

EARLY PARACAS CULTURAL CONTEXTS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM CALLANGO

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INTRODUCTION

Paracas cultural remains have drawn scholarly attention since the initial excavations of the Paracas Peninsula cemeteries that revealed the extraordinary mummies of Cavernas and Necropolis and their resplendent textiles (Dwyer 1979; Frame 1991; Paul 1990; Tello 1959; Tello and Mejía 1979). Local and regional archaeological site surveys¹ have enriched our definition of Paracas to include the inhabitants of hamlets, villages and urban settlements both inland and along the coast, in the valleys of Cañete, Chíncha, Pisco, Ica, Acarí, and the Río Grande de Nasca drainage (Figure 1). Settlement pattern analysis indicates a late period of urbanism coeval with Necropolis on the coast and contiguous both in time and in space with Early Nasca. Scholars have proposed a confederation of valley-wide chiefdoms for this later period (Cook 1999; DeLeonardis 1991; Massey 1991).

Early Paracas, or the social formations that precede the urban period, is the least understood portion of the overall framework of Paracas development. The early period lacks above ground monu-

ments and hence the visible remains characteristic of the late part of the sequence. At multi-component Paracas sites, the later occupations have destroyed, or at least concealed, the earlier occupations. Paracas pottery, perhaps the most durable and abundant category of the period's cultural remains, is often the only chronological indicator of an early occupation. Yet the criteria that characterize the earliest pottery styles are narrow, and the sample sizes that defined these style phases are so small that some scholars have begun to question their existence (DeLeonardis 1991; Massey 1986; Silverman 1991). The issue is compounded by the terminology used to describe the early period. The labels "Chavín," "Chavinoid" and a host of others reflect confusion between pottery that was produced locally in the Paracas style and pottery imported from elsewhere. Internal developments and local expressions have thus remained buried beneath research foci concerning external influences and questions of culture contact.

Recent excavations in the Ica Valley have yielded new evidence for Early Paracas settlement. These data permit us to re-evaluate the earliest social formations and to enlarge the repertoire of early pottery forms and the contexts in which they occur. Focusing on a cluster of sites in the Callango area of the lower Ica Valley, I maintain that a viable settlement pattern exists and that it is supported by stylistic continuity in pottery among early sites in Ica and elsewhere. This site group represents the first cluster of contemporaneous Early Paracas sites recorded to date. We can now evaluate the nature of Paracas settlement in Callango and, by extension, in the Ica Valley as a whole, for the time preceding Cavernas and Necropolis.

¹ Archaeological survey and site exploration on the south coast include work on the Paracas Peninsula (Engel 1963, 1966, 1981; García and Pinilla 1995; Yacovleff and Muelle 1932), in the Cañete (Lanning 1960; Wallace 1984), Chíncha (Canziani 1992; Wallace 1984), Pisco (Engel 1957, 1963; Peters 1987-1988; Pezzia 1968, 1972; Silverman 1997; Wallace 1984), and Ica Valleys (Cook 1994, 1999; DeLeonardis 1991, 1997; Massey 1986, 1991; Menzel *et al.* 1964; Wallace 1962; Williams and Pazos 1977), in the Río Grande de Nasca Drainage (Browne and Baraybar 1988; Reindel *et al.* 1999; Schreiber 1990, 1991; Schreiber and Isla 1997; Silverman 1994; Strong 1957), and at Acarí (Riddell and Valdéz 1987-1988; Robinson 1994).

I begin the discussion with an overview of Paracas settlement in the Ica Valley. I then narrow the focus to survey data from the west bank of Callango. Among the west bank sites I review excavations at PV62D13, limiting the discussion to pottery from the earliest stratigraphic contexts. Returning to the survey data, I compare excavated pottery from PV62D13 with that from site surfaces and briefly describe the most common examples of early pottery recovered in field contexts. I conclude with an assessment of Early Paracas social formations in Ica along with insights about these formations and their relationship to the Ocucaje sequence. This assessment bears upon broader issues concerning Early Paracas and its wider sphere of cultural interaction.

CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Paracas cultural remains fall within the Andean chronological framework defined by Rowe (1967 a, 1967b) as the Early Horizon, or within Lumbreras' (1974) Middle and Upper Formative Period (800-200 B.C.). Rowe (1967a: 25) proposed both a long (1200/1400-300 B.C.) and a short scale (600/800 B.C.-A.D. 150) for the Early Horizon (see also Rowe and Menzel 1967: chart). On the basis of a range of radiocarbon measurements for south coastal Peru, Paul (1991:10) suggests that the Early Horizon begins at c. 700 B.C., corresponding to Ocucaje Phase 3 of the Paracas pottery sequence.

The Paracas pottery tradition begins with an incised, post-fired painted repertoire and ends with the technological transition to pre-fired, slip-painted pottery (Menzel *et al.* 1964:2-4). At both ends of the chronological spectrum there is strong evidence for cultural overlap suggesting gradual, local stylistic developments. These reflected pan-Andean influences such as Chavín and its antecedents for the early period and Topará during the later transition.

Paracas pottery from the Ica Valley formed the basis of a ten-phase stylistic seriation, the Ocucaje sequence (*Ibid.* 1964). As an overall style guide the sequence works well in the Ica Valley, especially for the fineware on which it was based. However, the seriation falls short in its coverage of domestic wares

and local variants. Its limited applicability in other south coast valleys has led some scholars to favor other classificatory systems (García and Pinilla 1995; Silverman 1996). Most agree that the term "Ocucaje" is misleading, because it refers to a portion of the middle Ica Valley and a regional Ocucaje-Paracas pottery sub-style, but lends itself poorly to the range of Paracas pottery overall² (see Sawyer 1977: 364).

The earliest phase of the sequence, Ocucaje 1, has posed the most problems in terms of field identification, especially for scholars working with sherd collections from domestic sites. The pottery that Menzel *et al.* (1964) used to define the phase consists of a small sample, mostly bottles, found in tombs, and held in private collections (*ibid.*:15, 17-18). The remarkable stirrup spout bottles that define the phase are found infrequently at domestic sites and must represent sumptuary art produced for ritual and ceremonial use including entombment. One flat-bottomed bowl type, the Rosselló bowl of Phase 1, is more likely to be identified in field contexts, yet the bowl has similar counterparts in Phase 2 and 2/3 and cannot be confidently assigned to one phase or another.

The larger question has been whether each of the ten styles reflects a distinct social formation within a specified block of time (phase) or a component in a sequence of pottery styles. Ocucaje Phases 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are best supported by evidence from field survey (Cook 1999; DeLeonardis 1991; Menzel *et al.* 1964) and stratigraphic excavations (DeLeonardis 1997; Menzel *et al.* 1964; Strong 1957; Wallace 1962). Nevertheless, pottery corresponding to these defined style phases is not found consistently in all parts of the Ica Valley. The issue is further complicated by the lack of radiocarbon measurements for each style phase. Although one hundred year intervals are proposed for each style phase (Rowe and Menzel 1967: chart; Silverman 1991) there is less support for these uniform intervals

² I prefer the term "Paracas phase" but here I use the Ocucaje terminology because I follow the sequence and its established vessel shapes.

(DeLeonardis 1997), a point to which I return below. Some scholars have chosen to condense both the sequence and the chronology (Massey 1986, 1991)³ or to favor other arrangements (García and Pinilla 1995; Silverman 1991). Paul (1991:8-16) presents a synthesis of known radiocarbon measurements and provides fuller discussion of the Paracas chronology and its problems.

In the present discussion I follow the sequence as a style guide and return to the question of social formations as indicated by excavations and other settlement data. Here, I use the term Early Paracas to refer to Ocucaje style phases 1-3 as defined by Menzel *et al.* (1964), Sawyer's (1966, 1977) "Formative Paracas", and Wallace's Cerrillos phase pottery from Cerrillos. Middle Paracas refers to Ocucaje style phases 4-7 and Late Paracas refers to Ocucaje style phases 8-10.

RESEARCH SETTING

Paracas sites have been identified throughout the Ica Valley, from the rocky foothills north of the modern city of Ica to the windblown, treeless landscape characteristic of the river delta. In the upper valley where the river emerges, Early and Middle Paracas sites such as Cerrillos and the Juan Pablo cemetery at Teojate are found, as is the Late Paracas hilltop site of Cerro Prieto (Figure 2). The Inka-constructed irrigation canal, La Chirana, is also found within the modern boundaries of Ica, where it is still in use today (Figure 2).

The middle valley encompasses a stretch south of the city that is approximately 30 km long. Surrounded by low lying hills, the valley widens to form a verdant basin in Ocucaje where most middle valley Paracas sites are located. These include the Late Paracas urban centers of Cerro Max Uhle and Cerro la Cruz (Rowe 1956; Menzel *et al.* 1964). Between Ica and Ocucaje lies the Late Paracas

hilltop settlement of Tajahuana (Figure 2). Although Paracas sites in the region have been of scholarly interest since Uhle's work at the turn of the twentieth century (Cook 1999; King 1965; Kroeber and Strong 1924; Menzel *et al.* 1964; Peters 1997; Rowe 1956; Strong 1957), the area's rich Late Paracas and Nasca cemeteries have received far greater attention than the monumental edifices that mark the landscape. Systematic grave excavations were undertaken by Strong (1957:16) and Uhle (see Kroeber and Strong 1924). Hacienda owner Aldo Rubini documented the excavations of at least 78 Paracas graves and amassed substantial collections from this region. Pablo Soldi and Paul Truel also formed notable collections.

South of Ocucaje, the lower valley is the largest sector (ca. 60 km long) as well as the least populated and the driest. Topographically, the lower valley is constricted and defined by a series of steep slopes such as those at Chiquerillo and Gramadal where the river is confined to narrow channels. Elsewhere, the valley fans out to form broad, irrigable basins as at Callango and Toma Luz. Today, the river is reduced to a trickle below Ocucaje owing to intensive irrigation upstream, as Uhle also observed in 1901 (*Ibid.*:121-122). Seasonal floods (December-March) and aquifers provide sufficient moisture to support intensive agriculture as far south as Ullujaya. There are currently no modern settlements south of Ullujaya, but fisherman navigate makeshift roads daily en route to the coast. The southernmost reaches of the valley form a barren landscape scoured relentlessly by southwest winds. Historical documents (Guillén y Guillén 1963)⁴ and SAN (Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional, Perú) aerial photographs taken as recently as the 1970s indicate that the lower valley was once rich in *huarango* forests.

³ Massey's (1986) chronological framework is based on thermoluminescence dates obtained from Late Paracas upper valley pottery.

⁴ There are property titles in the Archivo General de la Nación that describe *huarungales* or *huarango* tree forests and *carrizales* (reed beds) in various parts of the Ica Valley, including Callango. For example see Títulos de Propiedad 1647, leg. 8, c. 175, fs. 12. and 1661, leg. 13, c. 298, fs. 19.

Investigators have found Paracas sites in several sectors of the lower valley including Callango, Toma Luz, Ullujaya and Gramadal (Cook 1999) (Figure 2). The densest concentration is in Callango where 26 Paracas sites have been identified along the east and west banks of the river (Cook 1994, 1999; DeLeonardis 1991). These include a Late Paracas cemetery at Olladón as well as small villages and urban centers. The Late Paracas site of Animas Altas (also called Media Luna) is perhaps the best known in the area and is notable for its distinctive temple architecture (Massey 1986, 1991; Rowe 1967b)⁵ (Figure 2). A number of painted textiles rendered in the Chavín style are said to be from this region, as well as from cemeteries further south in the Zamaca sector of the valley (Burger 1992:198, 1996: 76; García and Pinilla 1995:54; Wallace 1991:62) (Figure 2).

EARLY PARACAS SITES IN THE ICA VALLEY

Within the broad expanse of the Ica Valley, Early Paracas settlement is characterized by a pattern of small sites (<five hectares) and cemeteries from Hacienda Huamaní to Callango (Figure 2). Because intact early contexts at many of these sites are lacking, details on the nature of Early Paracas occupations are unknown. For example, evidence for some early occupations appears as sherd scatters or as ceramics in architectural fill at large Paracas sites that were occupied through Ocucaje Phase 8, but it is not possible to associate the early pottery found at these sites with the extant architecture. We can say that an Ocucaje Phase 10 urban site such as Cerro Max Uhle contained an earlier component, but we cannot say that the earlier occupation was urban (or ceremonial, or residential). Nevertheless, plotting the sites where early remains are found indicates a more widespread distribution than previously thought. Early surface occupations are often detected by the presence of thick-walled, beveled bowl rim fragments with deep incisions into a black-smudged surface, stylistically corresponding to Ocucaje Phases 1-4 (e.g., Figure 3). Because this

widely distributed style of pottery was produced for a limited number of years in Ica, it serves as an excellent chronological marker for Early Paracas occupations.

In the upper valley, Early Paracas pottery contexts include site surfaces, architectural fill and whole pots recovered from tombs. Surface remains have been identified in Huamaní, Cordero Bajito, and Teojate (Massey 1986:373; Menzel *et al.* 1964: 21; Sawyer 1966; Williams and Pazos 1977) (Figure 2). There are some indications that whole vessels recovered from Juan Pablo, a Middle Paracas cemetery at Teojate, are Early Paracas in style (Menzel *et al.* 1964:20; Sawyer 1977:368). Excavated contexts include early stratigraphic associations at Cerrillos (Massey 1986:39, 377; Wallace 1962), and in architectural fill at Cerro Yunque (Massey 1986:35, 368, 378) (Figure 2). Wallace's (1962) excavations at the ceremonial/residential site of Cerrillos provide strong evidence for Ocucaje Phase 3 pottery, although the multi-level adobe compound visible today is associated with the later Paracas occupation.

In the middle valley, Early Paracas surface pottery has been identified on the slopes west of Santa Lucía (Massey 1986:31; Menzel *et al.* 1964: 21). At the site of Cerro la Cruz in Ocucaje, Menzel *et al.* (*ibid.*:20-21) excavated two burials (Graves 6 and 7), and recorded a contained slope of surface remains (Figure 2). Early Paracas pottery is also found in the collections of Truel and Rubini. One vessel from Rubini's collection (Figure 3) is representative of Ocucaje Phase 3 pottery. Massey's (1986) and Menzel *et al.*'s (1964) identifications of surface and burial pottery in this area lend support to the proposed contexts of these collections (Lanning 1960:430; Menzel *et al.* 1964:20).

Several Early Paracas sites, including residences and cemeteries, are also recognized in the Chique-rillo and Callango sectors of the lower valley (Figure 2). A number of private (Rubini, Del Solar) and museum collections (Nathan Cummings at the Metropolitan Museum) comprise material from these two lower valley loci. Menzel *et al.* (1964:15, 17-18, 20), Sawyer (1966:73-74), and Cook (1999:70) recorded surface remains, a cemetery, and architec-

⁵ Rowe (1967b: 301) and Menzel *et al.* (1964:177-178) refer to this site as Media Luna (PV62-148).

tural associations at Chiquerillo. Excavations at the Erizo site (PV62-191) show that Chiquerillo was occupied during the Initial Period. Radiocarbon measurements from a refuse pit place the Erizo occupation at around 1905 B.C. (Rowe 1967a:26). Pezzia (1968:68-69) illustrates rather amorphous pottery from the pit but little is known about the site itself. Chiquerillo burials have yielded some of the finest examples of Early Paracas post-fired, painted, and incised pottery to date (Sawyer 1966: figures 93-95, 97). Pottery vessels from these contexts have been assigned both to the Initial Period (*Ibid.*: figure 92), and to the earliest Paracas phases including Ocucaje Phases 2 and 3 (Menzel *et al.* 1964: figure 9d-f, h-j, Plate 2 a; Sawyer 1966: figures 93-95, 97) (Figures 5 and 6).⁶ Cook's survey of Chiquerillo found a one-hectare site located on the terraced hillslope of the river (PV62C17) (1999:70). She identified an adobe structure associated with concentrations of Early Paracas pottery in the northern and western site sectors. On the basis of my study of this pottery, it is clear that PV62C17 is contemporaneous with the Early Paracas burials discussed by Menzel *et al.* (1964) and Sawyer (1966).

THE WEST BANK SITE CLUSTER

Half a kilometer south of the Casa Blanca ranch on the west bank of the Ica River in Callango lies a cluster of six sites which had not been previously mapped or studied, but which showed surface evidence of Early Paracas occupation (Figure 7).⁷ Local farmers refer to the west bank region as Felipa

although the name does not appear on maps.⁸ I mapped the sites and recorded visible architectural remains and artifact densities. For each site, where I conducted a surface collection I assessed the pottery according to its stylistic placement in the Ocucaje sequence as it is presently defined (DeLeonardis 1991). Table 1 summarizes these data.⁹

West Bank Site	Estimated site size, hectares	Architectural remains	Percentage of Paracas pottery all phases - surface only	Percentage of Early Paracas pottery - surface only
PV62D13	0.3	yes	100	9.1
PV62D19	8.7	yes	95	8.3
PV62D20	2.0	yes	89	16.0
PV62D23	7.2	yes	89	5.6
PV62D24	4.0	yes	56	4.3
PV62D25	1.1	yes	100	12.3

Table 1. Characteristics of Early Paracas west bank sites, Callango.

Table 1 refers only to surface collections from the listed sites. I began by sorting each site collection and eliminating non-Paracas pottery from the analysis (Column 4). Column 5 is a conservative estimate of vessel forms that could be confidently assigned to Early Paracas. Questionable shapes, or pottery that could be assigned to more than one phase are not included in the analysis.

West bank sites are characterized by small oval mounds, the surfaces of which are laden with domestic refuse including pottery fragments, marine shell, fire-cracked rock, and hearth debris (Figure 8). Mound surfaces with visible adobe walls and trace-

⁶ Menzel *et al.* (1964:15) assign pottery from these burials to Ocucaje 2 and Ocucaje 2/3. Sawyer (1966: figures 93-95), assigns them to his Formative Paracas, pre-Cerrillos.

⁷ Between 1988-1991 Cook (1994, 1999) conducted a pedestrian survey of the middle and lower Ica Valley, from the Ocucaje region to the mouth of the river. My part in the survey included site identification in various portions of the valley and a specific focus on Paracas sites in the Callango region (DeLeonardis 1991). Here, I have adopted Cook's site identification numbers.

⁸ I refrain from labeling the west bank cluster the "Felipa cluster" because Massey (1991:321) has assigned Felipa to an Ocucaje Phase 8 site in Callango unrelated to the present discussion.

⁹ These data reflect analysis conducted in 1990 (DeLeonardis 1991:table 4.1, table 4.5, Appendix II A-B) and re-evaluated on the basis of additional work in 1995, 1998 and 1999.

able patterns of buried structures suggest that the mounds contain structures rather than refuse. From a surface perspective, the sites appear to have served some residential function, although the architecture and internal spatial layout of Sites PV62D19 and PV62D24 suggest larger, multi-functional villages (see *Ibid.*:163-164, 1997:192-193). Factors common to all of the sites are similar adobe constructions, Ocucaje Phase 3 pottery (e.g., Figure 8) and the close proximity of the sites to one another.

EXCAVATIONS AT PV62D13

Among the west bank sites, I selected PV62D13 for excavation to examine Paracas domestic architecture and household contexts. Compared to other west bank sites, preservation conditions were excellent. Excavations would allow a more detailed examination of the adobe architecture and its spatial configurations over time. The relationship between surface remains, particularly pottery, and their sub-surface counterparts was of particular interest. I hoped that pottery recovered from intact sub-surface contexts such as house floors, features, and undisturbed strata would better inform surface observations regarding chronology, vessel forms, and pottery use at the sites. We excavated to sterile soil 20 two-m² units on and around the mound (DeLeonardis 1997:385).

Excavations demonstrated the presence of a rectangular adobe structure (6 x 2 m), that contained two rooms (Figure 9). The structure was built of rectangular, loaf shaped bricks (30 x 20 x 7 cm) with mud plaster-covered facades. Many of the surface adobe shapes appeared amorphous due to erosion. Remnants of wooden supports and thatch suggest that the structure supported a roof. Features such as a domestic hearth, midden, burned offerings, and space devoted to pottery production were identified in and around the structure.

Two architectural remodeling stages were apparent. The extant walls were associated with the most recent occupation (Ocucaje Phase 8), while the earlier occupations and associated packed

earthen floors were buried carefully in clean sand. As a result of these structural modifications, some early contexts were lost and recognizable early pottery was recovered in fill and/or mixed with midden refuse associated with the Late Paracas occupation of the site. From several features, including early house floors and a hearth area, pottery was recovered from intact early contexts.

Six radiocarbon measurements on wood associated with architectural features and with pottery from midden and house floors place Paracas cultural remains at the site between ca. 890 cal yr B.C. (2690 ± 90 ¹⁴C BP) and 457 cal yr B.C. (2380 ± 50 ¹⁴C BP) (*Ibid.*:508-509) (Table 2). The earliest date is associated with a floor from which two incurving bowls were recovered. The bowls are a close variant of Ocucaje Phase 3 pottery, discussed below. The most recent date corresponds to the site's abandonment, or Ocucaje Phase 8, at a time when Callango underwent notable settlement shifts (DeLeonardis 1991). Four other dates correspond to the Middle Paracas occupation of the site (Table 2). Although not inclusive of the entire Ocucaje sequence, the clustering of measurements in relation to style phases suggests lengthier spans of time for some phases (such as Ocucaje Phase 3) than the 100 year intervals proposed by Rowe and Menzel (1967) and others. This range of dates falls between Rowe's (1967a) long and short scales for the Early Horizon (see also Menzel *et al.* 1964:4) and overlaps with Lumbreras' (1974) Middle and Upper Formative Period. The range also indicates an earlier date for Paracas remains in the Ica Valley than proposed by Paul (1991).

Paracas	Lab I.D.	Conventional uncalibrated, B.P.	2 Sigma calendar years B.C. range	2 Sigma calendar years B.C. averaged	Context/Material
Early	BETA-98220	2690±90	1015-765	890	lower floor, Unit N20E22 carbonized wood w/pottery
Middle	BETA-98219	2540±50	805-505	655	base adobe wall, Unit N18E20, carbonized wood
	BETA-98218	2530±40	800-515	657	Stratum 4, Unit N20E18, carbonized wood w/pottery
	BETA-98216	2530±50	805-485	645	midden, Unit N20E20, carbonized wood w/pottery
	BETA-98221	2460±50	785-400	592	adobe wall, Unit N18E18, carbonized wood w/pottery
Late	BETA-98217	2380±50	540-375	457	midden, Unit N20E20, carbonized wood w/pottery

Dates are calibrated according to Libby half-life (5568 years). Calibration to calendar years derived from conventional carbon-14 age using the Pretoria Calibration Procedure program with adjustments for the Southern Hemisphere.

Table 2. Radiocarbon dates from PV62D13.

POTTERY ANALYSIS: PV62D13 EXCAVATIONS

Among the 100,000 artifacts excavated at PV62D13, pottery constitutes about eight percent or 8,000 examples.¹⁰ I estimated a minimum count of 249 vessels from this sample. After eliminating pottery recovered from fill or precarious contexts from the overall temporal analysis, about 7,600 sherds were assessed. As Table 3 indicates, Early Paracas pottery sorted from this sample constitutes 677 sherds, or nine percent of the total excavated pottery sample. This percentage is the same recorded for early pottery recovered from the site surface (Table 1), suggesting that the surface is an accurate gauge for the subsurface. For purposes of analyzing shape categories, I relied heavily on rim and base portions of vessels. These sherds are prevalent for bowls and incurving vessels, while body sherds are more prevalent for the collared vessel

sample. The numbers for bowls and incurving vessels shown in Table 3 relate more closely to Minimum Vessel Counts than do the numbers for collared vessels.

Early Paracas pottery at PV62D13, general characteristics. Pottery defined as Early Paracas at PV62D13 shares a number of stylistic characteristics. The attention given to finishing techniques is an especially striking feature of the earliest pottery. With few exceptions, vessels are slipped and polished, resulting in a glossy surface. For this reason, there appear to be fewer distinctions between fineware and utilitarian pottery than in the corpus of Ocucaje Phase 8 vessels, for example. The latter has clear distinctions between fineware pottery forms (bottles, bowls, drums) and their utilitarian counterparts (ollas, collared vessels).

¹⁰ I focus here on Early Paracas pottery; DeLeonardis (1997) contains detailed analysis of the site including a discussion of architecture, the use of space, domestic and ritual features, and other cultural remains.

	<i>Bowls</i>	<i>Collared Vessels</i>	<i>Incurving Vessels</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total %age</i>
Early Paracas Pottery (Phases 1?/2, Phase 3)	126	538	13	677	9
Middle Paracas Pottery (Phases 4-7)	1983	914	8	2905	38
Late Paracas Pottery (Phase 8)	1884	2146	9	4039	53
Total	3993	3598	30	7621	100

Table 3. Pottery sherd counts from excavated contexts at PV62D13.

Bowl forms and collared vessels are most prevalent, a trend that continues through Late Paracas (see DeLeonardis 1997:424). There are slightly more incurving vessels for the early occupation than for the late occupation. Bottles are few overall, although spout and bridge fragments were collected in excavations. We recovered a greater number of painted and incised examples in association with the Middle and Late Paracas occupations. Pottery vessels are thick-walled (5-10 mm). Vessel pastes are compact, solid-gray or black with few visible inclusions. These pastes are soft, micaceous, and often crumbly. Beveled, flattened, or squared rims which are sometimes thickened, are found on both bowls and incurving vessels. Almost all bowls are smudged or reduced in the firing process, creating a dull grey, dull brown, or black color (see also Figures 5 and 6). Often, phantom black or dark gray striation marks are visible on the interior of these otherwise glossy vessels. A few vessels are red-slipped.

Incised geometric designs without post-fired paint are the most common form of design. Early examples are incised on the exterior surface only. Incisions are deep and wide (3-5 mm). The exception is a form of wide but shallow incision common to collared vessels. These shallow incisions appear to have been created with a pebble or blunt instrument while the clay was leather-hard. The most frequent designs are circles, concentric circles, circles with interior dots, triangles, Xs, straight lines, and a rounded guilloche. Circular designs are not cane-stamped as in later Paracas styles, but are deeply incised; often the incisions do not close the circle (e.g., Figure 12a-b, f). Incised circles range in size

from a small variant (1.5 cm diameter) with or without an interior dot and a large variant (3 cm diameter). Designs are typically large and free-floating and fill all of the space on the vessel walls. This pattern differs greatly from later styles in which designs are segmented by vertical bands and reduced in size (e.g., modular width).

Common vessel forms. Those vessel shapes comparable to the Ocucaje sequence correspond to Menzel *et al.*'s (1964) Ocucaje Phases 2 through 4, but there are a number of new shapes or variations on established shapes. Below, I describe a few of the most common shapes and design themes.

Bowls. Bowls are broadly distinguished between deep and shallow variants. Both are characterized by thick walls, beveled rims, and glossy surfaces. The walls of deep bowls are either straight-sided or slightly rounded. The most common examples bear four design variants on the vessel exterior: incised circular designs, with or without a horizontal incised line along the rim exterior (Figures 10a-b, 12a-b); incised X design, with or without a horizontal incision along the outer rim (Figure 12a-b); painted and incised or resist painted design (e.g., Figure 5, left); plain slipped in red, black, or brown (Figure 12c-d). Among these design techniques, large deeply incised concentric circles with a horizontal incision along the exterior rim is the most common (Figure 10a-b). The outer circles are approximately 3 cm in diameter. These large circular designs are associated with Ocucaje transition Phase 2/3 pottery (*Ibid.* 1964:18, 30).

Deep bowls conform to Shapes 5 and 8 associated with Ocucaje Phases 3 and 4 (*ibid.*: figures 9-11). Three other deep bowl forms (Figure 11a-c), have no precedents in the Ocucaje sequence. One bowl is a large, thick-walled vessel with a thickened beveled rim (Figure 11a). The vessel surface is smudged black and carefully burnished to create a smooth surface, but burnish marks are visible. Wide, deep incisions on the vessel exterior create an intersecting X pattern. The Xs are marked on all sides by deeply incised gash-like points. A design variant of this deep bowl form (Figure 11b) was recovered in the context of a burned offering that contained carbonized material thought to be seeds. This vessel also bears a design pattern of incised Xs. The vessel surface is finely polished. Both bowls are heavy. A third deep bowl form (Figure 11c) had been broken *in situ* in a burned offering with shell fragments, maize, beans, and other seeds. The spherical shape of this bowl resembles a Shape 6, Ocucaje Phase 2/3 bowl (*ibid.* 1964: figure 9j). The vessel is finely polished to create a glossy surface patina that bears an incised pattern of circles.

Shallow bowls and cup bowls share all of the design variants of their deep bowl counterparts and conform principally to Shapes 2 and 5 corresponding to Ocucaje Phases 2, 2/3, and 3 as defined by Menzel *et al.* (*ibid.*: figures 9-10) (Figure 12). The most common form is a small Shape 5 vessel assigned to Phase 2 (*ibid.*: 15, figure 9e). This form bears a design of incised circles (large or small) or, more commonly, is covered with a heavy coat of pigmented slip that has been smudged black or brown. The walls of these vessels are slightly irregular and are carefully burnished or polished to create a glossy surface patina.

Two shallow bowls are without shape precedents in the Ocucaje sequence. One bowl loosely resembles a Shape 5 vessel corresponding to Ocucaje Phase 4 (*ibid.*: 329) but was recovered in conjunction with other Phase 3 examples. The bowl has a reduced brown, glossy surface (Figure 12c). The base interior has been worn. This example is most likely a variant of the grater bowl that becomes prevalent in Middle and Late Paracas. A second

form (Figure 12e-f) is a 4.5 cm high cup bowl with a rim diameter of 10 cm and a black glossy surface. The vessel rim is square and slopes slightly outward. In one example, the cup interior is charred.

Collared vessels. Collared jars constitute the second largest category of Early Paracas vessels from excavated contexts at PV62D13 and are fairly uniform in their globular shape and design execution. Vessel exteriors are slipped and burnished to a low gloss and appear either red, or reduced to brown or gray. Two principal designs are incised on the vessel exterior: the guilloche pattern (Figure 13a) and a line pattern incised with a pebble or blunt instrument (Figure 13b). Almost all examples have a faint pebble incision executed horizontally around the base of the collar on the vessel exterior.

The only form comparable to these vessels is a Phase 3, Shape 9 vessel illustrated by Menzel *et al.* (*ibid.*: figure 10f). Callango examples range in height from 12-20 cm with a collar height of one centimeter. The collar is either slightly outflaring, as Menzel *et al.* illustrate (*ibid.*), or vertical. Vessel lips are slightly flattened or squared. Most collared vessels lack handles, reflecting an Early Paracas trend. Some examples show a raised circular area or bump on the vessel exterior where the wall has been pushed out from the interior. Some of these bumps are incised with a gash design.

Incurving vessels. Incurving jars are distinguished principally by size (large and small) and surface finish. Vessel walls are thick and rim forms are slightly beveled, flattened, or squared. Unlike later examples, Early Paracas incurving vessels are carefully slipped and burnished, and bowls in particular are polished to a high gloss. Vessel exteriors either lack an incised design or are incised with shallow vertical lines like collared jars (Figure 14a) or with incised circles (Figure 14c). On larger vessels, the slip extends to the rim interior. Divisions between a fineware variant and a strictly utilitarian variant are less discernable among the Early Paracas examples.

Two incurving bowls are associated with the earliest radiocarbon measurement for the site (Figure 14d-e; see Table 2). One bowl is a shallow, ellipsoidal form that has been smudged and polished (Figure 14e). The second is spherical and has been slipped (2.5YR 4/6, dark red) and carefully burnished to create a semi-glossy surface (Figure 14d). The rim and lip have been thickened, squared, and flattened. The vessel has been subjected to heat, but it is not sooted. These bowls have no shape precedent in the Ocucaje sequence but are similar in shape to Shape 6 pottery described by Menzel *et al.* (*ibid.*: figure 9j) for the Phase 2/3 transition. Wallace (1962:307) also illustrates a globular bowl corresponding to the Cerrillos phase, and a second incurving vessel corresponding to both Isla and Cerrillos phases that are relatively similar to those encountered in early contexts at PV62D13. The Callango examples may be the antecedents for later forms that develop.

DISCUSSION

Early Paracas pottery recovered from excavations at PV62D13 includes forms comparable to Menzel *et al.*'s (1964) Ocucaje Phases 2, 2/3, and 3 as well as some vessel shapes without defined precedents. The vessels defined as Ocucaje Phases 2 and 2/3 at PV62D13 were excavated in association with Ocucaje Phase 3 pottery, suggesting an early variant of Phase 3 pottery. This association may represent an early Phase 3 social formation rather than a discrete style or chronological phase. However, the association of two incurving bowls with the earliest radiocarbon date supports an early or pre-Ocucaje Phase 3 occupation at the site. By all indications, these vessels were produced locally according to Paracas conventions. I hesitate to assign a Phase 1 label to the vessels until this early- or pre-Phase 3 repertoire can be enlarged from excavations at a number of sites.

Ocucaje Phase 1 material, defined by Menzel *et al.* (*ibid.*) as a discrete pottery style, was not identified in excavations at PV62D13. Instead, Phase 1 attributes (sloping, thickened beveled rims, glossy black surfaces, rim incisions) occur on Phase 2, 2/3,

and 3 pottery at this site. I agree with the sorting process by which Menzel *et al.* (*ibid.*) defined Phase 1, particularly their segregation of flat-bottomed vessels such as the Rosselló bowl. I have observed similar forms¹¹ and they are illustrated in the literature, either associated with Ocucaje Phase 3 vessels (e.g., Sawyer 1966: figure 95) or without information about their original context (Tetsuo 1992: figure 357). Like Phase 1 bottles, the form may be restricted to mortuary contexts and therefore is unlikely to appear among the discards at domestic sites.

Excavations also provided a contextual basis for the iconographic vocabulary of the earliest domestic pottery. Geometric motifs arranged singly or in repetitive patterns are found on all vessel forms. The predominant incised circular designs are rendered as circles with interior dots, concentric circles, and interlocking circles such as the guilloche and figure eight. Equally prevalent are simple line designs that form interlocking, fabric-like patterns made of chevrons, Xs, and undulating arrangements. These early symbols and their attendant meanings form the principal subject of the vessel design, unlike the abbreviated and condensed motifs conventional to Middle and Late Paracas pottery. As an assemblage, Early Paracas pottery is distinct for its design conventions and associated symbolic content.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EARLY POTTERY FROM WEST BANK SITES

I compared the most common Early Paracas vessel forms from excavations at PV62D13 to surface collections from each west bank site in order to examine distribution patterns between sites. Figure 15 summarizes these data. I based the comparison on rim sherds that could be confidently assigned to defined Ocucaje sequence forms. Body

¹¹ The Museo Regional de Ica has a small collection of Early Paracas pottery from Huayurí obtained via salvage reconnaissance by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura-Ica in 1999.

sherds and forms without precedent were omitted from the analysis.

Overall, Ocucaje Phase 3 deep bowls are distributed evenly among the west bank sites and form a greater proportion of bowls compared to the Phase 2, 2/3 shallow bowls. Of the deep and shallow bowl forms at all sites, plain slipped bowls without incision are most prevalent, while post-fired and resist-painted examples are least represented. Shapes 5 and 5a are the most prevalent deep bowl forms among the west bank group. Menzel *et al.* (1964: 23) note that Shape 5 is the most common Ocucaje 3 form. Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 8 bowls form about one third of the total number of deep bowls among the group. Deep bowls are also present in Cook's collections from Chiquerillo, in the Instituto Nacional de Cultura-Ica (INC) collections from Huayurí, and at Cerrillos, where Wallace (1962: 307-308) describes them as "very frequent" among Cerrillos Phase vessels.

Shallow bowls are unevenly distributed at west bank sites. Site PV62D23 has no shallow bowls, while Site PV62D24 lacks Shape 2. The preponderance of Ocucaje Phase 2, Shape 5 and Ocucaje Phase 2/3, Shape 2 forms is of interest because of the small sample that Menzel *et al.* used to define these phases. The distribution of these vessel shapes among west bank sites lends support to the vessels as valid early forms.

Both collared vessels and incurving vessels are represented for four of the six sites but are absent at both PV62D23 and PV62D24. These vessel forms are common to all Paracas sites over time, and I attribute their absence from the surfaces of two west bank sites to sampling error. The finely polished incurving vessels recovered from the earliest contexts at PV62D13 are less common, and are not easily identifiable from surface collections due to erosion of the vessel surfaces. Further excavations are necessary to define better the distribution of these early forms which have no shape precedent in the Ocucaje sequence.

EARLY PARACAS SOCIAL FORMATIONS IN ICA

Settlement analysis of west bank sites provides a strong basis for inferences about Early Paracas social formations in Ica. In simplest terms, the Callango data indicate a strong Ocucaje 3 presence in the lower valley. Less can be said about a pre-Ocucaje 3 occupation of the other west bank sites although surface pottery suggests the likelihood. Excavations at PV62D13 uncovered a small residence with a long occupational history. Surface remains at the other west bank sites indicate an occupation from at least Ocucaje Phase 3 through Ocucaje Phase 8, and the combined group of hamlets and villages¹² would have coexisted over a long period. Pottery distributed among the sites, and the repetition of forms and designs within and between sites, suggest that pottery production was local to the community and that the visually expressed symbols were shared.

In the Ica Valley, this continuity in style among the west bank cluster is not limited solely to Callango for Ocucaje Phase 3. I propose a valley-wide pattern of enclaves for sectors of the upper, middle, and lower valley. If we consider the reported Early Paracas contexts for the upper valley, the neighboring sites of Cerrillos, Teojate, Cerro Yunque, and Cordero Bajito suggest another group. Although these sites do not cluster as closely as the Callango group, it is likely that the inhabitants of the region were in contact with one another. Early Paracas pottery recovered from Juan Pablo suggests that the cemetery at Teojate served as a regional necropolis for the early period, as it did during Middle Paracas times. Similarly, Cerrillos must have figured as an important ritual center for the region. Furthermore, at least one radiocarbon measurement (831 B.C.) associated with Ocucaje 3 pottery from Cerrillos places that site within the chronological range of the west bank cluster (Burger 1992:322; Paul 1991:12-13).

¹² Although I have not identified a cemetery for the west bank cluster, the number of Ocucaje Phase 3 vessels from Callango in local private collections (Rubini, Truel, Soldi, Del Solar) suggests that one existed but has long been destroyed.

Further south, the middle valley lacks site clustering, but long-term occupation is indicated beginning in Ocucaje Phase 3. The site of Cerro la Cruz stands out as an Early Paracas locus, particularly for Ocucaje Phase 3. Here, Menzel *et al.* (1964:21) identified surface remains that they included in their study. Seventeen Ocucaje Phase 3 vessels held in the Truel collection associated with the site indicate that an Early Paracas cemetery formed one section of the Cerro la Cruz complex. Other excavated burials in Ocucaje associated with Ocucaje Phase 3 support the presence of an enclave in the region (see *Ibid.*:20).

For Chiquerillo in the lower valley, the combined evidence from Cook's survey (1999) and published examples of vessels recovered from at least one cemetery (Sawyer 1966) indicate a lower valley cluster contemporaneous with the west bank sites in Callango.

In short, the data point to strong continuity for this period within, as well as between, Ica Valley enclaves. In turn, this finding suggests that during the Early Horizon, the Ica Valley was home to groups of long-established communities linked by a shared cultural tradition.

SOUTH COAST PERSPECTIVES

Although I focus mainly on Ica here, it is useful to consider Early Paracas contemporaries within a wider regional sphere. In attempting this link one is immediately faced with inconsistencies in comparative data (surface materials, isolated finds, excavated contexts) and the lack of absolute dates or conflicting dates for some south coast regions. Yet there are strong indications that on some level, west bank inhabitants were interacting with others on the south coast.

Proposed south coast contemporaries of the west bank cluster are the Paracas Peninsula area, the Río Grande de Nasca Drainage, and Acarí. García and Pinilla's (1995) synthesis of the Bay area (Paracas Peninsula and Independence Bay) indicates that

west bank settlement would have overlapped in time with the pre-Cavernas phases of Disco Verde, Puerto Nuevo, and Karwa (see Figure 2). Analysis of marine shell at PV62D13 (DeLeonardis 1997:271-272) indicates routine interaction between Callango residents and their coastal neighbors. Fragments of Disco Verde and Puerto Nuevo pottery (García and Pinilla 1995: figure 2b) have been recovered in Callango (e.g., DeLeonardis 1991: figure 3.32a; 1997: figure 7.15b-c) and in the upper Ica Valley (Lanning 1960:433), but there is no indication that these styles were produced locally in the Ica Valley. Other Disco Verde forms, such as those with annular bases, are more comparable to Hacha ceramics from Acarí (Robinson 1994: figures 16, 17a-b). Callango and Karwa share greater similarity in pottery styles (Burger 1992: figure 203; García and Pinilla 1995: figures 8b and 9a-b). García and Pinilla (*ibid.*: figures 8b and 9a-b) illustrate small, flat-bottomed bowls similar in form and design to Callango west bank pottery for Ocucaje Phases 2, 2/3, and 3. However, the tomb remains from Karwa on which these comparisons are based have not been dated, so I use the term contemporary loosely here.

Survey in the Río Grande de Nasca drainage largely revealed Late Paracas settlements, particularly Ocucaje Phase 8 (Browne and Baraybar 1988; Reindel *et al.* 1999; Silverman 1994). However, Silverman (1994: figure 3a-b) reports Ocucaje Phase 3 surface pottery from one site in her Ingenio Valley survey and illustrates an Early Paracas vessel fragment (1991: figure 9.10) collected by a local farmer near the town of Nasca. The form of the fragment closely resembles the Ocucaje Phase 1 Rosselló bowl but the incised circle pattern is analogous to an Ocucaje Phase 3 design. Recent salvage reconnaissance by the INC-Ica at Huayurí also demonstrates the presence of Early Paracas (Phases 2-3) in the neighboring Santa Cruz Valley (see footnote 11). The Huayurí collection includes one cup bowl similar to Sawyer's from burial 1 at Chiquerillo (Menzel *et al.* 1964:310, figure 9f; Sawyer 1966: figure 93) (Figure 4). Other isolated finds said to be

from Coyungo raise the question of a more widespread interaction between the regions.¹³

Although there is some chronological overlap between the west bank cluster and the Hacha site at Acari, excavations in both regions have not clarified the relationship between the two. Hacha is an Initial Period site with a Paracas component (Riddell and Valdéz 1987-1988; Robinson 1994; Rowe 1956, 1967a). Robinson's (1994) excavations at the site and his synthesis of previous work there confirmed an Initial Period occupation, but the few Paracas-like sherds associated with the site were restricted solely to the surface and are not considered early. As mentioned above, early Hacha pottery resembles Disco Verde more closely than it does Ica Valley Paracas pottery.

In short, regional comparisons are suggestive of an interaction sphere between Early Paracas in Ica and other parts of the south coast. The lack of secure dates for some sites (Karwa, sites in the Nasca Valley) renders contemporaneity between the west bank cluster and its regional counterparts uncertain, even where pottery assemblages appear similar. By contrast, contemporaneity with the Hacha site has been established, but resemblances between pottery assemblages are not evident.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the wake of analysis and interpretation of domestic sites in the lower Ica Valley, the earliest expressions of the Paracas cultural tradition are viewed from a renewed perspective. Excavations have provided new data that help to define domestic activities and provide a contextual basis from which surface remains can be better evaluated and understood. For Callango, these contexts reveal the

establishment of an Early Paracas community that emerged during the initial centuries of the first millennium B.C. Settlement analysis of the west bank cluster combined with comparative examples from Ica and the wider region support the concept of an Early Paracas social formation – a network of established enclaves with a shared cultural tradition. Within this tradition, phrased as Ocucaje Phase 3, are a number of residential, ritual, and burial contexts that exhibit a coherent range of locally produced pottery styles.

There is little doubt about the validity of Ocucaje Phase 3 as a style of Paracas pottery. Moreover, I have attempted to shed light on the complexity of Ocucaje Phase 3 by demonstrating that a wider repertoire of pottery exists than proposed in the Ocucaje sequence. Analysis of domestic pottery from the west bank of the lower Ica Valley provides strong evidence of local expressions that encompass multiple phases of the Ocucaje sequence. Re-evaluation of the sequence highlights Phase 2 as a valid style form encompassed by the Early Paracas social formation but not as a temporally exclusive phase.

I have also called attention to the presence of pre- or early-Ocucaje Phase 3 pottery associated with the earliest radiocarbon measurements for PV62D13. The pottery is unquestionably Paracas but it does not conform to Phase 1 by current definition (Menzel *et al.* 1964). Although it is premature to attach either a phase designation to it or to associate it with a specific social formation, it could well represent a transitional or anticipatory stage between the Initial Period and Ocucaje Phase 3 in Ica. Future excavations at west bank sites and elsewhere may better elucidate this transition.

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¹³ Lapiner (1976: figures 140, 145 and notes) illustrates five vessels thought to be from Coyungo, although in a note he suggests that one bowl shown in his figure 145 may be from "somewhere on the North Coast of Peru" (*ibid.*:440 endnote 145). All of the vessels may well have been imported from Tembladera in the Jequetepeque Valley.

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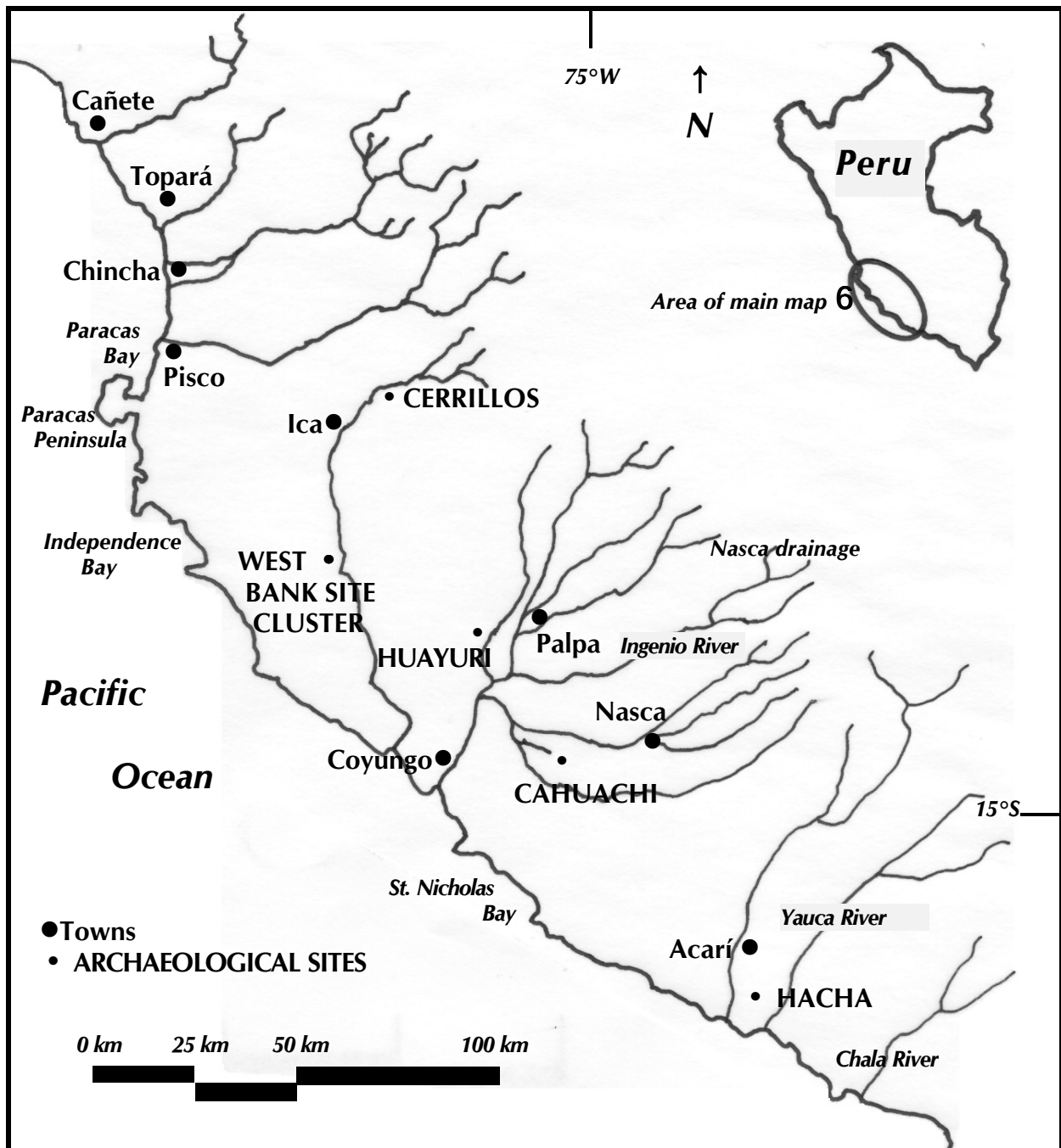


Figure 1. South coastal Peru.



Figure 2. The Ica Valley and environs, showing topographic divisions and Paracas sites mentioned in the text.

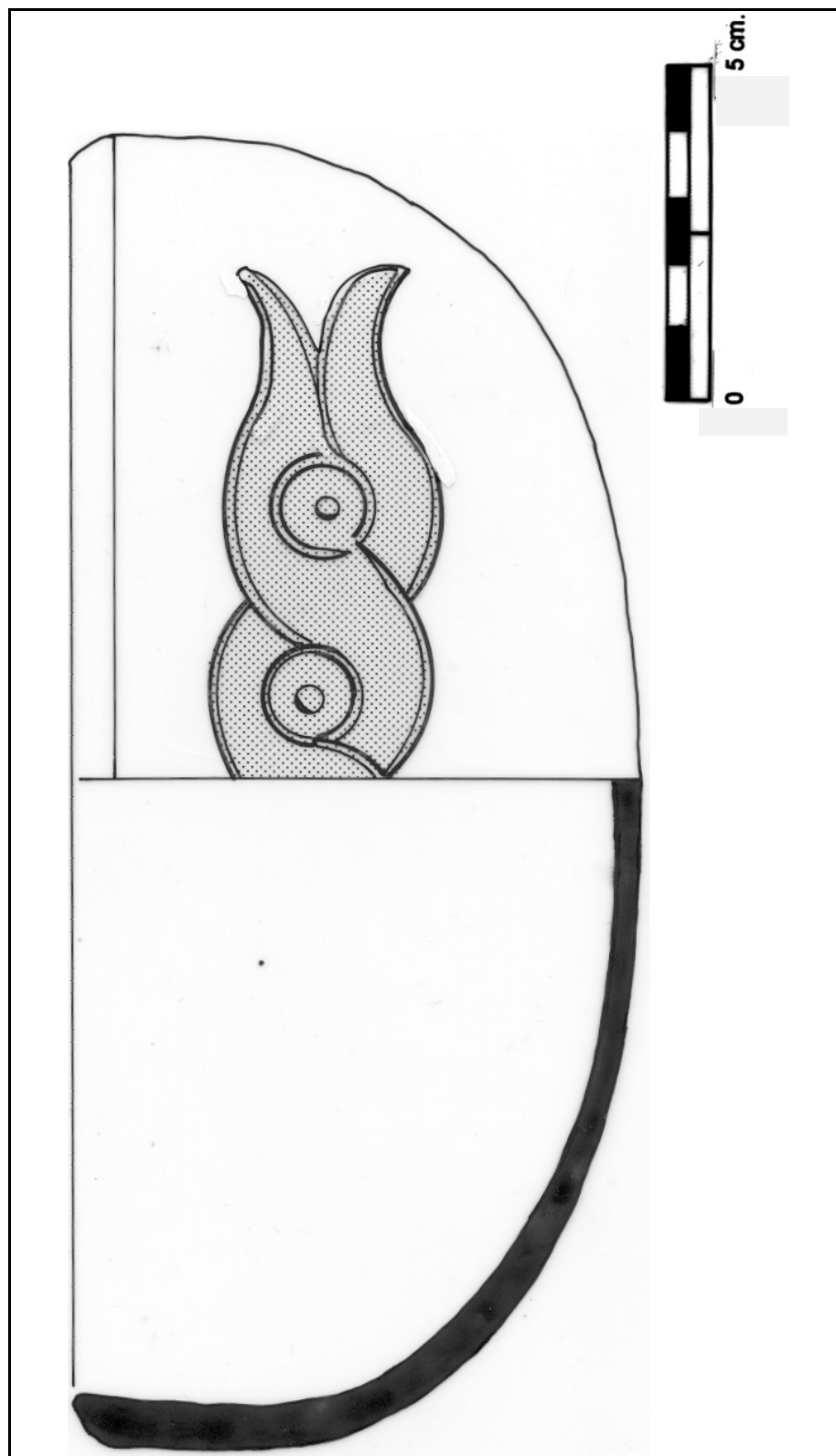


Figure 3. Post-fired painted and incised vessel from Ocucaje. Aldo Rubini collection.
The shape of this vessel corresponds to Menzel et al. (1964) Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 5a. The incised guilloche is painted red.



Figure 4. This flat-bottomed beaker, recovered from Burial 1, Chiquerillo, lower Ica Valley, corresponds to Menzel et al. (1964: figure 9f) Ocucaje Phase 2, Shape 6 and is characteristic of the incised geometric design, wall thickness, surface color and finish of Early Paracas pottery. Height 4-1/16 inches/11 cm. The Nathan Cummings Collection 62.266.76.
All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5. Post-fire painted and incised bowl from the Chiquerillo gravelot, lower Ica Valley. Left – corresponds to Menzel et al. (1964: figure 9e) Ocucaje Phase 2, Shape 5. Figure eights are rendered in alternating red and yellow paint. Height 2-3/8 inches/6 cm. Right – corresponds to Menzel et al. (1964: figure 10e) Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 8 with pouring lip. Height 3-3/4 inches/9.5 cm. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Nathan Cummings Collection, 1963 (62.232.1. - 62.266.62).

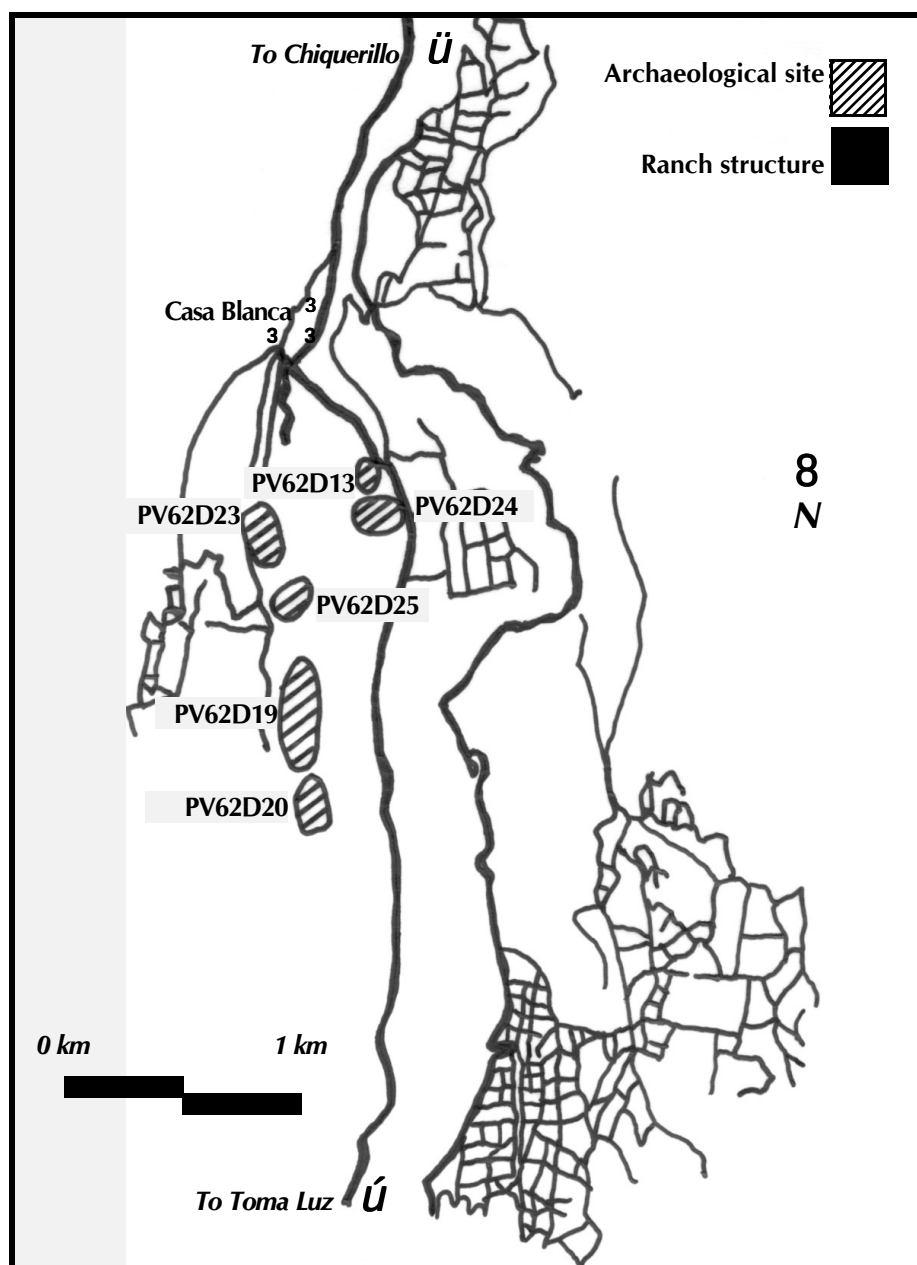


Figure 6: Callango, west bank cluster of Early Paracas sites.
 Networks of fine lines represent modern agricultural boundaries.



Figure 7: Early Paracas pottery recovered from the surface of Site PV62D19, Callango. These examples show bowl forms and designs common to the west bank cluster. From DeLeonardis (1991:51).

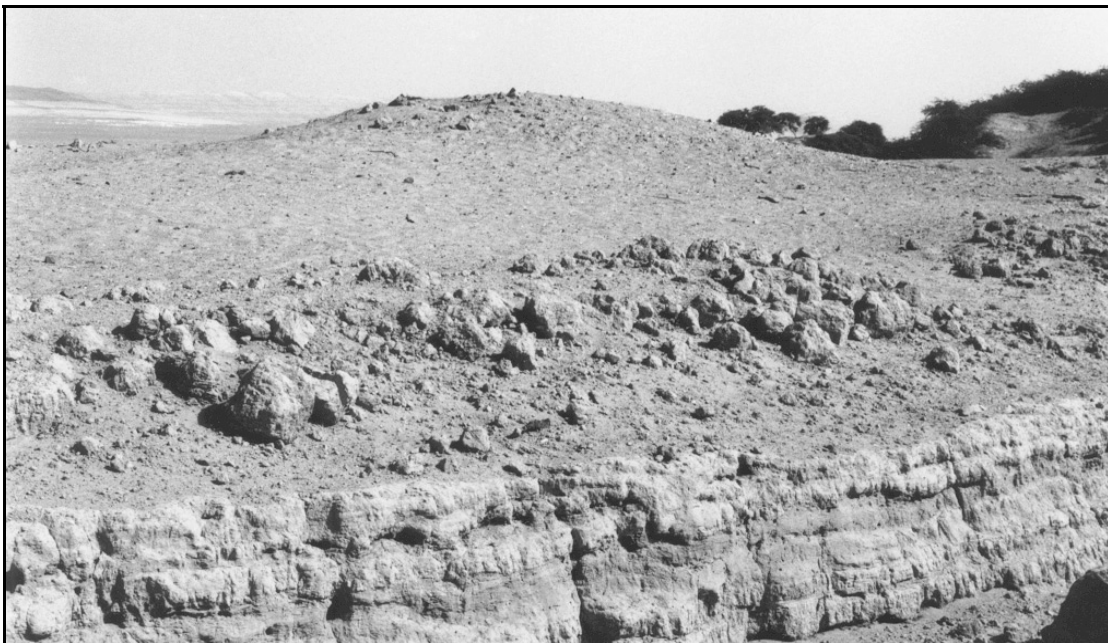


Figure 8: Site PV62D13 prior to excavations. Small mounds such as the one shown here characterize many site formations in Callango.

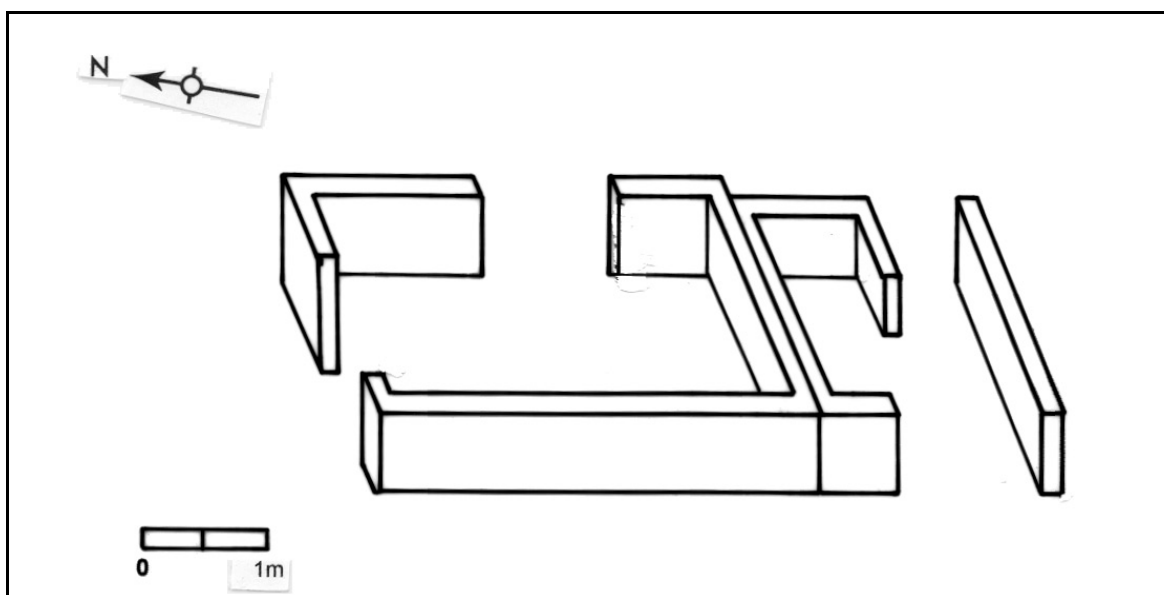


Figure 9: Partial reconstruction of the residential structure associated with the principal mound of PV62D13, facing east. The extant architecture is associated with the Late Paracas occupation of the site.

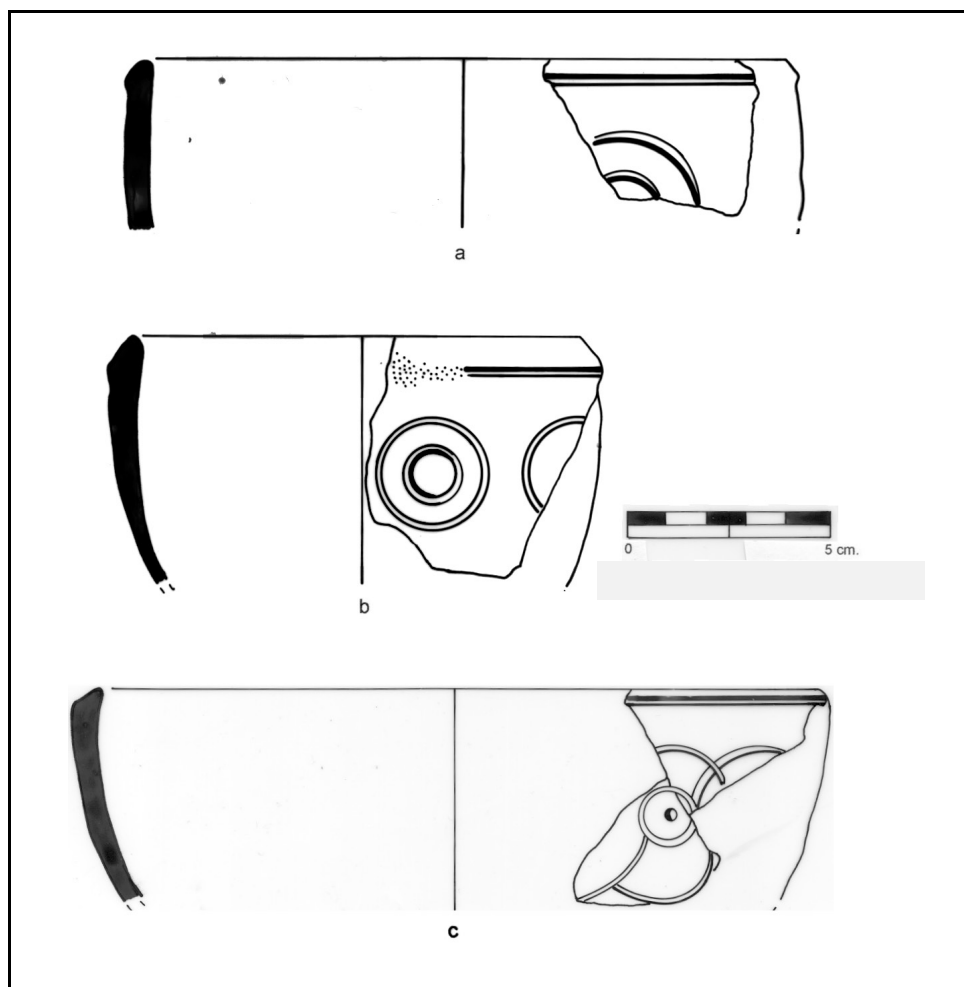


Figure 10: Deep bowls
– (a) Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 8; (b-c) Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 5. Bowl (b) is drawn at half-size.

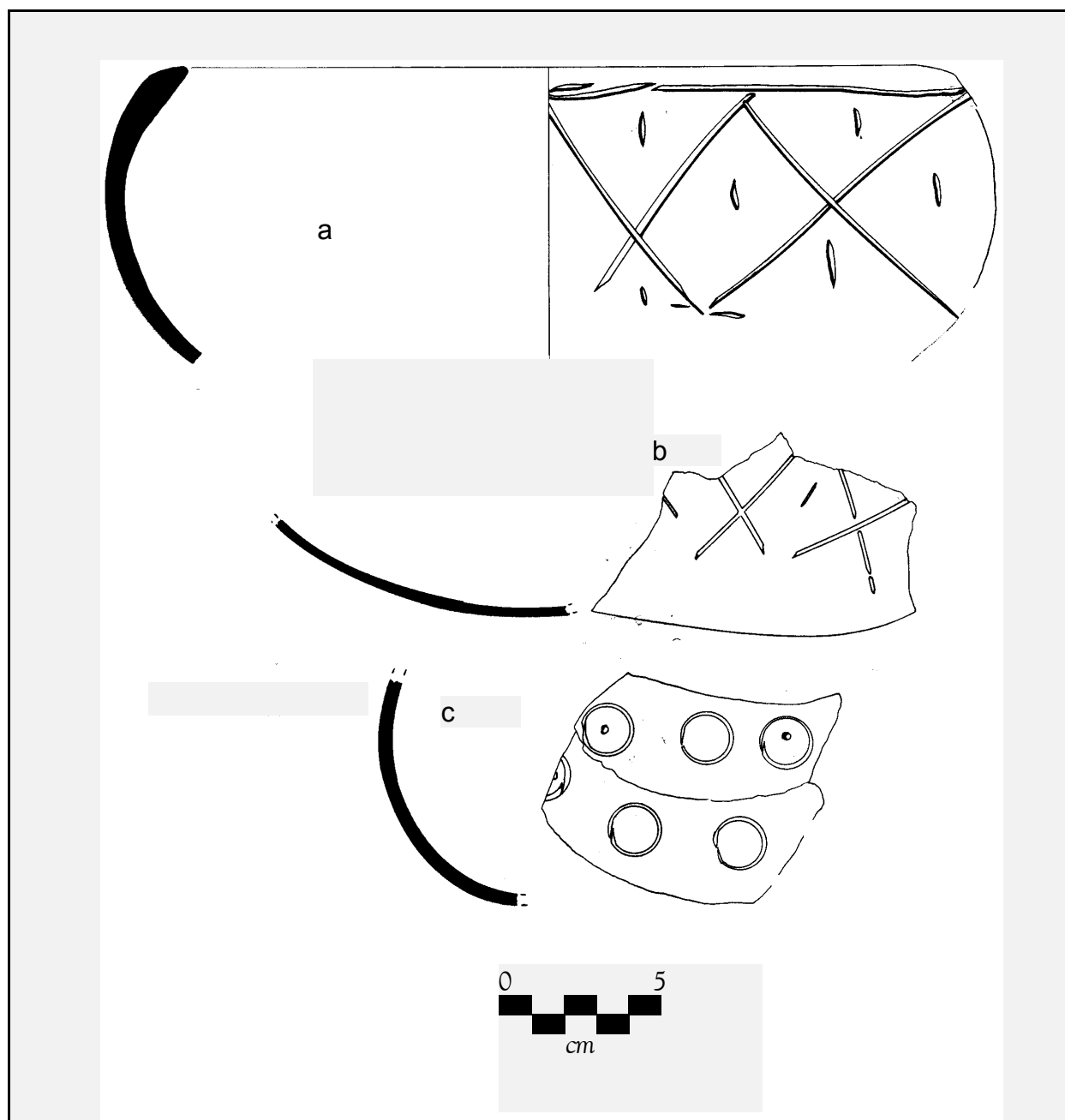


Figure 11: Deep bowls without shape precedents; (a) rim diameter 26 cm.

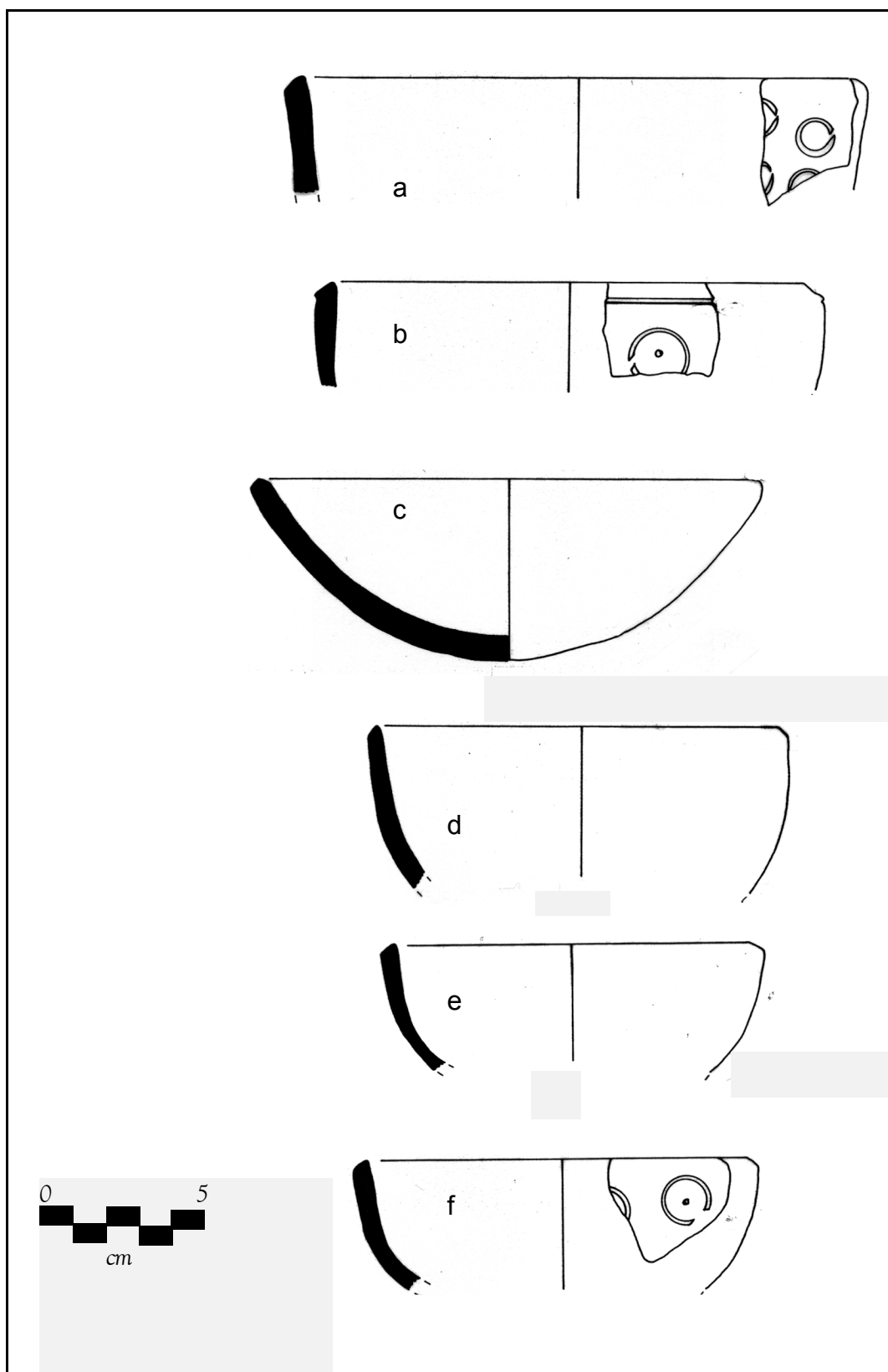


Figure 12: Shallow bowls: (a) Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 8; (b) Ocucaje Phase 3, Shape 5a; (c) no shape precedent; (d) Ocucaje Phase 2, Shape 5; (e-f) no shape precedent.

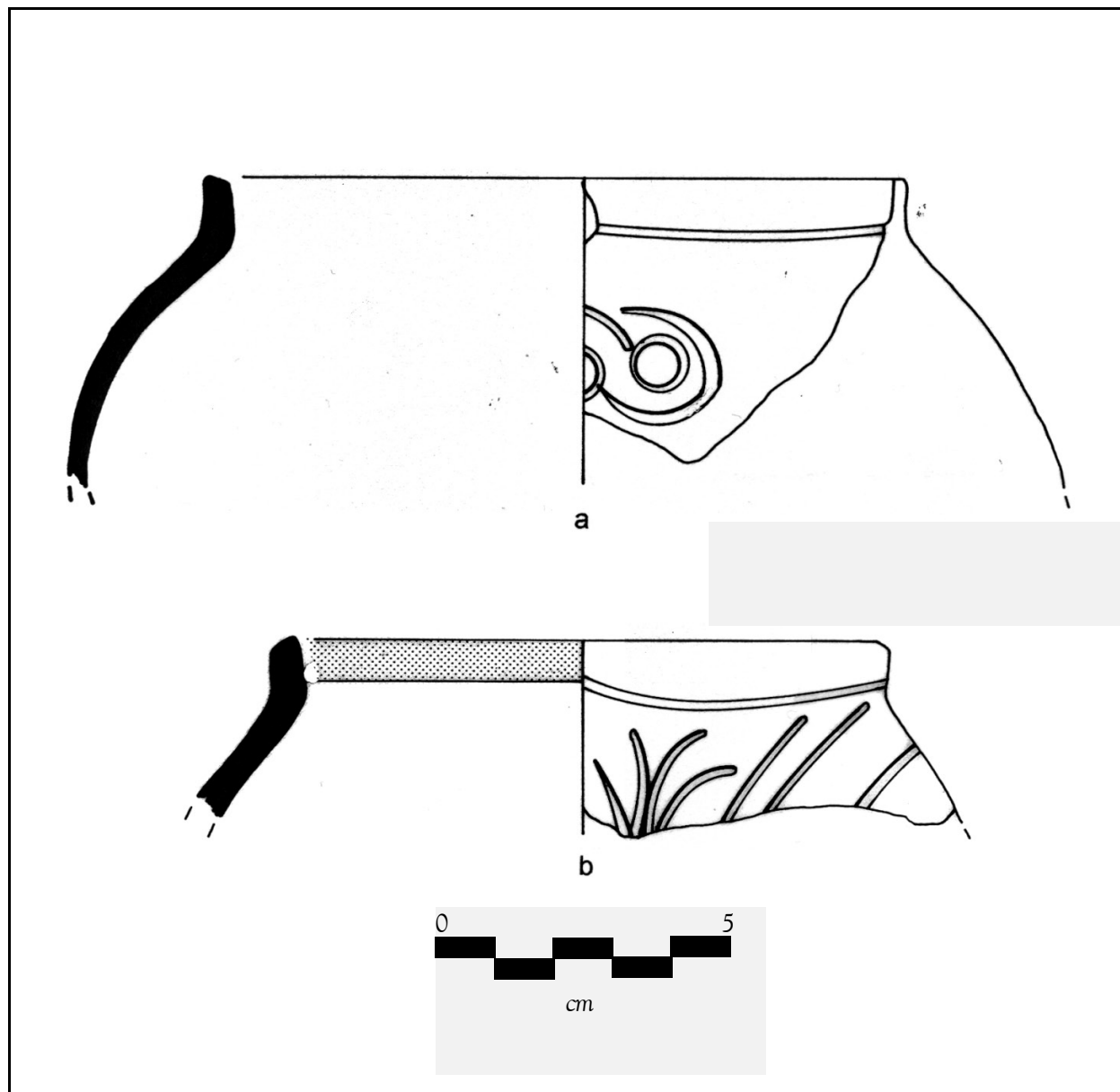


Figure 13: Collared vessels.

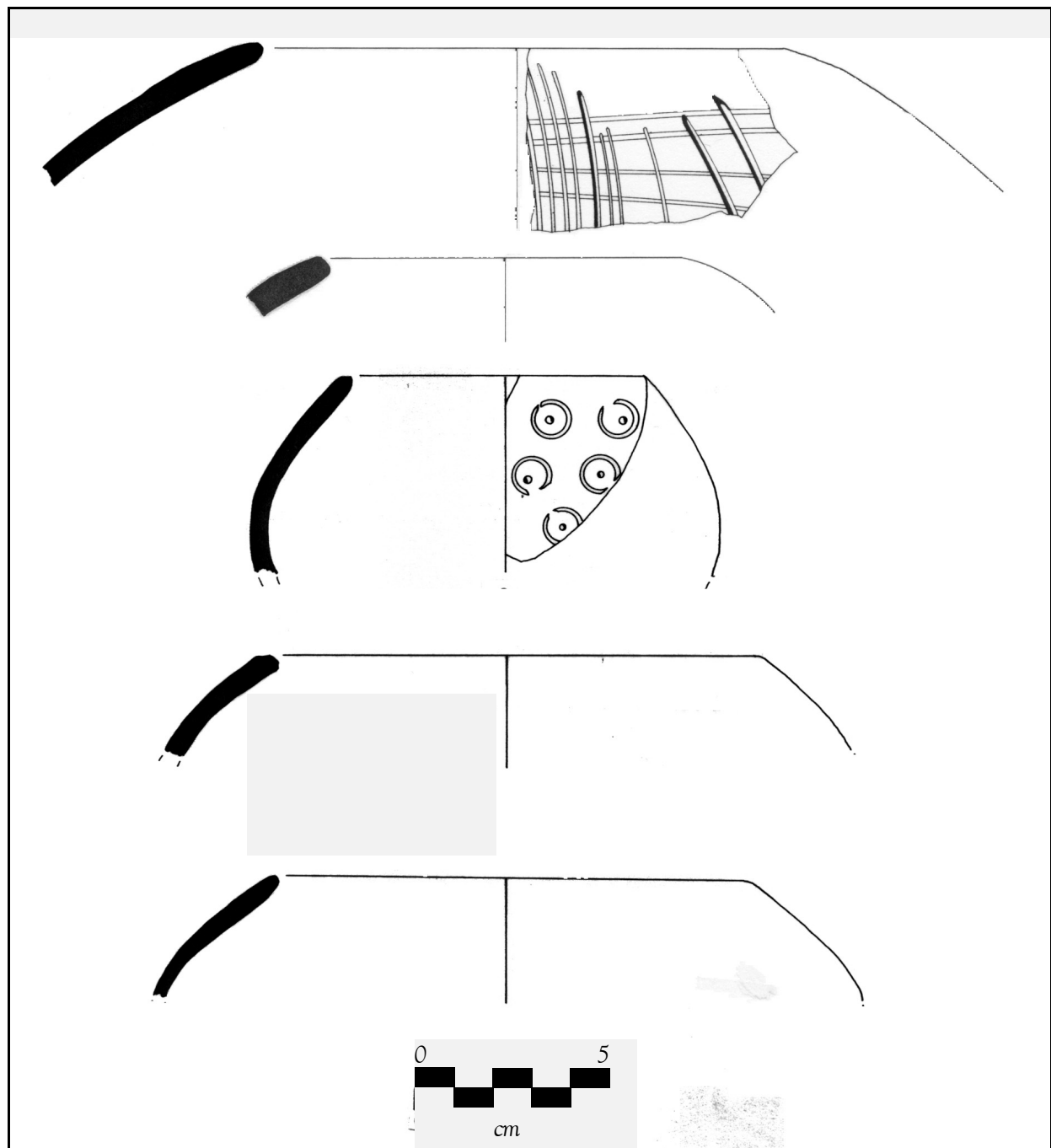


Figure 14: Incurring vessels; (d) rim diameter 18 cm; (e) rim diameter 24 cm.

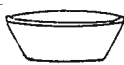
		PV62D13	PV62D13	PV62D19	PV62D20	PV62D23	PV62D24	PV62D25	TOTAL
		excav'd	surface	surface	surface	surface	surface	surface	
DEEP BOWLS									
Shape 5, Phase 3		16	1	6	1	3	1	4	32
Shape 5a, Phase 3		11	8	2	1	2	2	1	27
Shape 8, Phase 3		19	5	3	3	1	1	3	35
Shape 5, Phase 4		2	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
SHALLOW BOWLS									
Shape 5, Phase 2		18	1	2	2	2	0	1	26
Shape 2, Phase 2/3		9	4	4	1	0	0	1	19
INCURVING BOWLS									
Shape 6, Phase 2/3		7	13	2	1	1	1	1	26
COLLARED VESSELS									
Shape 9, Phase 3		26	29	8	2	0	0	1	66

Figure 15: Distribution of Early Paracas pottery at west bank sites associated with Menzel et al.'s (1962) Ocucaje sequence.