetery of Chaviña, south of Nazca and Lomas, belongs to a region a thorough exploration of which has only recently been begun by the writer. Its cultural position proved to be similar to that of Ica and Nazca. We find here represented the earliest type of the Ica-Nazca civilization. There are very fine tapestries showing patterns in the style of the Tiahuanaco gateway."

Uhle's second visit to the valley apparently occurred between September and November of 1905, when, according to Rowe (1954:11), Uhle "crossed the desert from Lomas to Nazca and Ica and had made of a fine collection of Early Nazca pottery, which he sent to Berkeley to complement his much better documented Ica collection of 1901." Unfortunately, Rowe is not specific about where exactly this early Nasca pottery collection was made, and he only refers to the South Coast. Once in Lima, Uhle was asked by the Peruvian government to undertake the creation of the National Archaeological Museum in Lima (Rowe 1954). It is interesting that Kroeber (1944:23) states that "Uhle's first expedition for the Peruvian Government, after the termination of his engagements with California, seems to have been to Acarí on the Lomas River." This trip probably took place sometime during late 1905 because this was the year when Uhle began working for the Peruvian Government. If so, it may have been Uhle's third visit to Acarí and the second of that year. Another date given by Rowe (1954:13) of Uhle's visit to the valley is 1909 when he excavated "a cemetery on the Hacienda Chaviña." This suggests that Uhle visited the Acarí Valley at least four times, and it is likely that on one of these trips the physical anthropologist A. Hrdlicka (1914) was also involved. More precisely, Hrdlicka collected skeletal remains from sites such as Chaviña.

After the earlier visits made by Uhle, it is unclear who went next to the Acarí Valley. Carpio (1942:488) points out that Tello conducted archaeological studies in this valley, but according to him Tello did not publish the result of his studies. Similarly, Lothrop and Mahler (1957:3) state that "[a]t an undetermined date, the late Dr. Julio C. Tello explored the Chaviña region." They cite a personal communication of Tello noting that "he had found little and that the area had been exhausted by *huaqueros*." According to Proulx (1989:73), Tello's visit apparently took place in 1915 and this was to the cemetery of Chaviña. In agreement with the above observations, in a paper presented at the *XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Tello (1942:694) pointed out that although the Nasca culture was centered in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca, Nasca pottery was found from the Pisco Valley in the north to the Acarí Valley in the south (1). This observation most likely was based on his visit to Acarí, which clearly took place before 1939 as noted by Carpio (1942), Lothrop and Mahler (1957), and Proulx (1989).

After Tello, Kroeber seemed to be the next to visit Acarí. Kroeber (1944:5-23) reports that between 1925 and 1926 he made a trip from Arequipa to Lomas. In 1942, as part of the expeditions of the "*Art Committee of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs*," Kroeber traveled again from Arequipa to Lomas. Kroeber does not mention any site in particular that he visited, nor does he mention Tello's visit to Acarí. He refers, however, to the collection made by Uhle which was deposited in a Lima museum. It is possible that this was one of the first collections made by Uhle for the Peruvian

Government, which probably took place in 1905.

"The collection then made was long kept in the old National Museum at Exposición in Lima, but about 1925 was transferred to the National Museum of Archaeology in its present quarters on Avenida Alfonso Ugarte. Some of the specimens still bear the original labels by Uhle; from others, the stickers have come off; but there is a book of catalogue in Uhle's handwriting. The collection has been merged in the Nazca one, in consonance with the Peruvian custom of classifying by type rather than provenience. I was unaware of this merger until my remaining time was too short to allow of a physical segregation in the Museum's crowded quarters. A comparison would be worth while as showing within the general Nazca style what differences in trend were between Acarí and Nazca itself; whether Nazca A, B, or Y was most present at Acarí [...] My own impression is that only Nazca B and Y are found south of the Rio Grande-Nazca drainage" (Kroeber 1944:23).

In the period between Kroeber's trips to the Acarí Valley, A. Carpio also visited this valley, some time before 1939. Carpio (1942), also in a paper presented at the *XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* held in Lima in 1939, mentions the archaeological sites of Chaviña, Sawacarí (Sahuacarí), Chocavento, Wijoto, Tambo Viejo and Warato (Huarato). As noted by Carpio, his work consisted in visiting the sites noted above as well as in digging at the cemeteries, particularly at Chaviña and Huarato. In this paper, Carpio notes that the above cemeteries were already badly vandalized (see Carpio 1942:502). Carpio (1942:509-510) provides a list of artifacts collected from Chaviña and deposited at the "Museum of the Arequipa University;" however, as in the case of Tello, it is uncertain whether Carpio made archaeological collections from the other sites he mentions in his paper.

In 1943 the site of Chaviña was again the target of diggings by two amateurs named Mrs. E. B. Lothrop and Mrs. A. McK. Thompson. In the words of Lothrop and Mahler (1957:4), the above individuals excavated several burials "in the course of a few hours." On the basis of the notes and some measurements taken by these persons, Lothrop and Mahler (1957) have described the main findings of that excavation. These materials have been classified as Late Nasca (Nasca Y in the Kroeber-Gayton sequence). Overall, Chaviña seems to have been one of the few sites of Acarí that has been visited continuously by several archaeologists, most likely including Kroeber himself. In fact, Kroeber's (1944:23) observation regarding the presence of "only Nazca B and Y [...] south of the Río Grande-Nazca drainage" appears to be based on the pottery found at Chaviña.

The 1950s represent a period when various important archaeological studies were carried out on the South Coast. First, between 1952 and 1953 the *Archaeological Expedition of Columbia University to Peru* headed by W. D. Strong carried out intensive archaeological studies in the Nasca Valley, particularly at the Nasca site of Cahuachi (Strong 1957). It is of interest to point out that among the archaeological sites shown by Strong (1957: Figure 1), the site number 80 called "Chavinia Vasurales" is in the Acarí Valley (2). This is the same site referred to as Chaviña by Carpio (1942) and Lothrop and Mahler (1957).

In 1953 the Acarí Valley was again the subject of new archaeological studies when Victor W. Von Hagen (1955), who directed the *Coastal Inka Highway Expedition*,

selected Tambo Viejo in order to trace the Inka coastal road. The following year, D. Menzel and F. A. Riddell undertook archaeological studies at Tambo Viejo, which mainly consisted of site mapping (Menzel and Riddell 1986:1-3; Riddell, personal communication 1997). Menzel and Riddell were part of *The Fourth University of California Archaeological Expedition to Peru*, directed by J. H. Rowe, which cooperated with von Hagen's expedition (see Rowe 1956). According to Riddell (personal communication, 1997), he and Menzel arrived in Acarí and made the first visit to Tambo Viejo on March 30, 1954. On April 08, 1954, they began mapping the site and five days later they began the excavations.

While working at Tambo Viejo (Figure 3), Menzel and Riddell (1986:117-118) visited some neighboring sites (e.g., Hacha, Gentilar, La Banda, La Oroya) to make small pottery collections. Pottery was also collected from Tambo Viejo, which demonstrated that the site represented several occupations. Based on the presence of some early Nasca pottery from Area C, Menzel and Riddell (1986:4) noted that early Nasca represented the earliest evidence of human occupation at the site. After Tambo Viejo, the work of Menzel and Riddell continued at Quebrada de La Vaca, in Chala, finishing some time in early July, 1954. After Chala, Menzel and Riddell moved to Ica where the headquarters of the *Inka Highway Expedition* was located. Riddell recalls that Rowe eventually joined Menzel and Riddell in Ica, on July 16, 1954 and shortly after accompanied them, along with Dwight and Carol Wallace, on a tour to some of the sites in the Acarí Valley. The visit made to the sites, which included Huarato and Tambo

Viejo, was too brief to say anything conclusive (Riddell, personal communication 1997; and see Rowe 1956:139). To be more precise, Rowe (personal communication, 1998) points out that the area "from Tambo Viejo to Huarato was surveyed the afternoon of July 26 which recorded seven sites, four of which had ridges that we took to be fortifications around them, like Tambo Viejo." In their report, published three decades later, Menzel and Riddell (1986:2) noted that

"[t]he Acari Valley is rich in archaeological remains. Sites noted in a surface survey of the valley between Huarato and Chaviña cover a very large segment of Peruvian history, from early Nasca times on, and perhaps even earlier, down to the Spanish conquest and present times (some 2000 years) [...] Surface sherds indicated that in this time span successive peoples were in close touch with the coastal area to the north, notably the Nazca region, its next door neighbor. There are indications that the Acari Valley was the southernmost one to participate so fully in the history of the south coast."

It is of interest to note that Rowe's (1956:137) report on Acarí is concerned mainly with Tambo Viejo. Indeed, in comparison to his lengthy discussion of Tambo Viejo, Huarato is referred to only once. This is probably because he based his report mostly on the work of Menzel and Riddell at Tambo Viejo and because his visit to Huarato was very brief.

Between 1954 and the early 1960's the Acarí Valley was visited several times by different scholars. On November 18, 1959, G. Vescelius, L. Dawson, H. Amat and D. Menzel excavated at Hacha (Riddell, personal communication 1997). Gayton (1967:1) also indicates that members of the University of California expedition visited the Hacha

site in 1959, 1961 and 1962, which included visits to other neighboring sites. In fact, T. C. Patterson (personal communication, 1997) mentions that he and J. H. Rowe collected pottery from Tambo Viejo on August 20, 1962 (3). The date from Acarí in Rowe's 1963 paper on "ancient urban settlements" appears to be based on these trips, in addition to the previous information gathered by Menzel and Riddell at Tambo Viejo. In this paper (Rowe 1963) discusses most of the Early Intermediate Period sites of the Acarí Valley to quite an extent, and thus it stands as the principal source for the period under consideration. The Early Intermediate Period sites of Tambo Viejo, Chocavento (hereafter Coquimbo), Amato and Huarato, are all classified as "urban settlements" (Rowe 1963:11-12).

The archaeological sites of the Acarí Valley have attracted the attention of both scholars and *huaqueros* since very early in the history of Peruvian archaeology. Yet, the many visits made to the Acarí sites by both the archaeologists and the *huaqueros* resulted in very few archaeological collections. These collections are the ones made by Menzel and Riddell in 1954, by Rowe and Patterson in 1962, by Lothrop and Thompson from Chaviña, by Carpio (1942) also from Chaviña some time in the 1930's, and by Uhle some time at the beginning of the century for a Lima museum. Rowe (1954:11) notes that Uhle's first collection from Acarí was "sent to Berkeley to complement his much better documented Ica collection of 1901." Unfortunately, neither in Uhle's Ica collection (Kroeber and Strong 1924), nor in Uhle's Nasca collection (Gayton and Kroeber 1927) is there a reference to the Acarí materials. Therefore, the only known

Uhle collection from Acarí appears to be the one done for the Peruvian National Museum, which has been identified by Kroeber (1944:23) as generally "Nazca B and Y." This collection most likely came from Chaviña. I should mention that it is unclear whether this collection has been the subject of further studies.

Considering that the Acarí archaeological sites have been severely targeted by the *huaqueros*, it is more than likely that Acarí archaeological specimens found their way out of Acarí (4). This appears to be the case of the archaeological artifacts observed by Kroeber (1944:23) at the Arequipa Museum ("pure Nazca B") that are said to be from Acarí, but exact site provenience, date, and collectors' name are lacking. Likewise, Rye (1981: Figure 3b) illustrates a "Nazca" vessel which lacks provenience. Considering that this particular vessel is identical to the ones found at Chaviña, the late Early Intermediate Period cemetery of Tambo Viejo (Riddell and Valdez 1988; Kent and Kowta 1994) and other Acarí sites of the same period, there is little doubt that this particular specimen also comes from Acarí.

In short, in the Acarí Valley archaeological studies have been carried out since very early in the century; most of the earlier researchers, however, only give some site location reference and at best cultural affiliation. Regarding the Early Intermediate Period, Kroeber (1944) was one of the first to attempt to explain the dispersion of the Nasca style, even though Tello (1942) must be acknowledged as the one who first made the observation regarding the areal distribution of the Nasca pottery. Nevertheless, as discussed below, it was after the studies carried out by Menzel and Riddell in 1954 that

the presence of the early Nasca pottery became evident, which led to suggestions that Nasca perhaps conquered Acarí sometime around Nasca phase 3.

The Nasca Invasion Hypothesis

Prior to the 1950s no "Nasca A" (early Nasca) pottery was reported from the Acarí Valley. Kroeber (1944) as well as Lothrop and Mahler (1957) were consistent in noting that only Nasca phases "B" and "Y" were present in Acarí. Their judgments, however, appear to be mainly based on the pottery that they had seen at Chaviña, a site located in the lower Acarí Valley. Carpio (1942:502), who said he had conducted excavations at Huarato, apparently was not familiar with the chronology of the Nasca style and thus he did not place Huarato in a chronological framework, except the association he made with Nasca.

The archaeological studies carried out in the early 1950s in Acarí by D. Menzel and F. A. Riddell, and in particular their findings of some early Nasca pottery samples at the Area C of Tambo Viejo and Huarato (Figure 4), proved to be crucial for modeling the "Nasca invasion hypothesis" of Acarí. On the basis of this information, Rowe (1956:137) pointed out that the "earliest occupation at Tambo Viejo [...] is of the Nazca 2-3 phases..." To demonstrate his argument, Rowe did not illustrate any of Nasca sherds in support of his arguments; however, according to Riddell (personal communication, 1997), Rowe referred to the ones later illustrated by Menzel and Riddell (1986: Figure 24).

A year before Menzel and Riddell's investigations at Tambo Viejo, William D. Strong (1957:24) conducted archaeological excavations at the Nasca site of Cahuachi, and observed the local development of the Nasca style at Cahuachi (see Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:3), but most importantly he argued that "Cahuachi was the greatest, and probably the main capital site of the Nazca civilization in the time of its own peculiar highest florescence" (Strong 1957:32). In agreement with Strong, Rowe (1963:11) recognized Cahuachi as a "large urban site" (therefore a city) with an extensive habitation area.

Together with the assumption that Cahuachi was the capital of the early Nasca civilization, Rowe (1963:12) viewed the areal distribution of the Nasca style as one of the clearest manifestations of the "little [Nasca] empire" centered at Cahuachi. Elsewhere, Rowe (1960a:40) is clear in noting the area from the Pisco Valley in the north to the Acarí Valley in the south as the "Nasca territory." For the case of Acarí, Rowe (1963:11) observed the presence of an *old local tradition* dated to the Early Intermediate Period phase 2, which, in Rowe's view, was replaced by the intrusive Nasca phase 3 pottery. According to J. H. Rowe (personal communication, 1998), the *old local tradition* "shared some features with Nasca phases 1 and 2, but did not look like Nasca 3." In addition, the presence of "fortified" settlements in Acarí supported the inference that there was a Nasca invasion.

"[Tambo Viejo] is surrounded by fortification walls of fieldstone and adobe. The earliest occupation is represented by pottery datable to Early Intermediate Period 2 and representing an old local tradition. The site seems to have been rebuilt and enlarged in Early Intermediate Period 3 and abandoned before the end of this epoch. The Early Intermediate Period 3 occupation is associated with Nasca style pottery and very likely represents an actual Nasca invasion" (Rowe 1963:11).

The idea that Nasca was an expansive political organization which conquered the populations of the Acarí Valley has persisted over the past four decades. The idea in its present form can be traced to Rowe's (1963:5) analysis of urban settlements on the South Coast in which he cautiously proposed that "[p]erhaps Cahuachi conquered a little empire on the coast..." Rowe (Personal communication, 1998) notes that his "inference was based on very little evidence, but [he] was trying to push that evidence as far as it would go." Subsequent iterations of Rowe's suggestion have been less cautious and have transformed the "little empire" into the "Nasca state" (e.g. see Lanning 1967:121; Moseley 1992:186-187; Massey 1986:338; Silverman 1987:7, 1988a:427). Since the question of the Nasca invasion of the Acarí Valley is a principal focus of my dissertation, it is important here to examine the evidence and the reasoning Rowe used and to consider whether any subsequent evidence has been revealed to support the recent bolder statements about a Nasca state.

Lanning (1967:120-121) was the first in pointing out that "[e]very coastal valley that has been well surveyed has turned out to have fortresses and fortified settlements dating to the Early Intermediate Period. Weapons are abundant in archaeological sites, particularly on the south coast." All these, as well as "trophy heads," were regarded as

signs of violence and warfare. Following Rowe, Lanning (1967:121) further noted that "the people of Nazca conquered the Acarí Valley" and that "the ensuing uniformity of style and culture is adequate to allow the inference that the conquered peoples were incorporated into [the Nasca state]."

During the 1960s D. A. Proulx also became involved in Nasca studies. Under Rowe's guidance, Proulx first visited the South Coast in 1963 to make surface pottery collections from some Ica Valley and Nasca Valley sites, as well as to examine Nasca pottery collections housed at the Lima *Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología* and the *Museo Regional de Ica* (Proulx 1968:V). The following year, Proulx undertook a comparative study of the gravelots from Ica, excavated by Uhle, and from Nasca, excavated by Kroeber in 1926, the latter deposited at the *Field Museum of Natural History* in Chicago. By 1965 this comparative study was completed.

Proulx's study, published in 1968, was strongly influenced by Rowe's 1963 paper. Here, for instance, Proulx (1968:96) clearly stated that Cahuachi in the Nasca Valley "seems to have become the center of an *urbanized state*" (my emphasis). In addition to some Nasca sites of the Río Grande drainage of Nasca, Proulx also mentions several "large habitation sites" occupied contemporaneously with Cahuachi, such as Tambo Viejo in Acarí, Cerro Soldado and Cerro Blanco in the Ica Valley, Tambo Colorado in the Pisco Valley, and Paredones in the Nasca Valley. This way, Proulx helped foster the impression that during this period there were several urban centers on

the South Coast and that Nasca was a state. Moreover, it was in this publication that Proulx (1968:97) argued that the Nasca phase 3 pottery made its "sudden appearance" in the Acarí Valley. Since the Acarí sites were recognized as fortifications, it was more evident that a "military conquest" likely took place. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that Proulx (personal communication 1997) did not visit the Acarí sites himself. Proulx based his entire argument on Rowe's archaeologically untested speculations. Therefore, by the late 1960s scholars satisfied themselves arguing that Nasca achieved a political organization of a state, and Proulx (1968:97) in particular was very much convinced that the early Nasca society was expansive.

As stated by Lanning (1967), another line of evidence frequently used in favor of an expansive Nasca state was the presence of the so-called "trophy heads." At several archaeological sites of the South Coast region that belong to the late Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period, bodyless skulls as well as headless bodies have been found quite frequently (Coehlo 1972; Neira Avendaño and Coehlo 1972-73; Baraybar 1987; Silverman 1988c; Browne, Silverman and García 1993). In addition, the Nasca pottery often illustrates bodyless skulls, recognized by the scholars as "trophy heads" (Proulx 1971). These "trophy heads" were interpreted as being the result of warfare and conquest in which the Nasca people were most likely involved (see Proulx (1971:20).

To sum up, ideas developed during the late 1950s and the 1960s, based not only on very limited field work, but also on limited archaeological data, remained dominant until recently (Massey 1986; Proulx 1989; Silverman 1987:7). Yet, as discussed in the

following Chapter, while the above idea was being developed, few field studies were carried out during the 1960s. Studies, such as the one conducted by Proulx (1968), were mainly based on museum collections. In general, it should be noted that Rowe had a strong influence on Nasca studies, and thus his assumptions remained untested and therefore unmodified until recently.

Summary

Several coincidental characterizations led scholars to a premature conclusion that Nasca achieved a state level of political organization. As noted above, this view was almost entirely based on the presence of some early Nasca pottery sherds in valleys such as Acarí. Because the early Nasca ceramics found in Acarí were contemporaneous to the time when Cahuachi was at its height, the assumption that Cahuachi may have been the center of an expansive political organization was obviously evident. Rowe's (1963) identification of an *old local tradition* earlier than Nasca in Acarí, also helped to reinforce that in fact a Nasca invasion occurred.

Clearly, Rowe's (1963) formulation of the likely Nasca invasion of Acarí was solely based on the presence of some early Nasca pottery in sites such as Tambo Viejo and Huarato. Rowe did not look for other explanations for the introduction of the early Nasca ceramics in Acarí, such as trade or simply cultural contact, particularly when he was able to determine the presence of an *old local tradition* in Acarí. Rowe also interpreted, prematurely, the surrounding walls of the Acarí sites as "fortifications"

without considering other alternative explanations and without the benefit of archaeological test excavations. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that Rowe was careful with most of his interpretations. In fact, Rowe never labeled Nasca as a state (5). Moreover, referring to the Early Intermediate Period Acarí sites, Rowe very often used words such as "seems," "likely," and "perhaps." In this regard, there was not such a conclusive statement confirming that indeed Nasca invaded Acarí, as some have interpreted him.

Despite the fact that Rowe's generalizations may have been the best explanations for the time, it is crucial to point out that the following generation of scholars failed to test Rowe's speculations. Instead, they restated Rowe's assumptions, and most importantly used concepts such as "city," "urban" and "state" uncritically or without providing an accurate definition. Indeed, during the 1960s the above categories were freely used. As a result, whether the Nasca and Nasca-related settlements were in fact urban remained unassessed, as well as whether Nasca had achieved a state level of political organization. In other words, besides the likely urban nature of Cahuachi and the wide distribution of the early Nasca pottery, no archaeological correlates were used to assess the socio-political structuring of Nasca. Instead, scholars were satisfied with the explanation that the so-called "trophy heads" were war trophies, while nobody seemed to be interested in offering alternative explanations. This was also the case for the surrounding walls of the Acarí sites and no studies to test the "fortified" nature of these settlements were carried out. Finally, no studies to verify whether the fine Nasca

pottery was produced by full-time specialists, or only by part-time workers, were conducted. As discussed in the following chapter, these issues were at last addressed during the late 1970s and particularly during the 1980s.

To conclude, what is evident from the above review is the strong influence of Rowe in the Nasca studies. As noted by Burger (1989), Rowe remains the single Peruvianist who has established a strong influence in Peruvian archaeology overall. This undisputed leadership favored the long lasting survival of his claims, which as stated already have been restated at more than one opportunity. In addition, Rowe's students continued addressing issues earlier discussed by their mentor; and for the case of Nasca, scholars such as Proulx restated Rowe's view, in the absence of alternative models and explanations. Thus, the early assumptions made by Rowe were repeated creating the uncritical impression that during this period a unified political entity called the early Nasca state existed on the South Coast.

Notes:

1. Tello (1942:694) wrote: "Hasta hoy se halla localizada a lo largo de la costa entre el valle de Pisco por el Norte y el de Acarí por el Sur. Su centro o foco se encuentra en la Hoya del Río Grande de Nasca y no avanza por el oriente más allá de la frontera del país Rukana."
2. Patrick Carmichael has shown me copies of Strong's 1953 fieldwork on the Peruvian South Coast. According to this source, Strong visited very briefly the site of Chaviña and he makes comments on the large amount of shell-fish remains accumulated at that site.
3. J. H. Rowe (personal communication, 1998) also notes that "on the afternoon of August 21st we checked a ditch at Tambo Viejo and got some Nasca 3 sherds. On the 22nd we went back to Tambo Viejo again..."
4. According to Carpio (1942:502), the artifacts ("beautiful Nasca pottery") found during looting at Huarato were taken to be sold in Nazca.
5. It is important to emphasize here that Rowe's approach to Andean archaeology was recognized by Lumbreras (1969:149) as anti-evolutionary.

CHAPTER FOUR

APPRAISAL OF THE NASCA INVASION HYPOTHESIS

"The extent of Nasca influence has been placed as far north as Chincha, and Acarí is frequently cited as the southern Nasca boundary. One may receive the impression that during the EIP the entire coast from Chincha to Acarí was a homogeneous cultural unit ruled by a centralized Nasca authority from the Río Grande Basin. This image is an historic artifact of research priorities" (Carmichael 1992b:4).

Introduction

In Chapter 3 the central idea of the Nasca invasion hypothesis of the Acarí Valley was revisited. From the review, it is evident that the wide distribution of the early Nasca pottery led some to argue that during the Early Intermediate Period there was an early Nasca state that exercised power on the South Coast. The interpretation of Acarí sites with surrounding walls as "fortifications" plus the presence of the bodyless skulls, interpreted as "war trophies," supported the assumption of the militaristic nature of the Nasca state. Finally, the assumption that the technologically sophisticated polychrome Nasca ceramics were produced by full-time specialists and that such specialization only exists within state-level political-economic organizations clinched the argument that Nasca was a state society.

This chapter is aimed at evaluating whether Nasca had achieved a state level of social organization, an issue directly affecting the interpretation of the Nasca influence in Acarí. First, the view that characterized the 1970s is analyzed in order to identify the critical issues. Second, current archaeological studies on the South Coast are used to verify the assumption that there was an early Nasca state. On the basis of this analysis, the final part of the Chapter discusses the issue regarding whether Nasca can be recognized as a state-level social organization.

The View of the 1970s

In 1974, Lumbreras discussed the rise of the state in the Central Andes from a historical materialist perspective, but he did not provide an explicit definition for the state; instead, he offered its "objective characterization" (Lumbreras (1974a:212). According to the evolutionist view of Lumbreras (1974a:215), a process of "regionalization" is said to have taken place some time at the end of the Early Horizon (Lumbreras 1974b:95, 1983:170). Once regionalized, the inhabitants of the Central Andes were divided into several "nations" (Lumbreras 1974a:215). Nasca, along with the Moche culture of the North Coast, is cited as one of the examples of these regionalized nations or theocratic states (see also Lumbreras 1983:255).

One of the most important outcomes of this regionalization, according to Lumbreras (1974a:218), was the emergence of the *specialists*, such as full-time potters. Lumbreras argues that the specialists were separated from the rest of the inhabitants by

their function and hence they were by their nature urban residents. Thus, with the emergence of the specialists and the urban centers, the society was divided, giving birth to social stratification. In other words, according to Lumbreras, there was a division between the urban residents, who were mostly specialists, and the rest of the inhabitants, mainly farmers. The tension between the urban and rural residents led to conflict and the state developed as a means of controlling the conflict.

Following Rowe (1963) and Lanning (1967), Lumbreras (1974a) regarded Cahuachi and the neighboring Early Intermediate Period settlements of the South Coast as urban centers. Specifically, Lumbreras (1981:227) states that Cahuachi was a "large urban center." Hence, here it is important to note that the assumption made by Lumbreras regarding the presence of the specialists is generally based on the apparent existence of the so-called "urban centers." In addition, Lumbreras viewed the highly elaborated Nasca pottery as another clear manifestation of the existence of full-time specialists in the South Coast, while data on Nasca burial patterns indicated the existence of social stratification. Indeed, Lumbreras (1974a:219) is very specific in noting that the "artistic and technological level" of the regional cultures is best seen in the fineness of the Nasca arts and crafts (Lumbreras 1974b:122). It is important to stress that scholars often consider full-time craft specialization, and social stratification, as one of the several characteristics of early state societies (see Wilson 1983:251).

After the stand taken by Lumbreras, Silverman (1977) became involved in the Nasca studies. Regarding the assumed expansive nature of Nasca, Silverman (1977:67)

argued that, if Nasca was an expansive state, archaeological studies should be able to find Nasca administrative centers in conquered territories. Although Silverman viewed Tambo Viejo of the Acarí Valley as a possible Nasca establishment, similar information was lacking for other areas. Similarly, Silverman (1977:68) argued that to recognize Nasca as a state society, it was important first to find evidence for storage facilities as well as defensive settlements, which, among other things, are common to expansive social organizations. However, according to Silverman, there was no evidence for storage houses and garrisons, except the "fortified" sites from Acarí. Moreover, Silverman stated that when a state incorporates new territories, there is often a major circulation of goods by means of exchange and trade between the center and the rest of the territory, but once again in the South Coast there was little or no evidence in this regard (Silverman 1977:68-69).

Silverman also observed that the distribution of the Nasca pottery was different from the Inka pottery, for example. Instead, in sites such as Dos Palmas in the Pisco Valley, which often was mentioned as one of the valleys conquered by the Nasca, there was a local pottery style during the time when apparently the Nasca conquest took place (Silverman 1977:69). In this regard, for the specific case of the Acarí Valley, Silverman argued that "the invasionistic hypothesis was not necessary to explain the presence of Nasca 3 pottery in the Acarí Valley." Overall, according to Silverman (1977:69), there were local differences in the Nasca pottery of valleys such as Ica and Nasca, which would be unlikely if indeed the Nasca pottery was introduced by means of force.

On the basis of her evaluation of the Nasca society, Silverman (1977) proposed a new model. With the focus in Cahuachi, Silverman (1977:71) suggested that this site was most likely converted into a huge ceremonial center during Nasca phase 3, and the introduction of the Nasca pottery to the neighboring valleys was most likely associated with the major prestige gained by Cahuachi. Silverman did not explain why Cahuachi would have gained major prestige, why Cahuachi emerged in the first place, or why the prestige of this center would have expanded to the adjacent valleys. Nevertheless, for the first time, a new and alternative model was suggested for the case of Nasca.

To my knowledge, during the 1970s in general no field studies were carried out at the Early Intermediate Period sites of the South Coast. However, as will be shown below, the following decade represented a period of intensive archaeological studies in the Nasca and Nasca-related sites, which included archaeological excavations. In particular, the archaeological excavations carried out at Cahuachi represent one of the major achievements of the Nasca field studies of the 1980s.

Recent Archaeological Debate on Nasca

The field work during the 1980's was oriented towards testing the extent and nature of the "urban settlement" of Cahuachi, as well as to investigate the nature of the relationships among the early Nasca settlements (site hierarchies), and on the basis of this to verify the political organization of the early Nasca culture. Did early Nasca society constitute a state? Was Cahuachi the urban center where the early Nasca

administration was centered?

Elsewhere, Carmichael (1988:420-431) and Silverman (1993a) have already discussed this and related issues in detail and thus the reader is referred to the above sources for further discussion. Here I try not to repeat what Carmichael and Silverman have already pointed out, except when I need to present my disagreement with their arguments. This section is intended to complement Silverman's and Carmichael's discussions. As such, issues previously not discussed are considered, and most importantly the case of Nasca is compared to other cases where similar discussion is going on (e.g. Moche).

Following the multivariate approach of Flannery (1972), Wilson (1983:250, 1988:87-88) has outlined several features that are characteristic of states, which he has used to examine the character of Moche control of the Santa Valley. Briefly, these are:

- . the presence of primary (or urban) centers,
- . fully developed site hierarchy (three or more levels),
- . social stratification,
- . the rise of legally constituted coercive power or authority (military force),
- . control over a very large area, and
- . the presence of full-time specialization

As discussed in the previous section, Lumbreras (1974a) refers to several of these correlates. Whether these features are present in Nasca is evaluated below using archaeological data that have become available as a result of studies carried out during the past two decades. This analysis is considered here basically to assess whether the early Nasca society can be characterized as an expansive state, which I see as critical for understanding whether the early Nasca pottery found in the Acarí Valley can be regarded as evidence of conquest.

The Presence of Primary or Urban Centers

The characterization of Cahuachi as the main urban Nasca center was only based on the size of the site and visible surface structures. In the early 1980s, Helaine Silverman (1996, 1988a) carried out archaeological excavations at this site to assess the above assumption. According to Silverman (1986:387), "[e]xcavation and survey at Cahuachi have conclusively negated the site's alleged urban nature." Silverman (1986:387) reports the absence of "houses, activity floors, and kitchen middens. In terms of artifacts the ceramic analysis has shown an outstanding abundance of fineware rather than utilitarian ware" which would not be the case if Cahuachi were an urban center. In this manner, Silverman (1987:6) explicitly argues that "Cahuachi was not a great city and that its actual residential population was quite small." Instead, as argued by Silverman (1993a:319), Cahuachi "was a great ceremonial center," a view with which I am in strong agreement (Valdez 1994a). Recently, Proulx (1997) has also acknowledged that Cahuachi was not the long assumed "urban" center.

The long-term archaeological studies undertaken by the *Centro Italiano Studi e Ricerche Archeologiche Precolombiane*, directed by Giuseppe Orefici, have also shown that Cahuachi was not an "urban" center (Orefici 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b). The lack of domestic remains and residential sites, as well as the presence of empty structures strongly belie the urban characterization of Cahuachi. Despite the fact that Orefici (1988b:71) often notes - following Rowe - that Cahuachi was an "urban" center, his excavations demonstrate that Cahuachi was from the very beginning a ceremonial place, and therefore functionally a different site from other contemporaneous settlements of the valley (see Orefici 1994). The discovery of a "step motif temple" dating to Nasca 1 near Strong's (1957) "cut 9," clearly indicates that in fact Cahuachi was a totally different site compared to other early Nasca settlements. Orefici (1988a:194) argues that the motif of this new temple is similar to the ones observed in Late Paracas pottery, which seems to suggest that this structure is early indeed. Some time during Nasca 2 this temple was carefully buried, leaving behind some Nasca 2 pottery as offerings. Previously, Silverman (1987:7) argued that during Nasca 1 Cahuachi was only "a dispersed agricultural village," but with Orefici's recent finding it is more evident that Cahuachi was already ceremonially important since its foundation, a fact that Silverman (1993a:317) has now acknowledged. However, it was during Nasca 2, and particularly Nasca 3, that Cahuachi became a regional ceremonial center (Silverman 1986:393, 1993a, 1994b). The abundant presence of artifacts such as panpipes (see Ziolkowska 1988) and fine pottery (Silverman 1988a, 1993a), for instance, strongly points in this direction.

It is also important to mention that Cahuachi was a site physically "isolated" from the other contemporaneous Nasca residential sites. In fact, according to Schreiber and Lancho Rojas (1995), Cahuachi is generally surrounded by cemeteries, while most of the residential sites were placed far away in the upper Nasca Valley. This unique location of Cahuachi, which I discuss further in Chapter 8, appears to confirm the different role played by this site compared to residential centers.

While carrying out archaeological surveys in the Ingenio Valley, Silverman (1990a) found several apparently large early Nasca settlements. One of these sites is referred to as Ventilla (see Silverman 1993a:324) which was inhabited from Nasca phase 1 to phase 5. Based on aerial photographs, Silverman (1993a:326) has stated that "[s]ubject to extensive testing by future excavations, I tentatively propose that this is a Nasca site, the *urban center* that Cahuachi was not" (emphasis added). Silverman goes further to argue that Ventilla and Cahuachi may have been the "dual capitals of early Nasca society," where Ventilla played the role of an "'urban' capital of the early Nasca formation," while Cahuachi "acted as the 'religious' capital."

In October 1996 I visited Ventilla to investigate the postulated urban nature and large size of the site. To my surprise, at the place where the site is located, there are not many visible surface structures, or any other conclusive evidence that would support the alleged urban character of Ventilla. Instead, a series of looted burials were visible on the ground as well as concentrated early Nasca pottery sherds in direct association with recently looted burials. Patrick Carmichael, along with Katharina Schreiber and Anita

Cook also visited the site in March 1993, and according to Carmichael (personal communication, 1997), there is nothing that would suggest that this was an urban center. In particular, photos taken by Carmichael at the site in question show, besides early Nasca pottery, ceramics that belong to the Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate Period and even Colonial. This indicates that Ventilla is a multicomponent site. Its large size, perhaps, is due to these continuous occupations. On the basis of Carmichael's and my own field observations, it seems premature to interpret Ventilla as an early Nasca urban center, until excavations are carried out and excavation results are available. Silverman (1993a) recognizes that Ventilla has been badly vandalized and its original size reduced, but in the several cuts produced by the *huaqueros* there are no visible accumulations of the domestic remains which are common to residential places.

Finally, Schreiber's archaeological surveys in the Nasca, Taruga and Las Trancas valleys of the Río Grande drainage of Nasca have not located a single site that could be regarded as urban. According to Schreiber, the early Nasca sites can at best be recognized as small and large villages (Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1995). Their location, often outside the agriculturally important land but near the areas where water is permanently available, strongly suggests that these were farming villages. This type of settlement pattern suggests that early Nasca society was valley oriented and its economy based on agriculture. According to current archaeological studies on the South Coast, then, there is not a single early Nasca site that can be securely regarded as urban.

The Existence of Fully Developed Site Hierarchy

Contemporaneous to the studies undertaken at Cahuachi, Sarah Massey conducted archaeological studies in the upper Ica Valley. According to Massey (1986:326), during Nasca phase 2 the Cahuachi polychrome style (Nasca 2) was already present at Ocucaje and the upper Ica Valley itself. Nevertheless, Massey (1986:157) argues that it was during Nasca 3 that "dramatic changes in ceramic production" occurred in the upper Ica Valley. As a result, the Topará style was replaced by the Nasca style. More precisely, Massey (1986:323) points out that "Early Intermediate Phases 3 and 4 are associated with important changes in regional settlement patterns throughout the South Coast. Changes in settlement pattern correspond to the introduction and subsequent production of the Nasca pottery in those regions," changes that most likely were provoked by the expansion of the early Nasca state (see Massey 1986:328).

On the basis of her field data, and following the study of Wright and Johnson (1975), Massey was able to define a three-level site hierarchy for the upper Ica Valley during the Early Intermediate Period 3 and 4 (Massey 1986:348). Cerro Tortolita was identified as a regional center, followed by sites such as Cerro Soldado and Media Laja, considered as large villages. In a third category were the sites referred to as small villages, which included Huamaní and Loyola, for example. Finally, there were hamlets (e.g. Cerrillos and Cordero Bajo). Because the changes and the site hierarchy observed in the upper Ica Valley are said to be associated with the introduction of early Nasca pottery, Massey (1986:352) identifies the early Nasca society as a state, which

seemingly emerged and began to expand, during the Early Intermediate Period phase 2, from its Nasca Valley heartland; Nasca phase 4 was the time when the early Nasca state consolidated its power (see Massey 1986:338, 347). More importantly, Massey (1986:352) argues that some Early Intermediate Period 2 settlements of the upper Ica Valley were reestablished in more defensive places, suggesting that the incorporation of upper Ica into the "early Nasca state" was not peaceful. In the model developed by Massey (1986:339, Figure 8.3), Cahuachi was seen as the capital of this early Nasca state.

Recently, Silverman (1993a:321) has raised doubts about Massey's (1986) formulation. At Cerro Tortolita, according to Silverman, there is no evidence of a Nasca 3 occupation, but only Nasca 4 and 5. Therefore, as argued by Silverman, "the multitiered Nasca 3 site hierarchy for the upper Ica Valley falls apart without the cerro Tortolita administrative center since Massey's other Nasca 3 sites are differentiated by size only." In addition, the entire explanation forwarded by Massey (1986) loses its meaning if one sees Cahuachi as a ceremonial center (Silverman 1986, 1990b, 1993a), rather than as an urban center. In fact, without Cahuachi at the head and without the Acarí sites as Nasca sites, there is not an early Nasca site hierarchy similar to the one found by Isbell and Schreiber (1978) for the Middle Horizon Ayacucho Valley, for instance. Thus, the site hierarchy built by Massey for Nasca phase 3 needs serious modification and reconsideration.

Besides the upper Ica Valley, no site hierarchy seems to be visible in other areas of the South Coast. For example, during the archaeological surveys conducted in the Ingenio Valley, Silverman (1993a:324) has noted the presence of several Nasca sites that are contemporaneous to Cahuachi, that are "internally and comparatively functionally undifferentiated." In other words, Silverman states that among these early Nasca sites "there is little evidence of intrasite and intersite stratification." Likewise, archaeological surveys carried out in the Nasca, Taruga and Las Trancas valleys do not show any evidence regarding site stratification (Schreiber, personal communication 1997). Indeed, according to Schreiber and Lancho Rojas (1995:249, Figure 12), Nasca sites contemporaneous with Cahuachi, mainly concentrated in the upper valleys, are regarded as "mostly small villages." According to current research, then, there is not a clear site hierarchy for the early Nasca society. Even considering Ventilla at the top of the list, Nasca site hierarchy barely achieved a two-tier settlement pattern. Wright and Johnson (1975), Isbell and Schreiber (1978) and Wilson (1983) regard the presence of three or more levels of site hierarchy as characteristic of state level societies.

Evidence for Social Stratification

As argued by Fried (1967), Lumbreras (1974a), Haas (1981, 1982), and Wilson (1983), social stratification is often regarded as another line of evidence that indicates the presence of states, particularly by scholars who favor the conflict theory of state evolution. From an archaeological stand point, economic stratification is often measured by differential access to basic resources such as food and tools (see Fried 1967:186;

Haas 1981:84) and where individuals with increased access to basic resources constitute a dominant class.

For the case of the early Nasca society, there is not sufficient data to assess fully social stratification. Residential sites have yet to be excavated. At Cahuachi there is an overrepresentation of fineware sherds compared to plainware sherds (Silverman 1993a:228), but it is still inconclusive whether a similar pattern can be observed at residential sites. According to the mortuary studies of Carmichael (1988), all the individuals had more or less equal access to polychrome pottery, in which case polychrome pottery was not necessarily associated with social status.

Lumbreras (1974b:126) initially argued that "[a] few representations on pottery and the nature of the [Nasca] tombs indicate [...] that social stratification not only existed but was relatively rigid." In order to evaluate stratification and ranking in Nasca, Carmichael (1988:399) analyzed Nasca tombs to determine whether there were "exclusive and absolute differences in typical burial treatment, expressed in tomb forms, body preparation, grave goods, and spatial divisions in cemetery patterning." On the basis of this study, Carmichael (1988:400) states that "social stratification was not operative in Nasca society." Carmichael (1988:408-409) goes further to point out that "[t]here is no evidence of stratification, and formalized ranks could not be identified [...]" Mortuary data indicate that there was a low degree of formalized differentiation in the status hierarchy." According to Carmichael, the circulation of grave goods was unrestricted in Nasca society.

"Grave goods were found to vary more in degree than in kind and restricted distributions could not be identified. The only exceptions were gold ornaments, vertical timbers in burial chambers, and miniature vessels. These were found in a few high status graves, but not all high status interments contained such items" (Carmichael 1988:395).

Elsewhere, Carmichael (1995:174) points out that "[e]vidence of stratification is entirely absent [in Nasca]." Based on his analysis, Carmichael (1988:433-434, 1995:26) suggests that Nasca is more appropriately classified as chiefdom than a state, a view shared by Silverman (1993a:341, 1995:26). Thus, neither the settlement nor the mortuary data indicate that there was stratification in Nasca society. In particular, there is nothing that can suggest that during Nasca 3, the assumed time when the Nasca achieved a state level of social organization, there was a clear social division within the Nasca. According to Silverman (1993a:323) "early Nasca art does not illustrate social hierarchy" either.

The Rise of Legally Constituted Coercive Power or Authority

From the available archaeological information, it is largely unclear whether during early Nasca times there existed individuals with "coercive power and authority" on the South Coast. Coercion in particular implies the application of forceful sanctions to commoners. Haas (1981:100) points out that "archaeologically, manifestations of coercion may be exhibited in skeletal remains and/or in iconographic representations." Unfortunately, there are no studies of skeletal human remains to assess whether or not lower status individuals were liable to the application of physical sanctions by the rulers. One

possible exception, however, is the case of the so-called "trophy heads."

Following their analysis of burials at Chaviña, Neira Avendaño and Coelho (1972-73; Coelho 1972) were among the first to present their strong disagreement concerning the association commonly made between the "trophy heads" and warfare. Because "trophy heads" are often depicted in the Nasca iconography, scholars frequently assumed that these heads were evidence of the militaristic nature of the Nasca society. As argued by Neira Avendaño and Coelho (1972-73:141), the Chaviña "trophy heads" were most likely associated with ceremonial activities because among the findings there was a skull of an infant, who, according to the above authors, most likely was not involved in any military activity. In addition, they noted that the "trophy heads" were carefully treated, which would not be expected if these heads belonged to conquered victims. A similar case has been reported at Tambo Viejo (see Riddell 1986:4).

Further studies undertaken by Baraybar (1987) are in support of the above position, and all seem to point to head-taking being associated with blood-letting and especially with ceremonialism. According to the observations made by Baraybar (personal communication, 1987), the type of artificial deformation presented by the bodyless heads is identical to the type of deformation observed among the skulls associated with skeletons at the Nasca cemeteries (1). This seems to indicate that both belonged to the same population, and thus the possible presence of war enemies is certainly undermined by this observation. Silverman (1993a:323) also notes that "early Nasca art does not illustrate social hierarchy." In this regard, the premature interpretation

of these bodyless skulls as war trophies and therefore a result of militarism (see Verano 1995) needs to be considered with caution.

It is important to emphasize that recent studies have shown that the "trophy heads" occur mostly during phases that post-date the abandonment of Cahuachi (Silverman 1993a:334). Still during the 1960s, the iconographic study undertaken by Roark (1965:3) showed that the *Monumental* style of Nasca (phases 3 and 4) were characterized by mythical themes, while the *Proliferous* style (phases 6 and 7) depicted themes such as "trophy heads" and warriors. Indeed, according to Roark (1965:56), "the frequency of Trophy Heads as independent themes increases sharply, from 4.2% of all Nasca 5 themes to 21.5% of all Nasca 6 themes." Then, the suggestion of Lumbreras (1974b:126) that the "Nazca society appears initially to have been essentially religious in character, but this emphasis declined little by little and was replaced by a militaristic form during phase III" (2) appears to be correct.

More recently, Silverman has shown that the "trophy heads" are indeed more common during phases later than Nasca 3. Silverman (1988c:54) points out that, during the early phases of Nasca, "trophy heads" are present, but they are infrequent. Similarly, according to Carmichael (personal communication, 1997), there are headless bodies that belong to Nasca 3, but the sample is "too small" to say anything. Conversely, it is during the later phases (Nasca 5) that the physical presence of "trophy heads" is obvious. The recent finding of a large cache of "trophy heads" at Cerro Carapo, in the Palpa Valley, is said to belong to post-Nasca 3 (Browne, Silverman and García 1993).

In this regard, it appears that there is no relationship between the time of the height of Cahuachi and the likely conquest of neighboring valleys with the securing of the "trophy heads" (see Silverman 1993a:334). As Browne, Silverman, and García (1993:290) argue, "[t]here is little or no archaeological evidence of territorial conquest in Early Nasca times..."

Therefore, based on current information, it is difficult to find anything that would indicate to us clearly that the early Nasca society was coercive. The unlikely existence of social stratification, at least as represented by the mortuary customs, at present rules out the possibility that coercive authorities existed on the South Coast during early Nasca times. The "trophy heads" used frequently to consider Nasca as a war-like society do not appear to be necessarily associated with warfare, nor do they seem to be typical of early Nasca time.

Control Over a Very Large Area

Did early Nasca society establish control over a large area? As early as the 1960s, it was already evident that Nasca 3 pottery was distributed from the Pisco Valley in the north, to the Acarí Valley in the south. This geographical distribution of the Nasca pottery was initially seen by Rowe (1963), and later by Proulx (1968), as a direct result of the Nasca expansion. More recently, Massey (1986) has interpreted the reduction in the distribution of the Topará tradition from upper Ica to the Pisco Valley during Early Intermediate Period 3 to a Nasca invasion. However, as noted by Silverman (1986:466),

the presence of the Nasca 3 pottery in Ica "cannot be considered abrupt and unprecedented." As noted in Chapter 2, Nasca pottery is present in the Ica Valley from its very beginning.

Indeed, Menzel, Rowe and Dawson (1964) reported Nasca 1 pottery from the middle and lower Ica Valley. The recent archaeological surveys carried out by Cook (1992) in the middle and lower Ica Valley found, in addition to Nasca 1 sites, several Nasca 2 sites, and Massey (1986) herself reported Nasca 2 pottery from the upper Ica. On the basis of this information, the introduction of Nasca 3 pottery into the upper Ica Valley, for instance, cannot be seen exclusively and necessarily as representing a Nasca invasion. Similarly, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the introduction of Nasca 3 pottery into the Acarí Valley was not as "sudden" as some have argued before. Therefore, neither the upper Ica, nor the Acarí Valley can be considered as Nasca provinces on the grounds of the available archaeological information. Early Nasca society emerged in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca and the middle and lower Ica Valley, and beyond this core area there is no evidence of Nasca provincial establishments, except for some Nasca goods, which, as argued by Carmichael (1992b), can be trade items.

Evidence of Full-Time Specialization

The elaborate, polychrome Nasca pottery has been frequently used to argue in favor of the existence of full-time specialization on the South Coast during Cahuachi's apogee.

Silverman (1986:848), in particular, has stated that "[t]here clearly were full-time early Nasca ceramic specialists." Silverman's, as well as others, assumption, however, is based on the technological level and artistic elegance of Nasca ceramics (see also Moseley 1992:185) and in the large quantities of fine Nasca pottery currently housed in museums, not on the finding of contextual data (pottery making early Nasca communities) to demonstrate the presence of full-time Nasca potters. Because archaeologists often regard full-time specialization as one of the most important features of state level societies (Lumbreras 1974a; Peebles and Kus 1977), Silverman's above observation reopens the debate regarding whether Nasca was a state level society, and whether there were urban centers on the South Coast during this particular time. As noted above, Lumbreras (1974a) characterizes the urban centers as places where the specialists reside, and without such specialized personnel there is no urban center.

Archaeological field studies on the entire South Coast have yet to locate remains of Nasca ceramic production or any evidence of full-time specialization. If there were large pottery making early Nasca communities or barrios, it seems probable that archaeological research on the South Coast would have already located sites similar to Maymi (Anders 1990; Anders et al. 1994) and Conchopata (Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón, and Vivanco 1993), both belonging to the Middle Horizon, but this is not the case. Likewise, there is no evidence of molds or other elements that would at least suggest something along similar lines as for the case of the Chimu-Inka as reported by Donnan (1997), or Wari (Pozzi-Escot and Córdova 1983; Pozzi-Escot, Alarcón and Vivanco 1993), for

example.

Recently, Silverman (1993a:335) herself has reconsidered her initial position, pointing out that "there is no evidence to indicate that these individuals [metallurgists, textile workers and potters] were full-time specialists rather than part time artisans." Carmichael (1988:422) has also argued that "[t]echnical and artistic sophistication are not the exclusive domain of full-time specialists and alone do not indicate any particular degree of sociopolitical integration." Therefore, the technically sophisticated polychrome Nasca pottery alone cannot be used to argue that there were full-time Nasca potters. As suggested by Carmichael (personal communication, 1997), Nasca pottery appears to have been made at the household level, and thus one is unlikely to locate large quarters where these assumed specialists used to work.

Was Nasca a State?

From what has been briefly reviewed above, early Nasca society appears not to have achieved a state level of political organization. The lack of large urban centers, a defined site hierarchy, social stratification, full-time specialization, established colonies and administrative centers outside the Nasca heartland, or militarism and conquest strongly negate claims that Nasca was a state or "small empire." Additionally, there is no evidence of early Nasca facilities for storage and redistribution of surplus production. Besides the monumental constructions at Cahuachi, there is no evidence of monumental architecture or massive constructions at any of the early Nasca sites. Some may argue

that the *puquios* represent a form of organized labor, but according to current studies these constructions appear to have been built sometime during Nasca 5 and, therefore, well after the decline of Cahuachi and the assumed early Nasca state (see Clarkson and Dorn 1995; Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1988, 1995). As already noted, Barnes and Fleming (1991) argue that the *puquios* are not pre-Hispanic at all.

Despite arguing that "the debate over the state-nonstate dichotomy is futile and uninteresting" (Silverman 1993a:341), Silverman has been the single individual who has addressed this issue more than any other specialist. After her excavations at Cahuachi, Silverman (1986) was convinced that Cahuachi was not an urban center and that the early Nasca society was not a state. More precisely, Silverman (1986:502) argued that "Cahuachi and early Nasca society conform as well to the expectations of paramount chiefdom organization as state-level." This observation was based on the studies she carried out at Cahuachi and, most importantly, on the unlikely urban nature of this site. This situation argued against the recognition of Cahuachi as "the capital of a bureaucratic state" (Silverman 1986:503).

Shortly after, however, Silverman began to see Nasca as a state society. Silverman (1987:7) noted that Nasca 3 was the period when the Nasca style spread out of the Nasca heartland, which was "accompanied by notable changes in settlement patterns." Modifying her previous argument, Silverman (1987:7) stated that

"my earlier contentions of uncentralized or chiefdom-like areal integration for the early Nasca formation are clearly invalidated by these new data. The abandonment of the fortified Acarí Valley sites and dramatic decrease in construction and cultural activity at Cahuachi at the end of EIP 3 *must mark the demise of Nasca's centralized rule over this multivalley area*" (my emphasis).

According to Silverman (1987), the fortified sites of Acarí were the basis for modifying her previous view of Nasca. It appears that Riddell and Robinson's (1986) interpretation of Tambo Viejo as a Nasca settlement established in Acarí, Silverman's (1986:475) own visit to this site, and the likely presence of site hierarchy in the upper Ica Valley (Massey 1986) made her change her earlier argument. In a paper published the following year, Silverman (1988a) began again to discuss the above issue. Here, Silverman (1988a:422) repeated her view that Cahuachi was "not a city," but a ceremonial center, "a sacred place" (Silverman 1988a:425). However, according to Silverman (1988a:426), during Nasca 3 massive construction took place at Cahuachi, which reportedly reflects "the short-lived coalescence of socio/religious/political power at Cahuachi and the drawing in of smaller segments of Nasca society." At this point, Silverman's argument is very similar to Rowe's (1963), as he suggested the "little empire" of short duration. Moreover, Silverman viewed the likely intrusive nature of Nasca 3 pottery in both the upper Ica Valley and the Valley of Acarí as evidence of the existence of a Nasca 3 state in the South Coast. Besides pottery, settlement pattern change, the seeming existence of multi-level site hierarchy (in the upper Ica) and the likely presence of fortified sites (in Acarí) as well as "the extent and nature of the building program at Cahuachi within a century or so give eloquent witness to the

emergence of a Nasca 3 state" (Silverman 1988a:427).

But, what were the archaeological correlates used by Silverman to identify a Nasca 3 state? As later discussed by Silverman (1993a:323) herself, there was no sudden introduction of Nasca 3 pottery in the adjacent valleys, nor were there changes in settlement patterns. Similarly, the presence of multi-level site hierarchy and fortified sites are, at best, merely archaeologically untested allegations, which Silverman (1993a) herself has now put in doubt. In order to reconstruct the socio-political structuring of the early Nasca society, Silverman (1986) tested early Nasca against all possible expectations of statehood, but as stated by Silverman (1986:503) these were not "met by early Nasca." Silverman's (1987, 1988a) recognition of a Nasca 3 state, then, was based on correlates that she had previously disregarded.

In the revised and published version of her dissertation, Silverman (1993a:341), once again, argued against the state model for the early Nasca society. There, Silverman began to see early Nasca society as a "confederacy of chiefdoms or independent societies participating in the Nasca cultural tradition that was manifested by the Nasca style and shared reverence for and participation in the cult at Cahuachi." Nevertheless, with the finding of Ventilla, which has been identified (although tentatively) as an urban center that acted as a dual early Nasca capital along with Cahuachi (Silverman 1993a:324, 326), Silverman (1993b:105) has revived the possibility that early Nasca may have been of a state, again considering that urban is used as a synonym for city, and that cities are characteristic of states (see Silverman 1988a:406). As discussed by

Silverman (1988a:404), "urban centers" imply the existence of a large population, with large and permanent residential areas, varied economy and socially stratified society. If so, the identification of Ventilla as urban, therefore a city, "is coterminous with the birth [and the presence] of the state (Silverman 1988a:406). As discussed above, however, preliminary investigations at Ventilla raise doubts about its classification as an urban center.

I find that Silverman's (1995:27) most recent observation that "the social formation [of early Nasca] was not organized on a state level of complexity but rather was a complex non-state society or ranked society or chiefdom level society," fits best with the available archaeological evidence. Elsewhere, Silverman (1996:95) writes that the South Coast of Peru "never saw the rise of an autochthonous state configuration."

Proulx (1968) formerly favored the idea that Nasca was a state-level society, and as recently as the late 1980s, Proulx (1989:83) argued that "[a]rchaeological evidence indicates that Nasca was an expansionist state which spread into adjacent valleys of the south coast by force. Weapons in tombs, the military iconography, and the sudden appearance of Nasca traits in these conquered valleys provides the proof of militarism." Proulx worked mainly with iconography (Proulx 1994) and the evidence from tombs such as "trophy heads" (Proulx 1971). Such evidence has led Proulx and others to infer that Nasca constituted a warlike expansive political organization. Recently, Proulx has modified his views and has argued that "politically [Nasca] was at best a chiefdom, not a state level society" (Proulx 1992:6, personal communication 1997). Katharina

Schreiber (personal communication, 1997) also views early Nasca as a non-state society.

In conclusion, during the last two decades most specialists have begun to discuss the issue of Nasca statehood with more caution, and some have raised doubts about the characterization of early Nasca society as a state (e.g. Carmichael 1995). Early Nasca society appears not to have constituted a conquest political organization, and thus the presence of some early Nasca pottery in valleys such as Acarí cannot be interpreted securely as evidence of an early Nasca invasion. In other words, according to current archaeological studies, there is nothing that would indicate that Nasca was an expansive state similar to Moche, Wari, or the Inka.

Notes:

1. It is important to point out, however, that the Nasca skull deformations are varied, so there is not a standardized pattern that can be considered *unique* to Nasca.
2. It should be noted that Lumbreras (1974b:123) classifies Nasca into four *phases* (I, II, III and IV). In this scheme, Lumbreras' phase III is equal to Nasca phases 5 and 6 in the Dawson classification (component B of Gayton and Kroeber, 1927). Thus, Lumbreras' Nasca phase III is not equivalent to Nasca phase 3 of Dawson scheme.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WALLED SETTLEMENTS OF THE ACARI VALLEY

"Independently produced ceramic traditions may imply a certain degree of political and socio-economic autonomy as well" (Kent and Kowta 1994:120).

Introduction

In this chapter, and the following chapter, I will review the evidence on which this study is based and discuss whether the Acari walled sites were truly "Nasca" settlements. There still have been no substantive excavations at the walled sites; however, information gathered from these sites since 1984 provides valuable evidence for assessing these questions, evidence which was not available to earlier scholars. I begin my discussion with a brief overview of the recent archaeological research and then turn to a consideration of the evidence from the specific sites. This includes a description of the walled sites, the pottery associated with the sites and the relative chronology of the sites.

Recent Archaeological Studies in Acarí

Although there has been much speculation about the Early Intermediate Period of the Acarí Valley, a closer look at what has been done in this valley during almost the last four decades clearly shows that systematic studies are still to be carried out. Indeed, since the initial and limited studies undertaken by Menzel and Riddell in 1954 and the interpretations of Rowe (1956, 1963), Acarí has remained very much ignored by archaeologists, at least compared to the adjacent valleys to the north. An exception are the studies carried out by Neira Avendaño and Coelho (1972-73; Coelho 1972) in 1967 and 1969 at Chaviña.

Under the direction of Francis A. Riddell, President of the *California Institute for Peruvian Studies* (CIPS), in 1984 long-term archaeological studies began in the Acarí Valley. Although not particularly concerned with the Early Intermediate Period, these new studies have yielded collections of new data which can be used to test earlier claims, such as the "Nasca invasion hypothesis." Indeed, the Acarí Valley was intensively and extensively surveyed from 1986 to 1988 (see Riddell 1986, 1987; Riddell and Valdez 1988). This archaeological survey has not only resulted in the collection of a considerable number of archaeological remains from a variety of sites that belong to different periods, but also has allowed the registration of a total of 90 sites that represent a continuous pre-Hispanic occupation for the last 3000 years (Riddell and Valdez 1988). Furthermore, in order to assess the relative chronology and the pre-Hispanic occupation of the valley, diagnostic (e.g. decorated) pottery samples were

collected from all the recorded sites, which included the walled sites. This sampling process was not systematic; instead, it was oriented only to recover diagnostic sherds useful to assess the relative chronology and cultural affiliation of each site.

The combined efforts of the members of this institute have already produced several studies on the archaeology of the valley (Carmichael 1992b; Katterman 1994; Katterman and Riddell 1994; Kent and Kowta 1994; Kowta 1987; Riddell 1985, 1986, 1989; Riddell and Valdez 1987-88, 1988; Robinson 1994; Valdez 1989, 1990, 1994b, 1996a, 1996b). Thus, data accumulated during the past few years are already producing new views of the nature of the ancient occupations of this valley. A major obstacle to completion of the comprehensive goals of CIPS to record all evidence of pre-Hispanic occupation has been the intensive, destructive activity of the *huaqueros* who have vandalized most of the sites, particularly the cemeteries (1).

As an immediate answer to this critical situation and generally because on the surface of most vandalized sites there are scattered archaeological remains, several research programs have been delayed in order to collect and conserve those materials for their future study. This archaeological collection awaits further analysis, and once done this certainly will greatly expand our knowledge about the ancient human occupation of the Acarí Valley.

In like fashion, because the archaeological sites are being frequently vandalized and others seriously damaged by new constructions such as roads, irrigation canals, new

farmlands, and even buildings, salvage archaeological excavations were also carried out on several occasions. A good example is the case of Tambo Viejo located near the growing town of Acarí. According to Menzel and Riddell (1986:2), in 1954 this site was "about 3 km south of the town of Acari." Currently, as a result of the town's expansion, a considerable part of the archaeological site has already been incorporated into the modern settlement of Acarí as new houses have been built over the site; indeed, most of the northern side of the site has been totally erased by modern constructions, reducing considerably the original size of the site. In this area, salvage archaeological excavations were carried out to rescue some information that may help us to understand the ancient local history (Valdez 1990, 1996a). Likewise, the southwest sector of this site was totally destroyed when the CIPS team was not present in the valley. This situation also required the intervention of CIPS members to rescue the remaining archaeological materials (see Kent and Kowta 1994).

Despite the major effort given to artifact recovery from vandalized sites, some excavations were conducted in Acarí. These include those carried out by Roger Robinson at the Initial period site of Hacha (Riddell and Valdez 1987-88; Robinson 1994; Valdez 1996b) and at the Early Intermediate Period sites of Tambo Viejo (Riddell 1986; Kowta 1987) and Gentilar (Valdez 1989, 1994b). Overall, the excavations carried out in Acarí are still very limited, and until similar work is done at other sites and surface collections are analyzed, the ancient human occupation of this valley will remain speculative.

Since 1986 I have been involved in the archaeological studies in Acarí. In March of that year, I made my first visit to the site of Tambo Viejo. In July of the same year, I was back in Acarí visiting several sites of the middle Acarí Valley. The following year I participated in two field seasons (February and July) in the valley, having the chance to visit for the first time the sites of Huarato, Amato, Coquimbo, and Monte Grande Alto. Since then, I visited and revisited all the Early Intermediate Period sites of this valley in order to obtain data to work with. During those years, I was also involved in archaeological excavations at the great Nasca center of Cahuachi (see Valdez 1986, 1988a, 1988b), so the field work I carried out in Acarí was always viewed from the perspective of the Nasca Valley and therefore the Nasca culture. As many others, I have thought of the Acarí settlements as Nasca establishments (see Valdez 1989, 1992); however, by 1988 I had noted the great differences between the Nasca proper pottery style and the contemporary Acarí pottery style (Valdez 1988b, 1992:201). I continued to accept the view of Nasca as a regional state, but after Patrick Carmichael visited the Acarí Valley and examined the Acarí walled sites in 1990, and expressed his reservation (personal communication, 1990) concerning the alleged Nasca affiliation, I decided to test his theory of regional autonomy with an independent study of my own.

With this basic background and already being familiar with the Early Intermediate Period sites of the Acarí Valley, I carried out an additional field study in October 1996. The specific purpose of this study was to recover additional data regarding site size, site distribution, pottery style, pottery manufacture, presence of the

early Nasca ceramics, and the function of the so-called "fortifications." Due to funding, I was unable to conduct archaeological excavations at these sites. And, due to the limited time and the limited funding, all the artifacts were recorded (photos and illustrations) *in situ*, first to avoid artifact transportation and second artifact cataloging. It should be noted that at Monte Grande Alto, the intensive activity of *huaqueros* had left thousands of artifacts on the surface, exposing pottery remains, textiles, human and faunal remains, among many others, which ironically made my access to the archaeological material easy. Similarly, due to the site destruction process many walls had been exposed, making it also easier to assess their likely function, as well as to observe construction techniques and use of materials, among other things. A similar case was noted at the central enclosure of Coquimbo, where several burials were quite recently looted.

Besides the visits made to the walled sites illustrated in Figure 5, the October 1996 field work consisted of visiting the Chaviña site and surveying from Monte Grande Alto down the valley to Chaviña, a section of the valley which I had not walked previously. Because, until then, I considered Chaviña as a late Early Intermediate Period (phases 6 - 7) settlement, my visit was not to record pottery, but to observe burial patterns to compare with the ones I noted at the walled sites such as Monte Grande Alto. This survey resulted in the location of several new sites, although none belonging to the Early Intermediate Period. However, at Pellejo Chico Bajo (PV 74-69) the clandestine activity of *huaqueros* had exposed a good pottery collection. On the basis

of the few diagnostic artifacts found at the site prior to 1988, Riddell and Valdez (1988:67) registered the settlement as a Wari (Middle Horizon) site. According to the new pottery exposed, Pellejo Chico Bajo was already occupied during the late Early Intermediate Period (phases 6 and 7) and is contemporaneous to Chaviña and Gentilar. This site, located on the right bank of the Acarí River, is about 11 km from the sea and just south of the area called Pellejo Chico. Like many Early Intermediate Period sites of this valley, this is also a habitational/cemetery site.

The archaeological surveys carried out in the Acarí Valley have recorded ten sites belonging to the Early Intermediate Period, plus two sites located in the Port of Lomas (Riddell and Valdez 1988; Valdez 1992). These are, from the upper valley to the lower valley, Huarato (PV74-20), Amato (PV74-19), Coquimbo -formerly Chocavento-, (PV74-33), La Oroya (PV74-8), Tambo Viejo (PV74-1), Gentilar (PV74-5), Cancino Alto (PV74-55), Monte Grande Alto (PV74-59), Pellejo Chico Bajo (PV 74-69), Chaviña (PV74-22), and Boca del Río (PV74-66). The sites located near Lomas are Lomas I (PV74-46) and Lomas II (PV74-47). The analysis of the archaeological collections and further survey may locate additional Early Intermediate Period sites, particularly considering that the identification of the above sites was based on the presence of the Nasca or Nasca-like pottery remains.

Overall, the Early Intermediate Period sites of Acarí can be divided into two groups on the basis of their size, the presence or absence of surrounding walls, architecture, and the presence of a particular type of pottery. On the one hand, the first

group includes the sites of Huarato, Amato, Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo, Monte Grande Alto, Chaviña, and Boca del Río (Figure 5). As a main feature, these sites are surrounded by large walls, and hereafter are referred to as the walled sites. It is important to make clear that with the exception of Chaviña, at all the walled sites there is a type of pottery unique to this valley, which Rowe (1963, personal communication, 1998) identified as the "old local tradition." Hereafter I refer to this as the *Huarato style*. On the other hand, sites such as La Oroya/La Banda, Gentilar, and Cancino Alto are unwalled, and the pottery found at these sites, including Chaviña, is different from the ones observed at the previous sites. As discussed below, some early Nasca pottery samples have been found at some of the walled sites (see Chapter 6), while pottery present at the unwalled sites, including Chaviña, are mostly of phases 6 and 7 of the Early Intermediate Period.

The Walled Settlements

Besides their likely affiliation with Nasca and their apparent fortified appearance, very little is known about the walled sites of Acarí. The only original sources regarding these sites are Rowe's writings (1956, 1963). However, Tambo Viejo is the only well-described site (see Rowe 1956:137, 1963:11), while the others are described simply as "fortified sites" but "smaller" than Tambo Viejo (see Rowe 1963:11-12). In 1986 Menzel and Riddell (1986: Figure 3) published a map of Tambo Viejo, and the following year Kowta (1987: Figure 13) included in his monograph a map of the early Early Intermediate Period occupation area (Area C) within the multicomponent site of Tambo

Viejo (see also Riddell and Valdez 1988: Figures 14 - 15). These two maps allow one to have some idea of the size and nature of this settlement. Unfortunately, this is not the case for the other sites that, consequently, remain known only by some references to being "fortified" and "small." Riddell and Valdez (1988: Figures 20, 21, 22) included some sketch maps of the sites of Amato, Monte Grande Alto, and Coquimbo; although these drawings show the main surrounding walls of the above sites, these are not comparable in detail.

Before the studies initiated by the members of CIPS in 1984, the "fortified" sites of Acarí were Tambo Viejo, Huarato, Amato, and Coquimbo (previously Chocavento) (e.g. see Silverman 1986:475-476, 1993a:27). In 1987, the list increased to six with the location of Monte Grande Alto (Figure 6) and Boca del Río. Finally, my evaluation of aerial photos in 1997 revealed that the badly looted site of Chaviña is also walled. Previously, and based on the pottery recovered from the site, Chaviña has been regarded as a late Early Intermediate Period site, but the presence of the walls suggests that this site is not exclusively a late Early Intermediate Period occupation. As already noted in chapter 2, a radiocarbon date provided by Neira Avendaño and Coelho (1972-73:142), places Chaviña in Early Intermediate Period phase 4. Certainly, Chaviña was a large settlement during the late Early Intermediate Period, which perhaps is covering the evidence of earlier occupations.

As briefly stated above, a distinctive feature of these sites is the presence of large surrounding walls. In the best preserved sites, such as Amato (Figure 7), the walls

totally enclose the settlements. Some sites, however, have been badly damaged by contemporary constructions, mostly farming, which has changed the original configuration of the settlements. A good example is the case of Huarato (Figure 8), most of which has already been destroyed. At Coquimbo (Figure 9), the surrounding walls are also visible only on the west side, an area currently not under cultivation. Thus, their current "small" size appears not to reflect the original one. For the case of Tambo Viejo (Figure 3), it also appears that Area C was totally walled. As in the previous cases, the east wall of this site (Figure 10) was also destroyed, most likely by the following occupations. In fact, Area D represents Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon occupations. Finally, the situation of Boca del Río is rather unclear because under the large accumulations of shellfish remains, plus the looting activity of the *huaqueros*, it is difficult to observe whether the site was also walled. Archaeological excavations and further evaluation of aerial photos may reveal something in this direction in the future.

In almost all the cases, the walls are over 2 meters wide and probably they exceeded 2 meters in height. They were built using different sizes of stones as well as adobes (loaf-shaped and conical). In addition, a large amount of midden, including plant remains, was accumulated as fill. Soil to build the walls themselves, and probably make the adobes, was removed from the exterior side of the sites. In fact, at various of these sites large and deep ditches between the walls and the outside surface remains visible. Since no structures are observed outside the walls, functionally, it seems that these structures were built to confine the settlements. In other words, the walls marked the

limits of the occupied areas and the outside.

For the case of Coquimbo, Amato, Huarato and Monte Grande Alto, and most notably at Tambo Viejo, a series of square and rectangular structures are present inside the large walls. These structures (wall foundations) were built of river stones. Although the walls are present at all these sites, those of Tambo Viejo are more agglutinated and more visible. At the other sites, such as Amato and Monte Grande Alto, there are some visible structures, but they are not as agglutinated as those from Tambo Viejo. Furthermore, at Tambo Viejo and Monte Grande Alto, there are several long, but narrow (1 meter wide at the latter) passageways that connect the structures. Those from Tambo Viejo, according to Hines (1989), do not intersect, suggesting that Area C of Tambo Viejo does not represent a single occupation. Its large size, then, may not necessarily represent a large population.

Another common feature of the walled Acarí sites is their central enclosure. This structure is often present in the middle part of the settlements. Its repeated presence strongly indicates that the central enclosure was a "required" element of all the settlements of Acarí, a case that has not been reported for the early Nasca sites. It should be noted that the central enclosure of Monte Grande Alto is slightly different from the ones seen at Huarato, Amato, and Coquimbo. The one from Monte Grande Alto is larger and therefore the inside area is more open. As a result, there is not much difference between the area outside of it regarding its physical appearance. Those from Amato, Huarato, and Coquimbo, conversely, are higher and hence visible from the

distance. Nevertheless, all these structures were built of conical adobes of different sizes. This feature is absent at Tambo Viejo. Considering that Tambo Viejo is a multicomponent site, it is possible that it also had one, but was deleted by later constructions.

Also common among most of the Acarí walled sites is the presence of open plazas often associated with small artificial mounds. The only sites where similar structures were not observed were Amato and Monte Grande Alto. However, at Amato it is possible that the central enclosure might have played this role, while at the latter there is a large open area just outside the central wall. Meanwhile, at Tambo Viejo, Huarato, and Coquimbo there are several artificial mounds directly associated with the surrounding walls, built of conical adobes. The direct relationship between these mounds and the plazas strongly suggests their public function. Further, the connection of these mounds to the walls is also suggestive that walls built of conical adobes might have had some significance for the inhabitants of Acarí.

Along the walls of the central enclosures of Monte Grande Alto, Coquimbo, and Amato a series of vandalized burials were found. One from Amato, judging from the bones, belonged to an adult individual. At Coquimbo only small size ollas were observed still in their original position, but no human remains were noted. On the basis of the size of the ollas it can be inferred that these burials belonged to younger individuals. In association with the ollas recently broken ceramics in the local style were noted. These probably were the offerings. At all the walled sites mentioned above

vandalized burials have been noted always directly connected to the walls. This is also the case for the burials uncovered during the excavations carried out at Tambo Viejo (see Riddell 1986), including the trophy heads. The trophy heads excavated at Chaviña by Neira Avendaño and Coehlo (1972-73), interestingly, were also placed near the walls. These, as well as the other features noted above, are not characteristic of early Nasca society, or at least these have not been reported yet, and thus it may constitute additional evidence that Acarí was inhabited by a cultural tradition distinct from Nasca.

The various archaeological surveys carried out in the Acarí Valley did not locate a single isolated early Early Intermediate Period cemetery. Instead, within the sites themselves a series of vandalized burials are noted. Most importantly, the burials are continuously placed along the walls or under the walls. The dead, as described in chapter 7, were placed in a seated position inside spherical large ollas. This pattern was repeatedly observed at the above sites. In fact, at both Amato and Coquimbo, recently looted burials were noted in October 1996, and in both cases several burials were placed along the walls of the "central enclosures." During the looting, parts of the walls were destroyed. A similar case was also noted at Monte Grande Alto, where the walls of the central enclosure were considerably damaged.

Overall, there are several features that are common to the Acarí walled sites. These characteristics probably are indicative not only of their temporal relationship, but also of their ethnic affiliation. Most importantly, the Acarí walled sites are totally different from the early Nasca sites (see Carmichael 1988:425; Schreiber and Lancho

Rojas 1995). For example, Schreiber (1989:71) points out that characteristics of the early Nasca sites are "round stone buildings [...] located on artificially leveled areas on hillsides," and in general the settlements are small (villages) in size. Conversely, at sites such as Tambo Viejo the structures are rectangular or square.

Additional information indicates that most early Nasca sites are isolated from the cemeteries. Indeed, Ogburn (1993) and Schreiber and Lancho Rojas (1995) have shown that early Nasca cemeteries are located near Cahuachi, the ceremonial center (Silverman 1986, 1993a). In contrast, the Acarí sites are generally large and walled, with a distinctive central enclosure. Moreover, despite the intensive activity of the *huaqueros*, no isolated cemeteries have been located in Acarí; instead, at all these settlements, and often along the walls or under the walls, a series of looted burials have been observed. This indicates that in Acarí the dead were buried at the settlement itself, a feature that distinguishes Acarí from Nasca. Despite secondary sources continuing to note that Acarí was part of the early Nasca occupation (see Moseley 1992:186-187; Bruhns 1994:199), current archaeological studies in this valley have failed to find any conclusive evidence in favor of an early Nasca occupation in Acarí. This case will become more evident below as I discuss one of the diagnostics of the walled sites: pottery.

The Pottery of the Walled Sites

As part of the archaeological surveys carried out by the member of CIPS in the Acarí Valley since 1986, several diagnostic (e.g. decorated, rims) pottery sherds were collected selectively from all the walled sites, including Chaviña. Most of these ceramic collections were illustrated by myself and other CIPS members, while some were also photographed. All these collections are currently housed in CIPS facility in Arequipa. The sherds themselves were not available for this study, but I had full access to the illustrations and photographs.

During my October 1996 field study, pottery of the walled sites was one of my main concerns. Since I was unable to carry out excavations and verify the stratigraphy of the sites, I made an effort to record the pottery associated with each site, except Chaviña for the reasons already noted above. My initial strategy was to produce a random sampling from specific areas and sub-areas of each site, but this did not work. To illustrate, I walked the entire north side of Coquimbo and found only 3 undiagnostic sherds. I also walked the entire central area of the site, but found only 2 undecorated sherd rims. However, on the southwest side of the site, and associated with the several mounds, there was a large concentration of pottery sherds. Additional sherds were also present inside the central enclosure. At Huarato, Amato, and Tambo Viejo I attempted to apply my original strategy, but it did not work again.

Due to these difficulties, the entire sites of Amato, Huarato, Coquimbo, and

Tambo Viejo were walked in order to record the most diagnostic sherds. In some cases, sherd concentrations were noticed (e.g. mostly along the walls at Tambo Viejo), while in others sites (e.g. Amato and Huarato) only a few sherds could be found after walking the entire sites for several hours. In all the cases, the sherds, often rims, were illustrated and some also photographed. Finally, with a pencil, an X was marked on the undecorated side (often interior) of the recorded sherds and thrown back in the sites. Certainly at some sites (Tambo Viejo and Coquimbo) there were more sherds than at others (Amato and Huarato).

As stated above, at Monte Grande Alto clandestine looting activity shortly before my visit had vandalized the site, exposing thousands of artifacts, including pottery. Due to this particular situation, the pottery recording strategy used for the previous sites was not applicable and I decided to record as many sherds as possible to avoid the later possible disappearance and/or destruction of the artifacts. Because thousands of pottery sherds were scattered on the site surface, which included several whole pots, I recorded mostly rim and decorated sherds as well as the complete vessels. The selected artifacts were illustrated and some of them also photographed. Finally, these were marked with an X and then thrown back on the site. With the assistance of the Alcalde of Acarí, Señor Américo Monje, I also video-taped Monte Grande Alto, as well as the sites of Tambo Viejo, Coquimbo, Amato and Huarato. Due to the abundant presence of pottery sherds at Monte Grande Alto, I also decided to count all the sherds present inside the central enclosure, which registered a total of 341 sherds and 6 complete vessels.

Table 3 summarizes the total number of recorded sherds at each of the walled sites in October 1996. This sample does not include the site of Boca del Río, which was not visited in this opportunity. This sample and those produced during the previous field studies, provide the data needed to assess the pottery associated with the walled sites.

Sites:	Rims	Others	No. of recorded sherds
Huarato	15	0	15
Amato	31	0	31
Coquimbo	62	1+	63
Tambo Viejo	78	0	78
Monte Grande Alto	107	1*	108
TOTAL	293	2	295

Table 3. Pottery recorded in October 1996 from the Acarí walled sites (+ scraper, * panpipe).

On the basis of pottery surface treatment (e.g. polishing, painting), there are two markedly different pottery styles associated with the walled sites of Huarato, Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo and Monte Grande Alto, while only one of these styles is present at Amato. On the basis of pottery recovered in 1987, Boca del Río appears also to be associated only with one pottery style. The pottery style present at all the walled sites, which happens to be also the most common, is referred to here as the Huarato pottery tradition and is described below. The other pottery style is represented by the early Nasca sherds. It will be described and its implications discussed in Chapter 6.

The Huarato Pottery Tradition

My analysis of the ceramics is based on the materials identified at the walled sites. I am concerned with pottery shape, painted designs, and relative chronology by cross-dating with the better known Nasca style. I must state that this assessment is very initial, however. As such, the needed pottery classification is still lacking. Had I carried out excavations at any of the walled sites, I might have been in a position to provide such classification. Moreover, I do not deal with pottery technology because a rigorous study of the local pottery style was not part of my research goals. In this manner, what I provide here are the most basic observations that are useful for comparing Huarato with Nasca. Certainly, the study of the Huarato ceramic technology, including determination of paste, temper and the identification of manufacturing places are issues suitable for future research, particularly when excavated materials become available (2).

The Huarato pottery style of the Acarí Valley is, from a technological point of view, very simple compared to the polychrome Nasca pottery. The surface of Huarato pottery is, usually, unpainted, uneven, and very rough. Some vessels show a poor quality (watery) white, cream, or red post-fire paint that is usually limited to the top part of the exterior side of the pots. This technical simplicity of Huarato pottery, however, contrasts with the diversity in its forms. Figure 11 summarizes the different vessel shapes observed at the sites under consideration. Again, this classification is based on surface collections and once archaeological excavations are carried out the number of vessel shapes will certainly increase.

The following is a description of each vessel shape present at the walled sites of Acarí. After describing, I compare the Acarí samples with the early Nasca style.

Vessel form A. This is an olla with flaring neck, spherical body and with opposing vertical handles. They usually are black, but none of the specimens analyzed were decorated. These vessels occur in different sizes; the smaller ones are about 10 cm tall, and the larger ones about 40 cm tall. These vessels are present at all the walled sites, and are frequently associated with burials. As described in Chapter 7, the human remains are often found inside or under this type of vessel.

Vessel form B. This consists of spherical neckless ollas. These are usually large vessels, the largest one measuring about 40 cm tall and 35 cm wide. Characteristic of these vessels is their slighter thicker lips than the vessel walls. No samples with handles were found. Paste and surfaces are rough, uneven and lack decoration. This type of vessel also occurs at all the walled sites, most notably at Coquimbo. Interestingly, no pottery of this form has been found in association with burials. At the Early Intermediate Period phases 6 and 7 site of Gentilar, ollas of this type are also present (Valdez 1989).

Vessel form C. This group is composed of jars of various sizes. The first is a large jar (about 40 cm tall) with a vertical neck and two opposing vertical strap-handles. In vertical cross-section, parallel with the handles, the body shape is circular; the opposing cross-section (at right angles) is asymmetrical, with the profile on one side of the neck being rounded and the other slightly flattened. As the form clearly suggests, these

vessels may have been used for transporting and/or storing water or other types of beverages (e.g. *chicha*). Again, the paste is coarse and the surface uneven; however, some of the specimens appear to have been painted white. These vessels were seen only at Monte Grande Alto, Tambo Viejo and Coquimbo.

Vessel form D. Vessels of this type closely resemble vessel form C, but they are much smaller (about 20 cm tall). It has a short, slightly constricted neck and two opposing vertical strap-handles positioned on the mid to upper sides of the body (see Figure 12). Its form resembles a canteen, where the flat side is in contact with the body of the person carrying it, and it may have been used for carrying beverages. In vertical cross-section, parallel with the handles, the body shape is circular; the opposing cross-section (at right angles) is asymmetrical, with the profile on one side of the neck being rounded and the other slightly flattened. The rounded side is often painted (red), over which some designs are also present. Nonetheless, the paste is rough and the surface uneven. Specimens of this type of vessel are present at Monte Grande, Tambo Viejo and Coquimbo.

Vessel form E. This is represented by incurving jars with an ovoid body shape and no handles. These vessels are about 20 to 30 cm tall and are present only at Coquimbo. The paste is rough and surface uneven. These do not present decorations. Functionally, these were probably used as containers. In horizontal cross-section, the body shape is circular.

Vessel form F. This is composed of cups. In vertical cross-section, the body shape resembles an up-side-down bell, with the lips slightly erected. In some cases, however, the sides are almost vertical. These vessels are about 10 cm deep and 22 cm wide. The surface is not polished or smooth, but is painted (external). Over this surface, some decorations are present. The paste is not as rough as in the previous vessel forms, but the surface is uneven. Vessels of this form are present at all the walled sites.

Vessel form G. This form is represented by open bowls. The form resembles cups, but is wider and shallower. In some instances, complete specimens were found. These present round bottoms. The walls are thin, the paste is not not as rough as in the large vessels, but the surface remains uneven. Some present a painted external surface (often red or white), over which some decorations are present. Only in one instance was internal decoration noted. Bowls of this type are also present at all the walled sites.

Vessel form H. This form consists of incurving bowls. The pattern is the same as in the previous form, but the rounded lips are inclined towards the interior. In vertical cross-section, the vessel shape is round. At Monte Grande Alto, several complete specimens were noted; these have round and conical bottoms. The walls are slightly thin, the paste and surface similar to the previous form. These bowls, in addition, appear to be slightly deeper (about 12 cm) than the open bowls. The top part of the external surface is some times painted with red or white, over which some designs are depicted. This type of bowl is present at all the walled sites, but very common at Monte Grande Alto.

Vessel form I. Finally, at Coquimbo and Monte Grande Alto, some specimens of large (about 40 cm wide) open dishes were observed. These vessels, in vertical cross-section, are rounded, with thick walls. The paste is rough and surface uneven, but the external top part is often painted (red or white). It is only over this section that some designs were represented. There is no indication that these vessels had handles.

Overall, Huarato pottery is simpler than Nasca pottery, but varied in shapes. It appears that these vessels were made by part-time potters, who certainly were not as skillful as their neighbors from the Río Grande drainage area. When it comes to decoration, the Huarato pottery is also very simple (Figures 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17). Despite the designs used to decorate the vessels being varied, most of them are generally linear and often do not follow a standardized pattern. For instance, some lines can be very wide, while others very narrow. The most common pattern, however, is the presence of several panels on the upper part of the bowls. These panels are separated by short vertical lines and in between different designs are depicted. In general, this is a common pattern of the early Nasca style, but the ones from Acarí lack the fine lines that characterizes the Nasca vessels.

Are the above vessel shapes characteristic of early Nasca style? Ollas similar to vessel form A have been reported from Cahuachi (see Silverman 1993a: Figure 16.25). Silverman (1993a:246) states that ollas of this type are "the most typical kind of plainware identified at Nasca habitation sites." In addition, Silverman (1993a:247) argues that these ollas "may have been used for cooking." Probably this was also the case in

Acarí, although the large ones have only been found as burial containers, and thus it remains to be determined whether this type of vessels was made for domestic use, and/or for burying the dead. The function of those of smaller size also remains speculative. Silverman (1993a:245-246) also describes ollas similar to vessel form B from Cahuachi, which suggests that these types of vessels were common among the South Coast Early Intermediate Period societies. At the late Early Intermediate Period Acarí site of Gentilar, ollas of this type are also present (Valdez 1989).

Vessels similar to those of form E are also reported from the Nasca style and are referred to as "incurving vessels" by Proulx (1968). These are said to be characteristic of Nasca phase 3. Vessels similar to form F are also reported from the Nasca style and are referred to as "cups" and are characteristic of Nasca phase 3 (see Silverman 1993a: Figure 16.12). The other vessel forms (E, F, G, H and I) are also common to early Nasca style (see Silverman 1993a: Figures 16.34, 16.35, 16.36, 16.38). Meanwhile, vessels of form C have not been reported from Nasca.

Despite these similarities (see also Carmichael 1992b), there are several contrasts between Huarato and Nasca ceramics. The most obvious are surface finish and decoration. Polychrome slip painting so characteristic of Nasca ceramics is not found in Huarato pottery. As Carmichael (1988:227) points out, "the painted designs which adorn Nasca pottery present a remarkable range of variation. Reasonably faithful renditions of humans, plants, animals, birds, and fishes are seen in addition to an array of utterly fantastic mythical creatures and blocky geometric patterns." Indeed, referential

motifs (birds, plants, and animals) represent 59 percent of the motifs for Nasca 2 and 68 percent for Nasca 3 (Carmichael 1988:267). All these elements, however, are absent in Acarí.

In sum, the Huarato pottery is significantly distinct from the early Nasca style. Furthermore, the settlements are also different from those of the valleys to the north. This evidence strongly indicates that during early Nasca times (phase 1 to 4) the Acarí Valley was inhabited by peoples different from the Nasca, at least as far their material culture.

Relative Chronology of the Huarato style

Chronology is one of the chief problems facing archaeologists in the Acarí Valley. An adequate pottery classification for all the periods is still lacking, an exception being the studies of Menzel and Riddell (1986) for the Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon. On the basis of some diagnostic traits, such as the presence of fine and decorated ceramics, it has been shown that in the Acarí Valley there was a continuous human occupation for at least the last 3000 years (Riddell and Valdez 1988). However, within each period the situation is rather unclear because each period lasts at least 400 years. In addition, radiocarbon dates are not yet available for most of the Acarí sites, with the exception of the Initial Period site of Hacha (Riddell and Valdez 1987-88; Robinson 1994) and Chaviña (Lothrop and Mahler 1957:47; Rowe 1967:23; Neira Avendaño and Coehlo 1972-73). As a result, it is far from clear, for instance, when

exactly a particular site was established and when it was deserted. The walled Acarí sites are not an exception. Nevertheless, the presence of some Nasca elements in the valley can be used to cross-date the relative chronology of the walled Acarí sites.

First, it is important to emphasize that the Early Horizon occupation of the Acarí Valley remains unknown. This is difficult to explain considering that the previous Initial Period occupation is well defined (Riddell and Valdez 1987-88; Robinson 1994; Valdez 1996b) and the following Early Intermediate Period occupation is also clearly represented by several large settlements. The immediate question, of course, is when were these large walled settlements founded. As discussed below, some information suggests that several of the walled sites were inhabited at the same time. If so, the picture is of a large number of peoples living in the Acarí Valley, yet the antecedents of this likely large population still remain unclear. During the archaeological surveys carried out in Acarí, incised pottery was found at a site called Paqla located in the upper valley (Riddell and Valdez 1988). Incised pottery is also present at Hacha, but whether these represent Early Horizon occupation remains unclear.

So far, the most important information regarding a likely Early Horizon occupation of Acarí comes from the same walled sites. In spite of the general recognition of the walled sites as belonging to the Early Intermediate Period, incised pottery has been reported from Amato, Coquimbo and Tambo Viejo. Although the numbers are still very low, the presence of these pottery sherds is indicative of the possibility that the above mentioned sites were, perhaps, established during the Early

Horizon and continued being inhabited during the following period. Again, this is very suggestive considering that the Acarí Valley was not vacant during the Initial Period.

In all aspects, the single incised ceramic fragment from Amato is different from the Huarato style. This is very thin and light, with compact paste which is reflected in its even fracture. The surface, over which the incisions were made, is gray. The incisions consist of three lines, which is comparable to Ocucaje phases 8 and 9. Despite this being a single sherd, the possibility that Amato may have already been occupied by the close of the Early Horizon cannot be rejected. The samples of incised pottery from Coquimbo and Tambo Viejo consist of crude black pottery, different from the one from Amato. The incisions do not follow any specific pattern, or at least in the fragmented specimens it is difficult to assess whether there is a particular design represented. In addition to these samples, other black pottery sherds were observed at the above two sites as well as at Amato. This particular pottery is similar to the ones observed at Cahuachi which Orefici (1987, 1988a, 1996) is calling "Nasca 0." This is none other than the "Cahuachi polished black incised" of Silverman (1993a:231), which belongs to the very beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. The presence of this type of pottery at the above means that Amato, Coquimbo and Tambo Viejo may have been established by the end of the Early Horizon if not earlier.

Moving forward in time, excavations carried out at Tambo Viejo in 1987 found the Huarato pottery style at the very bottom of the excavation units. This occupation was characterized by *quincha* structures, and thus no stone walls appear to have existed at

that time. Sherds of black pottery were also uncovered from the excavations (Figure 21 e) indicating its early chronological position and its association with Huarato pottery. If the black pottery is representative of an Early Horizon occupation, it is likely that Tambo Viejo, as well as Coquimbo, was initially established during the Early Horizon. In spite of how obscure the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period occupation in Acarí remains, the association of the Huarato style with some of the earliest evidence of human occupation at Tambo Viejo clearly indicates that this is indeed an "old local tradition." Once established, the Huarato style was widely distributed in the whole Acarí Valley.

In the absence of radiocarbon dates, the association of some Nasca ceramics in Acarí (Chapter 6) is helpful for assessing the relative chronology of the Huarato style as well of the walled sites themselves. The earliest Nasca pottery present in the Acarí Valley belongs to Nasca 2. At present, Nasca 2 pottery has been found at the sites of Huarato, Coquimbo and Tambo Viejo. This information clearly suggests that the above sites were already established during that time. Moreover, the presence of Nasca 2 pottery at Huarato, Coquimbo, and Tambo Viejo indicates that these three sites were inhabited contemporaneously. Of course, the entire length of duration of Nasca 2 in terms of years is uncertain. Samples of Nasca 2 pottery have not been recovered from Monte Grande Alto, Boca del Río or Chaviña, which suggests that these sites perhaps were not yet established by Nasca 2 times. No early Nasca ceramics have been found at Amato, suggesting its early chronological placement (Early Horizon and Early

Intermediate Period phase 1 ?). By Early Intermediate 2, Amato perhaps was already deserted.

The presence of Nasca 3 pottery in Acarí is also useful for assessing which of the walled sites were occupied during this time. Nasca 3 pottery is present at Huarato, Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo, and Monte Grande Alto. This information indicates that all these sites were inhabited during this phase, with Huarato, Coquimbo, and Tambo Viejo having been occupied earlier and Monte Grande Alto being a new settlement. Nasca 3 pottery found at Monte Grande Alto, however, is scant compared to that found at Tambo Viejo, Coquimbo and Huarato. This seems to indicate that Monte Grande Alto was a newly established settlement and as such it had few residents, or that the residents of Huarato, Coquimbo and Tambo Viejo had greater access to Nasca goods than their neighbors from Monte Grande Alto.

During the Early Intermediate Period 4 most of the Acarí sites appear to have continued being occupied, except perhaps Huarato. Nasca 4 pottery sherds have been found at Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo, and Monte Grande Alto, which clearly suggests that these sites were inhabited during this phase. Based on the few pottery samples recovered from Boca del Río, I have observed strong similarities between the sherds from this site and those from Monte Grande Alto, which also suggests that Boca del Río may have been established also around phase 3. According to a radiocarbon date (A.D. 450 ± 70), Chaviña appears to have been established around phase 4. Silverman (1988b:25-26) provides a date of A.D. 550 for Nasca 5. Therefore, it is possible that most of the Acarí

walled sites continued being occupied even though new settlements began being established near the sea.

From this reconstruction (see Table 4), which again needs to be assessed with further archaeological excavations, it appears that most of the Acarí walled sites were occupied simultaneously. Most importantly, the presence of pottery of the Nasca phases 2, 3 and 4 at the Acarí sites indicates that the walled sites belong to the earlier phases of the Early Intermediate Period. Overall, chronologically, the walled sites of Acarí were occupied during the time that parallels the early Nasca. However, the pattern of nucleated settlements, compared to the more dispersed and smaller Nasca sites, is unique to Acarí, particularly since no small sites have been located for this period in Acarí. Therefore, this appears to be another notable difference of the Huarato tradition compared to the Nasca.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

SITES	EH	EIP1	EIP2	EIP3	EIP4	EIP5	EIP6	EIP7	MH
La Oroya/La Banda							X	X	X
Pellejo Chico Bajo							X	X	X
Cancino Alto							X	X	
Gentilar							X	X	
Chaviña					X	X	X	X	
Boca del Río				X	X				
Monte Grande Alto				X	X				
Huarato				X	X				
Tambo Viejo	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Coquimbo	X	X	X	X	X				
Amato	X	X							

Table No. 4.

Proposed Ceramic Sequence for the Walled Sites of Acarí (3)

(EH = Early Horizon, EIP = Early Intermediate Period, MH = Middle Horizon).

Notes:

1. As reported by Carpio (1942) as well as by Lothrop and Mahler (1956:3), the late J. C. Tello already observed some time prior to 1939 that many Acarí sites were badly vandalized by the pot-hunters.
2. Certainly, similar study to the one completed by Carmichael (1986) for Nasca ceramics would be of great interest.
3. Initially, Carmichael (1992b:5) proposed the following ceramic sequence for the Early Intermediate Period of Acarí: "Amato corresponding to EIP 1-2; Monte Grande Alto corresponding to EIP 3-5/6; and Chaviña corresponding to EIP 7-8 (if Nasca 8 is still included in the EIP)."

CHAPTER SIX

THE EARLY NASCA POTTERY OF THE ACARI VALLEY

"Nasca pottery is renowned for its high aesthetic and technological qualities. Nasca society's cosmology, sacred dogma, and worldview are expressed on its painted pottery. The abundance of fine, iconographically complex pottery at Cahuachi is congruent with all of the other evidence that indicates that the site functioned as a great ceremonial center" (Silverman 1993a:302).

Introduction

The early Nasca pottery reported from the Acarí Valley has been the subject of much conjecture since the early 1960s, particularly for arguing in favor of an "early Nasca invasion of Acarí." In this chapter, I review the evidence of the early Nasca pottery from the Acarí walled sites, focusing on 1) determining whether the so-called early Nasca pottery found in Acarí is indeed Nasca, and 2) determining the probable time of its occurrence in the Acarí Valley. On the basis of these determinations, I consider whether the ceramic evidence from Acarí supports the early "Nasca invasion hypothesis" or whether alternative explanations are more probable.

The Early Nasca Pottery Samples from Acarí

The first early Nasca pottery samples were reported from Tambo Viejo and Huarato (see Figure 4). According to Riddell (personal communication, 1997), these were the only Acarí walled sites visited by the members of the *Fourth University of California Expedition to Peru* in 1954 (1). From both sites a "very small" sample of pottery was collected, which as already noted is housed at the *Museo Regional de Ica*, in Ica. Unfortunately, I did not have access to this collection. However, in July 1997, Riddell gracefully allowed me access to his field notes in Sacramento. According to Riddell's notes, the samples were not part of a systematic collection; these were diagnostic sherds collected in order to assess the relative chronology of the sites.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, Rowe visited the Acarí Valley on several occasions because he was engaged in archaeological excavations at the Initial Period site of Hacha (T. C. Patterson, personal communication 1997; J. H. Rowe, personal communication, 1998). During this time, Tambo Viejo was visited and pottery was also collected (2). Rowe has informed me, on a letter of April 14, 1998, that his collections from the 1954 work were placed at the disposal of the Dirección Nacional de Arqueología e Historia, with the suggestion that the ones from the coast be deposited in the Museo Regional de Ica. Whether this suggestion was followed is unclear to Rowe himself, however. I was not aware of this collection until I spoke with T. C. Patterson in November 1997 and had a letter from J. H. Rowe. So, this collection, was not available for this study.

As part of the archaeological studies initiated in 1984 and the archaeological surveys carried out in the Acarí Valley between 1986 and 1988, diagnostic pottery sherds were collected from all the walled sites. According to these results, Tambo Viejo, Huarato and Coquimbo were the sites that yielded early Nasca pottery samples (see Riddell and Valdez 1988: Figure 33 b & c; Figure 34 c; Figure 38 b-f). In fact, in the surveys in which I participated between 1986 and 1988 (3) a total of 18 early Nasca pottery sherds were found at Tambo Viejo, 12 at Coquimbo, and 9 sherds at Huarato. As noted in the previous chapter, in order to obtain these samples, the entire sites were walked in various opportunities and the collected pottery sherds were mostly painted fragments. Meanwhile, no early Nasca samples were found at the sites of Amato, Monte Grande Alto, Boca del Río and Chaviña.

In order to assess better the presence of the early Nasca sherds at the walled sites of Acarí, in October 1996 I visited and walked systematically the entire sites, except Boca del Río. As stated in chapter 5, the pottery recorded from each site was only diagnostic sherds. This selective sampling resulted only in the finding of 5 sherds at Huarato, 2 at Tambo Viejo, 4 at Monte Grande Alto and none at Coquimbo and Amato. As noted in chapter 5, pottery was not part of my concern when I visited Chaviña. Thus, the presence or absence of early Nasca pottery at this site cannot be assessed at the present time.

Beginning in 1984 and continuing in 1985 and 1986, members of CIPS carried out the first archaeological excavations at one of the best preserved sectors of Tambo

Viejo (Figures 10 and 18). As reported by Riddell (1985: Figure 7f, g; 1987: Figure 17), some early Nasca pottery sherds were found during the excavations (Figure 8), and were used to argue that Tambo Viejo was in fact a Nasca site (see Riddell 1986, 1987; Riddell and Robinson 1986). Kowta (1987:64) also noted that "[i]dentifiable sherds from the midden are of Nasca 2 and 3 epochs." However, both Riddell (1985, 1986) and Kowta (1987) were only referring to the Nasca items and not to the whole pottery collection recovered during the excavations. In fact, in Riddell's (1985: Figure 17b) field report, the presence of non-Nasca pottery is clearly evident.

In July 1997 I had the opportunity to review CIPS archives in Sacramento. From the total of illustrated sherds found during the excavations, 23 fragments are early Nasca (see Figure 19). Fifty-three sherds are non-Nasca (Figure 20), and some of these were already illustrated in Riddell's (1985: Figure 7) field report. It should be pointed out that in 1987 new archaeological excavations were carried out at the same sector of Tambo Viejo (Rooms 3 and 4A), in which I participated. From these excavations, which covered the lowest levels of Rooms 3 and 4a, all the pottery recovered was non-Nasca (Figure 21), except one Nasca phase 2 sherd (see Figure 21 f). For the previous excavations, Riddell (personal communications, 1997) recalls that most of the pottery found during the excavations were non-diagnostic and undecorated sherds, which were not illustrated.

The identifiable Nasca sherds referred to by Riddell (1985) and Kowta (1987), then, are so few that they are doubtful evidence of a Nasca occupation at Tambo Viejo,

particularly considering the overwhelming presence of non-Nasca pottery. Kowta (personal communication 1997) mentions that his argument was based primarily on previous speculations and the assumption that the Early Intermediate Period occupation of Acarí was represented by the Nasca. This was also the assumption made by Riddell and myself (see Riddell and Valdez 1988). Thus, until 1988 neither of the two archaeological surveys carried out at the Acarí walled sites, nor excavations conducted at sites such as Tambo Viejo, had found significant amounts of early Nasca ceramics, contrary to the archaeological literature which creates the impression that there are large quantities (4).

Although it is possible that the fancy early Nasca pottery sherds may have been taken from the sites by previous researchers, or even by the local residents who walked the sites, their frequency at sites that are not easily accessible, such as Monte Grande Alto, is still insignificant. In fact, inside the central enclosure of Monte Grande Alto, I counted a total of 341 sherds and 6 whole vessels, but none of them could be identified as early Nasca. Archaeological excavations may reveal something different, but so far excavations carried out at Tambo Viejo have resulted only in the finding of a few early Nasca pottery samples (see Riddell 1985, 1986). In this regard, compared to the local Huarato style, the early Nasca pottery found in Acarí is insignificant. It is worth mentioning, however, that most of the early Nasca pottery recovered from the walled Acarí sites comes from Tambo Viejo (Figure 22) compared to the samples found at Huarato (Figure 23 a-g, i), Coquimbo (Figure 23 h, j, k) and Monte Grande Alto (Figure

23 l - o).

To verify whether the "Nasca" sherds from Acarí are indeed Nasca, I compared paste, vessel surface painting, and iconographic representations between the samples found at the walled sites and the proper Nasca pottery from the valleys to the north. My comparison confirms the presence of early Nasca pottery in the Acarí Valley, and thus Rowe's (1956, 1963) early claim is corroborated. To the naked-eye, there is no paste difference between the Nasca pottery from Acarí and the Nasca pottery from the Nasca Valley. While sand particles (temper) are visible in the paste of Huarato pottery, this is not the case with the Nasca specimens. Likewise, the samples from Acarí present an identical treatment in vessel surface painting compared to the ones from the valleys to the north (Figure 24). To be more precise, the surface is regular, and totally painted, including the interior in some instances. Finally, the motifs (fish, peppers, supernatural beings), as well as the colors used to decorate the vessels, are evidently early Nasca. In other words, the Nasca sherds from Acarí are indistinguishable from the Nasca pottery found in the valleys to the north.

Considering the rarity of the Nasca pottery and the predominance of the non-Nasca Huarato pottery, the most common at the walled sites, the early Nasca ceramics found at the walled sites can be considered foreign to Acarí. Further studies of pottery assemblages may reveal additional data, and until that type of information becomes available, this observation must be taken with caution, however.

Relative Chronology

When exactly was the Nasca pottery introduced for the first time into the Acarí Valley? Table 5 summarizes the relative presence of the Nasca sherds found at the Acarí walled sites. According to this, which includes all the sherds considered for this study, the earliest Nasca pottery found in Acarí belongs to Nasca phase 2 (Figure 25) which is present at 3 sites. However, Nasca 3 sherds (Figure 26) are found in the greatest frequency at the Acarí walled sites, and are present at the greatest number of sites. During the following phase, the number of early Nasca sherds declines and no Nasca phase 5 has so far been found in Acarí. Panpipes, also in the Nasca style, are present at Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo and Monte Grande Alto, but these are few. For example, only two fragments were found at Monte Grande Alto. As reported by Strong (1957:31) and Silverman (1993a:241), panpipes are one of the most common artifacts at the Nasca center of Cahuachi as well as at other early Nasca settlements. If so, it is evident that panpipes are representative of early Nasca society. Those found in Acarí are identical to the ones I have seen at Cahuachi; therefore, panpipes probably are other Nasca items that found their way into Acarí likely at the same time as the other Nasca goods. Finally, in October 1996 a gourd depicting a series of hummingbirds was recovered from the central enclosure of Monte Grande Alto. On the basis of the designs, this particular artifact also belongs to Nasca phase 3 (Figure 27).

Sites	N-1	N-2	N-3	N-4	N-5	N/D	Total
Huarato	0	5	14	0	0	2	21+
Amato	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coquimbo	0	2	5	1	0	1	9
Tambo Viejo	0	7	22	5	0	10	44*
Monte Grande Alto	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
Boca del Río	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:	0	14	45	6	0	13	78

Table No. 5:

Distribution of the early Nasca pottery at the walled Acarí sites. This includes all the samples considered for this study (+ This includes the 3 sherds recovered in 1954; * This includes samples from the excavations and the 6 sherds recovered in 1954). N/D (not determined).

During the 1950s, no Nasca 4 pottery was reported from the Acarí Valley. On the basis of this information, it was argued that the Acarí walled sites were abandoned just after Nasca 3 (Rowe 1963). Current studies in Acarí have revealed the presence of some Nasca 4 pottery sherds (Figure 28), which suggests that at least some of the walled sites were not deserted as previously assumed. As noted, a radiocarbon date from Chaviña strongly suggests that this site was established around the Early Intermediate Period phase 4. If so, it is possible that following Nasca 3 some of the walled sites began to lose the original number of their inhabitants as some may have moved towards Chaviña.

The picture that emerges from the above data is as follows. During Nasca 2 some Nasca goods were introduced, most likely, for the first time to the Acarí Valley. It is

important to remember that the earliest Nasca pottery found by Massey (1986) in the upper Ica Valley also belongs to Nasca 2. For possible reasons discussed in detail below and following chapters, during Nasca 3 more Nasca goods found their way to Acarí, as they did to the upper Ica and the Pisco valleys (see Silverman 1997). In fact, Nasca 3 pottery pieces are not only numerous compared to the ones of the previous phase, but they are also found at more Acarí sites. The amount of Nasca goods introduced to the Acarí Valley, however, declined during Nasca 4. In this manner, whatever phenomenon allowed the introduction of Nasca goods into the Acarí Valley was paralyzed some time during phase 4 as indicated by the abrupt decline in frequency of Nasca sherds in phase 4.

It is also critical to point out that most of the early Nasca pottery found at the walled sites of the Acarí Valley are bowls and cups (Table 6). For instance, in the collection made at Tambo Viejo by Menzel and Riddell in 1954 (see Figure 3), of the six sherds illustrated 3 are from cups. Pottery collection made since 1984 at Tambo Viejo has also resulted in the recovery of more cup sherds. This appears to suggest that only selected pottery shapes were introduced to Acarí, which again would not be the case if a conquest had taken place. In other words, the scarcity of Nasca pottery remains is not indicative of a Nasca conquest. This sample may well represent the variety of dishes most frequently used during eating and drinking, perhaps, during occasions such as feasting.

Site	Bowls	Cups	Other	Undefined
Huarato	5	11	3	2
Coquimbo	4	2	1	2
Tambo Viejo	14	13	3	14
Monte Grande Alto	2	2	0	0

Table No. 6:
Early Nasca pottery shapes found at the Acarí walled sites.

It is of interest to point out that according to Proulx (1968:11), early Nasca pottery is characterized by various shapes. Table 7 summarizes Proulx's Nasca 3 and 4 pottery shapes.

I. Bowls	A. Flaring bowls
	B. Cup bowls
	C. Round bottom bowls
	D. Conical bottom bowls
	E. Very deep bottom bowls
	F. Dishes
II. Double Spout Bottles	
III. Jars	A. Bulbous vases
	B. Head jars
	C. Straight-sided jars
	D. Collared jars
IV. Miscellaneous Shapes	A. Effigy pots
	B. Incurving vessels
	C. Insloping vessels
	D. Other
V. Cooking vessels	

Table No. 7.
Nasca phases 3 and 4 vessel shapes (based on Proulx, 1968).

Besides bowls, the double-spout bottle is said to be a "characteristic [pottery] shape on the south coast of Peru during this time [early Nasca]" (Proulx 1968:13). In the samples studied by Proulx, double spout bottles represent 7 percent for the Ica Valley and 10 percent for the Nasca Valley. Similarly, according to Carmichael (1988:159), double spout bottles again represent one of the most common shapes of early Nasca pottery. Massey (1986:119) also reports the presence of "fancy bottles" from the upper Ica Valley, which are said to be decorated in the Nasca 2 style. Interestingly, no single example of this particular pottery shape has been reported so far from the Acarí Valley.

Considering the samples of the early Nasca ceramics found at the Acarí walled sites and their limited vessel forms, particularly compared to Huarato pottery, it is possible that these highly decorated Nasca wares were exotic and thus highly valued items. Whether these were elite items cannot be assessed since the samples considered in this study are surface materials. If their original context were known, more could be said in this direction. Nonetheless, for the case of Huarato, local informants report having found Nasca pottery associated with burials. Peters (1986) has also observed the major presence of Nasca pottery as burial offerings in the Pisco Valley. Here, it is also important to ask why was Monte Grande Alto so badly looted. Was it to uncover the local pottery? Since several complete (local) vessels were left behind by the pot-hunters, it is possible that the burials at Monte Grande Alto were also associated with some fancy goods, which perhaps included the Nasca pottery. The gourd depicting

hummingbirds (Figure 27) was in fact found near a recently looted burial, located inside the central enclosure of Monte Grande Alto.

At present, the major presence of the early Nasca pottery at Tambo Viejo, the largest Early Intermediate Period site in the valley, suggests that it, perhaps, was one of the most important settlements of Acarí. Considering its location, it is likely that Tambo Viejo was the point of contact between the residents of the Acarí Valley and their neighbors of the valleys to the north, which resulted in the introduction of more foreign goods to this site. It is important also to mention that Tambo Viejo is the site where more structures were built with conical adobes, which includes the large surrounding walls.

Certainly, the inhabitants of the walled Acarí sites and their neighbors from the Río Grande drainage of Nasca were in contact. A result of this interaction appears to be the early Nasca ceramics found in Acarí, and it would not be surprising if future research in the Nasca settlements turned up some Acarí diagnostics. What is relevant at this point is that, besides securing the Nasca pottery, the residents of the Acarí Valley adopted, perhaps intentionally, early Nasca iconography (Figure 29). This process of emulation, however, was limited to specific designs such as peppers, and not to the most sophisticated and the most attractive early Nasca designs, such would be the case of the supernatural beings. Fish motifs that are also common during phases 2 and 3 of Nasca (see Carmichael 1992a) were imitated, and the same occurred with birds designs, which according to Proulx (1968:19-20), are a common feature of early Nasca art. The imitated

designs were represented in the local Huarato pottery, and have been found at Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo and Monte Grande Alto. The copied motifs were not skillfully depicted, and it appears that those who made them lacked the expertise (e.g. practice) of the Nasca artisans.

Previously, Menzel (1971:124) reported that in the valleys north of Ica, in addition to the securing of the early Nasca pottery, selected early Nasca iconography was emulated. Recently, Silverman (1997:455) has observed at the Alto del Molino site of the Pisco Valley that its residents not only secured Nasca ceramics (including panpipes), but also "adopted elements" of the Nasca style. Silverman goes further to state that this process took place during the Early Intermediate Period phase 3. According to Menzel (1971), the early Nasca iconography was selectively adopted by local residents. In this case too, the most complex early Nasca designs were not imitated.

"Carmen people of Pisco adopted elements of a foreign, yet familiar, ceramic style (Nasca of Ica) from a foreign, yet familiar, society (Nasca of Ica), imbued this category of material culture with prestige as exotic goods, and enhanced their own ceremonial activities..." (Silverman 1997:455).

Discussion

Within Peruvian archaeology, pottery has been very often considered as the single "diagnostic instrument" used to establish the relative chronology as well as the various cultural areas (see Lumbreras 1984). According to this view, the presence of a particular ceramic style at various locations is seen as evidence that assumedly indicates that the inhabitants of these locations belonged to the same culture (Proulx 1968:99). In addition, the distribution and therefore presence of a pottery style outside of its heartland is frequently regarded as evidence that suggests the influence of a particular culture over its neighbors. At least for the South Coast of Peru, the above is true; indeed, the distribution of early Nasca pottery from the Pisco Valley to the Acarí Valley is habitually seen as an indication that the area comprising these valleys was inhabited by the Nasca.

This assumption is not free of enigmas, however. Considering that the initial chronological frameworks were in general developed using well decorated pottery and usually artifacts uncovered from burials, the possibility that these are "high value goods" and therefore "highly mobile artifacts" (Stanish 1989, 1992) cannot be denied. Precisely as "high value goods," the highly decorated pottery may have been easily secured from adjacent inhabitants for the purpose of its use as offerings, for instance. Stanish (1989:30) explicitly argues that "[i]t is more reasonable to presume that the majority of items found in contexts such as tombs, i.e., contexts of extraordinary ritual or ceremonial significance, were not manufactured by the resident population of the site."

Therefore, the association made between the highly valued artifacts and the peoples of the area where the artifacts were found is often misleading. This is the particular case of the Acarí Valley during the Early Intermediate Period as the few early Nasca ceramics found there have been used to argue that Acarí was part of the Nasca territory.

But, is the early Nasca pottery found in Acarí evidence of conquest? Is there an early Nasca colony in Acarí? Silverman (1986:476) has noted that "major construction at Tambo Viejo as well as at the other fortified Acarí sites of Huarato, Amato and [Coquimbo] is associated with true Nasca 3 pottery." Elsewhere, Silverman (1993a:27) writes about the "important Nasca 3 occupation at the site of Tambo Viejo, the largest and the most complex site of the Acarí Valley." Silverman (1986:475) goes further to state that "Amato and Huarato are other single component, fortified, Nasca 3 habitation sites." These statements, in particular the recognition of the Acarí walled sites as "Nasca settlements," severely conflict with the information of the previous chapter.

In order to assess whether the Nasca goods found in the Acarí Valley represent colonization and the walled sites Nasca colonies, I find useful the concepts introduced by Lathrap (1956:7-8). On the one hand, Lathrap argues that *site-units* are colonies where the presence of foreign items is common. For the Central Andes, the Wari enclave of Cerro Baul in Moquegua (Moseley et al. 1991:131-132) is a good example. However, none of the Acarí sites resemble this instance. On the other hand, *trait-units* are the non-local artifacts, such as the Chavín textiles from Karwa in the Ica Valley, found in a foreign territory. The case of the early Nasca sherds found in Acarí equals

the case of *trait-units*, and thus none of the Acarí walled sites can be convincingly identified as early Nasca *site-units* or colonies.

According to current archaeological studies carried out in Acarí, there is no conclusive evidence regarding the intrusive early Nasca occupation in this valley. For instance, compared to the Santa Valley under Moche administration (Wilson 1983:253; 1988:335), the Acarí Valley cannot be regarded as a Nasca province, at least based on our current knowledge. As noted, the walled sites of Acarí are different from the early Nasca settlements, and the early Nasca pottery present at these sites is scarce, particularly compared with Huarato pottery. Although there is some similarity regarding the shape of the vessels, which perhaps is another instance of emulation by the Acarí inhabitants of the Nasca style, the manufacturing and in particular the designs of the local pottery vary totally from the polychrome Nasca style. In fact, Huarato pottery lacks the characteristic polished surface of the Nasca style. If one is to define a society on the basis of its pottery style (Lumbreras 1984), it is clear that the most common pottery style associated with the Acarí walled sites is non-Nasca. Therefore, based on our current knowledge, the assumption of an early Nasca invasion of Acarí lacks archaeological support.

Based on our current knowledge of the Early Intermediate Period of the South Coast, it is of interest to know that most of the Nasca goods introduced into the Acarí Valley took place during the time Cahuachi gained major prestige (Nasca phase 3). Is this a simple coincidence? Likely not. As for the upper Ica (Massey 1986:157), the first

time Nasca pottery was introduced into the Acarí Valley occurred during Nasca 2. Considering that Cahuachi was already a focus of ceremonial activities during Nasca 1, if not earlier (see Orefici 1994; Silverman 1993a), it appears that during Nasca 2 Cahuachi began to be recognized as such by the inhabitants of the adjacent valleys. Why this may have occurred is not easy to answer, however. Nonetheless, because Cahuachi was converted into a regional ceremonial center following this recognition (Nasca 3), it appears that the inhabitants of the neighboring valleys were the ones who made Cahuachi a multi-valley ceremonial center. Following this acknowledgment, some residents of valleys such as Acarí perhaps traveled to Cahuachi, and the Río Grande drainage of Nasca, as pilgrims (see Silverman 1993a:302, Figure 22.1). On their return to Acarí some Nasca goods may have been taken as gift items, perhaps among the elite, or as artifacts that symbolized Cahuachi's sacredness. Considering that Cahuachi was not the capital of the early Nasca state and Nasca did not achieve a state level social structuring, this appears, at the present, the best suggestion that one can draw.

As noted, besides the early Nasca ceramics, selected Nasca motifs were also adopted by the neighbors of Nasca. In all known instances, the copied designs did not include themes such as the supernatural beings. Why this occurred is hard to elucidate at present, but some suggestions can be made. One possibility is that for the non-Nasca securing and, then, owning Nasca ceramics perhaps was not as simple as it may appear and only few individuals appear to have had access to these foreign goods. If so, those with no access to the Nasca items may have opted for imitating the Nasca designs. Both,

the securing of the early Nasca ceramics and the copying of the early Nasca designs probably was due to the great prestige of Cahuachi.

It is not fully clear why the inhabitants of the South Coast began to recognize the ceremonial role of Cahuachi, but it is possible that the rise of ceremonial activities at Cahuachi during Nasca 3 as well as its recognition as a regional ceremonial center was associated with a severe drought as recorded in the Quelccaya Mountain ice cores (see Thompson et al., 1985). According to Schreiber and Lancho Rojas (1995:249), "[i]n early Nasca times sites were distributed in the lower valley, and in the zone of filtration and the upper valley." Schreiber and Lancho Rojas argue that this pattern suggests that during this time "water was relatively plentiful." However, the above pattern changed some time around Nasca 5. Schreiber and Lancho Rojas (1995:250) state that "[i]n the Nasca Valley, settlements were first established in the middle valley in Nasca 5. The middle Taruga Valley includes a very large Nasca 5 site, and several major Nasca 5 sites were established in the middle Las Trancas Valley as well. These data suggest an initial period of use of at least some of the puquios in Nasca 5 times." Thus, the presence of the puquios during Nasca 5 strongly suggests that water was not as plentiful as during early Nasca times, and it is possible that indeed the puquios were built to provide underground water (Clarkson and Dorn 1991, 1995; Dorn et al. 1992:145; Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1995). As already noted, Barnes and Fleming (1991) disagree with this conclusion. Overall, this information strongly supports the initial suggestion made by Peterson (1980), who argued that the lack of water may have

provoked the abandonment of Cahuachi. It is also interesting to point out that after phase 4 Nasca pottery loses its "monumental" character and becomes "proliferous" (Roark 1965). Moreover, after Nasca 4, Nasca iconography is extremely concerned with depicting plants in association with human individuals (see Roark 1965: Plate 12), which again may indicate a crisis in valley activities such as agriculture, the main source of subsistence for the Nasca people. If so, it is very likely that the decline of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center was associated with the above mentioned drought (see Valdez 1994a).

In agreement with above changes, during Nasca 4 the number of Nasca items in Acarí declined, corresponding with the decline of Cahuachi. According to Silverman (1993a:258, Figure 16.50), there is also less Nasca 4 pottery at Cahuachi itself compared with Nasca 3, which may indicate that the ceremonial performances carried out at Cahuachi had also declined. Apparently, Cahuachi never lost its prestige for the Nasca (see Silverman 1987) and continued being recognized as a sacred land until well after Nasca phase 3. However, Cahuachi apparently no longer constituted the sacred place for the residents of adjacent valleys, who therefore stopped securing Nasca goods. As noted, Nasca phase 5 pottery has not been found in Acarí.

To conclude, the preponderant presence of a distinctive local pottery style as well as of a unique type of walled site strongly speaks of the existence of a local cultural tradition in the Acarí Valley. The very few early Nasca pottery sherds found at Acarí sites are weak evidence, at best, of a Nasca presence. The fact that the Nasca goods

were introduced into Acarí during the time that Cahuachi was converted into a regional ceremonial center is very suggestive that the Nasca pottery found in Acarí was a highly valued product that portrayed the ideological significance of Cahuachi. As such, it is likely that only a few and specific individuals of Acarí had access to these exotic items, and as Helms (1992:162) points out, these foreign goods, perhaps, were symbols of "political-ideological power." In this manner and based on data presented in this and the previous chapter, it is less evident that Acarí was invaded by the Nasca and converted into a Nasca province.

Notes:

1. The visit to Huarato, according to Riddell, was less than an hour.
2. In his field notes of August 20, 1962, T. C. Patterson writes: "J. H. Rowe and I collected monumental Nasca refuse in and below fortification walls" of Tambo Viejo (cited with permission from the author).
3. During the time pottery was collected from the walled sites of Acarí, I participated directly with the surveying team. In other opportunities and when I was not present, pottery collected from these sites were brought to me in order to illustrate them.
4. Silverman (1986:475) argues that "[a]t Huarato, some 15 kms upriver from Tambo Viejo, there is also a major Nasca 2-3 cemetery which has produced quantities of magnificent, high-quality Nasca ware that is indistinguishable from the Nasca pottery

found to the north." Because Silverman acknowledges Rowe (1956) as she refers to the "high-quality Nasca ware" from Huarato, anyone who has not read Rowe (1956) may easily believe that Rowe has said that. However, Rowe did not make such a statement; in Rowe (1956:140) I only find the reference to "the great Nazca 2-3 cemetery of Huarato." This is an example of how scholars very often misinterpret Rowe, exaggerating the evidence.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HUARATO TRADITION FROM ACARÍ

"External trade brings exotic prestige artifacts which confer status on those individuals controlling the supply. In this case the society supplying the goods is already highly organized and stratified, and with the goods comes information, a set of values and social procedures which are more readily adopted of the sophistication of the source society's products and the prestige in which they are held" (Renfrew 1975:33).

Introduction

In this chapter I describe additional visible characteristics of the local Huarato tradition, the culture that occupied the Acarí Valley during the Early Intermediate Period. This includes settlement patterns, subsistence, and mortuary practices. The interpretation of the surrounding walls of the Acarí sites as "fortifications" is also discussed. With this background, the case of Acarí is addressed in a wider context. It should be clear, however, that available data are so fragmentary that to make conclusive statements is still impossible. Therefore, the arguments presented here are suggestions and conjectures based on surface information and as such they will require verification by future studies.

Settlement Patterns and Diet

Settlement studies have been around for a considerable time. Since the first studies carried out by Willey (1953) in the Virí Valley of the Peruvian North Coast, the analysis of the way the archaeological sites are located in relation to the surrounding environment has become an important tool of the archaeologists. However, as Wilson (1983, 1988) correctly points out, despite the few attempts made after the studies of Willey, settlement pattern studies have remained practically neglected within Peruvian archaeology in general. In this regard, the case of the South Coast appears not to be an exception. Indeed, until very recently no settlement studies were carried out on the Peruvian South Coast, and our understanding of the Nasca settlement patterns, for example, is still very sketchy (see Silverman 1993b).

Based on the very preliminary relative chronology of the Huarato tradition discussed in Chapter 5, the first and obvious picture that one gets from the location of the Acarí walled sites is their impressive distribution along the Acarí River. Elsewhere, I have discussed the likely reasons for the establishment of the Initial Period site of Hacha in the middle valley (Valdez 1996b). In short, the location of Hacha strongly suggests that during this period there was already an emphasis on valley resources, including perhaps the practice of some kind of horticulture. Unfortunately, the Early Horizon settlement pattern remains unknown. However, if the presence of the few incised and black sherds is suggestive of an Early Horizon occupation in Acarí, it is possible that most of the likely Early Horizon sites continued being located in the

middle valley. For instance, if Amato was in fact established during the Early Horizon, which I think is the case, there is little doubt that the local subsistence was based on valley resources, which again included horticulture.

At the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period, this pattern did not change. On the basis of surface ceramic remains, I am assuming that the site of Amato continued being occupied during the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. Similarly, the recovery at Tambo Viejo of a type of pottery similar to that at Amato, indicates that Tambo Viejo was also established as early as Amato (EIP phase 1 ?). Coquimbo most likely was also already occupied during this time. Based on the location of the walled sites, it can be argued that from the very beginning of the Early Intermediate Period the Acarí Valley was inhabited by people mostly dedicated to valley activities. Indeed, the excavations carried out at Tambo Viejo, which again is associated with the earliest occupation of the site, have uncovered a variety of plant remains (Table 8) that suggests that indeed farming was important for the inhabitants of this valley (Valdez 1988b). The list of plant remains include:

<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Common Name</u>
<i>Canna edulis</i>	(achira)
<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	(maní) peanut
<i>Inga Feuilli</i>	(paca)
<i>Phaseolus lunatus</i>	(pallar) Lima bean
<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>	(frijol) kidney bean
<i>Canavalia sp.</i>	(pallar de gentiles) jack bean
<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	(yuca) manioc
<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	(camote) sweet potatoes
<i>Psidium guajaba</i>	(guayaba) guava
<i>Capsicum sp.</i>	(ají) chili pepper
<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	(calabaza) squash
<i>Pouteria lucuma</i>	(lúcuma)
<i>Zea mayz</i>	(maíz) corn.

Table No. 8. Identified plant (macro) remains from the 1987 excavations at Tambo Viejo (based on Valdez 1988b).

During the time the sites of Huarato, Coquimbo, and Tambo Viejo flourished as the main settlements of the valley (phase 2) this pattern probably continued. The direct association of the mentioned sites to zones currently under extensive cultivation seems to indicate that agriculture was one of the most important sources for the local diet.

In addition to valley plant resources, sea resources were also used, but these do not appear to have been as important as valley resources. The excavations at Tambo Viejo uncovered some shellfish remains (Valdez 1988b), most of which are *Mesodesma donacium* (large wedge clam), *Tegula atra* (small snail), *Choromytilus chorus* (large, purple mussel) and *Mactra sp.* (small clam), but overall they do not occur in significant

numbers. At the time Monte Grande Alto was established, the consumption of shellfish appears to have increased. At the top levels of cuts produced by the pot-hunters, major concentrations of shellfish remains' are visible, in particular a bivalve recognized as *Macra* sp (small clam). Moreover, there are small middens where the presence of shellfish remains is also noticeable

In addition to the above resources, camelid bones also occur at the walled sites of Huarato, Tambo Viejo, and Monte Grande Alto. This indicates that camelids were one of the meat sources for the inhabitants of Acarí. Using the criteria applied by Miller and Burger (1995), the proximal end of the first phalanges and the glenoid cavity of the scapulae were measured. According to these results, these remains perfectly fit the group of alpacas. At present, it is unknown whether alpacas, and llamas, were raised in the Acarí Valley. Thus, whether these remains represent local herds or trade items is difficult to assess. Finally, guinea pigs (*Cavia porcellus*) are present at Hacha as well as at Tambo Viejo (Kent and Kowta 1994) and at the late Early Intermediate Period sites of Gentilar (Valdez 1989, 1994b), Cancino Alto and Chaviña. It appears that these rodents were also part of the local diet.

On the basis of ceramic similarities, it is possible that Boca del Río was established at the same time as Monte Grande Alto. Meanwhile, the establishment of Chaviña perhaps occurred shortly after that of Boca del Río. Again, the absence of early Nasca pottery at Boca del Río and Chaviña suggests that these two were occupied after the time when the Nasca goods were introduced to this valley. What is evident from

surface data is that Boca del Río and Chaviña were established right by the sea most likely with the main purpose of having easy access to sea resources. In fact, at both sites the presence of huge shellfish accumulations is clear. This may also explain why Chaviña was converted, some time around phase 5, into the largest settlement of the whole Acarí Valley. At this time, the inland walled settlements seem to have been deserted and thus the pattern of establishing walled settlements in this valley had come to an end.

Following the above, several new settlements were established in the Acarí Valley. These sites, from the upper valley to the mouth of the Acarí River, are: La Oroya (PV 74-8) and La Banda (PV 74-7) (here both are regarded as a single settlement), Tambo Viejo (see Kent and Kowta 1994), Gentilar (PV 74-5) (see Valdez 1994b), Cancino Alto A (PV 74-54) and Cancino Alto B (PV 74-55) (here both are discussed as a single site), Pellejo Chico Bajo (PV 74-68), and the already famous site of Chaviña (Figure 30). It is important to emphasize that the occupation of Tambo Viejo is found at the southwest end of the previous occupation (Area C) and thus this is physically separated from the earlier settlement. In fact, the new settlement is already outside the surrounding walls.

La Oroya and La Banda have been registered as separate sites, as have Cancino Alto A and B (see Riddell and Valdez 1988). This was due to La Oroya and La Banda, as well as Cancino Alto A and B, being currently physically separated. However, the former "two" sites, for instance, have been divided by modern constructions and there

seems to be enough evidence to argue that both belong to the same settlement. Indeed, in the area that separates both sites a public facility is under construction. As reported by the current Alcalde of Acarí señor Américo Monje (1996, personal communication), some burials were uncovered at this place. Pottery vessels found along with the burials, and currently housed at the Municipality of Acarí, clearly indicate that the small sites of La Oroya and La Banda constituted a single large settlement that unfortunately has been reduced as a consequence of the expansion of the modern town of Acarí. The fact that both are contemporaneous indicates that there is no further need to divide these "two" sites. Cancino Alto A and B have been physically divided by the cut produced by the Acarí River, but the nearness of both of these sites and their contemporaneity also indicate that both belong to a formerly single settlement. Nevertheless, to avoid further confusion, La Oroya and La Banda are referred to as La Oroya/La Banda, while Cancino Alto A and B are Cancino Alto only. Riddell (personal communication 1997) agrees with these observations.

The architecture of these sites is distinctive. As noted for Chaviña and Gentilar (Valdez 1994b), stone structures as well as large conical adobe walls are absent. Except for Chaviña, these sites do not have surrounding walls either. Instead, *quincha* houses are common. For instance, at Tambo Viejo, salvage excavations have recorded some *quincha* remains, which most likely are parts of the destroyed house structures (Kent and Kowta 1994), while no other type of constructions were noted. *Quincha* elements are also visible at Pellejo Chico Bajo and Cancino Alto. All these strongly indicate that

these settlements were habitation sites. The presence of shellfish and plant remains, as well as ash and carbon, among other things, confirms their domestic function. Nevertheless, at Chaviña, Tambo Viejo, La Oroya/La Banda, and Pellejo Chico Bajo burials are found. This indicates that during the later phases of the Early Intermediate Period, the general pattern of burials in domestic areas at the early Early Intermediate Period sites, continued to be practiced, and thus this remains as one of the distinctive features of this local cultural tradition.

An abundance of shellfish remains is also evident on the surfaces of these sites. The initial excavations, although still limited, carried out at Gentilar have shown that sea resources, mainly shellfish, were an important food at this site (Valdez 1989, 1992, 1994b) despite its location about 18 km from the sea. The location of Chaviña and the presence of shellfish middens strongly suggests that during the late Early Intermediate Period there was a major consumption of marine resources. Of course, studies similar to the ones carried out by Kennedy and Carmichael (1991) are needed to verify the degree of sea resource exploitation in this valley during the later phases of the Early Intermediate Period. Nevertheless, some crops continued being cultivated as the presence of corn, peanut, sweet potato, and beans indicates. Whether these crops were planted in the valley, of course is unclear. The delta of the Acarí River probably was an ideal place for growing the above plants, and the plant remains found at Gentilar perhaps come from the area of Chaviña, as also did the sea resources.

An additional change observed between the early and late Early Intermediate Period sites of the Acarí Valley is in the pottery. While the sites seem to have become smaller and built basically of *quincha*, the pottery style is not only better elaborated, but also more colorful, at least compared to pottery found at the walled sites. Although badly finished and undecorated pottery continues being abundant at these sites (Valdez 1994b), the decorated pieces are fine and very often present different shapes than the ones found at the walled sites. The most common ones, apparently unique to Acarí (Kent and Kowta 1994:111), are the large jars with an ovoid mouth which often depict a human face as a central theme. Complete specimens of this type of jars have been found at La Oroya/La Banda, Tambo Viejo, and Chaviña, and at the Hacienda Amato, while at Gentilar, Cancino Alto, and Pellejo Chico Bajo some sherds were also reported. In this manner, at the close of the Early Intermediate Period a new pottery type was produced in Acarí. This pottery type, reported also by Lothrop and Mahler (1957), is indeed very rich in its color as well as in its motifs.

To conclude, despite the information not being as conclusive as I would like, it appears evident that at the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period most of the Acarí inhabitants were concentrated in the valley. This settlement pattern strongly suggests that the economy of the residents of sites such as Huarato, Coquimbo, Tambo Viejo and even Monte Grande Alto was valley-oriented. It was during this time that the inhabitants of Acarí also began to engage in contact with their neighbors from the Nasca Valley. However, at the end of the occupation of Monte Grande Alto, it appears that the use of

marine resources began to increase, which perhaps is associated with a severe drought (Thompson et al. 1985), which may have had a direct impact on valley agriculture (1).

The "Defensive" Walls

Are the Acarí walled sites truly fortified settlements? Since the initial argument presented by Rowe (1963), the supposed "defensive nature" of the surrounding walls of the Acarí sites has not been conclusively demonstrated, but once again the description has been continuously repeated. In fact, from the literature one receives the impression that the Acarí sites are truly fortified and thus they are a manifestation of the Nasca invasion. First of all, it is critical to understand what the archaeological variables are for recognizing a site as a fortification. In addition, it is important to find out the socio-political context in which the walled sites were built and inhabited to better assess the real meaning of the surrounding wall.

Topic and Topic (1987:48) have argued that the simple presence of a wall does not necessarily indicate a likely association with defense. Instead, the presence of clearly parapeted walls, caches of slingstones and weapons, moats outside the walls, and defensive locations with very restricted access are among the most dominant features of defensive settlements. For example, for the Santa Valley, Wilson (1992:51-52) points out that "fortresses are located on hills and more easily defended middle and upper valley areas." Moseley et al. (1991:132) also point out that the intrusive Wari site of

Cerro Baul was strategically established in a clearly defensive location.

Interestingly, all these features are absent at the Acarí sites. Besides the walls themselves and deep ditches, that may be only the result of the earth and clay removed in order to build the walls and that are often found on the outside of the settlements such as at Huarato, there are no other visible features that would suggest that these walls were indeed built for defense. For instance, there are no visible surface features such as parapeted walls, caches of slingstones and weapons or moats outside the walls. Of course, such features might be still uncovered since no excavations have been carried out at these sites. Nevertheless, site deterioration caused by the pot-hunters and by other modern activities have exposed several walls, but there is nothing that would clearly indicate that these walls were built for defense.

As part of the 1985 and 1986 archaeological excavations carried out at Tambo Viejo, a portion of a large but already damaged wall was cleared to assess its construction, chronology, and its likely function (Riddell 1986:4-5). According to Riddell (1985:5; see also Kowta 1987:66), the wall "had a three-part construction, with stone outer walls and a central core built of conical adobes set with the flat bases outward" (Figure 31 a). Riddell further notes that "the spaces between the adobe and stone walls were then filled with Nasca 3 period midden." Riddell and Kowta do not demonstrate that this great wall was in fact built for defense; they only state that the wall was "apparently built for defensive purposes." According to Kowta (personal communication 1997), his statement was "pure conjecture" based on previous arguments.

Elsewhere (Silverman 1993a:321), Kowta has been quoted as noting that these walls are not necessarily defensive facilities, but "spatial divisions only." Riddell (personal communication 1997) also doubts that these walls were built for defensive purposes because, besides the walls themselves, there is nothing visible that would indicate clearly their defensive function. At Huarato road construction has cut two walls of the site, exposing the walls in profile. Here, the use of large stones on the outside is visible, which is followed by adobe constructions (Figure 31 b), but there is no other feature that would at least suggest that these walls were fortifications.

Because Riddell (1985:5) and Kowta (1987:66) mention the presence of "Nasca 3 midden" along the wall of Tambo Viejo, one may get the impression that this was a Nasca wall. Although there are some early Nasca pottery sherds, the most frequent pottery style found in the middens is the one referred to here as the Huarato style. At best, the presence of the few early Nasca sherds can be used to assess the relative chronology of this particular wall, but not necessarily to recognize it as a Nasca construction.

While clear features indicating the possible defensive function of the walls are absent, it is also critical to point out that the Acarí walled sites were built in open and vulnerable areas. With the exception of Monte Grande Alto, all the sites are indeed located in the pampa. Even Monte Grande Alto faces a large open pampa and thus in the case of military aggression, this site would have also been vulnerable. It is correct, however, that the construction of these walls required certain labor, which included

adobe making and wall building. At the stage of our current knowledge, it remains difficult to assess whether the construction of these walls required organized labor, and overall it is complicated to answer why they were built in the first place. One possibility is, of course, delimiting space between the residential area and the "outside." The direct association of probable residential structures with these surrounding walls strongly suggests that these functioned to enclose space rather than as fortification. Thus, Rowe's (1963) judgment of the walls of the Acarí sites as defensive cannot be validated on the basis of current studies in Acarí. One alternative suggestion, however, is that the walls were perhaps "defensive" against each other, particularly considering that more than one settlement was inhabited.

Finally, my evaluation of the socio-political context that characterized the South Coast in general during the time the walled sites were built and inhabited appears to indicate that there was no militaristic political organization in this region, and thus it seems that no need for building defensive facilities existed. In fact, according to Silverman (1993a:335) there are no fortified Nasca 3 sites in the Río Grande area. Weapons and/or any other diagnostic artifacts associated with warfare are said to be also absent.

Burial Practices

Because there is variation in burial customs among societies, mortuary patterns have become important for assessing ethnicity among other socio-political variables. If there was an early Nasca invasion of Acarí, it may be possible to discern in the burial patterns. Until the study carried out by Carmichael (1988), there was little understanding of the Early Intermediate Period mortuary customs of the entire South Coast. At the time of Carmichael's (1988) study, information from Acarí was totally obscure except for that from Chaviña (Lothrop and Mahler 1957). On the basis of the scant data available Carmichael (1995:177-178) was able to observe that the mortuary patterns from Acarí were different from those observed in the other valleys to the north (2). Further, Carmichael (1988:433, 1995:175, 178) noted the existence of temporal variation as well as regional differences, which seemed to "indicate strong local traditions." For the case of Nasca, Carmichael (1995:166) made the observation that "[t]he standard burial posture for all members of society throughout Phases 2 - 8 was a seated and flexed position, with knees drawn up to the chest."

Let me point out, first, that very few burials associated with the Acarí walled sites have been excavated by archaeologists. These include the eleven burials found at Tambo Viejo in 1985 (see Riddell 1986:4), four in 1986 (Riddell 1987:26-29) and one in 1987. As reported by Riddell (1986:4), these burials present a position of seated and flexed and are placed along the walls. Originally, Riddell (1987:29) argued that these burials were intrusive and thus belonged to later periods. However, recent evidence

indicates that is not the case. For instance, a canteen (see Figure 12) was found with the burial excavated in 1987. This canteen is similar to the ones recently observed at Monte Grande Alto, a single component early Early Intermediate Period site. In addition, at Huarato, Amato, Coquimbo, and Monte Grande Alto, similar burial patterns were observed in October 1996.

When I visited Monte Grande Alto in October 1996, the site was quite recently badly looted. As a result, hundreds of burials were destroyed and exposed. According to my previous visits (1987, 1989), this was one of the best preserved sites of the entire valley along with Amato and Gentilar. This process of site destruction, ironically, has allowed me to verify several aspects of the burial customs associated with the walled sites. The burial posture at Monte Grande Alto is also seated, with the knees drawn up to the chest. The burials from Monte Grande Alto were also placed inside spherical large ollas, in a fashion similar to the ones reported by Riddell (1985, 1986) from Tambo Viejo. At Huarato, Amato, and Coquimbo, burials placed inside spherical ollas were also observed. Based on these observations, the local burial patterns of Acarí appear to be similar to those of Nasca, at least with respect to burial posture.

However, there seem to be marked differences regarding tomb construction. According to Carmichael (1988:293), Nasca tombs have average depths from 1.34 m to 2.90 m. He (Carmichael 1988:293-294) also reports Nasca tombs with roofs, and even adobe-walled chambers, locally known as "barbacoas." As noted by Riddell (1986:24), in Acarí (Tambo Viejo) the "maximum depth for excavated burials was 95 cm." Well

constructed burial chambers have not been reported so far from the Acarí walled sites, only simple pits. It should be noted, nevertheless, that an important feature of the burials found at the walled sites is the presence of a simple roof of canes. These are unlike the "heavy roofs" noted by Carmichael (1988:293), very small, just enough to cover the top part of the ollas. In some instances, a very compact soil formation, locally recognized as *caliche*, was placed over the roofs or instead of the roofs.

As noted, the walled Acarí sites were not only residential settings, but also cemeteries; that is, the dead were buried at the settlements. This is a further notable difference between Acarí and Nasca, since according to Ogburn (1993) and Schreiber and Lancho Rojas (1995), early Nasca cemeteries are isolated from villages. Most importantly, the Nasca cemeteries, from the Río Grande drainage area, are located near Cahuachi, the ceremonial center, while the settlements are in the upper valley. Furthermore, for the case of the upper Ica Valley, Massey (1986:323) states that the cemeteries are situated adjacent to habitation areas. However, in the Acarí Valley, the deceased were intentionally placed in the same settlement where they probably lived, and perhaps inside their residence. Despite the fact that burial posture is almost identical, then, there are distinct differences between the Nasca and the Huarato burial patterns. Future systematic research and detailed studies similar to Carmichael's (1988), however, are clearly needed before any conclusive statement can be drawn.

The Local Tradition of Acarí

Scholars have long recognized that during the Early Intermediate Period the South Coast of Peru was inhabited, on the one hand, by the Nasca (middle and lower Ica Valley and the Río Grande drainage of Nasca), and, on the other hand, by the Topará tradition (upper Ica, Pisco, Chíncha and Cañete valleys) (see Silverman 1977; Massey 1986; Wallace 1986). Based on Rowe's (1963) initial interpretations, Acarí was often considered as part of the Nasca. Considering the paucity of archaeological research in Acarí, it does not surprise me that Rowe's views were constantly repeated creating the notion that Nasca conquered the Acarí Valley. Only during the past few years has some information become available which indicates that Acarí was inhabited by a local cultural tradition and it was to the context of this local tradition that some early Nasca goods were introduced. This information continues to be fragmentary and further studies are required to assess many of the aspects of this particular culture. At present, the origin of this local cultural tradition remains speculative. On the basis of surface information, Amato appears possibly to have the earliest manifestation of the local Huarato tradition. The absence of Nasca pottery suggests that Amato was established and inhabited prior to the introduction of Nasca items to this valley, which reportedly occurred during phase 2.

As noted, there are several instances that clearly suggest that the local cultural tradition of Acarí was different from Nasca. The most notable differences are observed in settlements type, burial patterns and the pottery produced at that time in the Acarí

Valley. Based on this information, the local Huarato tradition can be defined as the native cultural manifestation of the valley of Acarí that existed mostly during the time when Cahuachi flourished in the Nasca Valley as a great ceremonial center. Based on settlement data, this local tradition, referred to as Huarato, was mainly valley oriented. Although no instruments associated with agricultural activities have been identified, plant remains found at most of the walled sites are already diverse.

The most relevant features of this local tradition are the presence of relatively large walled sites, with rectangular or square structures, associated with a less sophisticated and less colorful pottery style than Nasca. The function of the surrounding walls remains speculative, but according to the available information, there is not enough support for their defensive role. Furthermore, no weapons or anything associated with warfare have been so far identified in Acarí. Besides architecture, pottery is certainly an important variable to distinguish this local tradition from Nasca. As stated, compared with the polychrome early Nasca ceramics, the one associated with the walled sites is less sophisticated almost in all the aspects. This probably indicates that pottery made during this time in this valley was produced, likely, at the household level and to satisfy the most immediate demands of local residents. The lack of fancy pottery, which is frequent in Nasca, further corroborates this observation.

On the basis of the presence of some Nasca diagnostics materials, it seems that these settlements were inhabited for at least three to four generations. During this long period of occupation, the areas covered by the settlements began to grow, giving the

impression that these were large settlements. For instance, Area C of Tambo Viejo gives the feeling of a large occupation. However, Hines (1989) has pointed out that the several long streets present at the site do not intersect, indicating that Tambo Viejo may represent several small occupations that succeeded one another over time. Hence, none of the Acarí walled sites appear to have constituted an urban center, but only villages. The approximate number of residents living at each settlement cannot be calculated at present.

The inhabitants of Acarí and their northern neighbors, however, were not isolated neighbors. Apparently due to the sacred role that Cahuachi began to play, the inhabitants of Acarí became more interested in their northern neighbors. Indeed, they not only imitated the Nasca, but also acquired Nasca goods. This strongly suggests that for the local residents of Acarí, the Nasca goods, and the Nasca designs as well, were highly valued and as such, perhaps, used as status insignia. Because the Nasca goods are rare in Acarí and some reports indicate that these highly decorated goods are associated with burials, there is the possibility that these were scarce goods likely valued in relationship with the sacred role of Cahuachi. The fact that the introduction of the Nasca goods to Acarí corresponds to the time of Cahuachi's apogee as a ceremonial center, adds strong support to this suggestion. This and related issues are further discussed in the following concluding chapter.

Another example of imitation is the presence of conical adobes in Acarí. As initially reported by Strong (1956) and then by both Silverman (1986) and Orefici (1987,

1988), Cahuachi is one of the few early Nasca centers where conical adobes were extensively used. Interestingly, as reported by Schreiber (1989:74), early Nasca habitation sites were generally built of stones. In the Acarí Valley, most of the structures were also built using stones. However, the largest walls that enclose the settlements and a number of mounds that are directly associated with the walls and open plazas, were mainly built using conical adobes. Again, at present, I cannot provide a convincing explanation to why this particular type of adobe was chosen in Acarí. But, at least one speculation can be put forth. It is possible that conical adobes had a symbolic association with Cahuachi as the number of structures built using conical adobes at Cahuachi appears to suggest. As such, conical adobes probably were perceived as an important aspect of Cahuachi itself, in the same fashion that the cross symbolizes the church. The presence of conical adobes in the walls associated with plazas, most likely of public function, strongly supports the above speculation.

However, it is important to mention that in Acarí, more than at Cahuachi itself, conical adobes were made in different sizes. Although the most common ones are of similar size to those from Cahuachi, at least at Monte Grande Alto and Huarato, conical adobes of smaller sizes were also observed. Certainly conical adobes were locally made, perhaps by people who were not necessarily as skillful as those who made the conical adobes of Cahuachi. Indeed, the ones from Acarí are to a certain degree distinguishable from the ones found at Cahuachi. One important difference is, for instance, the absence of the vertical finger prints in some of the conical adobes from Monte Grande Alto.

Another observed difference is the shape of the base, which is not as round as those I observed at Cahuachi.

Finally, another representative feature of early Nasca society which was also imitated in the Acarí Valley was the geoglyphs commonly referred to as the "Nasca Lines." West of Tambo Viejo and near a road that appears to have been established sometime during the Early Intermediate Period, there are two "Lines" (see Riddell 1987: Figure 7). Riddell (1987:3) points out that "Nasca painted ceramics were found" near the "Lines" and the road, which strongly suggests that these geoglyphs may be in fact associated with Tambo Viejo. As discussed by Aveni (1986), Clarkson (1991), Silverman and Browne (1991) and Silverman (1990a:447-448), most of the geoglyphs of the Nasca pampa belong to the Nasca. The association of the pampa with Cahuachi strongly suggests that these, too, had religious significance (see Silverman 1990a:451).

In short, based on current data it appears that during the first half -at least- of the Early Intermediate Period the valley of Acarí was inhabited by a local cultural tradition. This culture, identified here as the Huarato tradition, is characterized by a distinct pottery style associated with walled settlements. In addition, the location of these sites along the valley strongly indicates that during the first half of the Early Intermediate Period (circa 1 - 400 A.D.) valley resources were predominant compared to other resources. Finally, the inhabitants of this valley were certainly in interaction with their northern neighbors, most notably during the time the early Nasca center of Cahuachi was converted into a regional ceremonial center.

Notes:

1. During the years of drought in the mountains, which corresponds to the years of "El Niño," the Acarí river does not carry enough water to supply the needs of local farmers.
2. The ones observed by Carmichael at Chaviña, however, are clearly associated with ceramics that belong to phases 6 and 7 of the Early Intermediate Period and thus these are not representative of the walled sites.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CAHUACHI AND THE ACARÍ VALLEY

"What is of general importance is the growing realization that societies are not closed systems with respect to neighboring ones any more than in relation to their natural environment and that the development of a society or culture may be constrained or influenced by the broader social networks of which it is a part" (Trigger 1989:333).

Introduction

I have outlined already in Chapter 6 some ideas regarding the likely meaning of the few early Nasca ceramics found in Acarí. After addressing whether these items are evidence of a "Nasca invasion of Acarí," here I consider it critical to further discuss what the "source" of the Nasca goods was, on the one hand, and the "social context" to which these goods were introduced, on the other hand. One important aspect to be noted is the fact the Nasca items were introduced into the Acarí Valley precisely when Cahuachi became a regional ceremonial center. Was this a simple coincidence? Or is there any relationship between these two events? In this chapter, it is my intention to further discuss the above issues, focusing closely on the role of Cahuachi as a sacred place, which I think will help to elucidate better both the introduction of the Nasca items into the Acarí Valley and their significance. Before addressing these issues, however, I

consider it important to address, briefly, the implications of the notion that views Cahuachi as a ceremonial center, instead of the urban capital of the Nasca state.

The Early Nasca Pottery: Evidence of Conquest?

The early Nasca ceramics found in the Acarí Valley cannot be explained only along the lines of a single model. Several possible explanations need to be considered to evaluate which best defines the introduction of these foreign goods. Furthermore, these alternative models must be viewed in the context of current archaeological explanations regarding the socio-political structuring of early Nasca society (Chapter 4). Within this, the recognition of Nasca as a non-state society (e.g. Silverman 1995:26) and particularly of Cahuachi as a great ceremonial center (Silverman 1993a:300) are critical to assess better the meaning of the Nasca goods found in the Acarí Valley.

Obviously, the first model is the one put forward by Rowe (1963), which states that the early Nasca 3 pottery found in Acarí represents a Nasca conquest of the Acarí Valley. To confirm this hypothesis, archaeological research in Acarí should not only determine the "sudden" and widespread presence of the Nasca 3 pottery, but also the substitution (partially or totally) of the local pottery style. In addition to a large amount of Nasca 3 pottery, one would expect to find at least a Nasca 3 settlement in Acarí, which in most features should be different from the local settlements. This settlement should not only be markedly different from the local walled sites, but it should also be associated with Nasca cultural diagnostics. Besides the settlement pattern, these are some

of the diagnostics used, for instance, by Wilson (1983:252-253) to confirm that the Santa Valley was a Moche province.

As discussed in chapter 5, in the Acarí Valley there is no site that can be regarded as Nasca, nor is there evidence of large architecture in the Nasca style (e.g. the mounds of Cahuachi). The long recognition of Tambo Viejo as a Nasca site in the Acarí Valley (e.g. Riddell and Robinson 1986), has recently been doubted by Carmichael (1992b). Therefore, on the basis of current studies in Acarí, and elsewhere in the South Coast, there is no single Nasca provincial administrative center that was established in the assumed newly incorporated territories. In other words, the case of Nasca is not comparable to the Middle Horizon when, for example, several Wari provincial centers were built outside the Ayacucho Valley (Isbell 1987:91). Furthermore, in Acarí there are no observable changes in settlement patterns that can be associated with the Nasca invasion. Wilson (1988:335) argues that the incorporation of the Santa Valley to the Moche administration resulted in "abrupt" changes of local settlements pattern. A similar case also occurred in the Carahuarazo Valley following the Wari conquest (Schreiber 1987:271, 1992:149). However, for the case of Acarí, interestingly, there is nothing that can be compared to the above instances.

Nasca pottery is most frequent in Acarí during phase 3; yet it never represented a significant proportion of the ceramic assemblages, and certainly did not become the dominant style in Acarí. By comparison, following the incorporation of the Santa Valley

under the Moche administration, pottery produced in the Santa Valley was "uniformly made in the Moche style" (Wilson 1983:253). In Acarí there is nothing comparable to this case, unless the purported Nasca militarism was totally different from the Moche. Also, the presence of Nasca 2 pottery in Acarí means the occurrence of Nasca 3 ceramics was less abrupt than might be associated with a conquest.

On the basis of these observations, Rowe's "Nasca invasion hypothesis" of Acarí cannot be validated. Again, besides the few early Nasca ceramics there is no other evidence that would represent a pattern imposed by the assumed expansive and militaristic early Nasca state. Even the Nasca pottery is not as "widespread" as some have argued. As noted, Nasca 3 pottery is the most numerous compared to Nasca 2 and Nasca 4, but overall the Nasca goods are not well represented. This certainly contrasts with the misleading impression given by some regarding the apparent homogeneous distribution of the Nasca style. Finally, the recognition of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center and the likely chiefdom level of social organization of Nasca (Carmichael 1995; Silverman 1995) strongly undermines the possible association of early Nasca society with an expansive state-level political force.

Instead of the invasionist hypothesis, there are other models that appear to explain much better the case under consideration. A case in point is the model recently put forth by Carmichael (1992b). Carmichael has noted that in Acarí "true Nasca sherds are not as common as one might assume from the literature" and the few Nasca items "easily accounted for by trade vessels" (Carmichael 1992b:5). As noted already,

Carmichael (1988, 1995) has cogently argued that Nasca most likely achieved the social organization of a chiefdom, rather than that of a state (see also Silverman 1993a:341). Based on an initial evaluation of the ceramic collections from the walled Acarí sites, Carmichael (1992b) has suggested that in Acarí there was an "indigenous" local tradition which existed at the same time that the Nasca flourished in the northern valleys, and that the inhabitants of both the Río Grande drainage of Nasca and the Acarí Valley were likely engaged in trade interactions.

Carmichael's hypothesis holds some merit particularly considering Nasca and the local Huarato tradition of Acarí were contiguous societies. As such, it is very likely that the inhabitants of both valleys interacted and were engaged in other types of contact (e.g. intermarriage). Within this context, trade, or more simply, the exchange of products, would have been an excellent way of securing non-local products (such as the highly decorated Nasca wares) from neighboring communities. If so, it is possible that in the Río Grande drainage of Nasca area there were part-time potters who visited the adjacent valleys on a seasonal basis to exchange their ceramics, or perhaps local individuals of Acarí visited their northern neighbors in order to secure the highly decorated Nasca pottery. In both cases, individuals, rather than the whole Nasca society would have been responsible for the introduction of the Nasca goods into the Acarí Valley. The presence of *Spondylus* shells, such as the ones found at Amato, clearly suggest that local Acarí residents were already engaged in long-distance interaction.

Trade alone, however, appears not to explain fully or very satisfactorily the presence of the early Nasca pottery in Acarí, at least considering the archaeological data currently available. For instance, there is no evidence of what the inhabitants of Acarí would have traded to their northern neighbors. Until further studies, this question is not easy to answer. Since both valleys have similar resources, it seems that there would have been, as currently, very few products to exchange between Acarí and the Nasca Valley (1). Again, future studies may reveal something in this direction, but until then to see trade alone as responsible for the introduction of the Nasca goods into the Acarí Valley is not fully convincing. Also, trade does not explain adequately the decline in occurrence of early Nasca ceramics in Acarí after Nasca 3. More precisely, if trade was in practice during Nasca phases 2, 3, and 4, why did this activity stop? Furthermore, with trade more variety in pottery forms would have been introduced into Acarí, which again is not evident in Acarí.

Although archaeologists will never fully know how and why Nasca goods were introduced into Acarí, the fact that the occurrence of Nasca pottery in the Acarí Valley occurred simultaneously with the rise of Cahuachi as a regional ceremonial center (Silverman 1986, 1993a) deserves more attention. If we leave behind Cahuachi's old characterization as an "urban center," and instead think of it as a ceremonial center (Silverman 1993a:300), a new window opens for understanding the significance of the early Nasca pottery found in Acarí, as well as elsewhere beyond the Nasca heartland. The timing of Cahuachi's apogee and the introduction of some Nasca items to the Acarí

Valley, then, does not seem like a pure coincidence.

Silverman (1986, 1993a) and Orefici (1985, 1996) have argued convincingly that Cahuachi was a ceremonial and pilgrimage center. The discovery of the "step motif temple" (Orefici 1988; see also Silverman 1993a:317-318) clearly shows that Cahuachi was a ceremonial center by the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period, if not earlier. By this time (Nasca 1), Cahuachi probably competed for status with the Ocucaje Basin. Beginning during Nasca 2, however, Cahuachi appears to have become the most prestigious and therefore undisputed center of the entire Río Grande drainage of Nasca. The presence of Nasca 2 pottery in the upper Ica Valley (Massey 1986:157) as well as in the Acarí Valley (Chapter 6) strongly suggests that Cahuachi's prestige extended beyond the Nasca hearth as early as Nasca 2. This further suggests that perhaps Cahuachi was already converted into a regional ceremonial center sometime during Nasca 2 instead of Nasca 3. During Nasca 3 Cahuachi reached its apogee (Silverman 1987:7, 1993a:318). The major presence of Nasca 3 pottery not only at Cahuachi (see Silverman 1993a:258, Figure 16.50), but also in Ica, Pisco, and Acarí clearly illustrates that it was during Nasca 3 that Cahuachi gained major prestige. Unfortunately, Silverman and Orefici have not explained *why* and *how* Cahuachi achieved major prestige during Nasca 3, but it seems to me that the answer to this question is crucial for understanding better the why and how the Nasca goods were taken into the adjacent valleys.

I would argue that the recognition of Cahuachi as a sacred center involved the initial engagement of the residents of the upper Ica Valley as well as the Acarí Valley in the activities carried out at Cahuachi from as early as Nasca 2. Once converted into a multivalley pilgrimage center, Cahuachi achieved its climax, which took place during Nasca 3. It is also likely that beginning during Nasca 2, and following the recognition of Cahuachi's sacredness, some of the inhabitants of the valleys adjacent to the Río Grande drainage of Nasca visited Cahuachi periodically as pilgrims. Those who participated in the celebrations at Cahuachi, most importantly those who traveled from farther distances, took back some Nasca goods as symbols of the power of Cahuachi. During the following phase (Nasca 3), it appears that the number of people who traveled towards Cahuachi from the neighboring valleys increased, as the amount of Nasca 3 pottery found in Acarí (Chapter 6), the upper Ica (Silverman 1986:466), and Pisco indicates. Thus, it is very suggestive that the recognition of Cahuachi as an important ceremonial center resulted not only in its conversion into a regional ceremonial center, but also in the introduction of Nasca goods to the adjacent valleys. The major presence of Nasca 3 pottery in the neighboring valleys strongly suggests that during this time Cahuachi was the single center of its kind in the entire South Coast.

The rarity of these goods outside the Nasca heartland, such as Acarí, indicate that these were exotic items. The greater presence of Nasca ceramics at Tambo Viejo indicates that these foreign goods were not equally distributed and that not everyone in Acarí had access to them. In addition, Tambo Viejo has most structures built of conical

adobes and is directly associated with a set of geoglyphs. This appears to indicate that the inhabitants of this site were the ones more interested in adopting and/or imitating Nasca features. Why this was done, of course, remains to be determined. However, it is possible that by adopting Nasca elements the residents of Tambo Viejo tried to "consolidate" ties with their northern neighbors and particularly with Cahuachi.

Then, it is apparent that only some individuals, perhaps those in search of prestige and power, were engaged in contact with foreign lands and foreign peoples, including Cahuachi. Thus, by establishing contact with Cahuachi some residents of Acarí likely were able to gain special status, in the same fashion as those from the Ica Valley may have done during the Early Horizon with the center of Chavín de Huántar (Massey 1986; Burger 1988, 1993). In addition to the Nasca goods themselves, residents of the valleys adjacent to the Río Grande drainage of Nasca also imitated the Nasca iconography. This is further data that indicate the importance of the Nasca goods outside the Nasca area.

Some information further suggests that the Nasca pottery found in the adjacent valleys to the Río Grande drainage of Nasca (e.g. Pisco) are associated with burials. As noted, one Nasca vessel (Figure 25) is reported to have been found at Huarato also as a burial offering. In addition, the gourd with the hummingbird designs (Figure 27) recovered at Monte Grande Alto was found near a recently looted burial. Then, the extensive looting observed at Huarato and recently at Monte Grande Alto may well be due to this fact. This information is suggestive of the symbolic value of these items

outside the Nasca area.

During Nasca 4 the number of Nasca items in Acarí declined, corresponding with the loss of Cahuachi's regional significance. Thus, while the major introduction of the Nasca items in Acarí corresponds with the rise of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center, there is also a correspondence between the decline and abandonment of Cahuachi and the later absence of Nasca items that belong to phase 5. Whatever event led to the decline of Cahuachi and interrupted the flow of Nasca goods into Acarí also coincided with the end of the so-called "monumental" style in Nasca art (Rowe 1960a:32; Menzel 1971:66). Thereafter, Nasca pottery was no longer naturalistic.

From "State Capital" to Ceremonial Center

The premature recognition of ancient early Nasca society as having a "state-level" social organization and of Cahuachi as the capital of a multi-valley administration was crucial for molding the "Nasca invasion hypothesis of Acarí." Yet, the identification of Cahuachi as an "urban" center was entirely based on its size and not on conclusive variables common to urban centers (e.g. residential areas, craft specialization, etc.). This was, of course, the case for the other sites also regarded as "urban" centers, such as Tambo Viejo. Within the above framework, the "Nasca invasion hypothesis" was the best and the most logical suggestion for elucidating the intrusive presence of the early Nasca artifacts in Acarí. The fact that this logical speculation remained unchallenged for a considerable time and very often was restated, clearly indicates that this model was

credible. Indeed, during the 1970s scholars involved in Nasca studies were convinced that Cahuachi was in fact the huge Nasca urban capital that exercised political control over the various valleys of the Peruvian South Coast. The presence of walled sites and bodyless skulls also appeared (and still appear [Verano 1997:246]) to indicate that indeed the early Nasca society was an expansive social organization.

One way of testing the assumed "urban" nature of Cahuachi was by carrying out extensive testing at the site. This was done by Silverman in the early 1980s and shortly after continued by Orefici. According to the excavations carried out by Silverman (1986) at Cahuachi, it became obvious that this site was not the large urban center that many, following Rowe (1963), assumed. Instead, Silverman (1986, 1988a, 1990b, 1993a) argues that Cahuachi was a ceremonial center that flourished during phases 2 to 4, time during which the Nasca artifacts were introduced into Acarí. After Nasca phase 4, the ceremonial role of Cahuachi seems to have declined, but Cahuachi is said to have retained its sacredness well after Nasca phase 5 (see Silverman 1987). What is so critical here is that this new view allows us to re-evaluate previous explanations not only regarding Cahuachi and the Nasca, but also of the entire Early Intermediate Period occupation of the South Coast.

When Cahuachi was seen as the "urban" Nasca capital, the "Nasca invasion model" was a reasonable explanation. However, this construction makes no sense, or logic, when Cahuachi is regarded as a ceremonial center and when Nasca is considered as a non-expansive social organization. Because most Nasca specialists agree that in fact

Cahuachi was a ceremonially oriented center (see Carmichael 1988; Proulx 1997; Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1995; Valdez 1994a), as the amount of ritual paraphernalia found at Cahuachi indicates (e.g. Orefici 1994; Valdez 1994a), it is crucial to address the case of Acarí within this new framework. Briefly, an important question to answer is: if Cahuachi was the ceremonial center, what is the significance of the Nasca artifacts found in Acarí? Before addressing this issue, however, first let me discuss shortly the emergence of Cahuachi as a ceremonial place to evaluate the possible meaning of the Nasca goods found in Acarí.

When exactly Cahuachi was established as a ceremonial center is a matter of speculation and no conclusive data exists at the present to appropriately answer this issue. Originally, Silverman (1987:7) argued that during Nasca phase 1 "Cahuachi was a dispersed agricultural village" because there was no conclusive evidence that would indicate the ceremonial nature of the site during this phase. Elsewhere, Silverman (1993a:300) clearly states that during Nasca phase 1 Cahuachi was simply "a habitation site." According to Silverman's (1986, 1987) initial interpretation, it was during Nasca phase 2 that Cahuachi began to play the role of a ceremonial center and "suddenly transformed into the greatest Nasca center" during Nasca phase 3 (Silverman 1987:7).

"Cahuachi is an extensive nonurban site replete with pyramids, temples, plazas, ritual offerings, sacred paraphernalia, burials, and a nearby complex of geoglyphs which was, along with the geoglyphs of the main pampa, an integral part of the site" (Silverman 1993a:319).

After the discovery of the "Step Motif Temple," which dates to Nasca phase 1, Silverman (1993a:317) has noted that "Cahuachi was the most important site in the Río Grande de Nazca drainage at this time, for no other Nasca I site has its volume of monumental architecture, concentration of fineware, and quantity of ritual paraphernalia." This distinctiveness perhaps is a reflection of Cahuachi's distinguished function.

The above, nonetheless, does not necessarily indicate that Cahuachi was established during Nasca phase 1. Strong (1957), Silverman (1986), Orefici (1996) and Isla (personal communication, 1998) have reported "Late Paracas" remains from Cahuachi, which undoubtedly indicates that during that time Cahuachi already existed. The nature of this occupation, of course, remains unknown. Because Paracas remains are said to be rare south of the Ica Valley in general (see Silverman 1986:493, 1991, 1994a), but those present are mainly found at Cahuachi, there is the possibility that this Nasca center may have already been important during Late Paracas times.

Here, it is important to remember Helms' (1979:66) remark as she argued that "leading chiefdoms based their influential position in considerable measure on their privileged access to long-distance exchange networks..." Was this also the case of Cahuachi? It is likely the few Late Paracas artifacts found south of the Ica Valley were indeed secured through long-distance exchange, and because these are scarce there is the chance that these items were valuables associated with the elite, which again is said to be characteristic of chiefdoms (see Helms 1979:75; Drennan 1995:308). As noted, both

Carmichael (1988, 1995) and Silverman (1993a) argue that Nasca probably was a chiefdom level society.

From the above overview, it can be argued that Cahuachi was built some time during Ocucaje phase 8 (Early Horizon 2), conceivably during the time when the inhabitants of the Ica Valley (Coyungo Basin [Massey 1991]) were enjoying socio-political leadership perhaps gained by their contact with the more affluent center of Chavín de Huántar. In fact, Massey (1986:289) points out that by interaction with the "socially more sophisticated" group[s] of Chavín de Huántar, the residents of the Ica Valley achieved "another position within the elite hierarchy." This particular position gained by the Ica residents apparently attracted their neighbors from the south, who by establishing contact with Ica perhaps gained some "sophistication" (social esteem).

So important was this interaction, particularly for the Ica Valley residents, that with the end of Chavín's climax, the special position gained by the Ica Valley seems also to have declined. Then, it is apparent that while the affluence of the Coyungo basin, first, and then the Ocucaje Basin came to an end, Cahuachi gained major power. Another possibility is that the emergence of Cahuachi as a contemporary influential center in the South Coast may have provoked the decline of Ocucaje and the Ica Valley in general. After Ocucaje phase 10, the proper Ocucaje pottery disappeared as they were replaced by new ones that "had stylistic ties to the Topará style" (Massey 1986:314). The presence of Nasca phase 1 pottery in this valley also indicates that in Ica there was no distinctive type of pottery style.

Considering the areal distribution of the Nasca phase 1 pottery, it can be argued that the influence, and prestige, of Cahuachi comprised the entire Río Grande drainage and the middle and lower Ica Valley. Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson (1964) as well as Cook (1992) have already reported Nasca phase 1 ceramics from the middle and lower Ica Valley. If the emergence of the new Nasca pottery style is directly associated with the rise of Cahuachi as a new center parallel to the ones from the Ocucaje Basin, the spatial distribution of Nasca phase 1 pottery perhaps represents the core area of this new style, which certainly was a continuation of Paracas (see Sawyer 1961:278). In other words, this may have been the area that Cahuachi represented.

During the following phase, Nasca ceramics were distributed along the entire Ica Valley as well as in the Acarí Valley. For instance, Massey (1986:314, 317) points out that "Cahuachi polychrome" pottery (Nasca 2 according to Silverman [1977]) is found in both the Ocucaje Basin and the upper Ica Valley. This new areal distribution of the early Nasca ceramics is likely to be associated with the growing prestige of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center. To be more precise, it is possible that the prestige and "importance" of Cahuachi was "discovered" around this time by the residents of the adjacent valleys, who may have begun journeying towards Cahuachi as pilgrims. It can be argued that following this discovery, Cahuachi "invaded" ideologically the neighboring valleys as their inhabitants were attracted by the prestige of Cahuachi. These pilgrims, I argue, were probably those who carried back home the Nasca products, initially as valuables that symbolized Cahuachi.

However, it was during Nasca phase 3 that a larger number of early Nasca artifacts were introduced to the neighboring valleys. Interestingly, Silverman (1990b, 1993a:318) has convincingly argued that Nasca phase 3 was the time of apogee of Cahuachi. Based on this information, it can be argued that those who brought back home Nasca items from Cahuachi (during phase 2) perhaps began to achieve special status by virtue of their possession of exotic items and of even "esoteric knowledge" (for similar discussion, see Helms 1979:128). This is very likely considering the prestige and influence of Cahuachi. The result may have been an increased interest (or demand, if you wish) for the beautiful Nasca ceramics in valleys such as Acarí. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that individuals in search of prestige and power journeyed towards Cahuachi (phase 3), to associate themselves with this important center as well as to secure the Nasca artifacts, and to use them as "status insignia." Certainly, this is speculation that needs to be verified in the field. Nonetheless, this model explains well the issue under consideration, at least in the way we currently understand Cahuachi and Nasca overall.

If the above was the case, or something similar was going on, it is reasonable to assume that Cahuachi was converted into a regional ceremonial center not necessarily by the Nasca people, but by the inhabitants of the adjacent valleys, such as those from Acarí. Overall, it can be speculated that the sacredness and the undisputed prestige of Cahuachi was what captured the interest and attention of individuals in search of prestige. Then, the major presence of Nasca 3 pottery in the neighboring valleys seems

to be a reflection of the more active intervention of persons in search of prestige in acquiring the polychrome Nasca pottery, which once again was likely used as "status insignia."

Therefore, during Nasca phase 3 Cahuachi probably was the undisputed and the most influential site of the entire South Coast. In the words of Silverman (1990b:211), "[t]here is no other Nasca site known that is comparable to Cahuachi in terms of size, form, layout or material culture." On the basis of the remains of "ritual paraphernalia" found at the site, furthermore, Silverman points out that "Nasca religion and its associated ceremonialism were most fully played out at Cahuachi." Hence, there is little doubt that Cahuachi was indeed a sacred place (Schreiber and Lancho Rojas 1995:249). The presence of many early Nasca cemeteries around Cahuachi (see Ogburn 1993) seems to confirm this recognition. Furthermore, the location of Cahuachi across from the large pampa that concentrates the geoglyphs (Nasca Lines) is also an additional indication of the unique position enjoyed by Cahuachi (see Silverman 1990b). Orefici's (1994) recent finding of several dozens of camelids that were killed during a ceremonial event is further evidence concerning the nature of Cahuachi.

Silverman (1987:12) argues that after its decline around Nasca phase 4, Cahuachi retained its original character as a ceremonial center. Then, the later establishment of the Middle Horizon Wari site of Pacheco right near Cahuachi may well express not only the enormous ideological significance of Cahuachi for the peoples of the whole South Coast, but also that Pacheco probably was built at this specific place in order to capture

the ideological significance of Cahuachi and to replace the Nasca gods with the Wari gods (Valdez 1994a:679). The highly decorated early Wari pottery found at Pacheco (see Menzel 1964) probably is an indication of this effort. This overall prestige may have been the main reason that converted Cahuachi into a kind of "sophisticated center" (see Flannery 1968, for similar discussion) that brought together the inhabitants of the various South Coast valleys, more or less in the same fashion as did Chavín de Huántar centuries earlier, bringing together the "disparate, unrelated societies" of the central Andes (see Burger 1993:62).

The Areal Distribution of the Early Nasca Ceramics

As discussed by Silverman (1986:457), "[m]any scholars have tried to explain the conditions which produced the wide areal distribution of an essentially homogeneous Nasca style. Most commonly it has been correlated with the expansion of a centralized state headquartered at Cahuachi..." This view has colored many earlier interpretations regarding the nature of early Nasca society. However, this hypothesis has serious difficulties if Cahuachi is considered as a ceremonial center and not the "urban" capital of the early Nasca state. Because there is a coincidence between the rise of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center and the introduction of the early Nasca pottery to the Acarí Valley, it is important to elucidate whether there is any relationship between these two events. Did Cahuachi play any role in it?

It can be argued, on the one hand, that during Nasca phase 3 Cahuachi (Figure 32) was able to bring together most of the inhabitants of the South Coast (see Orefici 1996:182). It is possible that a number of pilgrims from neighboring valleys began to be engaged in the many (seasonal ?) activities carried out at Cahuachi. Thus, it is not hard to imagine that specific individuals from valleys such as Acarí, the upper Ica, and Pisco journeyed towards Cahuachi as pilgrims. As argued by Silverman (1993a:319), due to the presence of pilgrims Cahuachi's "population size, density, and composition [probably] changed in accordance with a cyclical ritual and political calendar." While archaeological studies in Cahuachi have not yet determined whether peoples from the adjacent valleys took part in these activities, it is very suggestive that the presence of Nasca 3 pottery outside the Nasca heartland is associated with the growing prestige of Cahuachi.

On the other hand, for those who began interacting with Cahuachi, this center probably was regarded as a "more sophisticated place" in virtue of its sacredness and undisputed prestige. Establishing an alliance with Cahuachi and the Nasca probably was an important aim for those in search of power. In addition, it may have been critical to secure valuables, such as the beautiful Nasca artifacts, that not only symbolized external contacts, but also were regarded as "status insignia." The rareness of the early Nasca ceramics in Acarí seems to indicate that in fact these were exotic and not utilitarian goods owned by the "elite" or individuals interested in higher status (for similar discussion, see Helms 1979:75). As such, these Nasca goods, that are mostly cups and

dishes, perhaps were displayed during special events, such as feasts, where the host/hostess tried to show their abilities to acquire foreign items, their involvement in external contact, and overall wealth in order to be recognized as socially important persons within his/her own community as well as to attract potential supporters (Spencer 1994). What is of interest here is that these goods were no longer important as cups and bowls; their importance likely was perceived in relationship to their source of origin and the importance of it (Cahuachi).

From contemporary ethnography, there are examples where special (exotic) dishes are purchased only for the purpose of being used in specific events. To be more precise, these items are not used daily, nor they are used when immediate neighbors and/or individuals of the same or lower social status to the host are the guests (clients). Instead, these and other unique commodities are used when the guests are members of socially more sophisticated societies (e.g. urban residents if the host is a rural resident). However, when the individuals in search of prestige are the host/hostess of communal festivities, these are opportunities when the possession of wealth can be displayed. Besides having foreign guests, those in search of prestige often use exotic items, such as special dishes, non-local beverages and some type of meal that is not common to the community.

Similarly, visiting distant places probably was another way of gaining prestige. Because it is uncommon for the peoples of the Andes to travel to distant places, at least currently, those engaged in long distance contact likely had an advantage over the rest

of their community, for instance in securing exotic goods and acquiring foreign ideas and knowledge. For the case under discussion, and if Cahuachi was the greatest center of the entire South Coast, this center was probably almost everything for those who rarely traveled. Due to its fame, Cahuachi may have been even greater for those who never visited it, but only knew of its existence.

Going back to the issue under consideration, it is still unclear what occurred at this time in Acarí. Nevertheless, the presence of Nasca goods at several settlements clearly indicates that more than one site was inhabited in this valley. This situation further suggests that some of the inhabitants of these various settlements were engaged in securing Nasca goods. Because these goods are unequally distributed, it is apparent that those engaged in obtaining the Nasca items were competing for "prestige," which as noted by Clark and Blake (1994:18), "consists of rivalry for continual public recognition by supporters." Moreover, the rarity of these items strongly indicates that few individuals enjoyed access to these items. Meanwhile, the major concentration of the Nasca ceramics at Tambo Viejo shows that the inhabitants of this settlement were the ones with more access to these foreign items, for reasons unknown to us. If these goods were indeed "status insignia," it is possible that the residents of Tambo Viejo enjoyed some kind local leadership. Here is it important to point out that according to Blanton et al. (1993:24), the "more affluent sites are those with more of the costly ceramic types." If so, Tambo Viejo maybe was the "affluent" center of the entire valley, a position perhaps gained after the contact established with Cahuachi.

Furthermore, the major presence of structures built using conical adobes at Tambo Viejo, a common construction feature of Cahuachi (see Orefici 1986), is a further indication of the increased interest of the residents of this center in trying to be "closer" to Cahuachi. In the same fashion as the Nasca pottery, conical adobes were certainly used almost at all the walled sites of Acarí, but it is at Tambo Viejo where more emphasis was given to this particular feature. Likewise, Tambo Viejo is one of the few sites that is directly associated with a series of geoglyphs that also resemble the geoglyphs of the Nasca area. Then, the question is why this at Tambo Viejo? Does the presence of several Nasca features at Tambo Viejo indicate that their residents were trying to be "Nasca" even though they were not? This appears to be the case, but additional data is needed to verify if this was indeed the situation.

Thus, the final aim, for whoever was engaged in securing the Nasca products appears to have been to fulfill desires for prestige and perhaps even leadership within the valley. By virtue of their association with Cahuachi, the Nasca items were likely symbols of "political-ideological-power" (see Helms 1992:162), where those who owned these beautiful artifacts may have been ready to establish political leadership (for similar discussion, see Kelly 1997). This may well have been the case considering that several (competing ?) settlements were inhabited at the same time. Here, it is interesting to note that according to Helms (1992:160) and Spencer (1994:31), local leaders are very often interested in securing exotic items to fulfill leadership. If in fact those engaged in long distant contacts can be regarded as "exceptional persons," as Helms

(1979:68, 1992:159) argues, it is likely that those from Tambo Viejo were, at least, the most interested in becoming local leaders.

Besides the securing of Nasca ceramics, the residents of Acarí were also interested in copying early Nasca motifs. A similar case has been reported for the valleys north of Ica. The question is, why was the Nasca iconography imitated by its neighbors? Was the Nasca pottery so difficult to secure for those of Acarí? On the basis of current information from Acarí, I cannot answer these questions until further studies are carried out at the walled sites of this valley. Because the Nasca designs imitated in Acarí are mainly peppers, but never closer to the Nasca motifs, it is less likely that this was done to capture the ideological significance of Cahuachi. Otherwise, we would be able to see the emulation of the Nasca supernatural beings, but that is not the case. The representation of fish, which is so common to early Nasca iconography (see Carmichael 1992a) is also absent. Thus, whatever the purpose of imitating some of the early Nasca iconography was, and what those who did this achieved, remain to be explained. According to Shimada (1994:92), the Mochica interaction with its neighbors resulted not only in the "adoption of selected aspects of *prestigious*" art, but also in the introduction of foreign goods into the Mochica territory. However, the case of Nasca and their neighbors appears to be different.

Although Cahuachi never became the Chavín de Huántar that attracted many different central Andean societies, Cahuachi certainly was a very influential center for the inhabitants of the South Coast valleys. So, Cahuachi probably was considered not

only ideologically very influential, but also the source of prestige and esoteric knowledge. This appears to be the main reason why the peoples of the neighboring valleys were attracted by Cahuachi and interested in securing the goods associated with Cahuachi: the beautiful early Nasca ceramics. To conclude, the wide areal distribution of the early Nasca pottery appears not to be the result of state expansion; instead, as I have argued above, the broad distribution of this particular pottery style seems to be the result of the increased prestige gained by Cahuachi.

The South Coast During the Height of Cahuachi

On the basis of current information, and in agreement with Silverman's (1986:502) earlier assessment, during the earlier phases of the Early Intermediate Period there was not a multi-valley and unified social organization (state) on the South Coast of Perú (see Carmichael 1988:409). State-level organizations are characterized not only by a highly stratified social and labor hierarchies (Fried 1967), but also territorial control (Wilson 1983; Schreiber 1987, 1992). As already discussed, none of these features are archaeologically visible for the case of the early Nasca society. Despite the noted presence of early Nasca pottery in the valleys of Acarí, in the south, and Pisco, in the north, this is not sufficient evidence to support the state model, particularly considering that the samples are scant. Most importantly, these few Nasca artifacts are associated with a type of pottery that is distinct from the Nasca pottery (Carmichael 1992b:5). The one from the north has long been recognized as Topará (see Massey 1986; Wallace 1986) and is used to argue that the valleys north of Ica, including the upper Ica,

constituted an independent entity from Nasca. From data presented in Chapters 7 and 8, it is also evident that in Acarí the early Nasca artifacts are very few. These scarce samples are, once again, associated with a local pottery tradition which I am calling *Huarato*.

Based on the above information, it is already reasonable that during the early Nasca times no homogeneous cultural unit existed in the South Coast. Besides the Nasca ceramics, the presence of the other pottery traditions (Topará and Huarato) strongly indicates that during the time Cahuachi was at its height, at least three cultural traditions existed on the South Coast. As initially argued by Carmichael (1992b:5), each of these local traditions is sufficiently different, pottery being one of the best examples. In Chapter 7 I have further evaluated the most relevant features of the local Huarato tradition of Acarí, which certainly are amply distinct from the Nasca.

What was the character of these local traditions? According to Carmichael's (1988:410-413) assessment, Nasca can best be generalized as a chiefdom (Service 1962; Carneiro 1981) and therefore a non-state society. Except for the information provided by Massey (1986) and Wallace (1986), the situation of Topará is rather unclear, but it probably did not differ much from early Nasca. Finally, from my discussion, and especially from the apparent great emphasis given to exotic items as valuables that, perhaps, signaled social status, which parallel the examples discussed by Helms (1979), the social organization of the Huarato tradition probably was also of a chiefdom. This generalization may be useful for modifying the state-minded notion that colored Nasca

studies until very recently.

According to current research, it has become evident that not only was the early Nasca pottery widely distributed, but also Cahuachi was a very influential center for all the inhabitants of the entire South Coast. In this study, and opposed to the "Nasca invasion" hypothesis, I have interpreted the wide areal distribution of the polychrome early Nasca ceramics to be the result of the undisputed prestige achieved by Cahuachi. In fact, it has become very likely that the fame of Cahuachi brought together (cyclically ?) the various local traditions. Drawing the peoples from adjacent valleys, Cahuachi may have acquired the needed free labor to participate in the many communal activities that took place at Cahuachi as well as to propagate the significance and the name of Cahuachi.

On the other hand, those who managed to be "members" of Cahuachi appear to have benefitted from this relationship. These individuals, probably those interested in higher social status and power, seem to have achieved special recognition in their places of origins. Because of their contact with Cahuachi and the outside, these individuals in search of prestige apparently were regarded as important persons within their own communities. For its effect, a way to segregate themselves from the community and promote themselves to power (see Flannery 1972) probably was by owning unique exotic items, such as the beautiful early Nasca ceramics, which once again were used as "status insignia" (for similar discussion, see Flannery 1968).

To conclude, Cahuachi, with its prestige, appears to have "conquered" the inhabitants of the adjacent valleys, attracting them towards Cahuachi. As I have already noted, this appears to be the main reason why Cahuachi was converted into a regional ceremonial center during Nasca phase 3, which coincidentally corresponds to the time when more Nasca artifacts were introduced to valleys such as Acarí. Thus, there seems to be a relationship between these two events. As argued by Orefici (1996:183), it is possible that in Cahuachi there are material remains that belong to neighboring non-Nasca societies, more than the few Topará artifacts found by Strong (1957). As research continues at Cahuachi, it will not be a surprise if Acarí artifacts are also found at Cahuachi. Then, it will be apparent that under the umbrella of Cahuachi, many South Coast societies, including those who directly produced the Nasca pottery, were seasonally unified, in the same fashion as contemporary Andean pilgrimage centers bring together different and distant communities.

Conclusions

In this dissertation I have evaluated the "Nasca invasion hypothesis" of the Acarí Valley of the Peruvian South Coast. The wide distribution of the early Nasca pottery depicting an homogeneous art style was frequently seen as a manifestation of the Nasca "political expansion" from the Río Grande drainage towards the adjacent valleys (see Massey 1986:352). My evaluation of the available data does not support the above assumption, in particular considering that Cahuachi was a ceremonial center. In order to find, and offer, an alternative explanation of why the early Nasca ceramics had a wide areal

distribution, I have concentrated on the likely ideological significance and overall prestige of Cahuachi during phases 2 and 3. According to this new model, the noted association between the rise of Cahuachi as a ceremonial center and the introduction of the Nasca goods into the neighboring valleys is of special interest. Once again, the occurrence of these two events appears not to be pure coincidence, but related. Thus, the early Nasca ceramics found in Acarí, instead of being indicative of the Nasca invasion and the territorial incorporation of Acarí within Nasca, seem to represent the cultural interaction in which the inhabitants of Acarí and their northern neighbors were engaged.

The presence of a distinctive local Huarato pottery in Acarí argues against the "Nasca invasion hypothesis." Because the early Nasca products found in Acarí are rare, there is the possibility that these items were regarded as "status insignia" and as such were not goods in the hands of everyone, but only of specific individuals. The scarcity of the Nasca items strongly suggests that these products were used not only by some members of the Acarí society, but also used only during specific social events. The fact that these foreign items were generally cups and bowls suggest the possibility that these were secured in order to be used during events that aggregated a good number of local residents (feasts), during which the host may have tried to impress the guests. This may have been done for the purpose of being recognized as an "important" individual as well as to find supporters (clients).

Furthermore, the presence of early Nasca ceramics at several walled Acarí sites indicates that more than one settlement existed contemporaneously in this valley. This particular situation, appears to have been an important stimulus to external contact as well as to the securing of foreign goods. The possession of exotic items seems to have been crucial to achieve higher status. For those individuals in quest of prestige, Cahuachi and the beautiful Nasca ceramics probably were important sources of status. If so, the major concentration of Nasca pottery at Tambo Viejo, perhaps, signifies that the residents of this settlement gained some type of political leadership within the valley. However, ownership over the polychrome Nasca ceramics in valleys such as Acarí appears not to have converted local residents into foreigners (Nasca).

It should be clear, nevertheless, that this is an alternative hypothesis. Thus, the speculations presented here need to be considered as such. I am aware, however, that this model is difficult to test. If future research in Acarí confirms the apparent restricted distribution of the early Nasca artifacts and/or their association *only* with "high status individuals" (e.g. unique burials), the data supporting this hypothesis will be reinforced. Additinally, if future research in Cahuachi locates materials from Acarí, it would constitute possible evidence of the presence of Acarí individuals at Cahuachi and of the interaction between Acarí and Nasca during the time Cahuachi was at its climax.

Note:

1. According to Riddell (personal communication, 1997), the walled site of Coquimbo bears evidence of lapis lazuli minning. Considering that this deep blue semiprecious stone is frequently used to manufacture ornaments, it is plausible that the Nasca became interested in maintaining contact with their neighbors of Acarí to secure this particular material. However, until further information becomes available, this information cannot be considered as conclusive. According to Carmichael (personal communication, 1997), ornaments made of lapis lazuli are not common in Nasca graves.

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APPENDIX ONE:
FIGURES

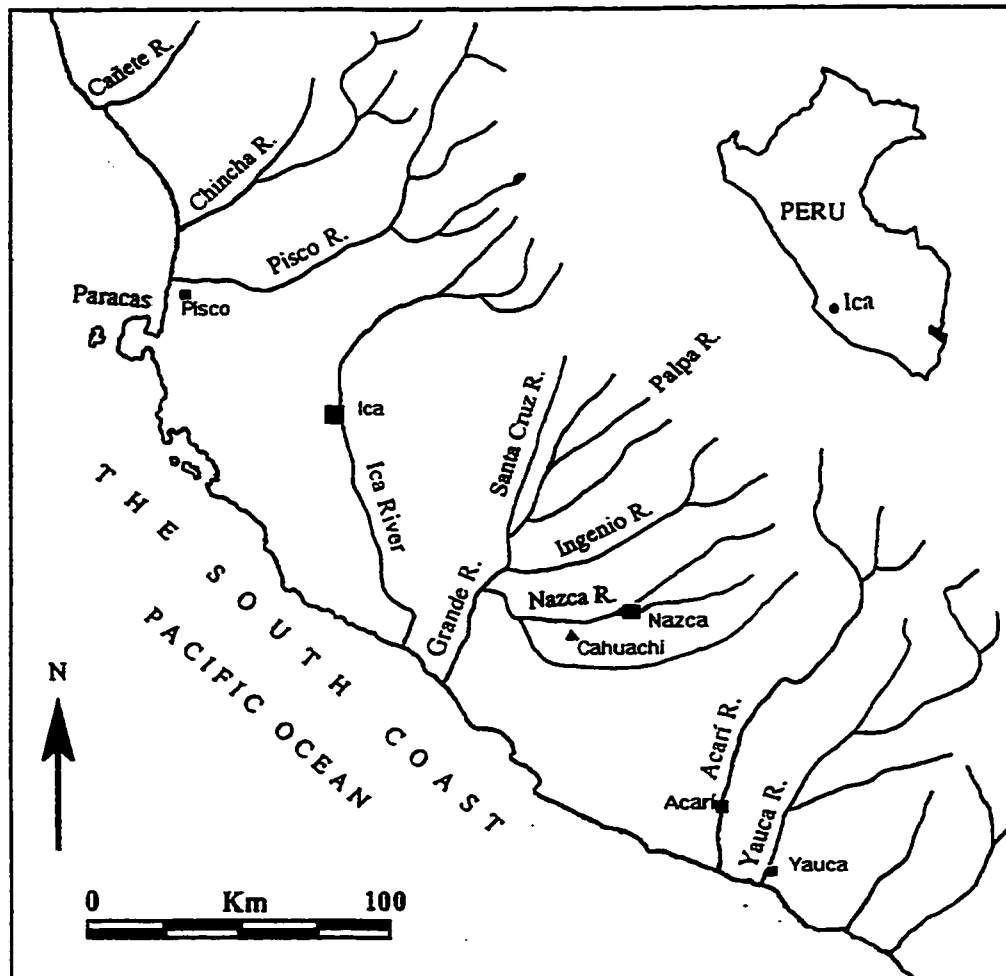


FIGURE 1: The Peruvian South Coast Region

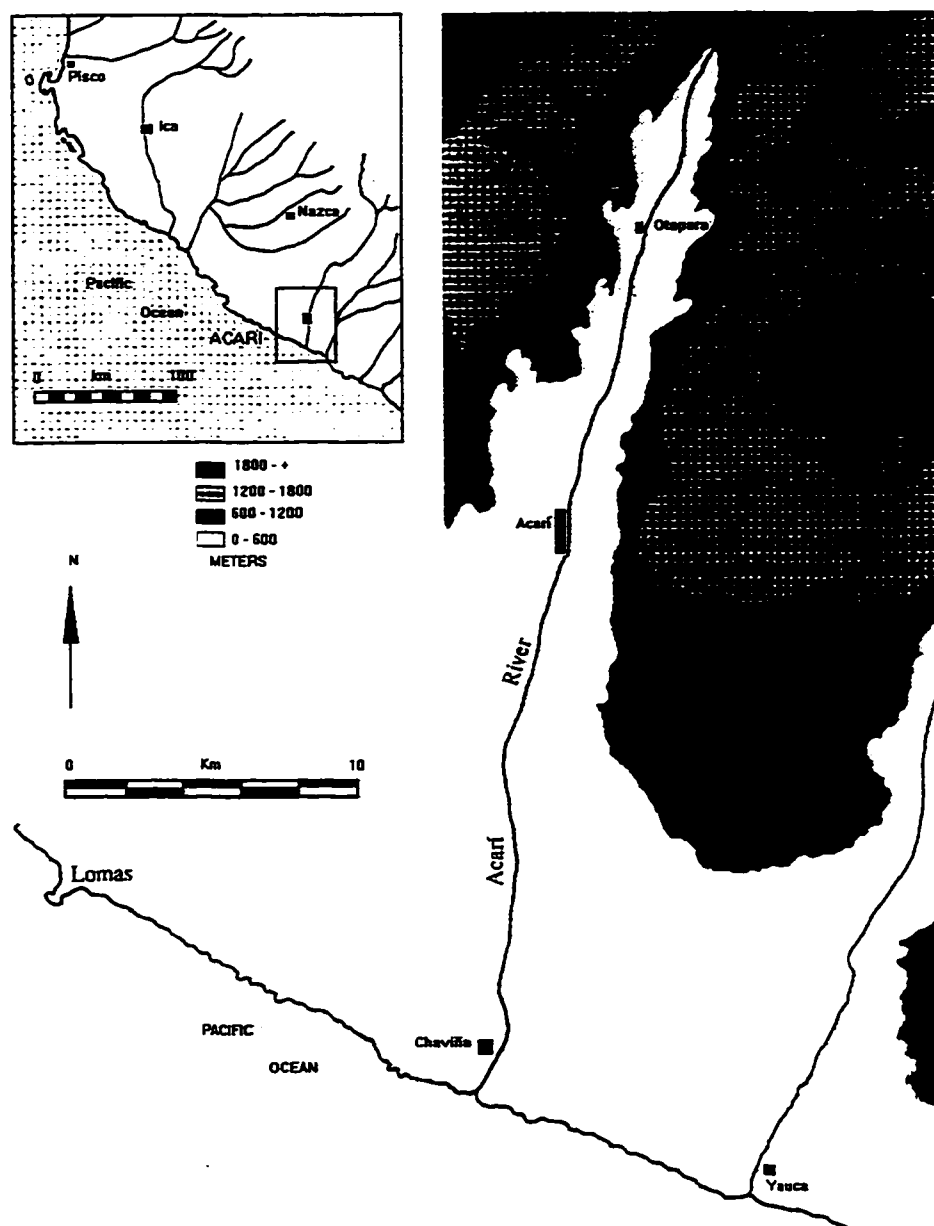


FIGURE 2: The Acari Valley

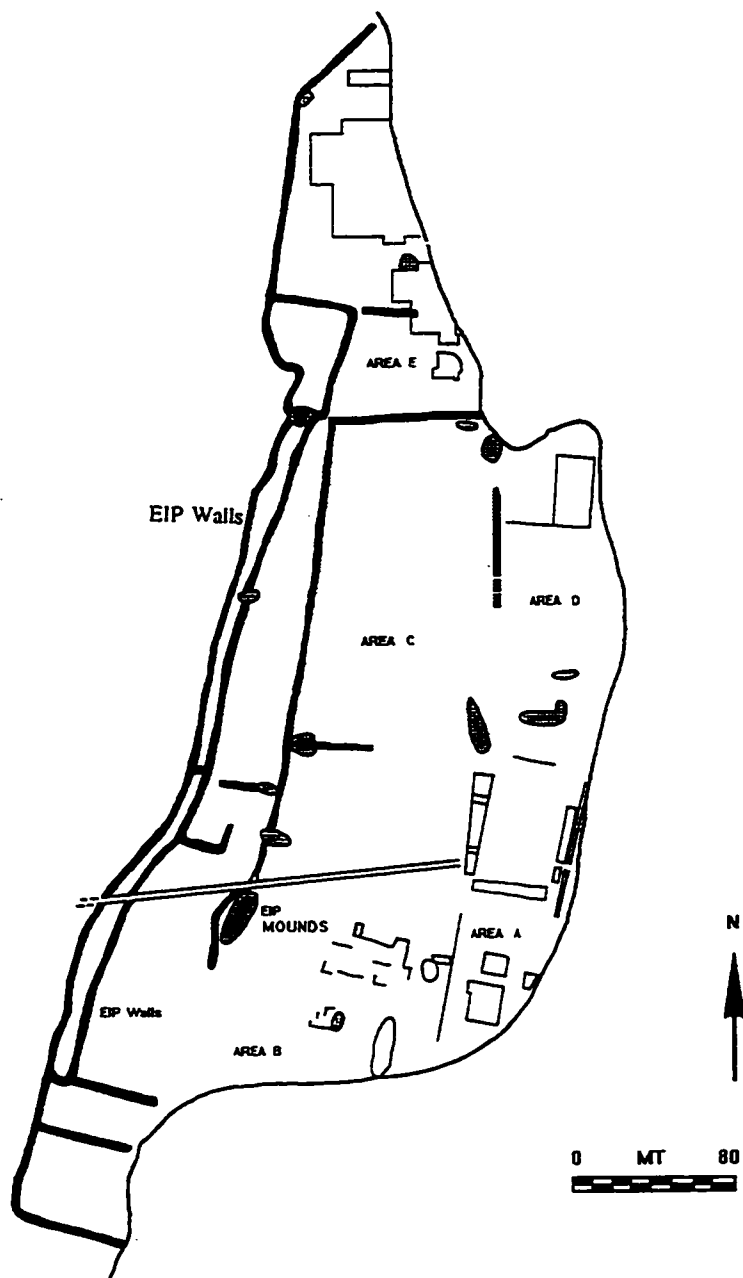


FIGURE 3: Tambo Viejo

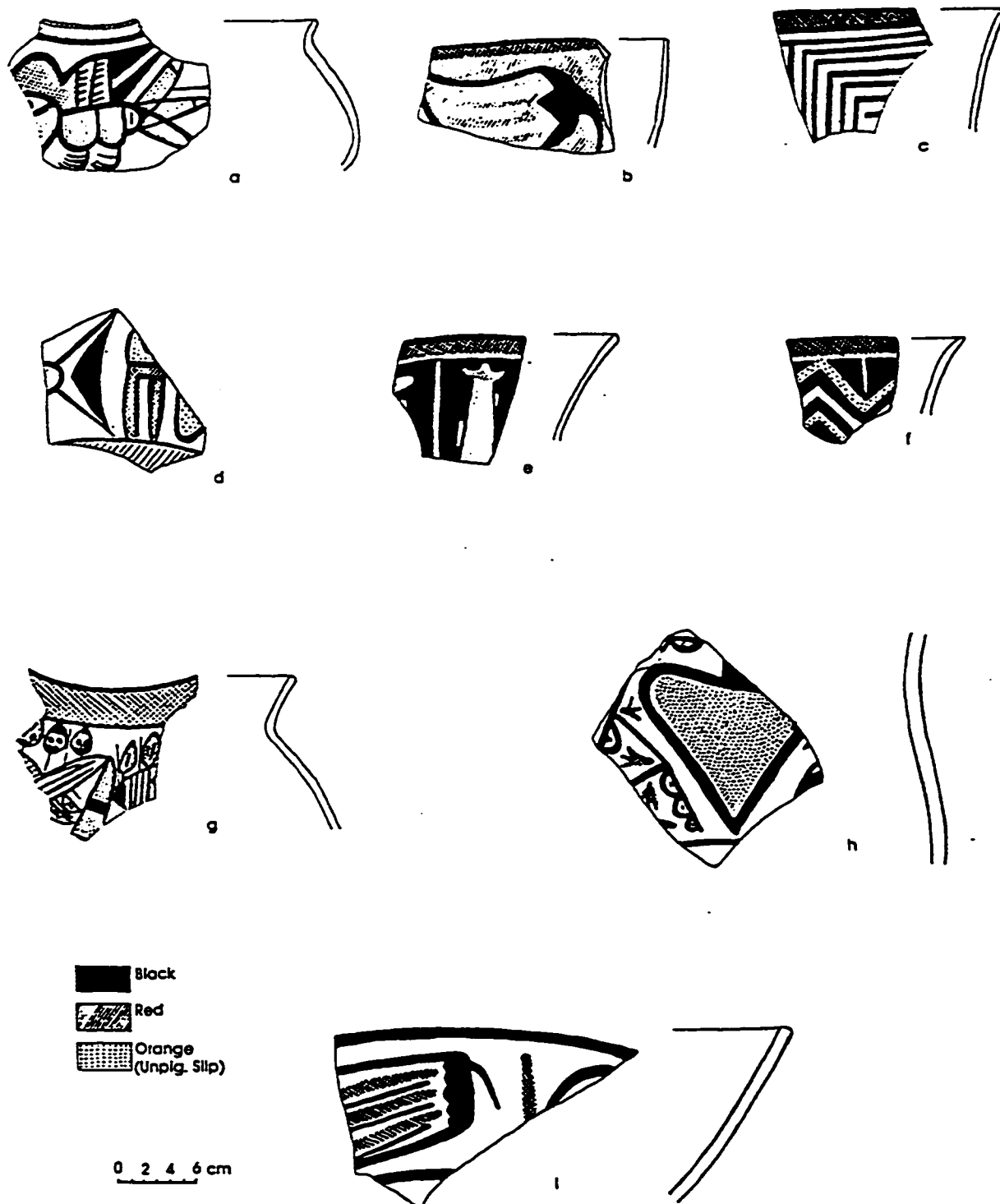


FIGURE 4: Early Nasca Sherds Collected in 1954

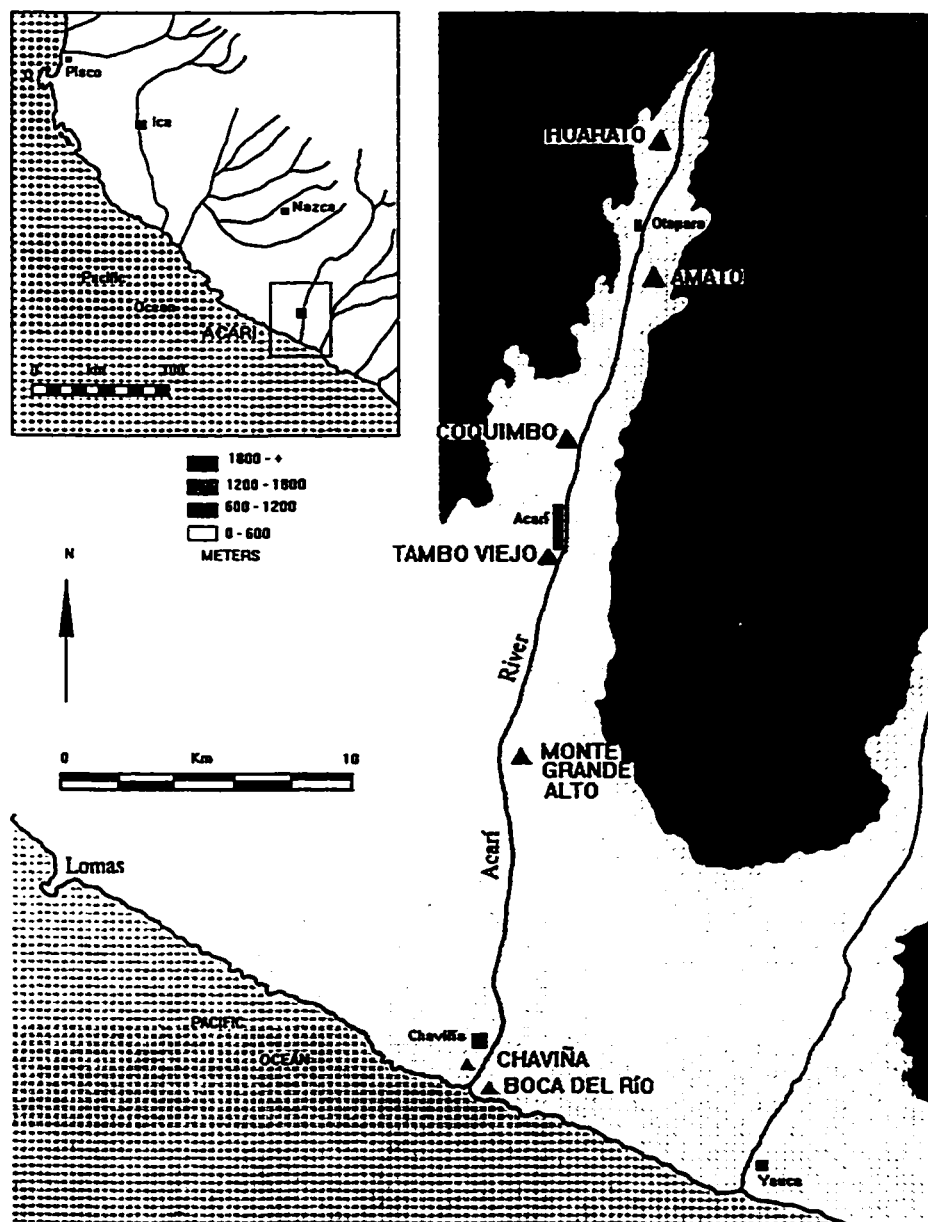


FIGURE 5: The Walled Sites of the Acari Valley

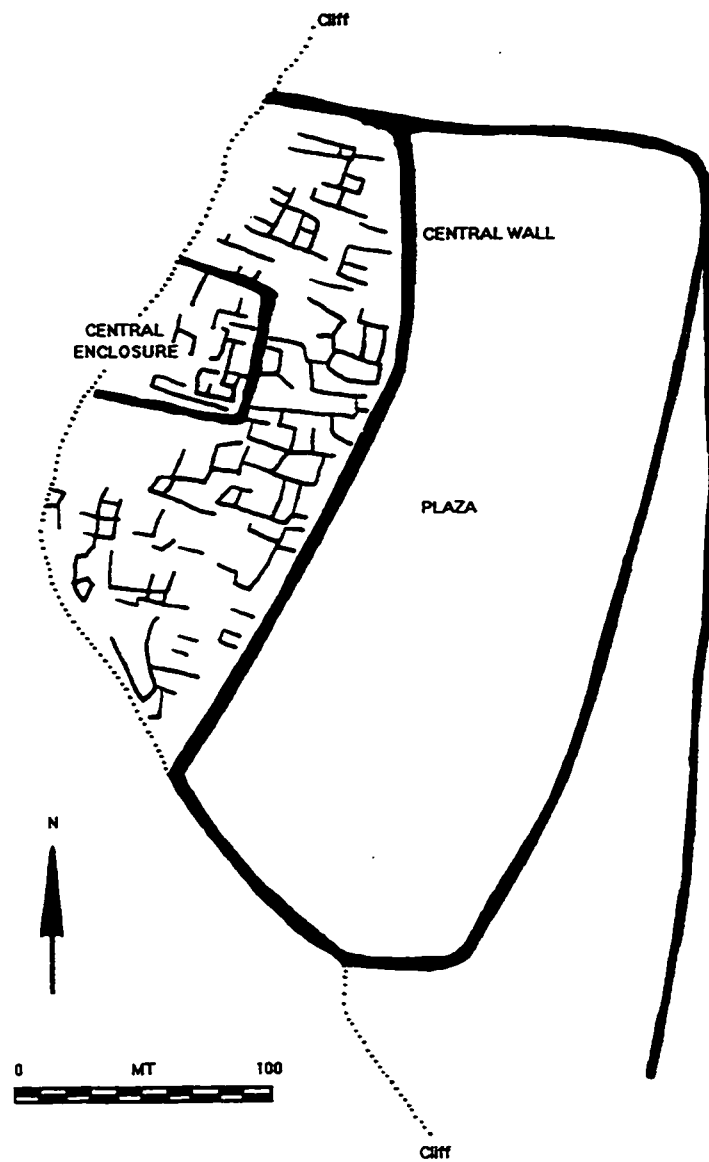


FIGURE 6: Monte Grande Alto

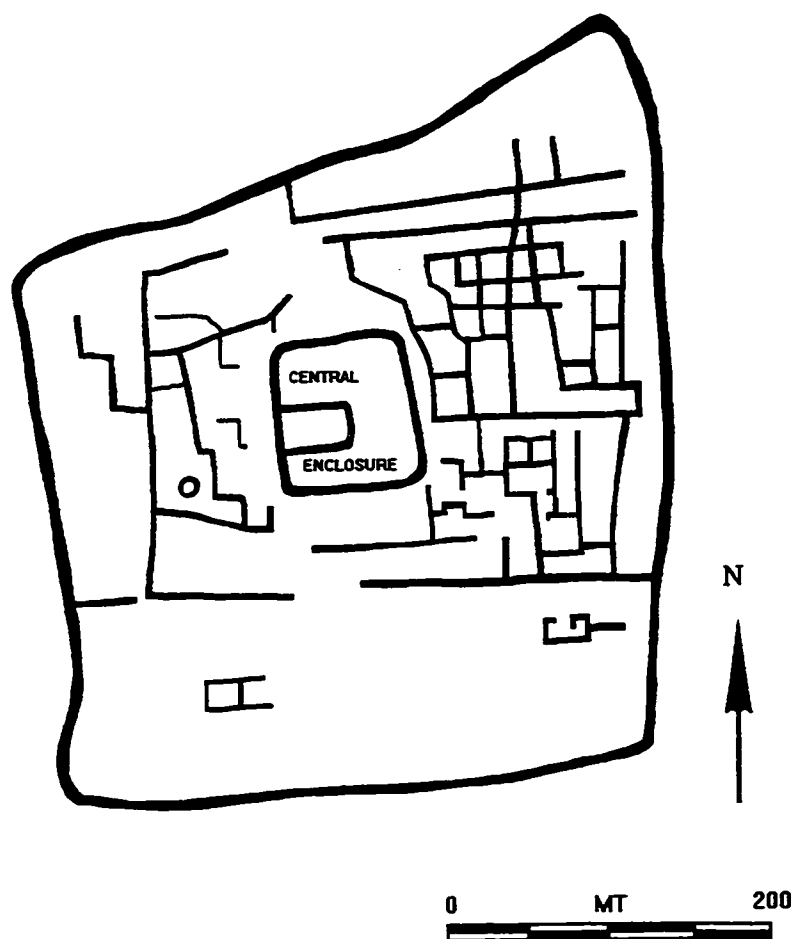


FIGURE 7: Amato

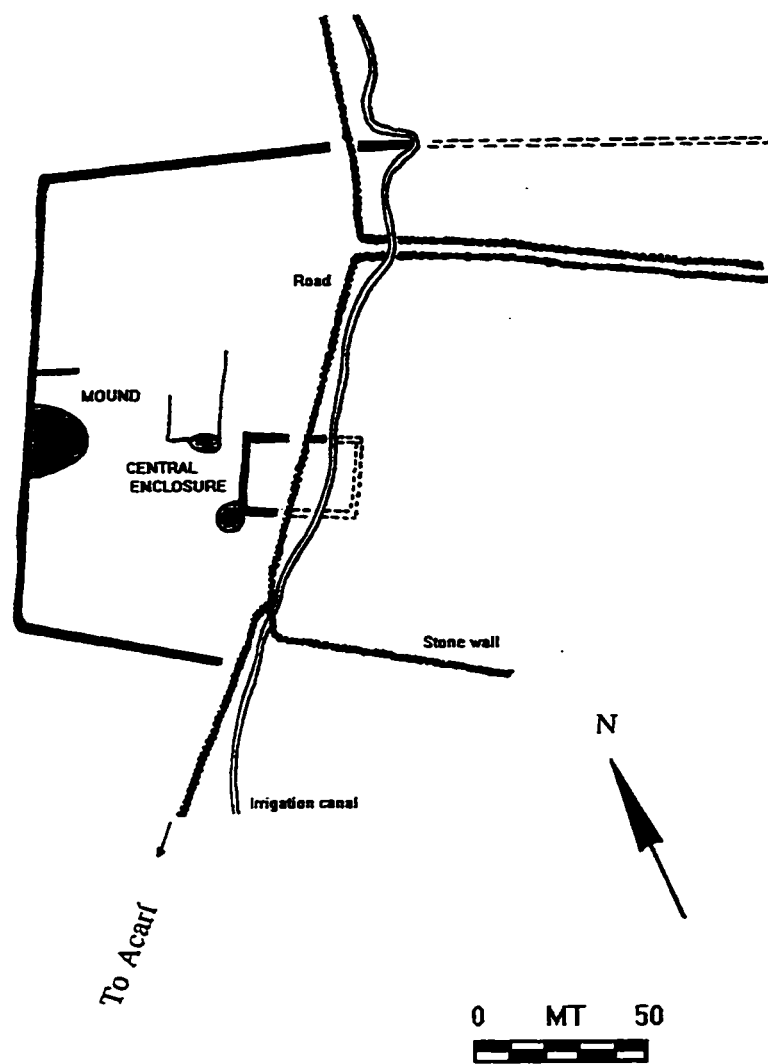


FIGURE 8: Huarato

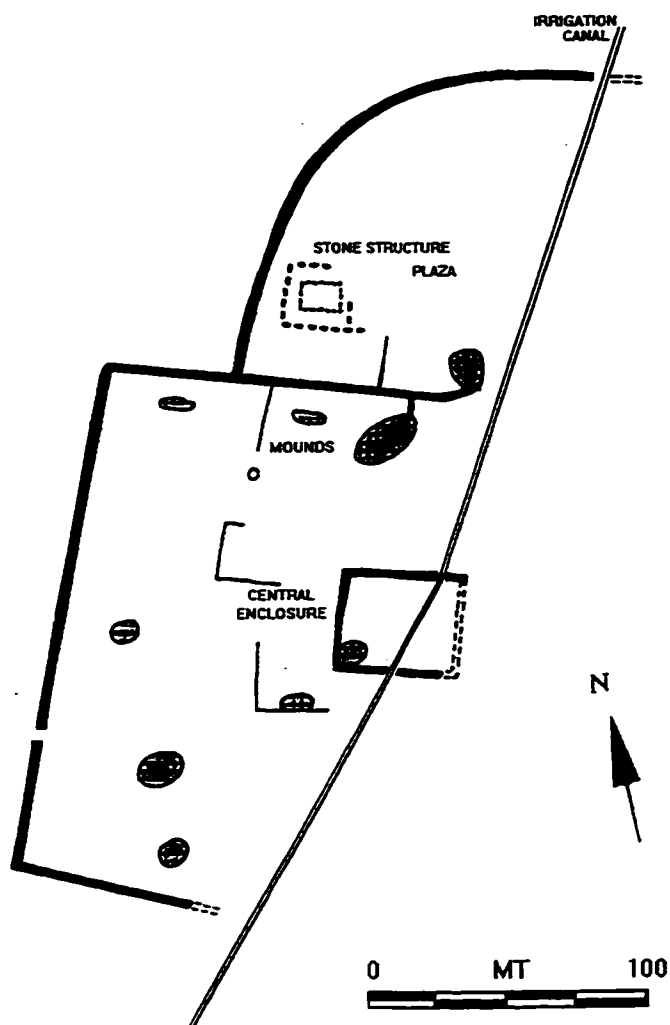


FIGURE 9: Coquimbo

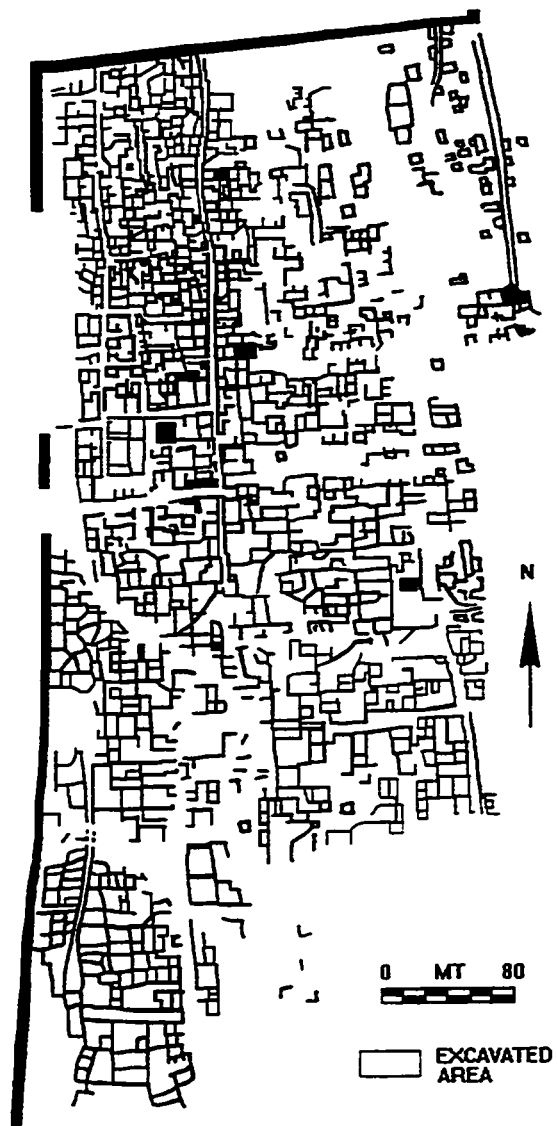


FIGURE 10: Area C of Tambo Viejo

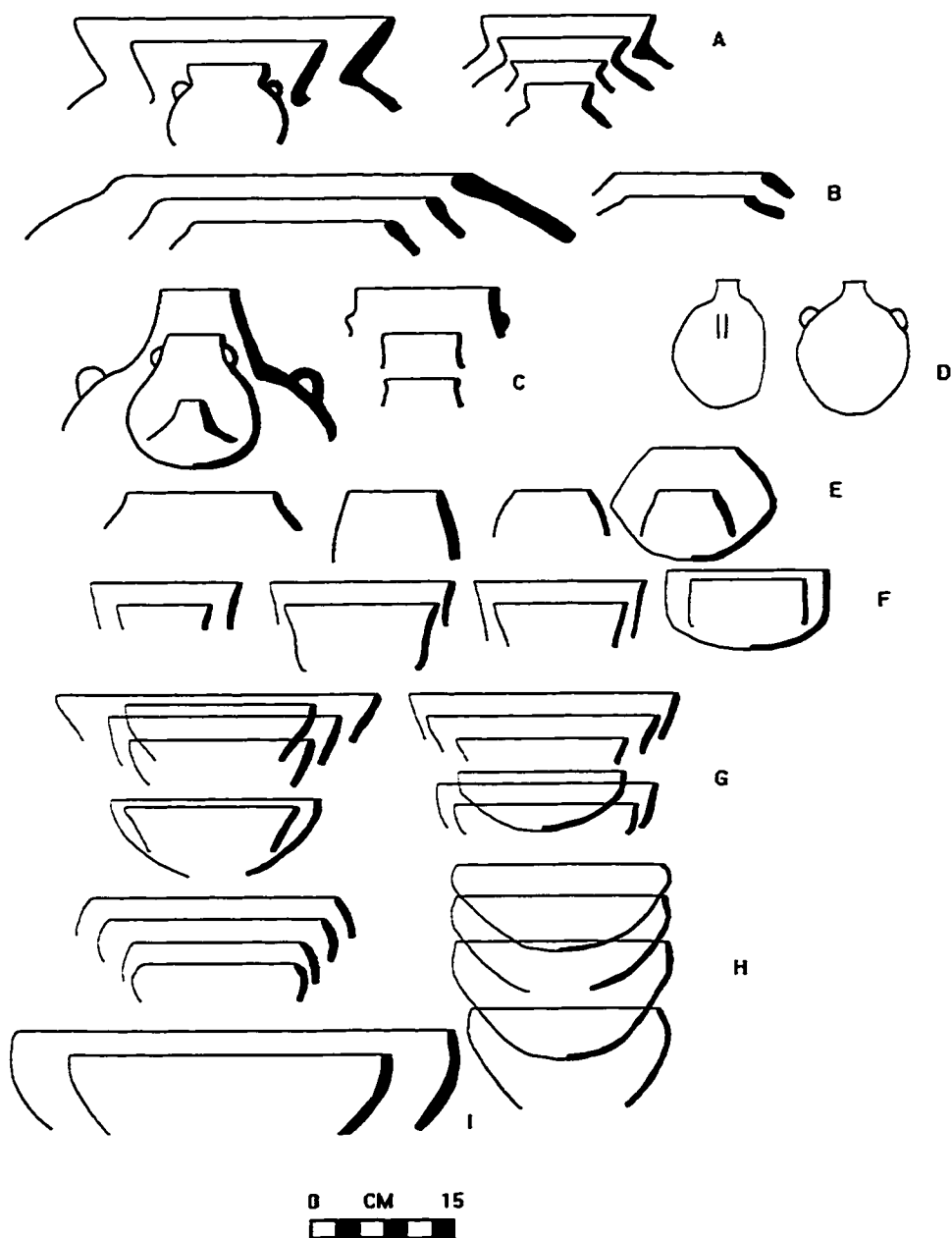
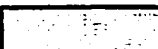


FIGURE 11: Pottery Forms of the Walled Sites

COLOR KEY

	White		Orange
	Unpainted Surface		Red
	Grey		Black
	Brown		Chipped / Fragmented

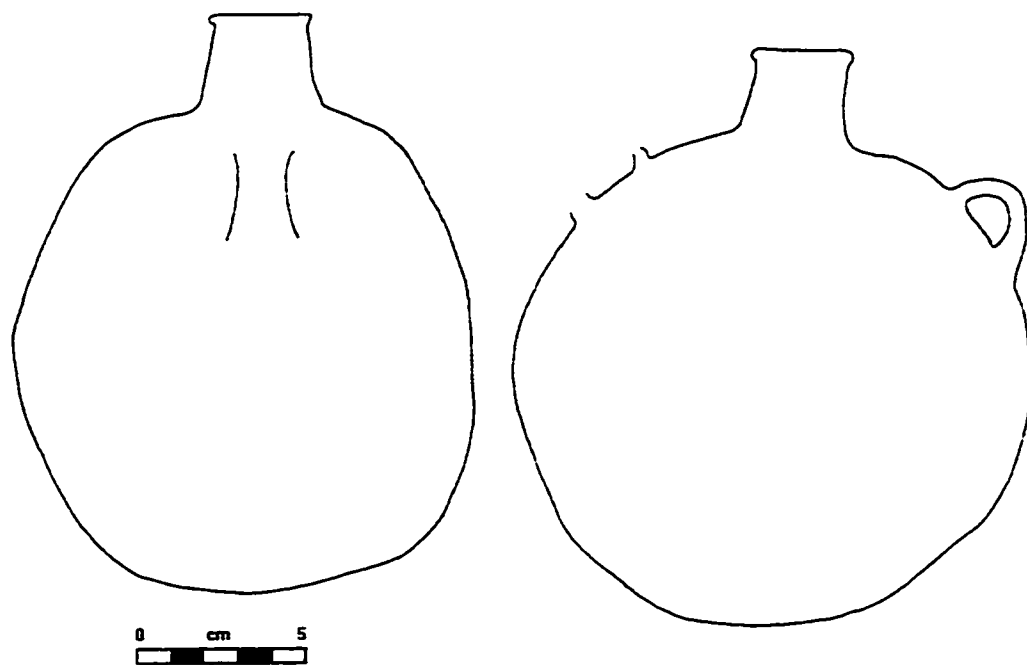


FIGURE 12: Canteen Uncovered During the 1987 Excavations at Tambo Viejo

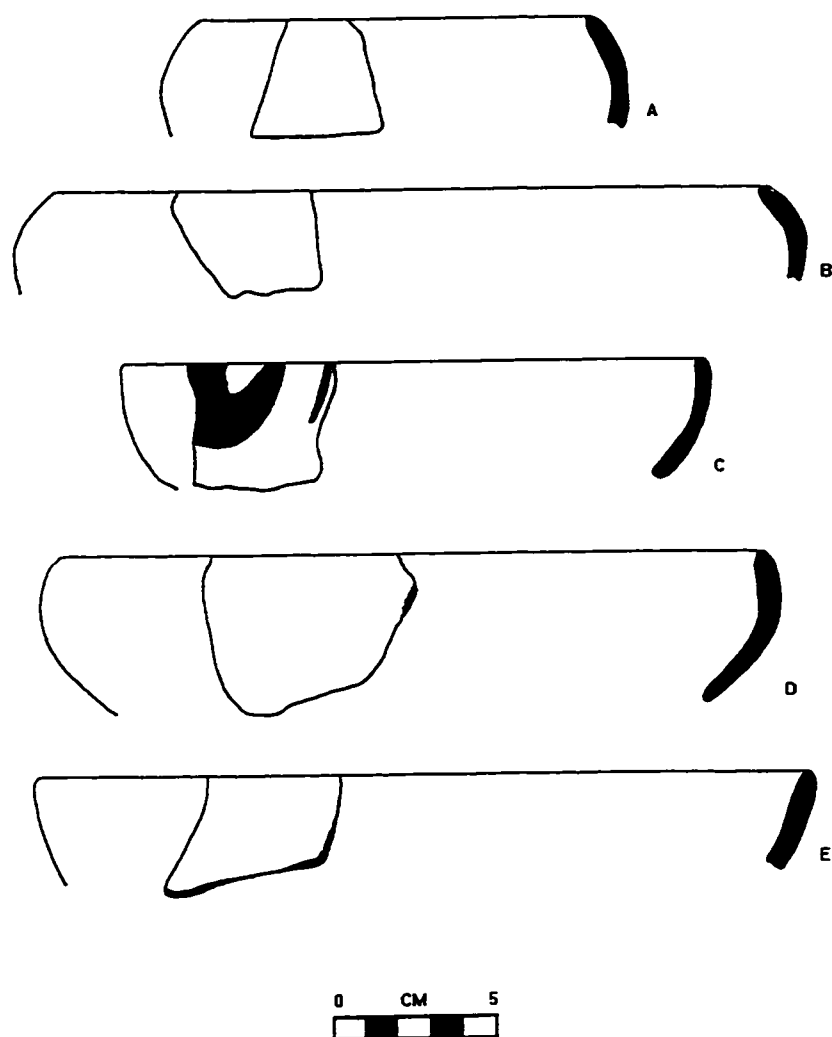


FIGURE 13: Local Pottery from Huarato

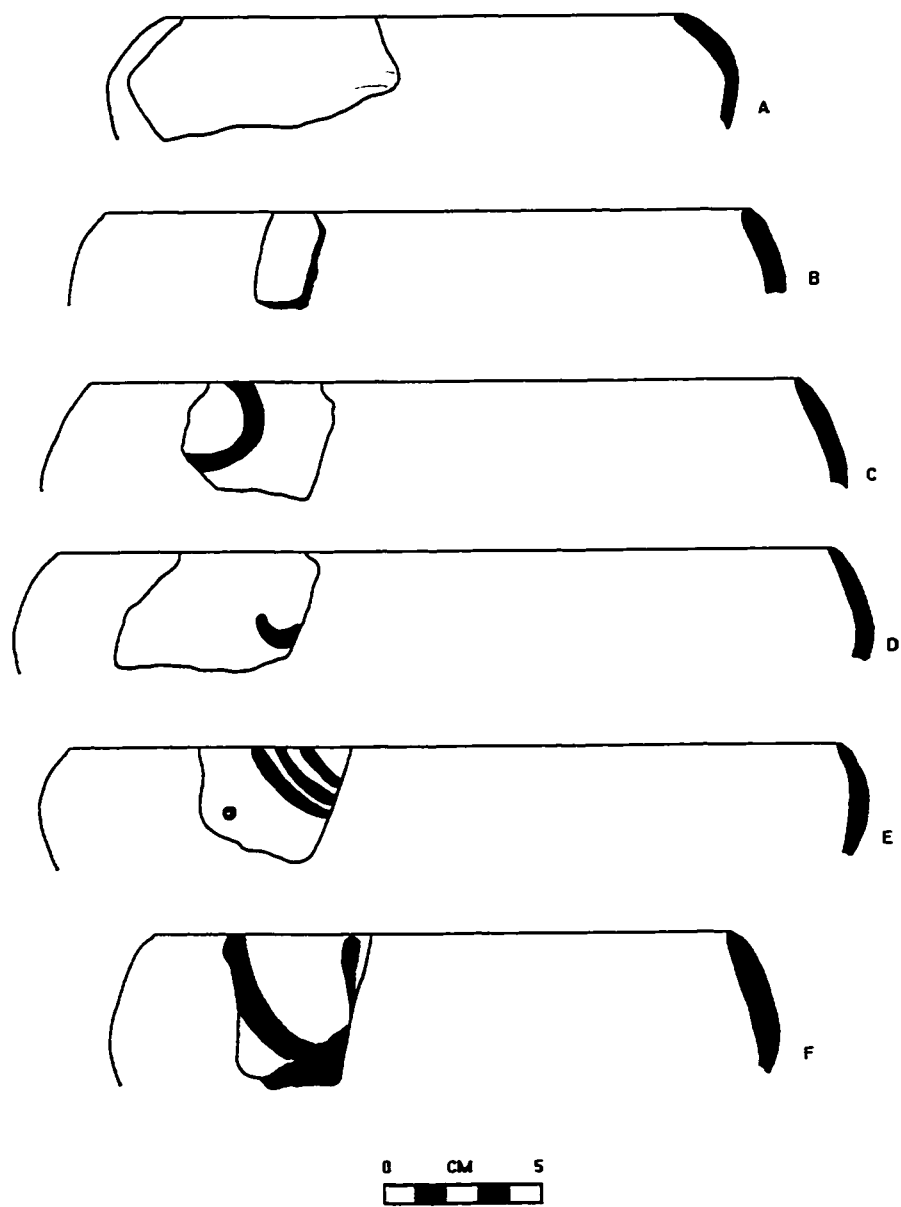


FIGURE 14: Local Pottery from Amato

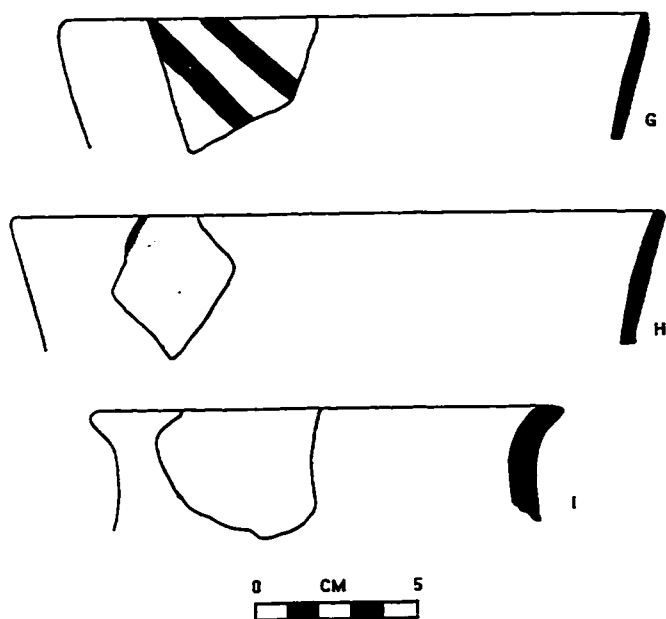


FIGURE 14: Continued...

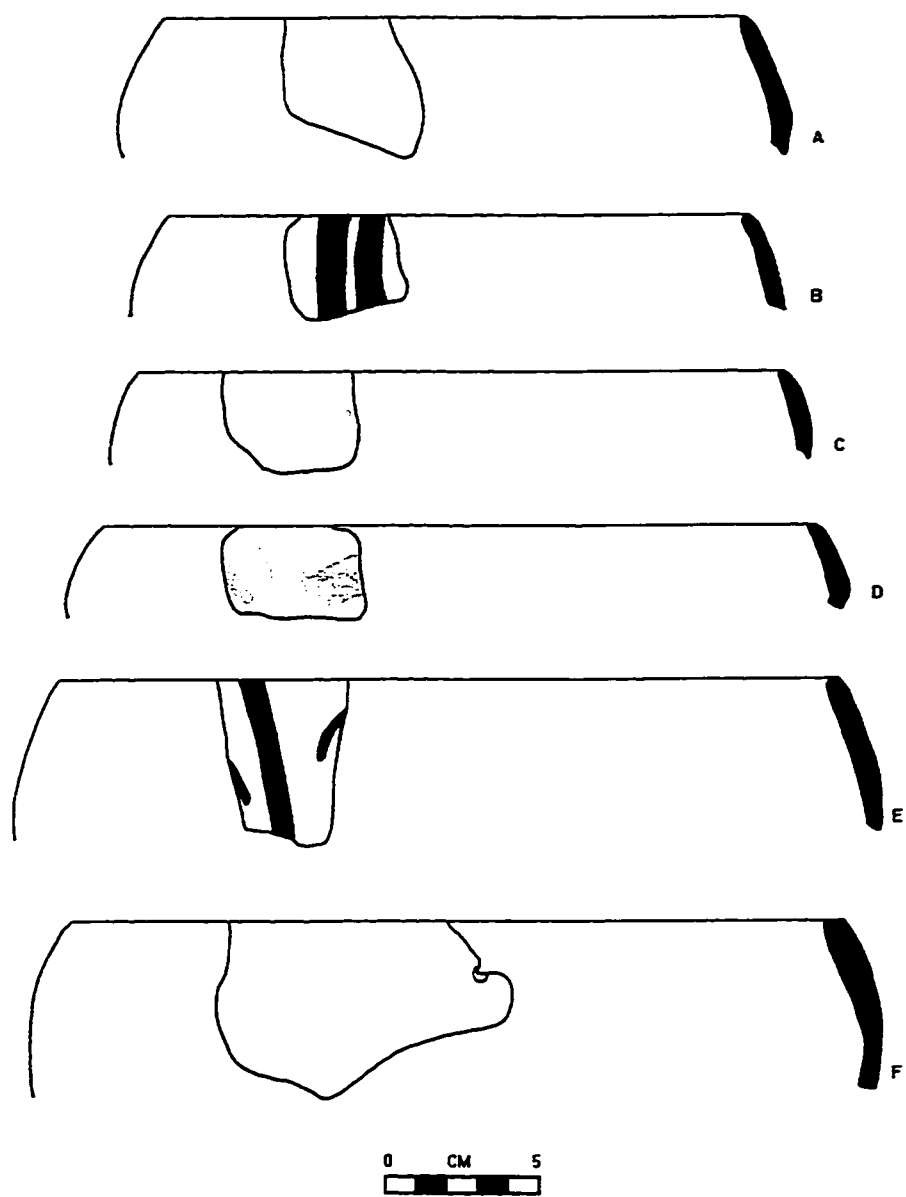


FIGURE 15: Local Pottery from Coquimbo



FIGURE 15: Continued...

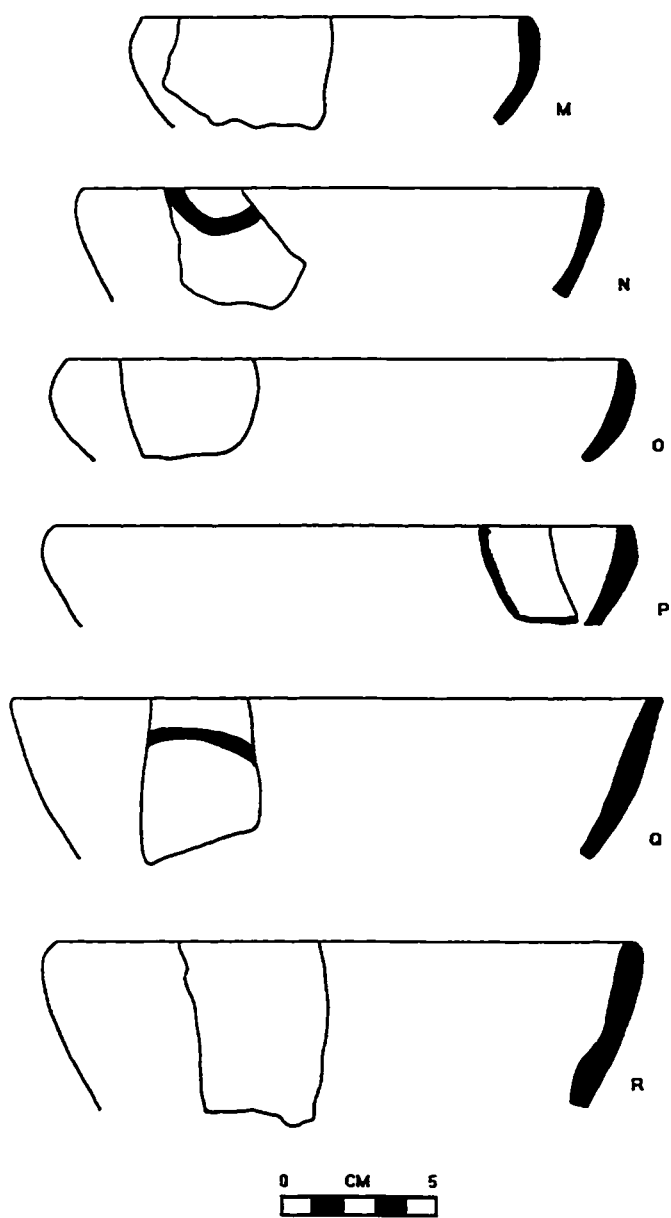


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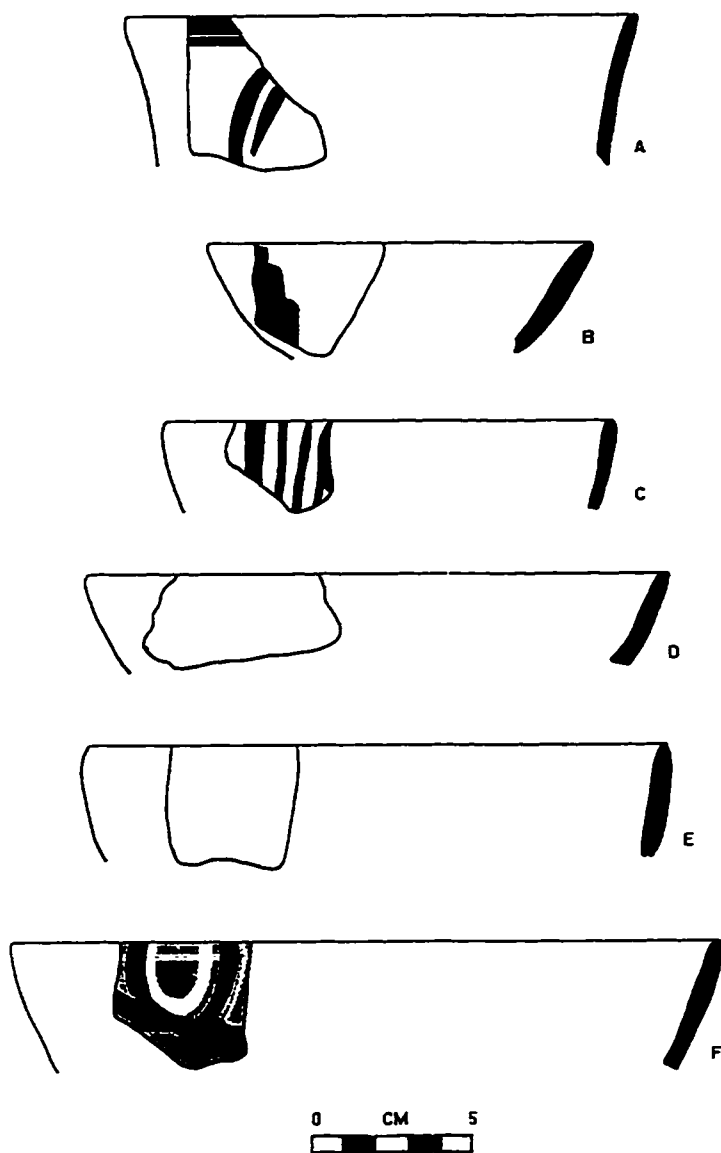


FIGURE 16: Local Pottery from Tambo Viejo

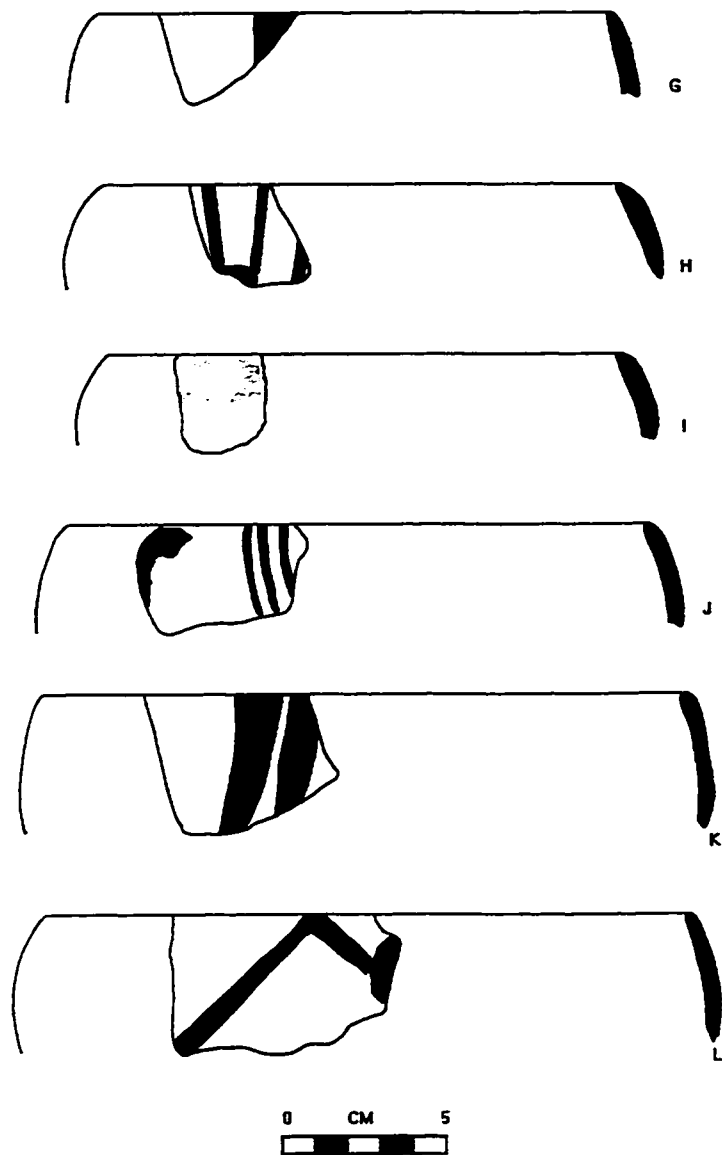


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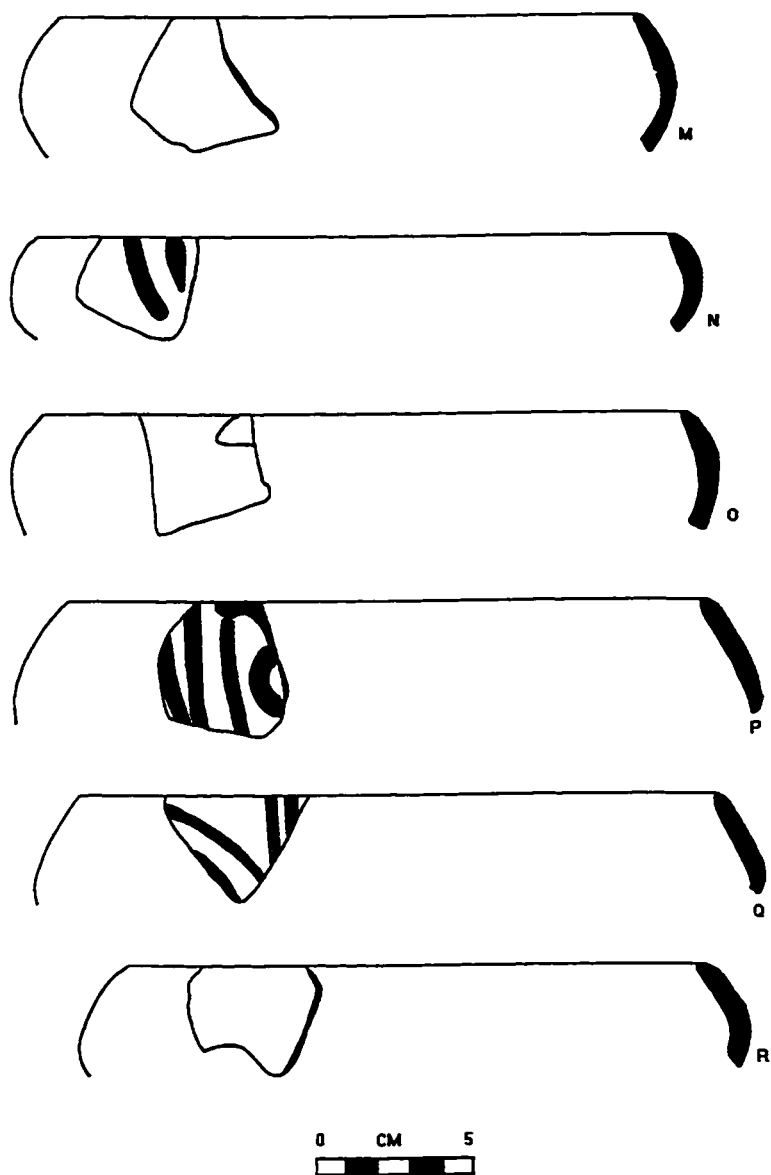


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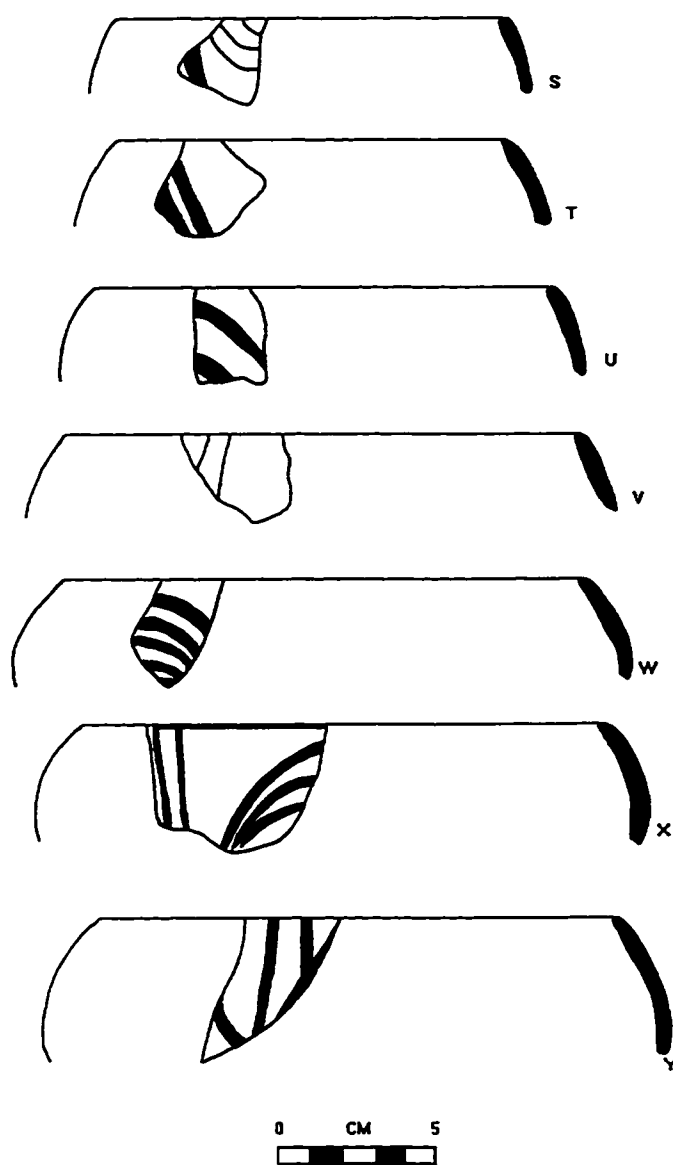


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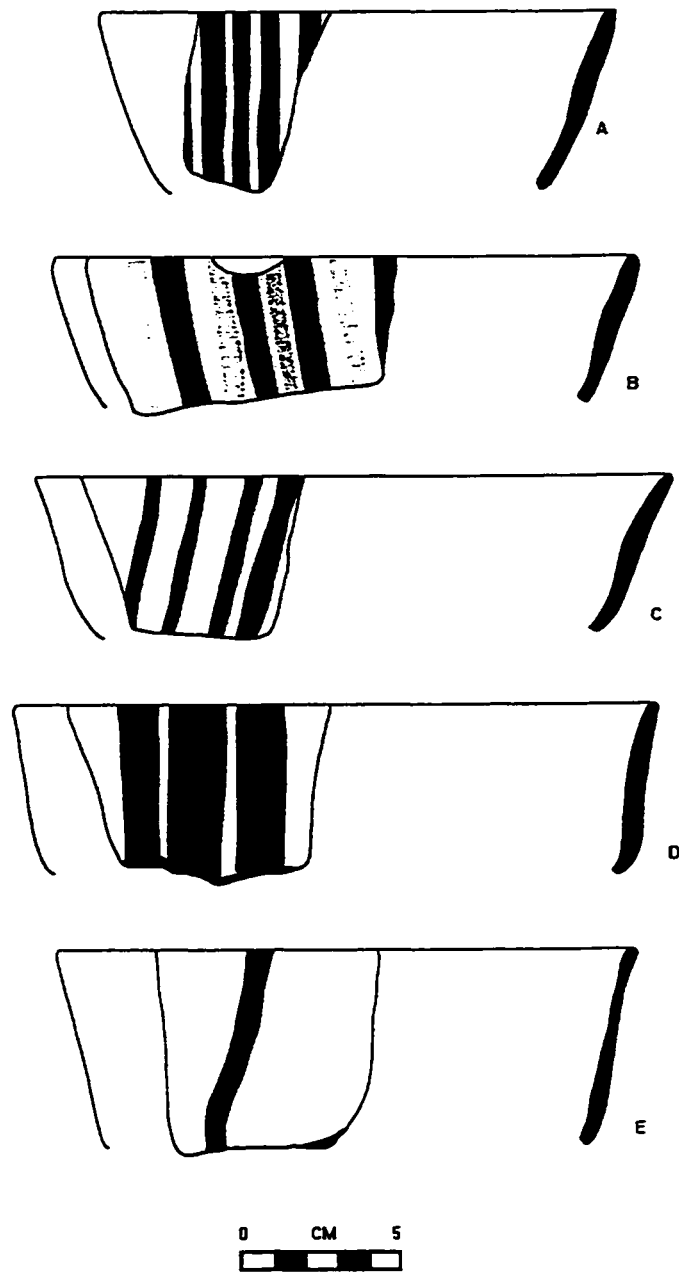


FIGURE 17: Local Pottery from Monte Grande Alto

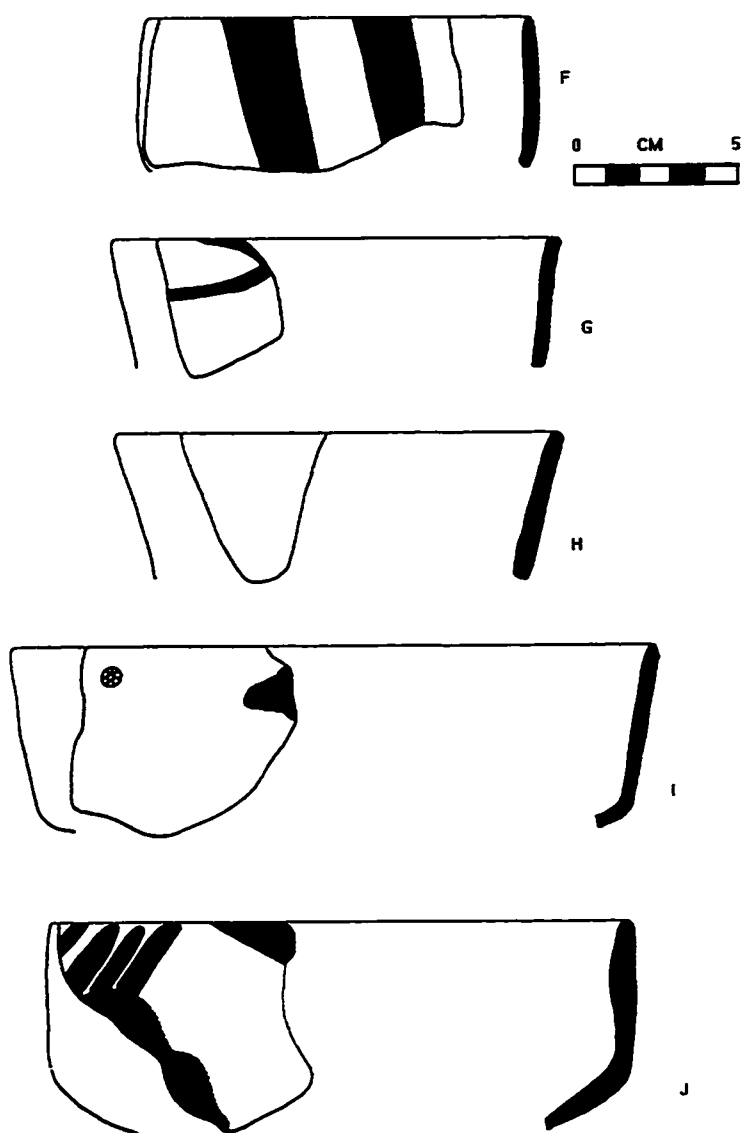


FIGURE 17: Continued...

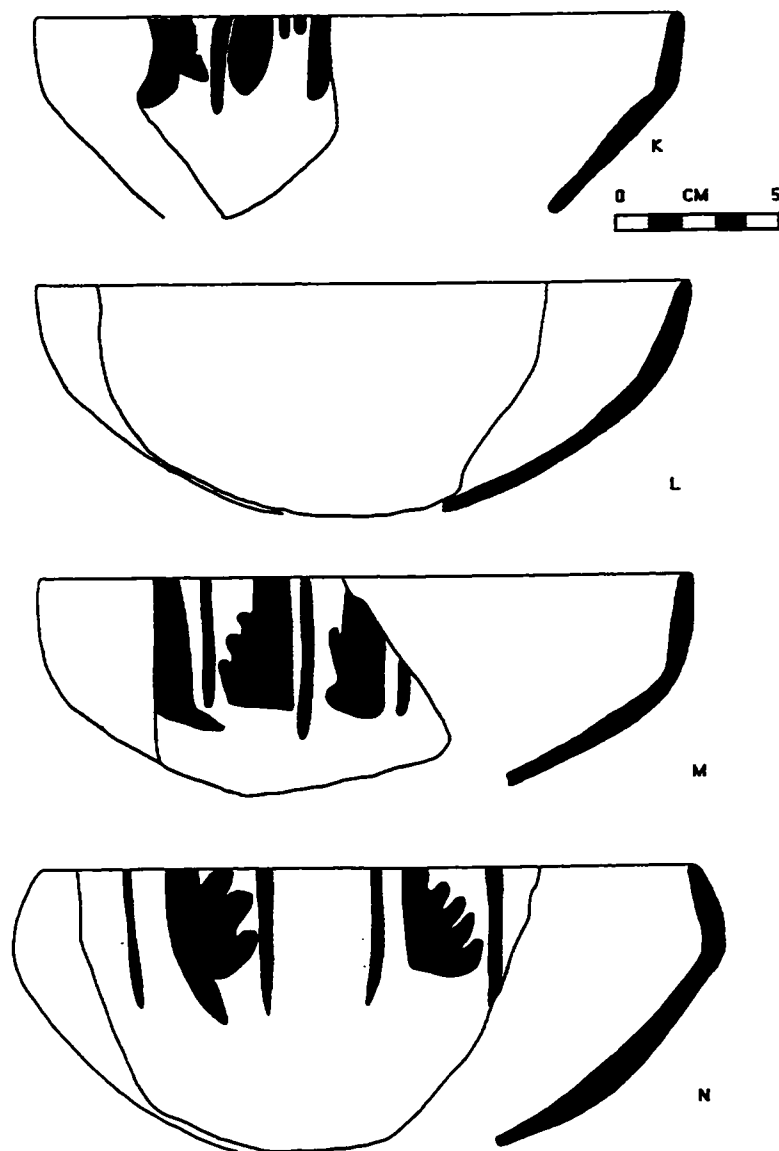


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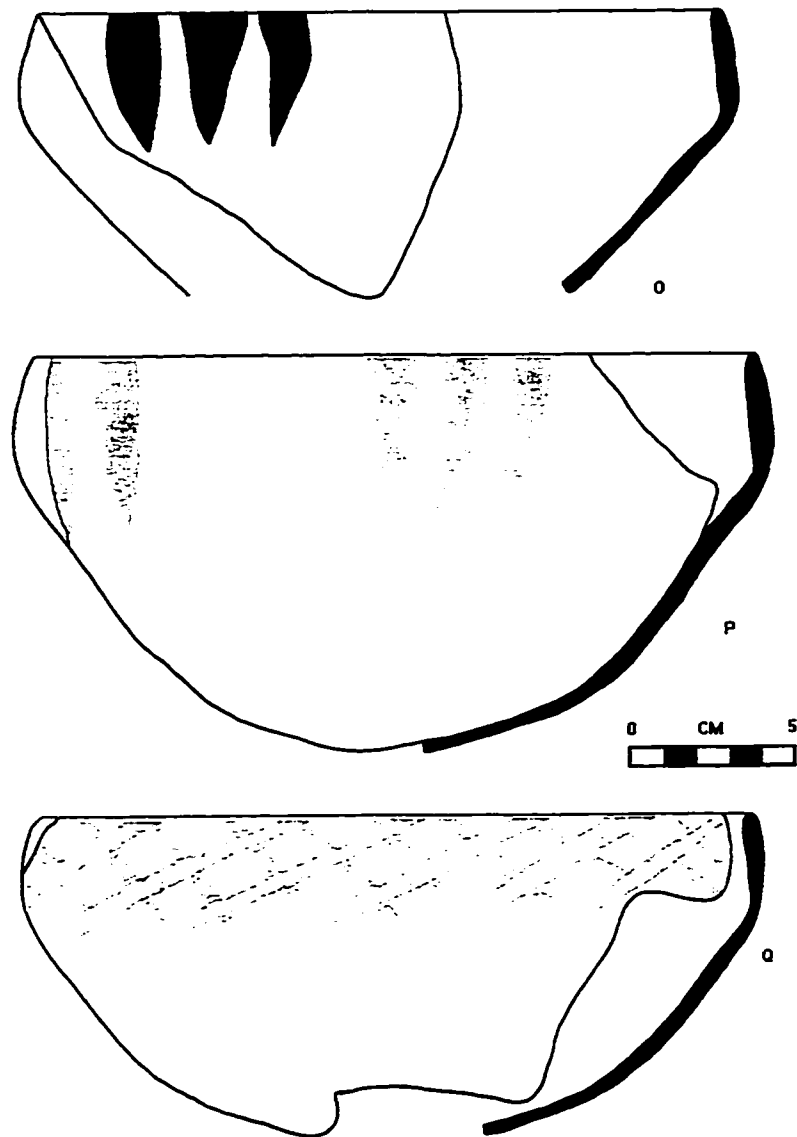


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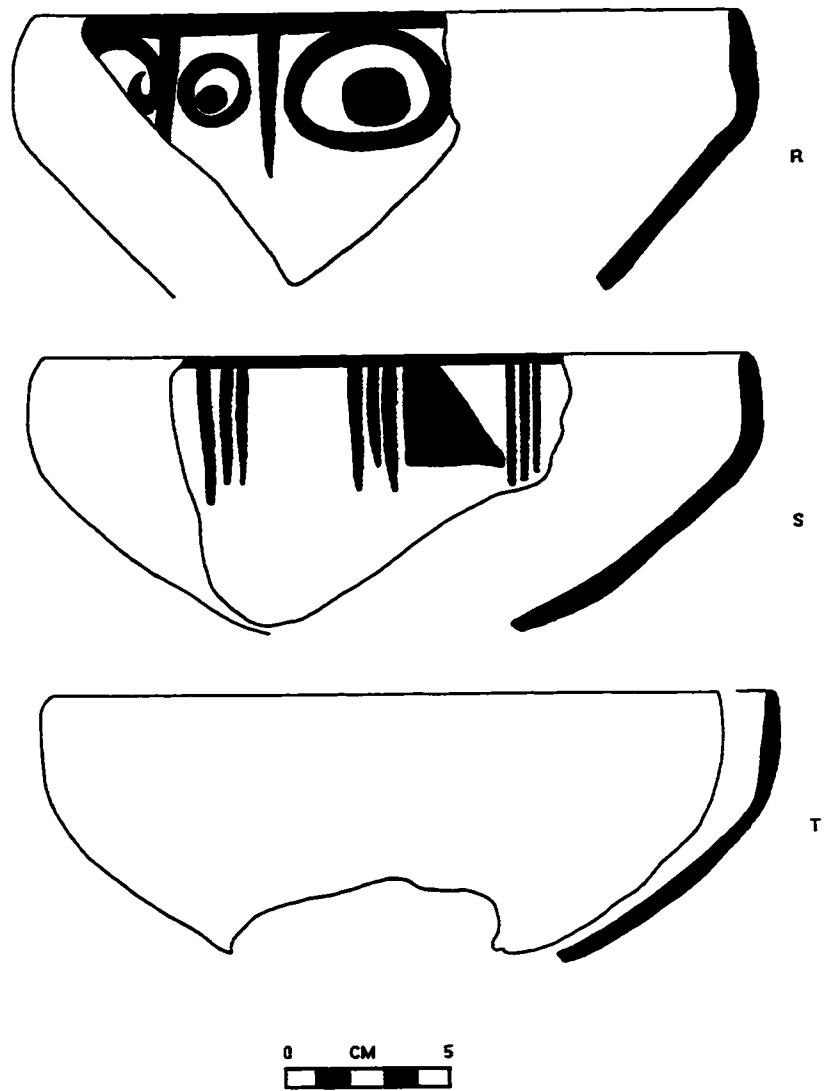


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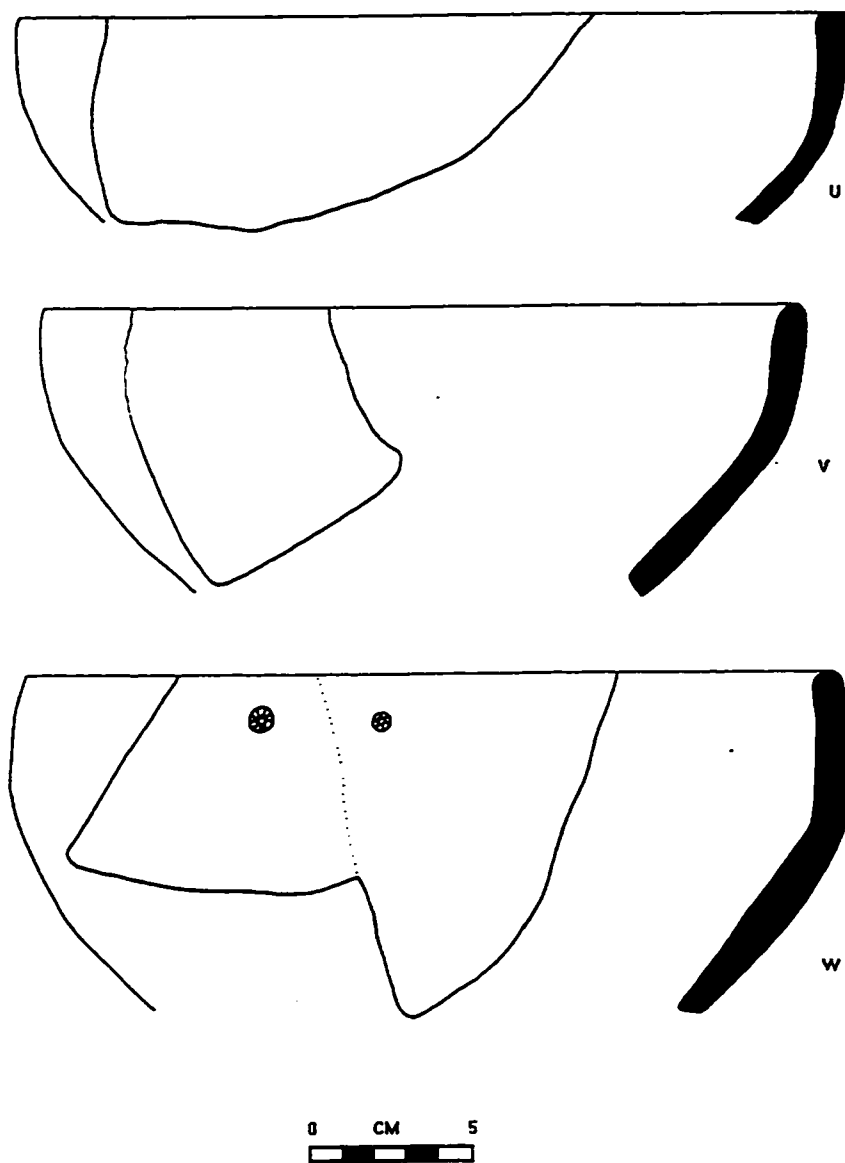


FIGURE 17: Continued..

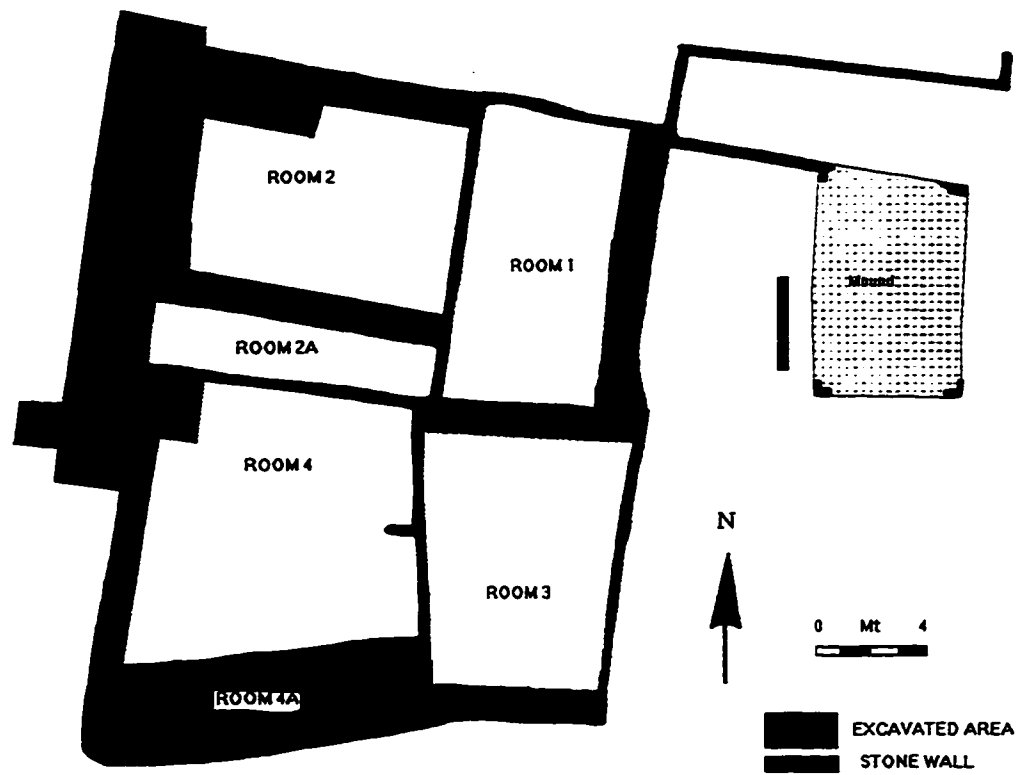


FIGURE 18: Excavated Area of Tambo Viejo

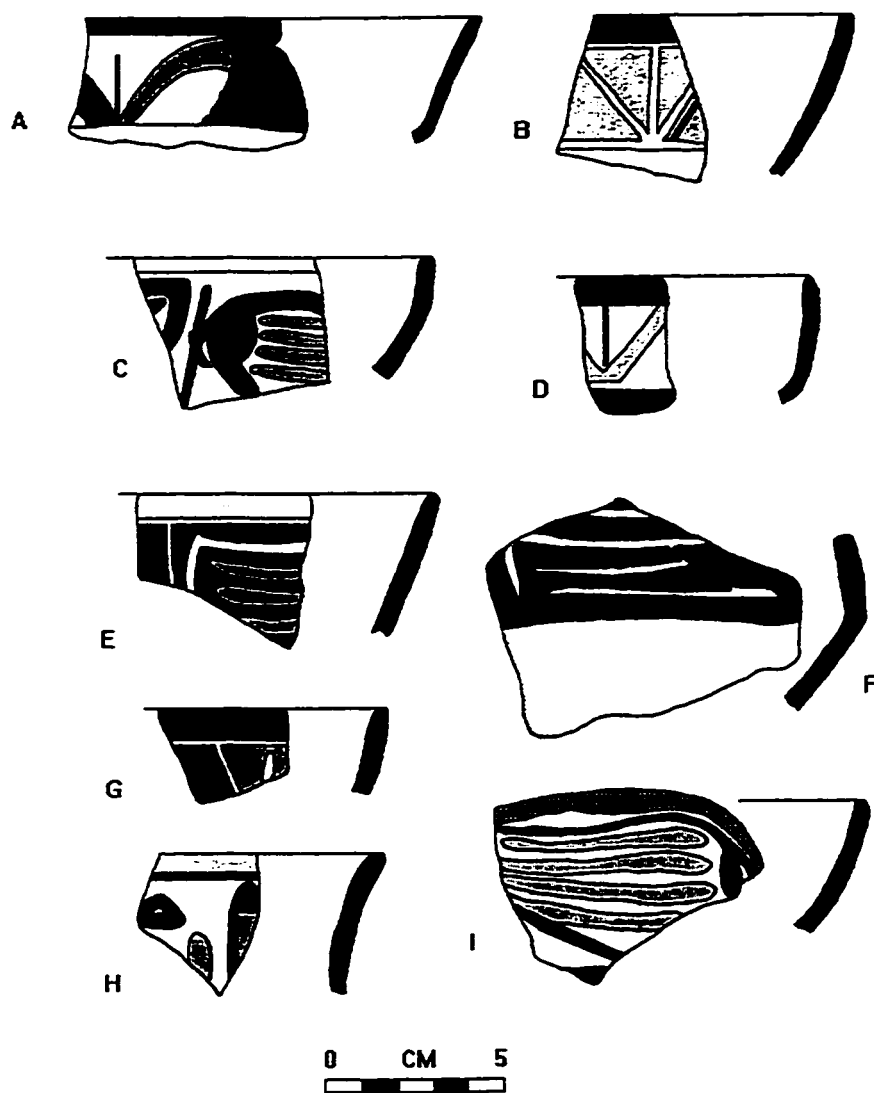


FIGURE 19: Early Nasca Sherds Uncovered from Tambo Viejo in 1985 and 1986

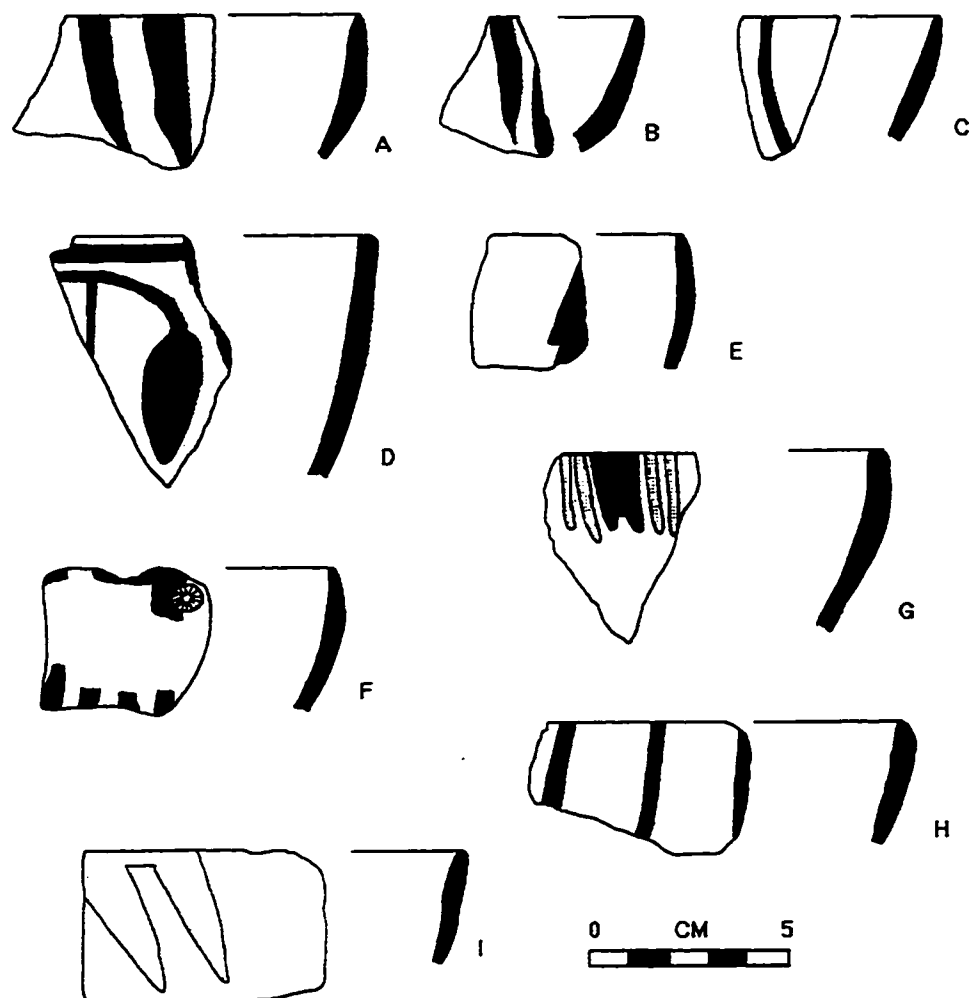


FIGURE 20: Local Pottery Uncovered from Tambo Viejo in 1985 and 1986



FIGURE 21: Pottery Uncovered from Tambo Viejo in 1987

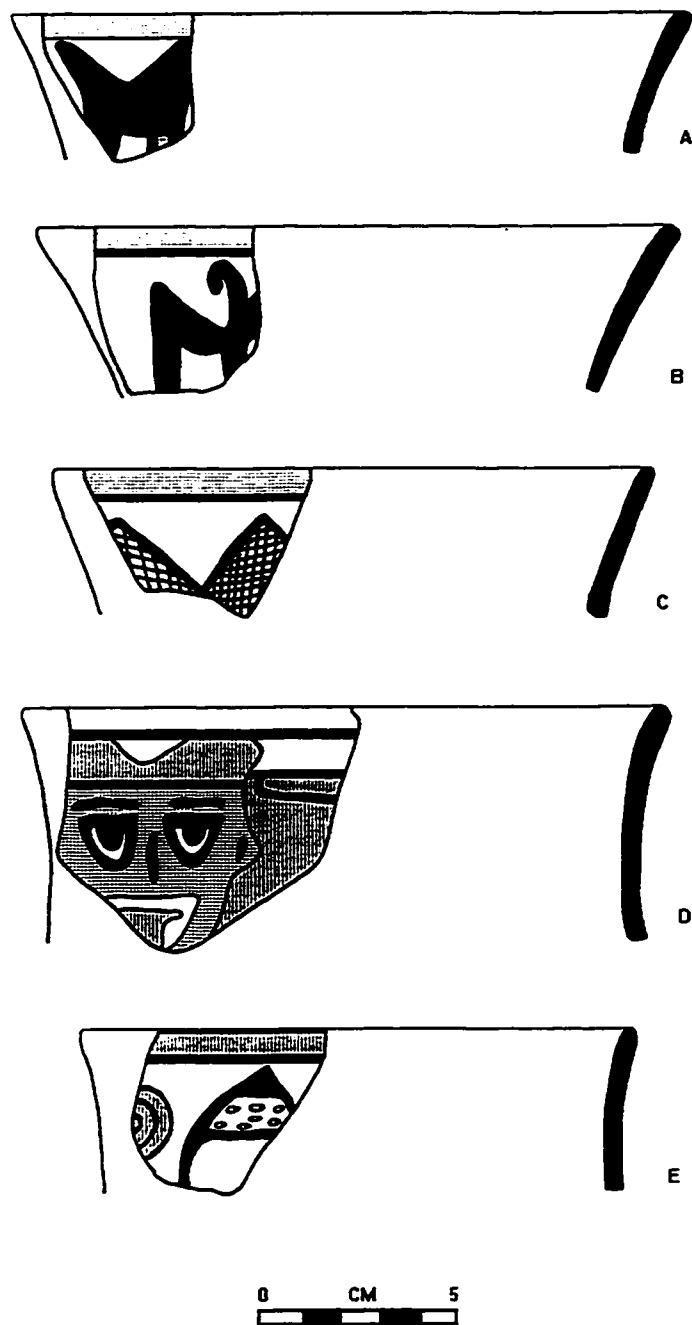


FIGURE 22: Early Nasca Sherds found at Tambo Viejo (surface)

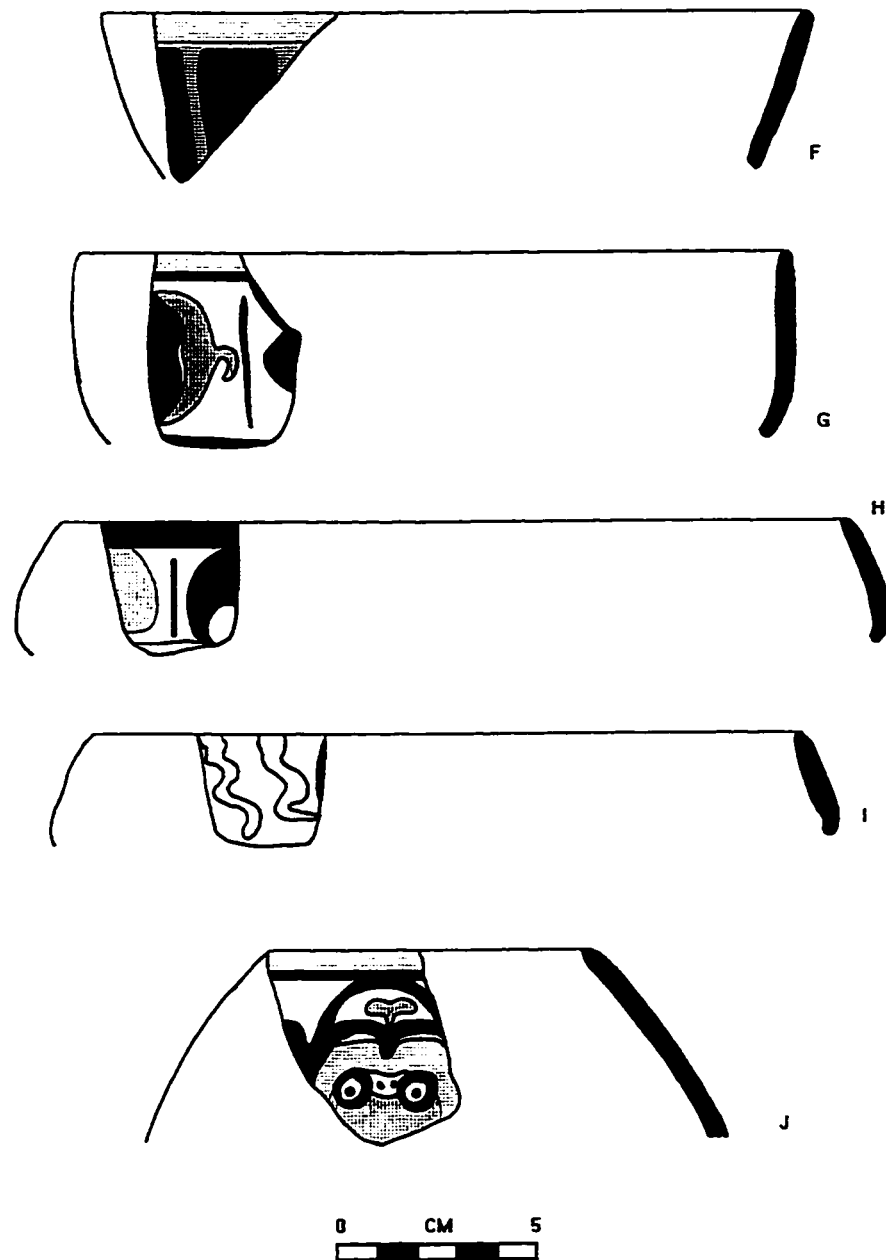


FIGURE 22: Continued...

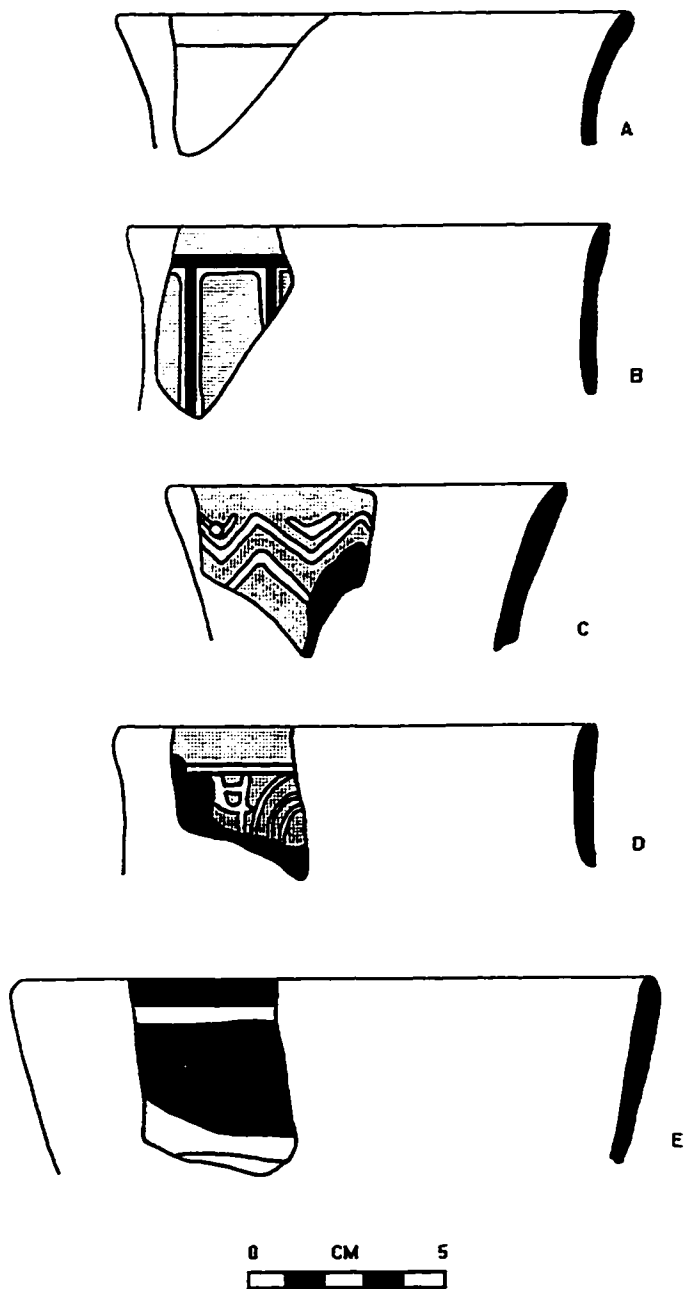


FIGURE 23: Early Nasca Sherds from Huarato (A - G, I), Coquimbo (H, J, K), and Monte Grande Alto (I - O) (Surface)

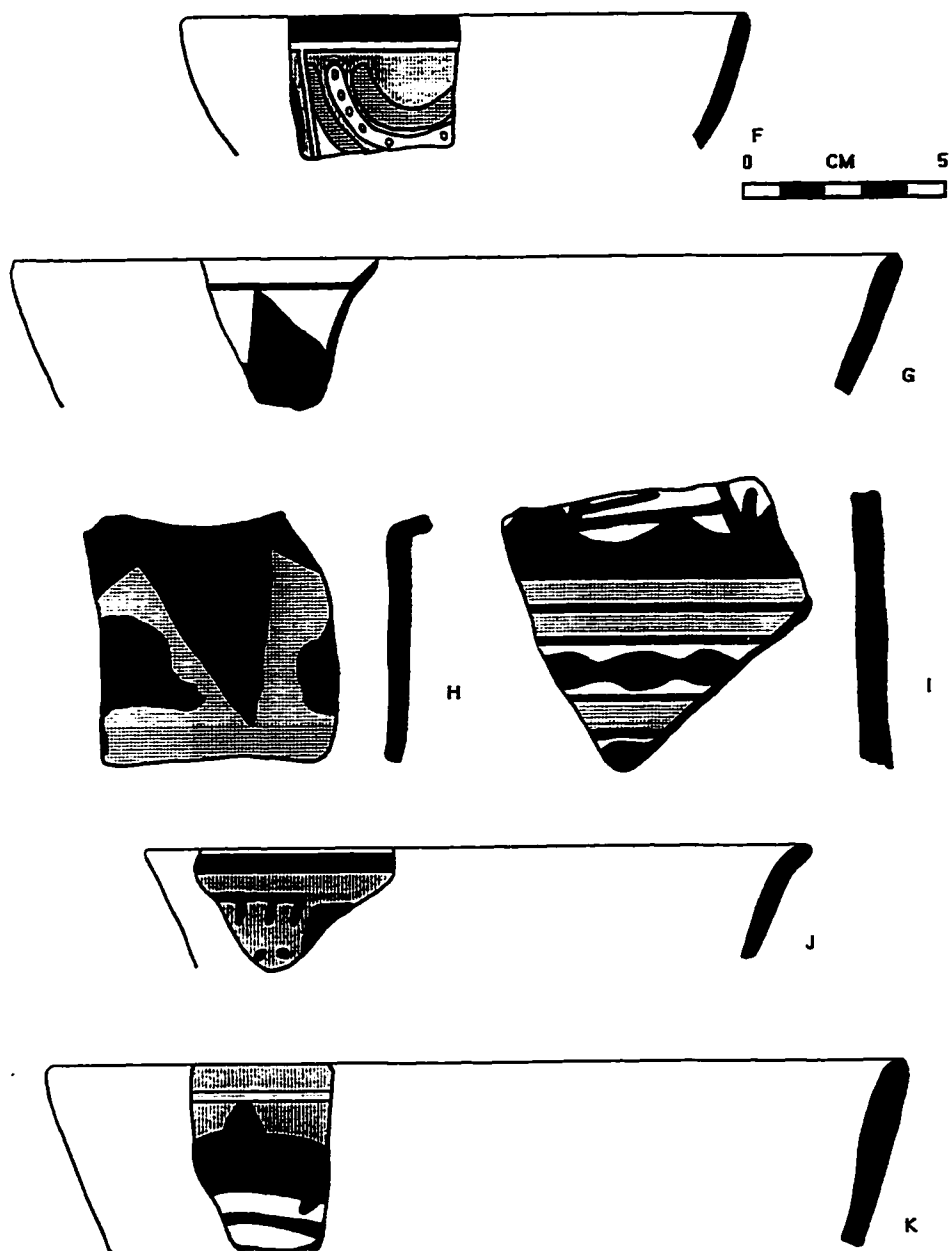


FIGURE 23: Continued...

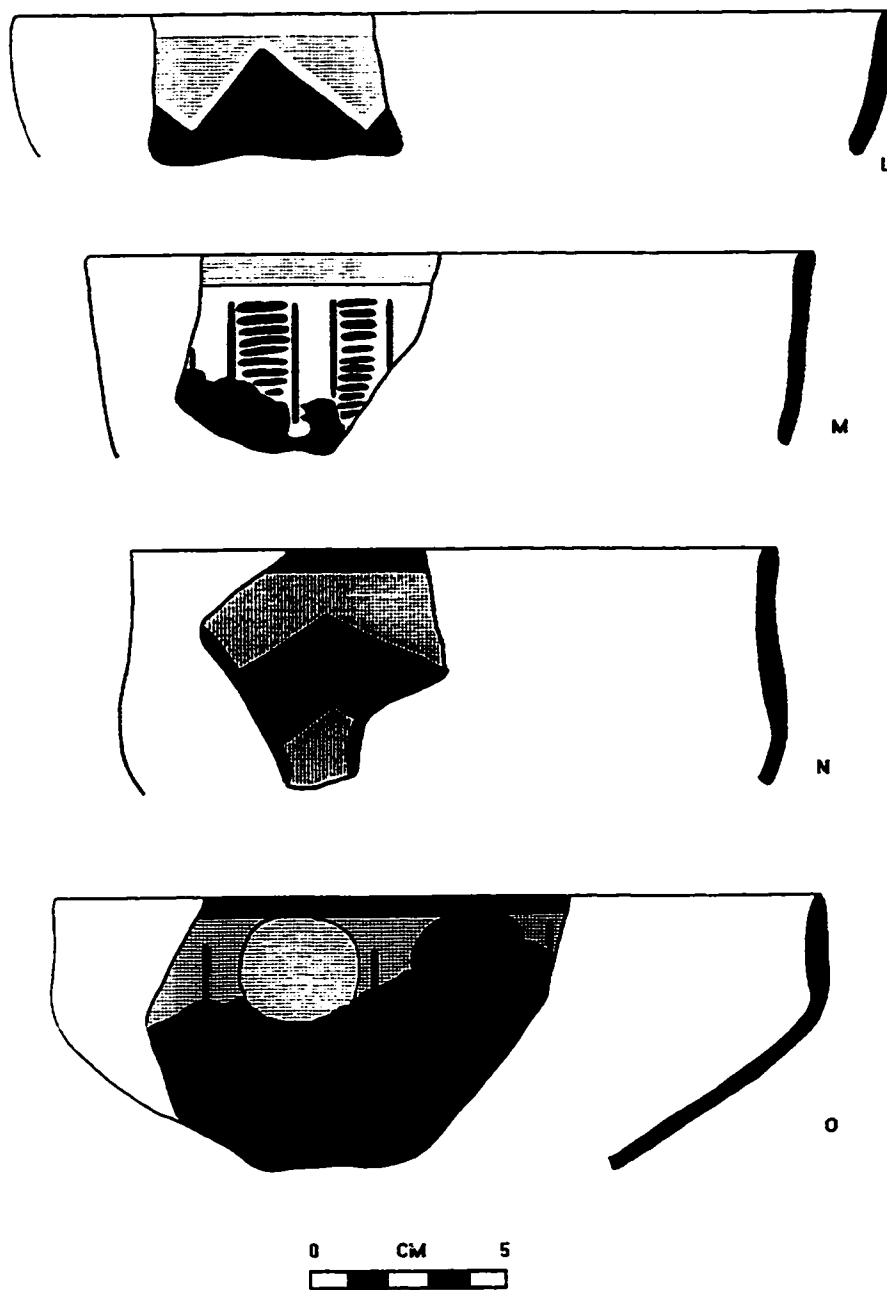


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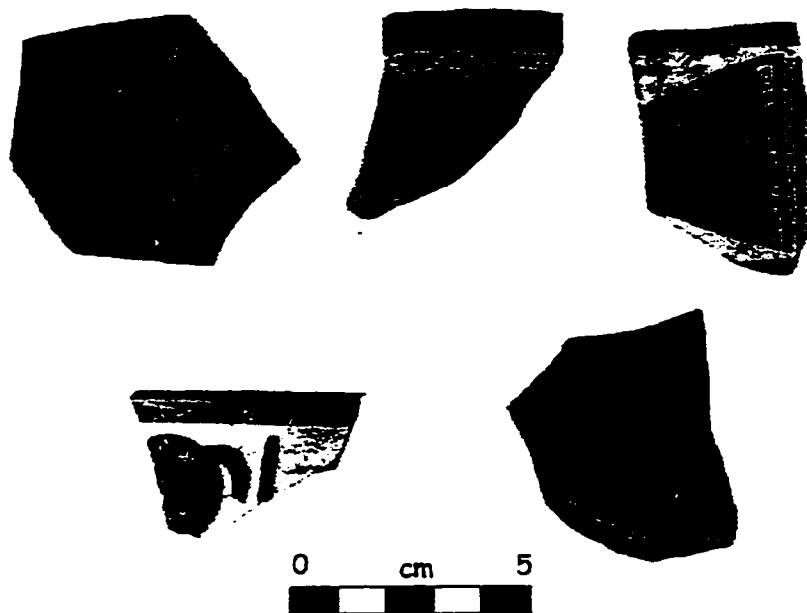


FIGURE 24: Early Nasca Sherds from Huarato

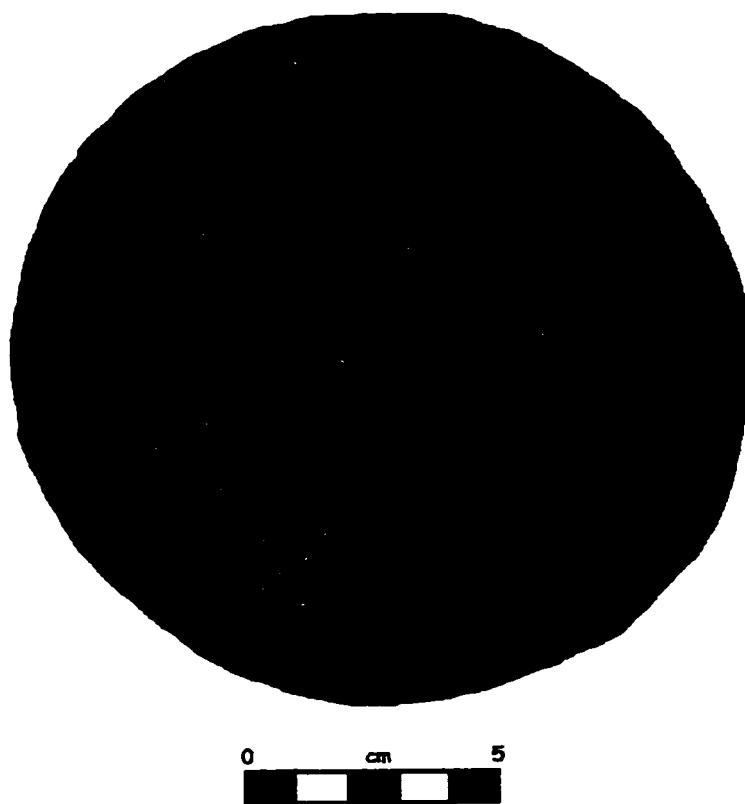


FIGURE 25: Nasca Phase 2 Vessel from Huarato

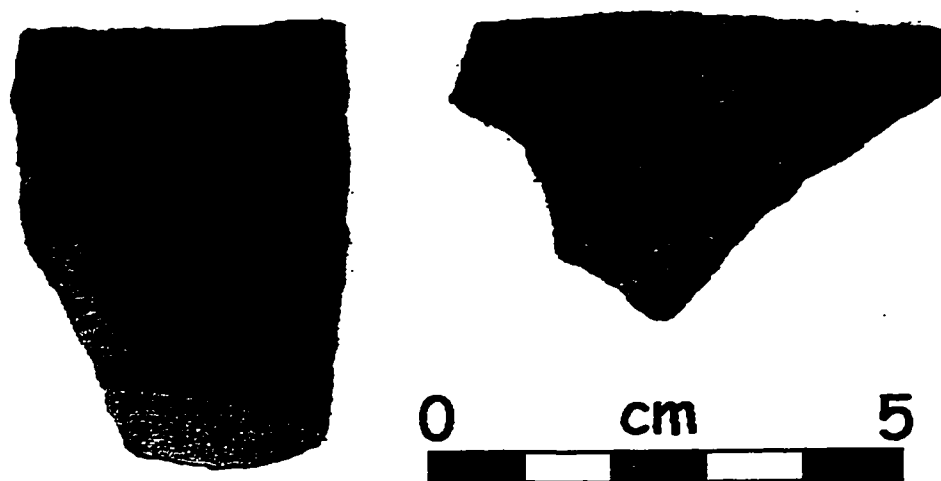


FIGURE 26: Nasca Phase 3 Sherds from Coquimbo

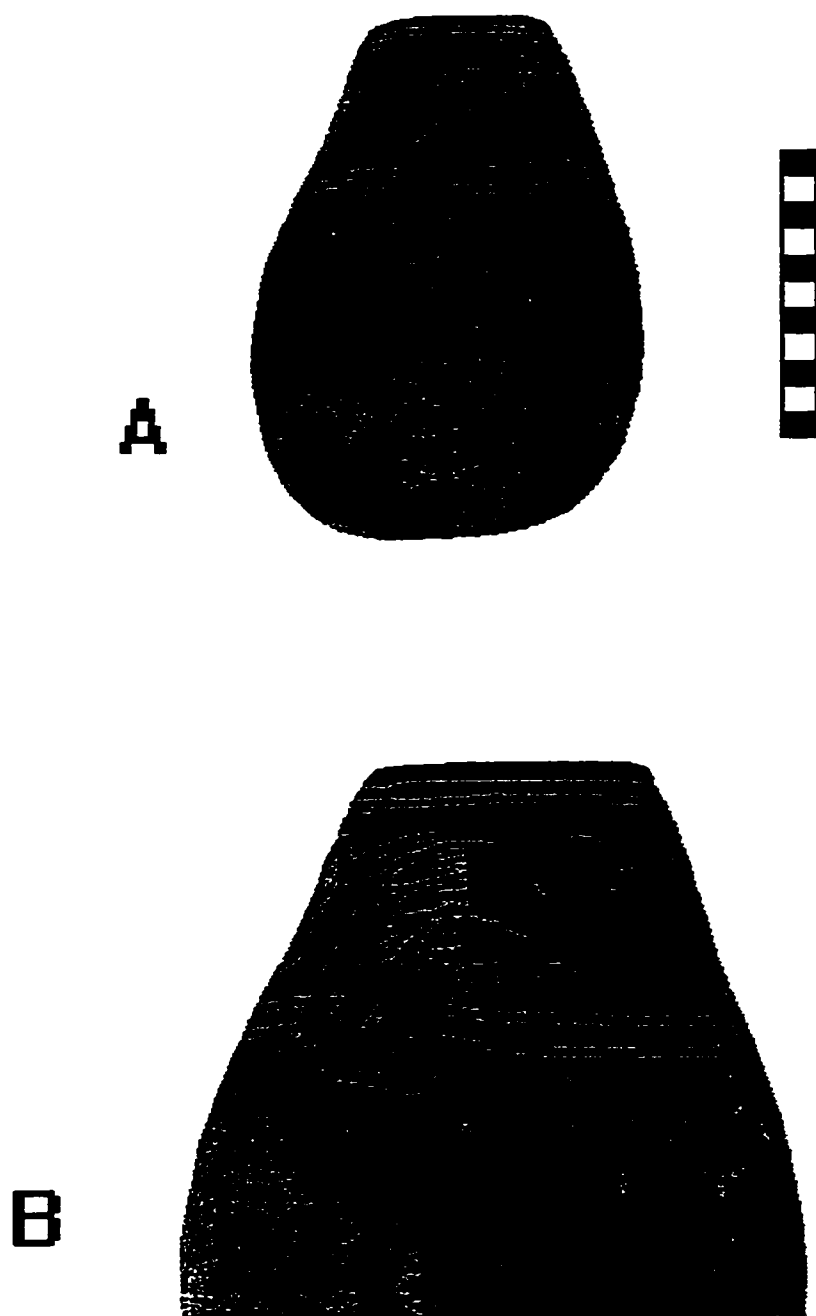


FIGURE 27: Gourd Depicting Nasca Phase 3 Motifs



FIGURE 28: Nasca Phase 4 Sherd from Coquimbo

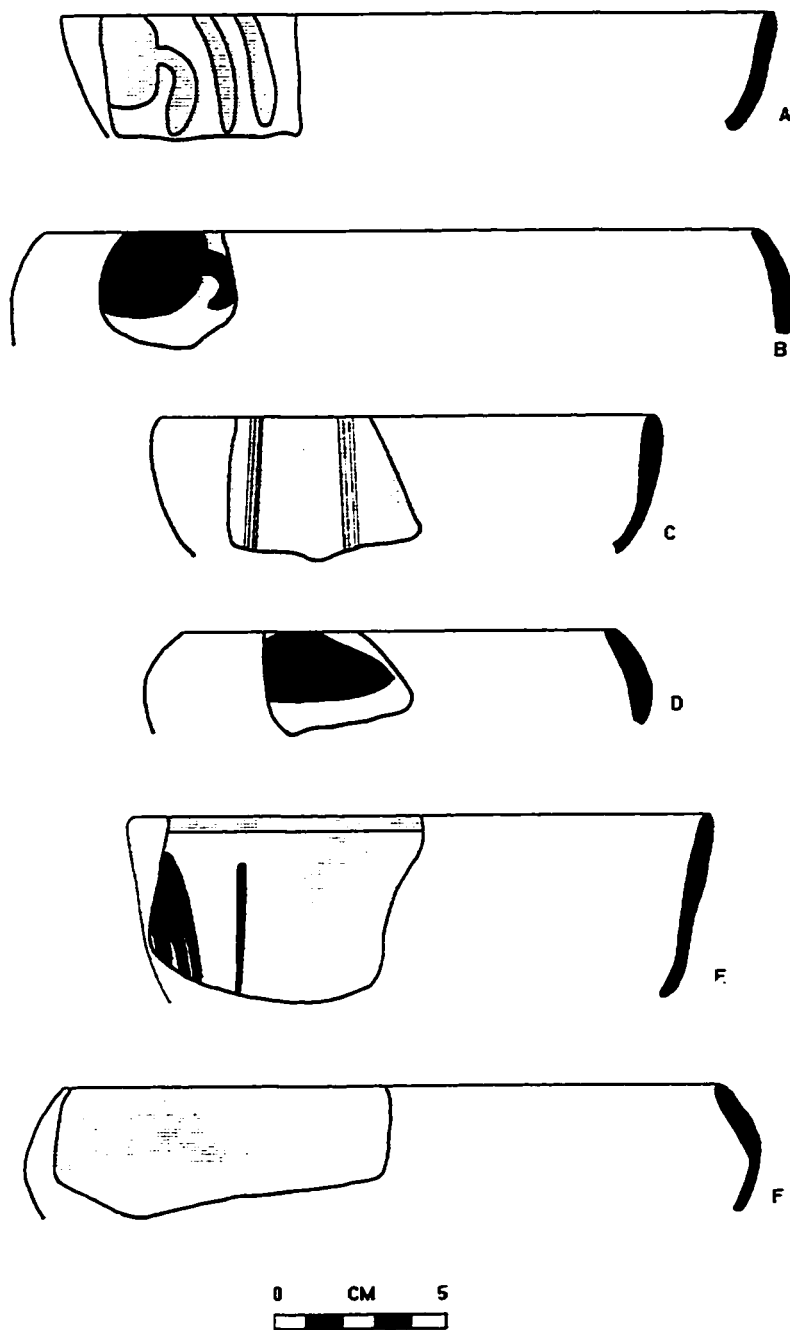


FIGURE 29: Local Pottery Depicting Early Nasca Designs

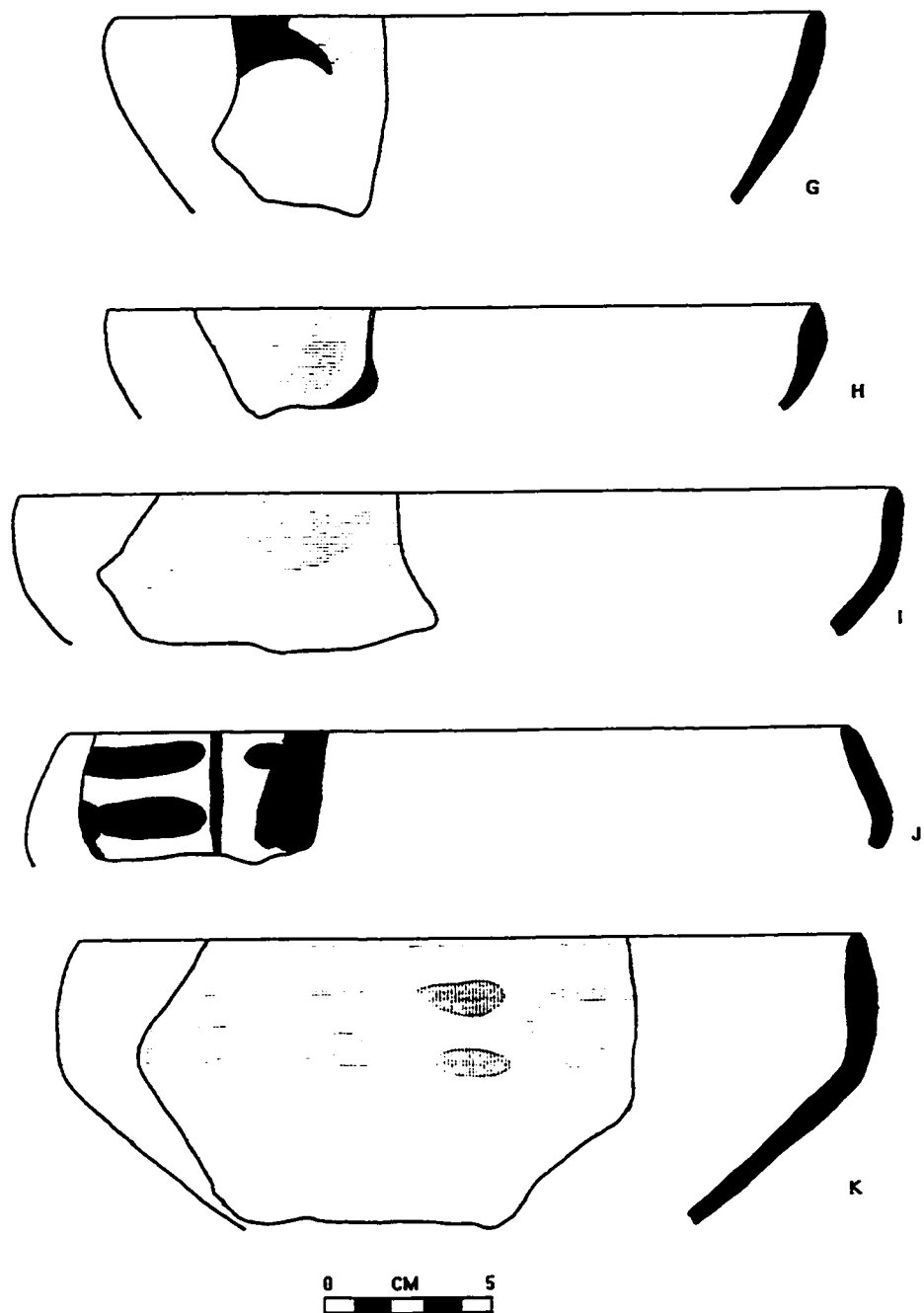


FIGURE 29: Continued...

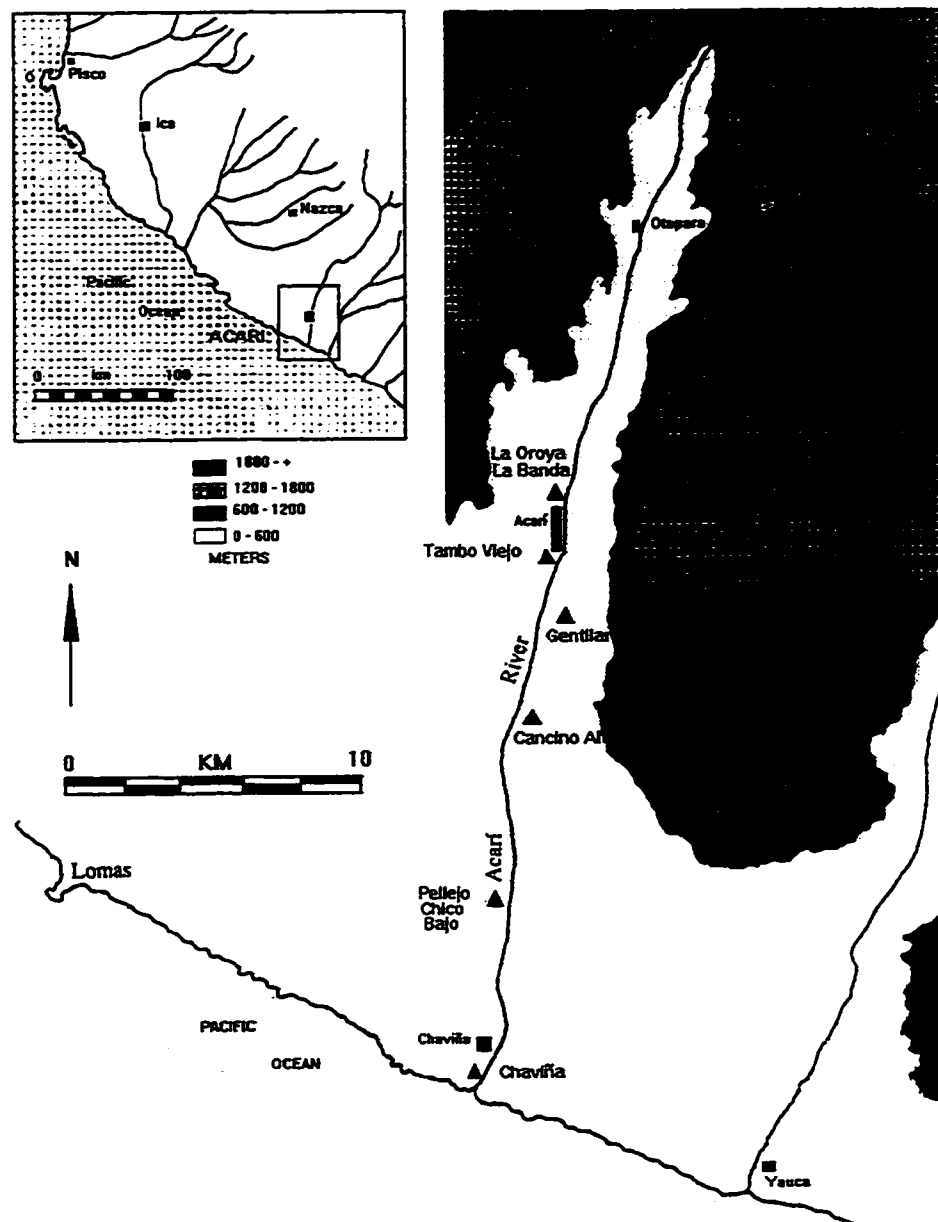


FIGURE 30: Post-Walled Settlements of the Acarí Valley

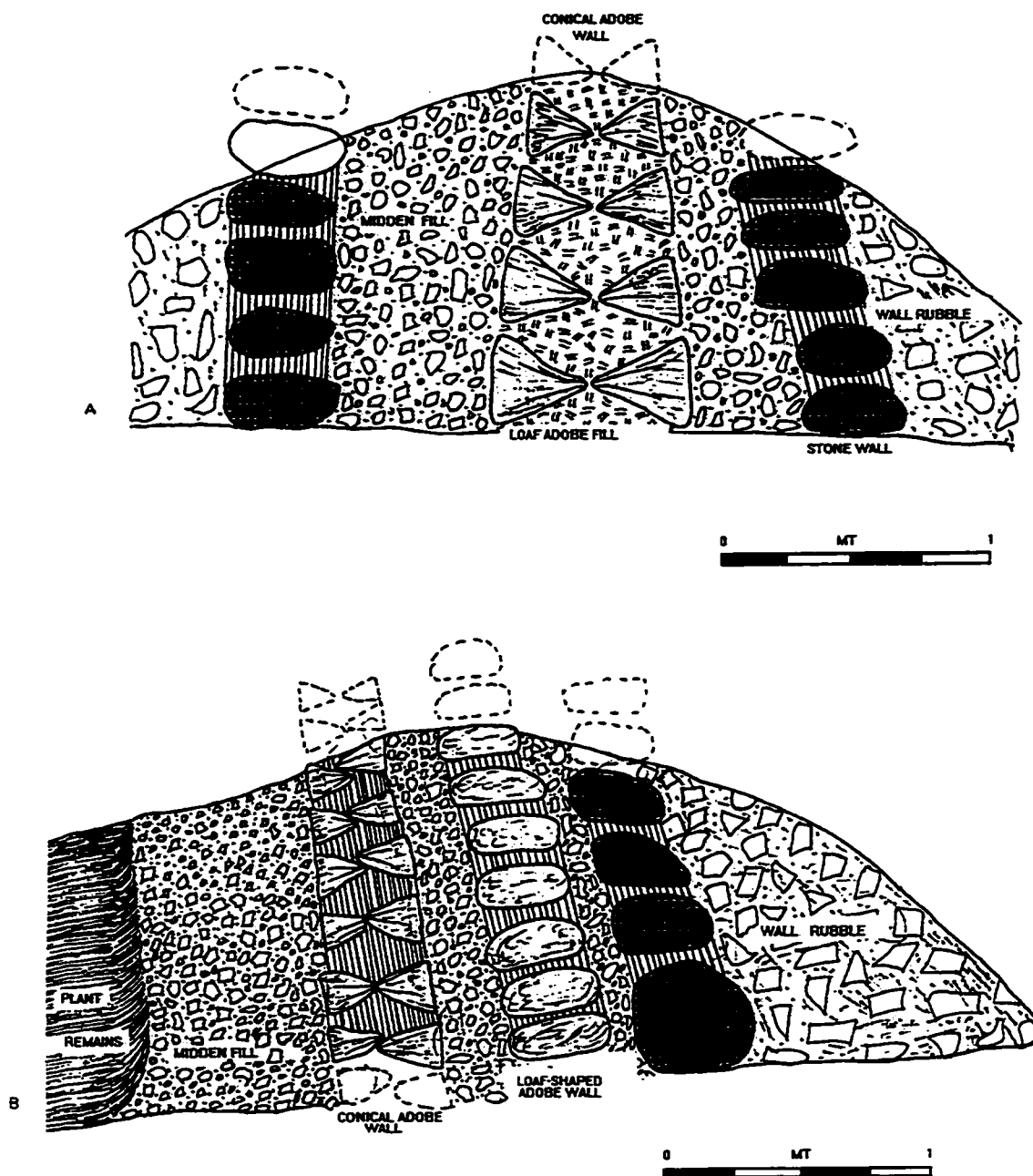


FIGURE 31: Section of the Surrounding Walls of Tambo Viejo (A) and Huarato (B)

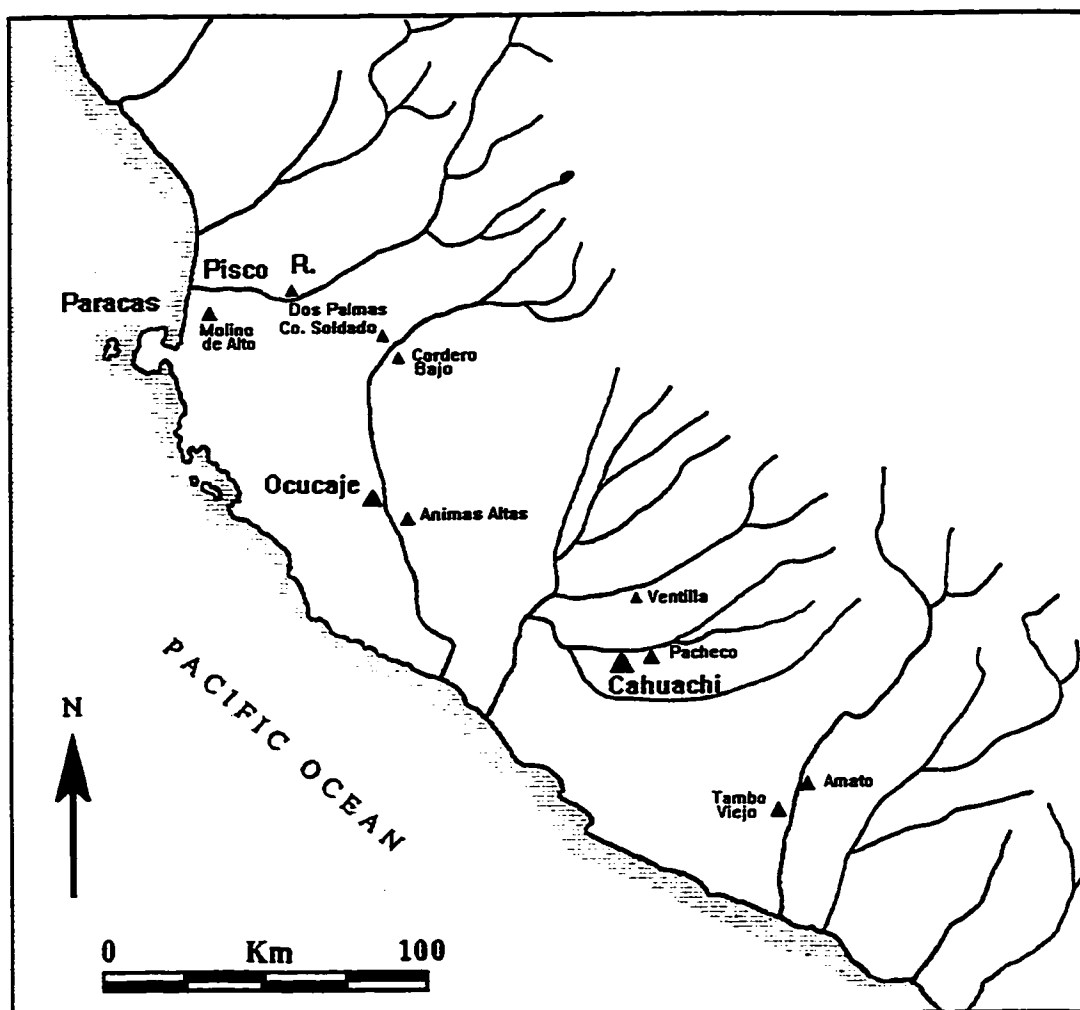
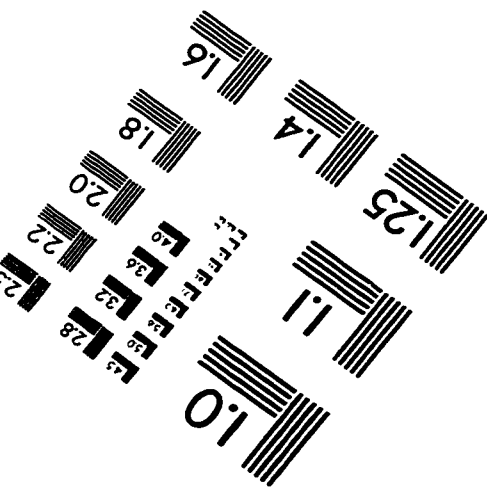
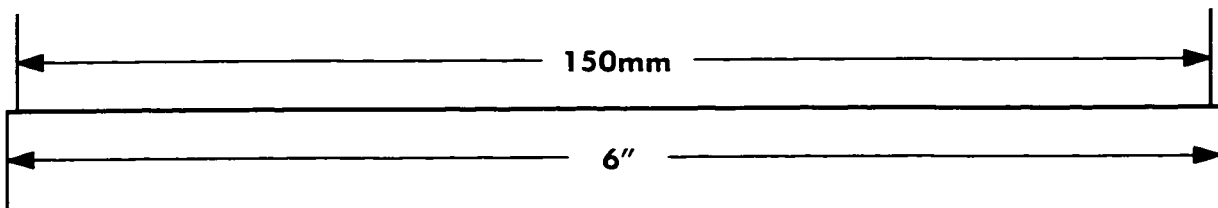
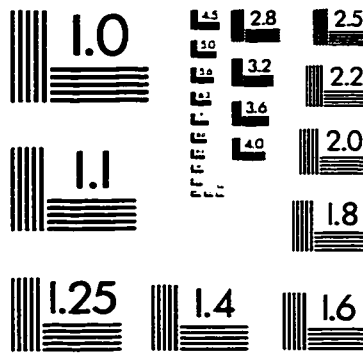
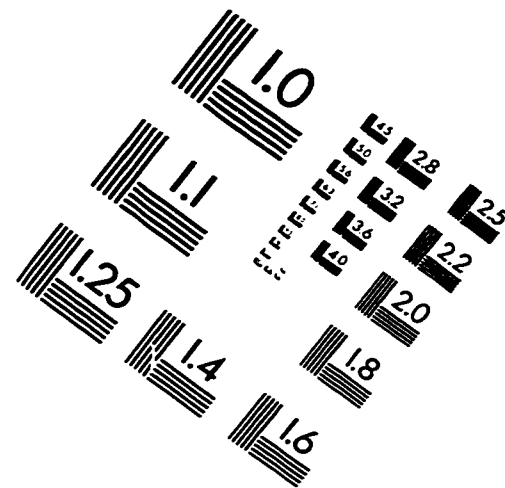
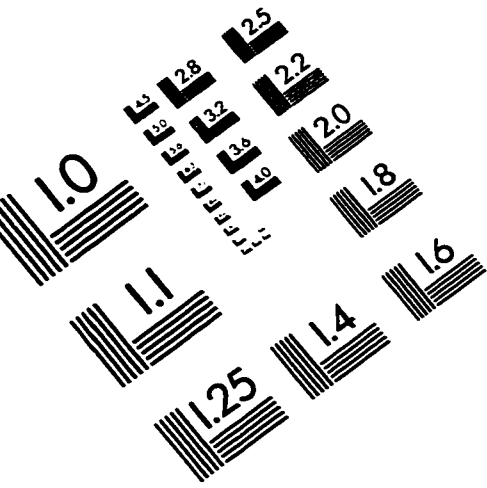


FIGURE 32: The Early Nasca Ceremonial Center of Cahuachi and the Acarí Valley

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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