

THE DOMESTIC OCCUPATION OF CAMPANAYUQ RUMI: IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE INITIAL PERIOD AND EARLY HORIZON OF THE SOUTH-CENTRAL ANDES OF PERU

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INTRODUCTION

The principal objective of this paper is to present a new data set from the domestic occupations at the Initial Period (1800-800 B.C.) and Early Horizon (800-200 B.C.) center of Campanayuq Rumi (Figures 1, 2) and to discuss the site's socio-economic organization. The importance of archaeological data from domestic contexts has been well appreciated in Andean archaeology (Aldenderfer 1993; Bawden 1982; Lockard this volume; Nash 2009; Stanish 1989; Topic 1982) because of its usefulness in considering a wide range of social, political, and economic processes (e.g. Blanton 1994; Wilk and Rathje 1982).

Most archaeologists agree that important socio-economic changes occurred in the central Andes during the Initial Period (IP) and Early Horizon (EH) (e.g. Burger 1992, 1993, 2008; Lumbreras 1989; Onuki *et al.* 2010; Rick 2005, 2008). Although this theme tended to be expressed mainly through the excavations of ceremonial architecture, a recent increase of data from domestic contexts makes it possible to consider socio-economic processes during the IP/EH more comprehensively (e.g. Alva 1988;

Burger 1984; Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991; Davis 2011; Nesbitt 2012; Ochatoma 1985, 1998; Tellenbach 1986; Tsurumi 2007).

Our research at the ceremonial center of Campanayuq Rumi (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010) demonstrated that two domestic occupations existed in association with the public architecture (Figure 2) throughout the IP/EH history of the site (1000-500 cal. B.C.). This data set allows us to consider the role of domestic occupations in relation to ceremonial centers.

INITIAL PERIOD AND EARLY HORIZON DOMESTIC OCCUPATIONS IN THE PERUVIAN SOUTH-CENTRAL HIGHLANDS

Before the presentation of the data from Campanayuq Rumi, it is useful to review what is known about other IP/EH domestic occupations in the Peruvian south-central highlands in order to compare them with Campanayuq Rumi.

Richard MacNeish's Ayacucho-Huanta Archaeological-Botanical project made the Ayacucho Region the focus of intensive survey from 1969 to 1972 (MacNeish 1969; MacNeish

et al. 1980, 1981, 1983). In this project, systematic surface survey and several test excavations were conducted in all the ecological zones of the Ayacucho Basin. Their investigation revealed that the high elevation puna zone (4000-4800 masl) was exploited by semi-nomadic llama pastoralists during the IP (Lumbreras 1974; MacNeish *et al.* 1975; MacNeish *et al.* 1981:238-241). Although sixty-four sites were registered, most of them remain to be published.

In the bottom lands of the Ayacucho basin (Figure 3), the Wichqana site seems to be the first instance of public architecture (Flores Espinosa 1960; Lumbreras 1974, 1981:170-175), though the mound size suggests that it was relatively modest in scale. Luis Lumbreras excavated a possible rectangular plaza and platforms with a late Initial Period radiocarbon date¹ (Lumbreras 1981:170, figures 7-2, 175, figures 7-9). In addition, although MacNeish registered five sites categorized as “hamlet”, “fortified hamlet”, or “macroband” within a two kilometer radius of Wichqana, their data have not been published (MacNeish 1981:238-239). While Lumbreras assumed that the area around Wichqana was suitable for agriculture and it functioned as a urban nucleus (núcleo urbano) (Lumbreras 1974:65, 71), the urban and/or domestic area associated with the site remains to be evaluated.

During the Early Horizon, the site of Chupas appeared as a ceremonial center in the high grasslands at 3600 m.a.s.l. about twenty kilometers to the south of Wichqana (Casafranca 1960; Cruzatt 1966, 1971, 1977; Lumbreras 1981:177-181). As is the case for Campanayuq Rumi, it is on the ecotone

between the puna and the *suní* (the central Andean ecological zone between about 3500 and 4000 m.a.s.l.). The architectural style of Chupas, unlike Wichqana, was composed of a series of superimposed terraced constructions. Several architectural phases were recognized and, during its final phase, the main platform was roughly sixty-five by sixty meters in area and five meters in height (Lumbreras 1981:178). Since Lumbreras found that Early Horizon occupations extended beyond the Platform Complex (*ibid.*: 181-182), domestic occupations of the Early Horizon may have existed around the site.

In addition to these ceremonial centers, small Early Horizon residential occupations have been recognized near the bottomland of the Ayacucho Basin such as Jargam Pata (Ochatoma 1985, 1992, 1998), Aya Orco (Lumbreras 1974:87-89, Ochatoma 1992:198), Waychau-pampa (Cabrera 1991; Ochatoma 1992:199), Ñawinpukio (Ochatoma 1992:199-200), and Ira Qata (Mancilla 2008). In particular, José Ochatoma's pioneering research at Jargam Pata provides important information on habitations that were not associated with monumental/public architecture (Figure 3).

The Jargam Pata site is near the center of the city of Ayacucho. At Jargam Pata Ochatoma found a complex of domestic architecture and burials associated with offerings of ceramic vessels (Ochatoma 1985, 1992, 1998). IP and EH ceramics (Wichqana and Kichka Pata types) were recovered from this site. Based on the data from Jargam Pata, Ochatoma reformulated the early ceramic sequence of the Ayacucho Basin (Ochatoma 1992). His research revealed the nature of domestic architecture in the Ayacucho region during the IP/EH. The architecture of Jargam Pata consists of simple stone constructions of circular, rectangular, and irregular shapes (Ochatoma 1985: láminas II and III, 1998: figure 2) and was made of

¹ A radiocarbon sample (S598) obtained from Zone F of the stratigraphy (Lumbreras 1981: figures 7-9) dated to 2650±100 B.P. (uncalibrated; MacNeish 1981:209, Table 8-4).

unworked fieldstones set in mud mortar (Ochatoma 1998:263). These architectural traits are shared with other more recently researched sites such as Waychaupampa (Cabrera 1991) and Ira Qata (Mancilla 2008).

Outside of the Ayacucho region, little information is currently available (Figure 1). To the south and southeast of Ayacucho, local ceramic traditions are known from the Andahuaylas and Cusco regions (e.g. Chávez 1977; Grossman 1972) and no obvious monumental architecture is recognized from these areas.² Considering their high altitude locations, the societies of these regions may have been “prosperous sedentary villages employing mixed strategies of high-altitude farming and camelid herding” (Burger 1992:220).

As for the regions to the north of Ayacucho, the situation seems similar. In the Mantaro drainage, only small numbers of village sites are recognized (e.g. Browman 1970; Matos 1971; Parsons *et al.* 2000). According to David Browman, “(D)wellings were subterranean or semi-subterranean pithouses, with perishable superstructures; the pithouses in our samples were both round and rectangular” and “(T)he round examples were about 1.0 m deep and 2.0-3.0 m in diameter; the rectangular example was 2.0 m deep and at least 4.5 m on a side (Browman 1970:219).” The only example of a possible IP/EH ceremonial center in the Mantaro drainage is Ataura near Tarma (Matos 1972). Although the nature of this site is not well known, Ramiro Matos reported both probable public architecture (Sector C) and a domestic area with small rectangular structures (Sector A) (Matos 1972:95-96). When Yuichi

Matsumoto and Jason Nesbitt visited this site in 2006, the site was largely destroyed and they could not find any architectural remains. However, a few typical IP/EH ceramic sherds, such as black polished ones with stamped circles, were recognized on a modern agricultural field.

The site of Atalla in the Huancavelica Region is an exceptionally large-scale ceremonial center in the south-central highlands (Burger and Matos 2002; Matos 1959), and its size and architectural elaborations are comparable to those of Campanayuc Rumi. According to Matos, the EH occupation at Atalla was recognized near the center of the site and was composed of semi-subterranean circular constructions (Burger and Matos 2002:156). Because abundant household refuse and processing tools such as mortars and grinding stones were recovered there (*ibid.*), the data from Atalla seem to demonstrate the presence of domestic areas attached to ceremonial centers. However, at present these dwellings have not been excavated in detail.

Currently available data from habitation sites in the south-central highlands suggest relatively low population densities and a focus on an agro-pastoral economy during the IP and EH (e.g. Burger 1992:207-208; Matos 1971, 1978; Parsons *et al.* 2000:101-105). However, the current data is far from sufficient to consider the nature of domestic activities and social organization, as compared to the later time periods in Peru (e.g. Nash 2009). In addition, while probable domestic occupations were recognized at Chupas, Ataura, and Atalla, they have not been fully investigated, which makes it difficult to discuss the relationship between ceremonial centers and the domestic occupations. The data from Campanayuc Rumi provide a good opportunity to consider these issues from a diachronic perspective.

² Recent excavations at the site of Yuthu in Cusco by Alison Davis (Davis 2011) provides the first detailed data of village life in the Cusco region during the late Early Horizon. Her research identified an artificially modified terrace with ritual space.

EXCAVATIONS AT CAMPANAYUQ RUMI: AN OVERVIEW

Campanayuq Rumi is at an elevation of 3600 m.a.s.l. in Vilcashuaman, Ayacucho Region (Figure 1). The site is approximately six hundred meters to the east of the Plaza Mayor of the modern town of Vilcashuaman, which is well known for an Inca administrative center (González Carré *et al.* 1981). We carried out two seasons of archaeological investigation at Campanayuq Rumi in 2007 and 2008. Although the main focus of this article is to discuss the domestic occupation, we also conducted excavations in the monumental core. This work resulted in a detailed architectural sequence anchored by radiocarbon dates (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010). To contextualize our study of the domestic occupation (Figure 2), we present a brief overview of these results on the monumental architecture (Figure 4).

Our research demonstrated that Campanayuq Rumi was an exceptionally large ceremonial center in the Peruvian south-central highlands dating to the late IP and EH. Both material evidence and architectural style suggest that the site maintained close ties with Chavín de Huántar from its foundation to its abandonment. One of the basic contributions of our research was to produce a fine-grained site chronology based on radiocarbon dates, ceramic style, and architectural sequence (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010). This chronological study indicates that the history of Campanayuq Rumi can be divided into five phases; the Pre-Platform Complex Phase (1100-1000 cal. B.C.), the Campanayuq 1 Phase (1000-700 cal. B.C.), the Campanayuq 2 Phase (700-500 cal. B.C.), Post-Abandonment Phase (from 300 cal. B.C.), and the Chanka Reoccupation Phase (around A.D. 1200). In this site history, Campanayuq Rumi functioned as a ceremonial center in the Campanayuq 1

and 2 Phases. The two domestic areas, which are the main focus of this article, were associated with the ceremonial architecture during the Campanayuq 1 and 2 Phases.

Campanayuq Rumi appeared as a large-scale ceremonial center at the beginning of the Campanayuq 1 Phase around 1000 cal. B.C. The radiocarbon dates and ceramic sherds from the layers before the construction activities of the public architecture indicate the area was occupied sporadically around 1100 cal. B.C. (Pre-platform Phase). In the beginning of the Campanayuq 1 Phase, public architecture was constructed with a U-shaped platform layout composed of at least three platforms and a sunken rectangular plaza (Figure 4). From one of the platforms an internal gallery was recognized. Although the collapsed ceiling prevented us from excavating the inside, the gallery strongly reminded us of those in Chavín de Huántar, and it seems highly probable that more galleries exist in these platforms. Large numbers of human remains were embedded in the construction fills, probably as offerings. The architectural style of Campanayuq Rumi was clearly different from those of nearby public centers such as Chupas and Wichqana (*e.g.* Cruzatt 1971; Lumbreras 1974:52-73, 1981) and showed strong similarities to Chavín de Huántar, six hundred kilometers to the north. Not only the U-shaped layout, but the fine stone masonry and a gallery strongly imply that Campanayuq Rumi was built incorporating several architectural conventions of Chavín de Huántar. For example, the stone masonry at Campanayuq Rumi was characterized by the combination of large quarried stones and flat stones, which is adopted in many platforms at Chavín de Huántar. This pattern is not recognized either at Chupas nor at Wichqana (*e.g.* Lumbreras 1981:170, figure 7-2). It seems reasonable to conclude that the construction technique used for the gallery at Campanayuq Rumi is almost identical to that of Chavín de

Huántar. In addition, galleries were used in specific ritual activities with limited access at Chavín de Huántar (e.g. Rick 2006). The designer of Campanayuc Rumi must have known the architectural techniques (and unique ritual performances) of Chavín de Huántar. Despite the strong architectural influence from Chavín de Huántar, the ceramic styles of this phase were composed of independent ceramic traditions distributed in the south-central highlands and south coast such as Pirwapukio Phase ceramics from the Mantaro drainage (Browman 1970), Muyu-Moqo C-D style ceramics from the Andahuaylas region (Grossman 1972), Hacha 2 Phase ceramics in the Acari Valley (Riddell and Valdez 1987-1988; Robinson 1994), and Marcavalle A Phase ceramics in Cusco (Chávez 1977). Based on these data, Matsumoto argued that Campanayuc Rumi functioned as a regional node of interregional interactions (Matsumoto 2010).

In the Campanayuc 2 Phase, stylistic elements of Chavín de Huántar became more prominent. While no major modifications in architectural layout were made, at least two of the platforms became higher through new construction activities. In addition, a new staircase was added to the central platform located at the base of "U". This staircase was made of cut and polished stones called ashlar. The use of ashlar is especially important because this technique was probably invented at the contemporary Chavín de Huántar (Kembel 2001, 2008).

The influence from Chavín de Huántar can be recognized beyond architecture. Most of the local ceramic styles of the previous phase were replaced by the typical styles of the Janabarriu Phase at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984) and Early Paracas/Ocucaje Phase 1-4 (e.g. Isla and Reindel 2006; Menzel *et al.* 1964). In addition, our excavations revealed that personal ornaments and burials with offerings appeared

from this phase, which implies that a socioeconomic transformation occurred that included asymmetric distributions of wealth. In other publications (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010, 2012), we suggest that this change occurred in accordance with the emergence of a pan-regional religious network centered on Chavín de Huántar, referred to as the Chavín Sphere of Influence (Burger 2008). The excavation data suggest that through the incorporation into the new system, interactions between Chavín de Huántar and Campanayuc Rumi were intensified through a pilgrimage network (Matsumoto 2010:366). Because the latest dates of the Campanayuc 2 Phase corresponded to the end dates of Chavín de Huántar (e.g. Rick *et al.* 2010), it seems reasonable to assume that the abandonment of Campanayuc Rumi occurred in accordance with the collapse of the Chavín sphere of influence.

After the abandonment around 500 cal. B.C., Campanayuc Rumi seems to have been reoccupied for a short period of time during the late Early Horizon and possibly the Early Intermediate Period.³ Since large numbers of ceramic sherds of the Chanka culture (Arjalla style) (González Carré 1992; Lumbreras 1959, 1974:218-223) were recovered from the surface layer throughout the site, and a couple of small circular constructions of probable Chanka style architecture were recognized on the surface, Campanayuc Rumi seems to have been intensively re-occupied during the Late Intermediate Period by the Chankas.⁴

³ Although no radiocarbon dates pertaining to these periods exist, a few probable Huarpa style ceramic sherds were recognized.

⁴ A radiocarbon sample (AA87453) was obtained from a context of multiple secondary burials on a platform at Campanayuc Rumi and presented the uncalibrated date of 882 ± 54 B.P. (Mendoza 2010). This date fits well with the recent chronological time frame presented by Brian Bauer and his colleagues for the Chanka in the

THE CHAVÍN PHENOMENON AND CAMPANAYUQ RUMI

Although Campanayuc Rumi's relationship with Chavín de Huántar is a key issue to consider, chronological matching between the two sites is somewhat problematic because there are ongoing debates about the chronological position of Chavín de Huántar itself and the nature of its interregional interactions.

Over the last ten years, the chronology of Chavín de Huántar, and the nature of the Chavín phenomenon, has been the subject of debate (e.g. Burger 2008; Burger and Salazar-Burger 2008; Kembel 2008; Kembel and Rick 2004; Rick *et al.* 2010). Richard Burger has argued that Chavín de Huántar was founded around 1000 cal. B.C. and was transformed into a civic/ceremonial center of a pan-regional religious network around 500 cal. B.C. (Burger 2008). On the other hand, based on their recent research at Chavín de Huántar, John Rick and his colleagues concluded that Chavín de Huántar was founded between 1500 and 1200 cal. B.C. and collapsed around 500 cal. B.C. (Kembel 2008; Rick *et al.* 2010).

Burger and Rick present different perspectives about the nature of interregional interactions between Chavín de Huántar and other centers in the central Andes. According to Burger, Chavín de Huántar reformulated several elements of the Initial Period cultures and created a new religious ideology that expanded over a wide geographic area of the central Andes during the Early Horizon (Burger 1988, 1992, 2008). On the other hand, Rick and his colleagues consider that Chavín de Huántar was not the only center that influenced other coeval centers but rather it was *primus inter pares* (Kembel and Rick 2004). According to this

model, Chavín de Huántar emerged as early as other Initial Period centers and evolved with them to produce its impressive art and technology through interactions with other coeval centers (*ibid.*; Rick 2005, 2008).

The data from Campanayuc Rumi imply that it was involved in a complex historical process with Chavín de Huántar (Matsumoto 2010). As Matsumoto discussed elsewhere, while the interactions between Campanayuc Rumi and Chavín de Huántar began around 1000 cal. B.C., their relationship was not asymmetric and in its earliest phases Campanayuc Rumi functioned as a center of interregional interaction in the south-central highlands. As the ceramic styles of the Campanayuc 1 Phase suggest, the interaction sphere centered on Campanayuc Rumi seems to have been largely independent from that of Chavín de Huántar. However, as discussed above, Campanayuc Rumi seems to have incorporated itself within the Chavín sphere of influence around 700 cal. B.C. It still seems premature to discuss whether the changing interactions between Campanayuc Rumi and Chavín de Huántar can fit to one of these perspectives or provide an alternative. Because recent excavations at Chavín de Huántar continue to support several different chronological frameworks (e.g. Kembel 2001, 2008; Kembel and Rick 2004; Mesia 2007; Rick 2005, 2008; Rick *et al.* 2010), we may need to wait until the publication of a definitive chronology with contextual information at Chavín de Huántar in order to evaluate the data of Campanayuc Rumi in an interregional context. We would just add that the Campanayuc 2 Phase seems to correspond to the Janabarriu Phase at Chavín de Huántar and as Burger has discussed for other sites (Burger 1988, 1992) it was a time of radical changes in both material styles and social organizations (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Cavero 2012) though the beginning date of the

Andahuaylas region (Bauer and Kellett 2010; Bauer *et al.* 2010).

Campanayuc 2 Phase is about 300 years earlier than that of the original formulation of the Janabarriu Phase.

EXCAVATIONS OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH SECTORS OF CAMPANAYUC RUMI

The surface reconnaissance at Campanayuc Rumi identified two possible IP/EH domestic occupations (Figure 2). In both cases, archaeological remains were exposed due to destructive trenching by modern construction activities. Prehispanic ceramic sherds were dispersed on the surface in the areas around the construction disturbances. Despite the material evidence on the surface, no architectural remains were visible and thus it seemed reasonable to hypothesize that the sherds represented residential contexts.

The South Sector was located approximately three hundred meters to the southwest of the Platform Complex (Figure 2) on the property of a local private institute, and had been severely damaged by the recent construction activities. The cut made by the construction activities and the distributions of ceramic sherds suggest that the extension of the area may have been as large as 4.2 hectares.

Some of the road construction workers informed Cavero that incised ceramic sherds and human bones were found, and some of the ceramic specimens were deposited in the municipality of Vilcashuaman. When Matsumoto checked the materials with Cavero, he recognized part of a stirrup-spout bottle and two incised sherds that were obviously part of the same bottle (Figures 5, 6). These sherds clearly correspond to the north coast "Classic" Cupisnique style first identified by Rafael Larco Hoyle (Larco 1941). Similar sherds have also been found at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984: figure 100; Lumbreras 1993: Lámina 64-5). This information led Matsumoto and Cavero (2010)

to hypothesize that the South Sector had an occupation dating to the IP.

The North Sector was four hundred meters to the northeast of the Platform Complex (Figure 2). While the distribution of ceramic sherds extended over an area measuring roughly 7.2 hectares, almost all of the area (probably more than eighty percent of the occupation) was destroyed decades ago by the construction of an airport that remains unfinished. However, the profile created by heavy machinery suggested that some intact archaeological deposits remained near the edge of the area. In addition, abundant archaeological remains, including Initial Period ceramic sherds and figurines, were also observed. Through this observation, we recognized that there were more than four layers. At least two of them included diagnostic ceramic sherds of the Campanayuc 1 and Campanayuc 2 Phases.

Because of time and budget constraints, we carried out excavations at a relatively small scale mainly using two by four meter and four by four meter excavation units. Because the South Sector was being destroyed by the construction activities, we decided to prioritize this area for the first season and excavated two units (Units P7 and P8), with the permission of the landowner, in November 2007. For the purpose of salvaging the archaeological data, both units were placed where construction activities were planned. The North Sector was investigated in May 2008. Units P3 and P5 were placed near the northern edge of the occupation.

In the following description, excavation units will be written with a capital P followed by a code number such as P7 or P8. All the excavation units were divided up into two by two meter square grids for the purpose of fine grained registration of architecture and materials. These grids will be designated with a

capital C followed by a code number, such as C1, C2, or C3. In a similar manner, archaeological contexts will be presented with combinations of abbreviations and numbers as TM (Tumba/Tomb) for funeral contexts, W for wall, and Const. for other constructions. Other archaeological contexts are simply presented as Contexts 1, 2, 3, etc. In some cases, as excavation advanced, what at first seemed to be architectural contexts turned out to be funeral contexts. In these cases, context numbers are juxtaposed such as Context 9/TM1. Excavations proceeded stratigraphically based on natural layers. Thick homogenous layers were often subdivided using ten centimeter arbitrary levels. For the chronological position of each layer, the ceramic sequence of the Platform Complex was applied (Matsumoto 2010). In this process, diagnostic sherds from these units were evaluated in relation to those recovered in the Platform Complex.

The South Sector: P7

P7 was a two meter (east-west) by four meter (north-south) unit with an additional extension of two meters (north-south) by 1.5 meters (east-west; C2 West Extension; Figure 7) and was placed in the central part of the South Sector (Figure 2).

Stratigraphy in P7

The stratigraphy of P7 was simple and composed of three layers below the soil dump of modern construction activities (Figure 8). While Layer 1 was disturbed by modern agricultural activities, Layers 2 and 3 were intact. A ceramic sherd recovered from Layer 2 was decorated with resin painting with exterior incisions, and clearly dated to the Campanayuc 2 Phase. Some other diagnostic ceramic sherds also suggested that this layer pertained to the Campanayuc 2 Phase. In the case of Layer 3, a few diagnostic

ceramic sherds dated to the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

Architecture and other archaeological contexts in P7

A curved stone alignment was recovered near the northwest corner of C1 (Figure 7). It was part of a platform with a height of thirty centimeters. The base of the platform corresponded to Layer 2 and thus, the platform dated to the Campanayuc 2 Phase. The top soil inside of the platform was probably hardened as a floor. Although the wall is curved, it remains to be evaluated whether it was rounded in shape or formed another shape such as a rectangular platform with rounded corners.

South Sector: P8

P8 was placed about two hundred meters to the northwest of P7 (Figure 2) as a four meter by four meter unit (Figure 9) along a profile made by heavy machinery. Through observations of the profile, we noticed that a hole intruded from the Campanayuc 2 Phase layer to sterile soil (Figure 10). A worker involved in recent construction activities had recovered a semi-complete short neck jar with a black polished surface (Figure 11). According to the worker, the short-neck jar was recovered from the hole when the area was destroyed. Because the shape of the hole reminded us of the shaft tombs of other IP/EH sites (e.g. Onuki 1997), we hypothesized that this hole (Context 3) was a burial and the jar was an offering associated with it. Therefore, we decided to add a two meter (north-south) by 1.5 meter (east-west) unit to the northwest of C1 as "C1 North Extension" in order to clean the profile and evaluate Context 3 (Figure 9).

Stratigraphy in P8

The stratigraphy in P8 was simple and composed of five layers. The order from the

surface layer to bedrock was almost uniform in the whole area of this unit (Figure 12). Layers 2-4 pertained to the IP/EH while Layer 5 was eroded bedrock. A few diagnostic ceramic sherds indicated that Layer 2 pertained to the Campanayuc 2 Phase. While both Layer 3 and Layer 4 corresponded to the Campanayuc 1 Phase, Layer 4 appeared only in the area around a circular construction (Const. 1). This layer was characterized by a black color and a loose but fine soil matrix. This smooth soil matrix of a dark color was composed of large amounts of fine-grained ash and charcoal remains. Large amounts of stones were also recovered from this layer. They were probably the construction materials that originally constituted the wall of Const. 1.

Architecture and other archaeological contexts in P8

P8 produced a variety of archaeological contexts that were different from those of the Platform Complex. Particularly, Const.1 is one of the most important findings because it provides a data set to use in considering the nature of domestic architecture at Campanayuc Rumi.

Const. 1 (Figures 9, 13) appeared in the western half of P8 and was covered by Layer 4 (Figure 12). A curved stone alignment was recovered below a pile of unworked stones that had constituted parts of a wall. Although the southern part of Const. 1 had been destroyed by Layer 1, it was obvious that Const. 1 had extended further south and west. The original shape of Const. 1 was circular or semi-circular with a diameter around three meters. Both the inside and outside of Const. 1 showed a flat and hard surface, which probably served as floors. Only two base rows of the wall remained intact though the large number of stones covering Const. 1 implied that the original height of the wall was much higher. Both the stratigraphy and

material style suggested that Const. 1 pertained to the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

Context 1 was found near the eastern edge of C2 (Figures 9, 14) and buried in Layer 3. Fragments of baked clay lumps covered this context and some of them showed stamps of plant stems. Probably they were parts of *quincha* or wattle and daub for domestic architecture. A complete hemispherical bowl appeared below the lumps of burnt clay (Figure 14).

Context 2 appeared at the southern edge of C1 North Extension (Figure 9). Many undecorated body sherds of jars were recovered from a hole dug from Layer 1. The stratigraphy and ceramic style suggest that this context is a later intrusion. Although this context does not pertain to the Campanayuc 1 or Campanayuc 2 Phase, it is still difficult to identify its chronological position.

Burials in P8

In addition to the burial of TM8, a possible funeral context (Context 3) was found in P8 (Figure 9). Although no skeletal remains were recovered from Context 3, P1 may have been a tomb.

TM8 was located to the northeast of Const 1 (Figure 9). A burial hole of eighty centimeters in diameter was dug into Layer 5 from Layer 3 (Figures 13, 15). The body was interred in a vertically placed flexed position facing to the northwest. The skeleton was of a male probably between thirty and forty years old. No offerings were associated with TM8. Because this burial was dug from Layer 3, it was placed when Layer 3 buried Const. 1 and Layer 4, which probably corresponded to the abandonment of Const. 1 during the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

As mentioned above, Context 3 (Figure 9) was first identified in the profile to the west of

P8. A cleaning excavation of the profile demonstrated that a possible shaft was dug from Layer 2 that corresponded to the Campanayuc 2 Phase (Figure 16). The lower part of the shaft was widened and set deeper to make a “boot shape”, and diagnostic ceramic sherds of the Campanayuc 2 Phase were recovered (Figure 17). The sherds recovered from this cleaning suggest that at least six vessels were originally placed in the burial chamber as offerings. These included some fancy and/or exotic vessels such as a bowl with a pouring spout and red polished surface (Figure 17a), a bottle or jar decorated with negative painting (Figure 17b), and a possible multi-legged vessel (Figure 17c). These results indicate that this context was originally a shaft burial of the Campanayuc 2 Phase.

North Sector: P3

P3 was placed near the southern edge of the North Sector (Figure 2). This unit was originally a four by four meter unit and a two by two meter extension was added later in the excavation (Figure 18). The area was the foot of a natural hill that inclined to the west and large boulders were distributed around the area.

Stratigraphy in P3

The stratigraphy of P3 was composed of seven layers (Figure 19). While Layers 2 to 4 correspond to the Campanayuc 2 Phase, Layers 5 and 6 pertain to the Campanayuc 1 Phase. Although Layer 7 did not reach the bedrock, no cultural remains were recovered from within it.

Architecture in P3

Large boulders mixed in these layers suggest that architectural features were sometimes destroyed by repeated landslides of a natural hill.

W1 appeared in Layer 2 (Figure 18) with its base on the top of Layer 3. This suggests that W1 was constructed during the Campanayuc 2 Phase. Although W1 was only partially recovered, it was probably a circular or semi-circular room construction. The top of Layer 3 may have been a floor associated with it. This wall showed coarse masonry and was composed of large unworked boulders.

Const. 2 appeared from the lower level of Layer 4 (Figures 19, 20) and was covered by large boulders. This construction was a part of a small circular enclosure that measured 1.5-2 meters in diameter. Small unworked stones between ten and twenty centimeters in diameter were used to create this coarse masonry structure and its remaining height was about twenty centimeters. Stratigraphy suggests that this architecture pertained to the Campanayuc 2 Phase. Large boulders that covered this structure may imply that Const. 2 was abandoned or destroyed by a landslide. Although it is difficult to consider the functions of this structure, its small size suggests that it was not residential architecture, but rather was used for other purposes such as a storage facility.

Burials in P3

An interesting funeral context (*Context 1/TM9*) was found in P3 (Figure 21). *Context 1/TM9* appeared at the center of C1 and on the base of Layer 4. First, a lens of charcoal and ash covered a probable fire pit that was composed of three rectangular stones (Figure 22). The space composed of the stones was filled with a dark grey ash. A diagnostic ceramic sherd of the Campanayuc 2 Phase was found in association with fragments of burnt camelid bones.

Below the fire pit, a burial appeared along with some ceramic sherds. A skeleton was vertically placed in a flexed position looking up and facing north (Figure 23). The buried

individual was an adult male between twenty-one and thirty-five years old. A rim sherd of a decorated neckless jar and large obsidian flake had been placed on the top of the skull. This context measured sixty centimeters in depth, beginning from Layer 4, and intruding into Layer 5 (Figure 19).

North Sector: P5

P5 was placed near the northern border of the North Sector (Figure 2). This unit began as a four meter by four meter unit and a two meter by two meter extension was added to the east (C5; Figure 24).

Stratigraphy in P5

The stratigraphy of P5 was simple and composed of four superimposed layers (Figure 25). Basically only Layers 2 and 3 were intact. Diagnostic ceramic sherds indicate that Layer 2 pertained to the Campanayuc 2 Phase while Layer 3 pertained to the Campanayuc 1 Phase. Although Layer 4 did not reach the bedrock, no cultural remains were recovered from it.

Architecture and other archaeological context in P5

One architectural feature (W1) and five other contexts (Contexts 1-5) were recognized in P5.

W2 was a double faced wall and appeared in Layer 3 (Figure 26). It was composed of two courses of unworked field stones and boulders measuring twenty to forty centimeters in diameter. The stone alignment was curved indicating that the building was circular or semi-circular in shape. Stratigraphy suggests that this wall pertained to the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

Context 1 was found on the top of Layer 2 at the center of C2 (Figure 24). Some fragments of an obsidian core and large numbers of obsidian

flakes were concentrated in a small pit of twenty centimeters in diameter and thirty centimeters in depth. Charcoal remains and body sherds of jars with carbonized residues were associated with them. Since the pit was dug from the top of Layer 2 which may have been a floor of the Campanayuc 2 Phase, Context 1 may have been placed at the end of the Campanayuc 2 Phase.

Context 2 was located thirty centimeters to the west of Context 1 in Layer 2 (Figure 24). Large numbers of unworked stones were concentrated in an area of 110 centimeters (North-South) by 90 centimeters (East-West) in association with charcoal. A grinding stone and its slab were recovered from this context. Ceramic sherds with organic residues, a complete obsidian point, and a part of a stone ear spool (Figure 27) were recovered as well. This context also dates to the Campanayuc 2 Phase.

Context 3 appeared on the surface of Layer 3 in C4 (Figure 26). This context may have been a small depression of fifteen centimeters in diameter with seven to ten centimeters in depth. Many fragments of obsidian cores and flakes were recovered in association with a large amount of ash. The surface of this context was covered with dark grey ash. This context pertains to the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

Context 5 appeared in the middle of W1 in C5 (Figure 26). This context was probably placed after the abandonment of W1 during the Campanayuc 2 Phase. A large amount of ash covered the upper level of Layer 2. In the ash, three stones were recognized and were probably arranged as a fire pit. In addition to the grey ash, a burnt camelid bone, burnt clay lumps, ceramic sherds, and three broken figurines were recovered from this context.

Burials in P5

Context 4/TM10 was the only burial context recovered from P5 (Figure 26). It appeared in the upper part of Layer 3 near the northern edge of C4. Although bone preservation was poor, a few small fragments of cranial elements were recovered and thus it is probable that this context was a head burial. Although no diagnostic ceramic sherds were associated with it, stratigraphy suggests that it pertained to the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

CERAMICS

Although detailed ceramic analysis from these sectors has not yet been completed, it is worth mentioning some observations as a general overview. (For ceramic analysis of the Platform Complex, see Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Cavero 2010.)

In general, both the South and North Sectors produced a relatively small number of ceramic samples (six percent of the total number of the ceramic sherds from our project) because of limited excavation. Therefore, it is necessary to have a larger corpus of data from these sectors for the purpose of comparing the domestic area with the Platform Complex in terms of vessel forms and other attributes. According to our preliminary observations, in both the Platform Complex and these sectors, decorated sherds accounted for less than one percent and the variations of vessel forms are similar. Small numbers of pieces with typical decorative techniques such as bichrome painting, appliqué bands, post-fired painting, negative painting, and circle and dot motif enabled us to confirm the chronological position of these sectors (Figure 28). Although most of the sherds from the South and North Sectors are badly eroded, it is difficult to know whether the erosion was caused by intensive use or by other taphonomic factors.

OTHER ARTIFACTS

While it is important to evaluate the possible functional differences between the South and North Sectors, the limited scale of our excavations makes it difficult to approach this theme from the data of architecture and ceramics. However, figurines and lithic artifacts may provide a clue in considering this issue.

All the figurines recovered from the South and North Sectors are stylistically uniform. They are solid and shaped as a clay plate with a average size of twenty centimeters by seven centimeters and a thickness of one or two centimeters. Arms are represented by three dimensional modeling or by applique bands. Fingers are indicated by incisions, and holes mark armpits (Figure 29). The surface was smoothed and covered with a red slip. The paste is coarse and includes coarse sand as temper. Since similar figurines are reported in the Andahuaylas region (Bauer *et al.* 2010:160 figure A5.7), this figurine may be a local style in the south-central highlands.

Large numbers of figurines were recovered from the North Sector from both the Campanayuc 1 and 2 Phase deposits. While forty-seven figurines were recovered from the North Sector, only seven were found in the South Sector.

As for lithic artifacts, all the materials pertaining to the Campanayuc 1 and 2 Phase layers, which account for 924 specimens, were analyzed. Among them, 238 were recovered from the South Sector and 686 from the North Sector.

In both the South and North Sectors, obsidian was the most important material throughout the Campanayuc 1 and 2 Phases, accounting for more than sixty percent of the samples. The artifact distributions of the two sectors seem to imply differences between the

South and North Sectors. While cores were the second most popular artifact next to flakes in both the Campanayuc 1 and Campanayuc 2 Phases in the North Sector (Tables 1-2), very small numbers of cores were recovered from the South Sector (Tables 3-4). In addition, while nodules were recognized in the North Sector (Tables 1-2), they were not found in the South Sector (Tables 3-4).

Considering that the scale of excavations was approximately the same size for each sector, these differences in figurines and lithic artifacts seems to be meaningful and suggest that the South and North Sectors had different characters. In particular, lithic data seem to suggest that only the North Sector had a workshop in addition to its residential function. In that case, the number of figurines may also imply that they were fabricated in the North Sector. This issue needs to be considered in the future with a larger corpus of data.

	Obsidian	Chert A	Chert B	Quartzite	Basalt	Slate	River Cobbles	Others	Total
Quantity	173	26	3	1	5	0	6	2	216
%	80.09%	12.04%	1.39%	0.46%	2.31%	0.00%	2.78%	0.93%	100.00%

Table 1. Lithic Materials in the Campanayuc 1 Phase (North Sector)

	Obsidian	Chert A	Chert B	Quartzite	Basalt	Slate	River Cobbles	Others	Total
Quantity	320	43	13	19	20	0	12	3	430
%	74.42%	10.00%	3.02%	4.42%	4.65%	0.00%	2.79%	0.70%	100.00%

Table 2. Lithic Materials in the Campanayuc 2 Phase (North Sector)

	Obsidian	Chert A	Chert B	Quartzite	Basalt	Slate	River Cobble	Others	Total
Quantity	58	2	0	4	5	0	17	0	86
%	67.44%	2.33%	0.00%	4.65%	5.81%	0.00%	19.77%	0.00%	100.00%

Table 3. Lithic Materials in the Campanayuc 1 Phase (South Sector)

	Obsidian	Chert A	Chert B	Quartzite	Basalt	Slate	River Cobble	Others	Total
Quantity	127	4	0	9	2	0	3	7	152
%	83.55%	2.63%	0.00%	5.92%	1.32%	0.00%	1.97%	4.61%	100.00%

Table 4. Lithic Materials in the Campanayuc 2 Phase (South Sector)

ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY

The material evidence from the South and North Sectors demonstrates that both of them were occupied throughout the Campanayuc 1 and Campanayuc 2 Phases (Table 5). This conclusion is also supported by four radiocarbon dates obtained from these sectors.

All the dates presented here are calibrated with Oxcal v.4.0.5 (Bronk Ramsey 2007) using SHCal04, Southern Hemisphere Calibration Curve (McCormac *et al.* 2004).

Sample N°	Material	Provenience	Years B.P.	Calibrated Years B.C. (68.2% probability)	Calibrated Years B.C. (95.4% probability)
AA87120	Wood	South Sector: P8/Layer 5	2743 ± 36	895-870 (20.0%) 851-805 (48.2%)	916-796 (95.4%)
AA87452	Wood	South Sector: P8/Layer 3 (Context 1)	2706 ± 56	895-866 (14.3%) 856-787 (53.9%)	974-957 (0.9%) 939-750 (89.6%) 687-666 (2.2%) 641-593 (2.5%) 573-570 (0.1%)
AA87454	Wood	North Sector: P5/Layer 3	2659 ± 38	818-765 (66.3%) 678-675 (1.9%)	891-880 (0.7%) 843-745 (76.6%) 689-664 (7.5%) 646-552 (10.6%)
AA87455	Wood	North Sector: P5/Layer 2	2473 ± 55	732-691 (12.6%) 661-651 (3.0%) 545-403 (52.5%)	756-684 (18.9%) 670-397 (76.5%)

Table 5. AMS dates from the South and North Sectors

AA87120 was obtained from Layer 5 of P8 that corresponded to the floor of Const. 1. Although Layer 5 was basically sterile soil, the top surface was flattened and hardened as a floor. Since AA87120 was recovered below its surface, it seems reasonable to assume that it was associated with the construction event of Const. 1. AA87452 is associated with Context 1 of P8. The sample was collected from the charcoal remains inside the offering vessel of the context (Figure 14). Both of dates are consistent with the time span of the Campanayuc 1 Phase as defined by the dates of the Platform Complex (Matsumoto and Caverio 2010). AA87454 was recovered from Layer 3 of P5. This date has a high probability range from 843-754 cal. B.C. (76.6 percent) and is consistent with the two

dates from the South Sector. On the other hand, AA87455 was obtained from Layer 2 of P5 and thus pertained to the Campanayuc 2 Phase. It has a high probability range from 670-397 cal. B.C. (76.5 percent), which matches the dates of the Campanayuc 2 Phase obtained from the Platform Complex (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010).

These data show that the chronology of these occupations is contemporaneous with radiocarbon dates obtained from the Platform Complex (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010). As the AMS dates from the South Sector suggest, the earliest dates of the South and North Sectors seems to be around 850-800 cal. B.C., about 100 years later than

the construction of the Platform Complex (1000-950 cal. B.C.) (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010). This may suggest that these occupations may have appeared slightly after the establishment of Campanayuc Rumi as a ceremonial center. These data seem relevant to the formation process of the society and ceremonial center at Campanayuc Rumi. That is, in the case of Campanayuc Rumi, monumental architecture was not constructed as a result of the population increase in a previously existing society. Rather, people gathered after the completion of the monumental architecture to form the domestic occupations of the South and North Sectors. This interpretation seems to be supported by the ceramic styles recognized in the excavations of the ceremonial center. As mentioned before, different ceramic styles were recognized from the fills of the first construction activities of the ceremonial architecture. As Matsumoto has discussed, this may suggest that the construction activities at the beginning of the Campanayuc 1 Phase were achieved through the corporate labor of these different groups who interacted in the south-central highlands and part of the south coast (Matsumoto 2010:374). The time lag between the dates of the ceremonial architecture and beginning of the residential occupation may suggest that many of the people who participated in the construction activities came from other regions and did not live permanently at the site. This scenario needs to be evaluated in the future as a working hypothesis when larger samples are available.

ARCHITECTURE

The architecture found in the South and North Sectors was clearly different from that of the Platform Complex and reflects their domestic character. While three room constructions and one platform were recognized, all of them were circular or semi-circular in shape. In all cases, unworked stones were used

for wall constructions. The masonry technique was coarse and diachronic change has not been recognized.

Const. 1 of the South Sector (Figures 9, 13) exhibited better preservation than others and provided more information about the domestic architecture at Campanayuc Rumi. As discussed above, Const. 1 was a circular room and its original size was probably around three meters in diameter. This corresponds to the typical style of domestic architecture reported for the south-central highlands (Burger and Matos 2002) and it matches the size of late IP and EH domestic architecture found at Jargam Pata in the Ayacucho Basin (Ochatoma 1985, 1992, 1998). Therefore, it seems that Const. 1 fits well with the regional pattern. Especially, the combination of this type of circular construction and placement of a burial at the moment of its abandonment shows close parallels to the example of Jargam Pata (Ochatoma 1998:293, figure 2). The data from Jargam Pata (*ibid.*) also suggest that Const. 1 may have been a part of a larger complex of domestic architecture.

Other fragmentary walls found in the North Sector are stylistically similar to the domestic architecture of the Ayacucho region at sites such as Ira Qata (Mancilla 2008) and Waychau-pampa (Cabrera 1991). Basically, these are made of locally available materials. Unworked stones were roughly piled and glued with mud mortar to form double-faced walls. In addition, sometimes the shapes of the structures are irregular.

The platform construction found in the South Sector (P7) shows that domestic architecture did not consist only of room constructions. As with the room constructions, this platform was made of unworked field stones. Although its functions are difficult to determine, it may have served as a base of residential architecture or as a place for some

domestic ritual activities. Additional excavations are needed to clarify the function of this platform.

Overall, it seems reasonable to conclude that domestic architecture at Campanayuq Rumi pertained to the local architectural tradition of the south-central highlands, especially that of Ayacucho. Since the ceremonial architecture at Campanayuq Rumi presents strong similarities to that of Chavín de Huántar, ceremonial architecture and domestic architecture at Campanayuq Rumi show the co-existence of two distinct architectural styles.

POPULATION ESTIMATE

It is challenging to calculate a plausible population size for these separated areas. Because of the limited scale of excavations, it is difficult to evaluate the size of each household in the South and North Sectors. Therefore, for now, we are unable to use ethnographic information indicating “floor areas of houses which probably contained single nuclear family” (Cook 1972:16) for the purpose of estimating population (*e.g.*, *ibid.*; Kolb *et al.* 1985).

However, the data from the profiles of the recent construction activities provided some clues for making a tentative calculation. A profile of 120 meters in length in the North Sector included five lenses that contained large amounts of ash, charcoal, and ceramic sherds, in addition to possible stone walls. P3 was placed to evaluate one of them and, as described above, domestic architecture associated with ritual contexts was recognized (*e.g.* W2 in P3). Therefore, it seems possible to hypothesize that each lens corresponded to a refuse associated with domestic architecture. A sixty-four meter profile in the South Sector showed three lenses similar to the ones found in North Sector. We will consider each of them as households for the purpose of estimating the population size of each

occupation, on the assumption that they included both Campanayuq 1 and 2 Phase households.

We have to admit that this assumption is highly hypothetical for two reasons. First, it is impossible to eliminate the possibility that these lenses are not households. For instance, they may be middens used by multiple household units or trash contexts of domestic rituals rather than households. Only further research will allow us to evaluate this issue. Second, it was difficult to differentiate the Campanayuq 1 and Campanayuq 2 Phase components based on profile observations, which prevents us from considering the diachronic changes in the size of these residential areas. However, superposition of Campanayuq 1 and 2 Phase layers was confirmed in all the excavation units placed in the South and North Sectors and ceramic sherds of these phases were distributed in the same area on the surface. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the sizes and placement of the South and North Sectors did not change from the Campanayuq 1 to the Campanayuq 2 Phase, and thus the population sizes associated with these sectors seem to have been about the same in both phases.

With this line of thought, we will estimate the population size using the number of lens layers as an average number of households in these sectors. This estimation is at best tentative and future excavations at a larger scale will be necessary for a much more solid estimation.

Since the sizes of the South and North Sectors were 4.2 hectares and 7.2 hectares respectively, the distributions of households can be calculated at 1 per 0.0455 hectare in the South Sector and 1 per 0.0576 hectare in the North Sector. In this case, the numbers of households were 92 in the South Sector and 125 in the North Sector. If a household was composed of five individuals at Campanayuq

Rumi as the classic estimations by Steward (1937) and Cook (1972), the population of the South Sector was 460 individuals and that of the North Sector was 625 individuals, if all houses were occupied at the same time. Therefore, we estimate the total population size of the occupations associated with Campanayuc Rumi as a maximum of 1000-1100 individuals throughout the Campanayuc 1 and 2 Phases. However, because it seems unreasonable that all the houses were occupied at the same time, the population size may have been half the number presented above. Therefore, we would estimate the approximate population size of Campanayuc Rumi as five hundred to six hundred individuals.

DOMESTIC RITUALS

While Campanayuc Rumi is a ceremonial center of interregional importance and the Platform Complex was the place for public ritual activities (Matsumoto 2010, 2012), the data from the South and North Sectors provided clues to consider domestic rituals that were quite different from the public ones. For example, a large number of figurines from these residential sectors may suggest that solid clay figurines were used more frequently in the domestic rituals than in public ones carried out at the Platform Complex.

It is important to note that many of the burials recovered from these sectors were associated with some kind of ritual activity. While all the burials from the Platform Complex were associated with construction activities and may have been offerings for the public architecture, burials from residential sectors were recovered from various contexts. A Campanayuc 1 Phase burial from the South Sector (P8/TM8) probably corresponded to the moment of abandonment of Const. 1. Because ash and burnt clay covered this burial, this burial may have been related to a kind of

household termination ritual. The P3/Context1/TM9 burial found in the North Sector was covered by a fire pit associated with a large amount of ash. It seems reasonable to assume that the fire pit was constructed for the ritual activity that was carried out during the funeral event. In addition, a Campanayuc 1 Phase burial in the North Sector (P3/Context 4/TM10) may have been a head burial or offering.

Matsumoto demonstrated that public ceremonies carried at the Platform Complex of Campanayuc Rumi show strong similarities to those at Chavín de Huántar (Matsumoto 2012). It is important to evaluate in the future whether these domestic rituals pertain to the local traditions of the south-central highlands, or whether they are foreign intrusions.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the study of the IP/EH, ceremonial architecture and burials associated with it are frequently used to consider social organizations (e.g. Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991; Onuki 1997; Pozorski and Pozorski 2012) partially because of the scarcity of the data from domestic occupations. The data from the North and South Sectors of Campanayuc Rumi provide a good opportunity to evaluate and complement the data obtained in the excavations of the monumental core of the site.

In both the South and North Sectors, the data of residential architecture are too scarce to evaluate the differences in the size of the houses, and thus it was impossible to calculate the labor investment needed for construction activities. However, the available data does not show marked differences in the size and elaboration in houses and thus may not imply hierarchical patterns in residential architecture.

Burials recovered from the South and North Sectors confirm the pattern observed in the Platform Complex. While four funeral contexts were recognized, only the ones of the Campanayuc 2 Phase (P8: Context 3; P5: Context 4/TM10) were associated with offerings. The excavation results of the ceremonial architecture suggest that the social organization of Campanayuc Rumi may have transformed into a more hierarchical system during the Campanayuc 2 Phase (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caverio 2012). Although the sample size is quite small, the data of burials in the South and North Sectors coincide with the data from the monumental core. However, if the Cupisnique stirrup-spout bottle (Figures 5, 6) came from a burial, it may break this pattern. The bottle clearly came from a distant region, the Peruvian north coast or Chavín de Huántar and stylistically pertains to the late Initial Period (Matsumoto 2010:291-293). Therefore, this piece may imply the presence of a burial with exotic goods during the Campanayuc 1 Phase.

While these data of funeral contexts can be used to consider asymmetric wealth, the different distribution of lithic artifacts and figurines between the South and North Sectors seems to show another aspect of social differentiation. Since lithic core and nodules were mainly recovered from the North Sector, chipped tools may have been fabricated mainly in the North Sector. In addition, a larger number of figurines was recovered from the North Sector. These data may suggest that the North Sector was characterized by workshops that were not recognized in the South Sector. The activities carried out in each occupation area may have been different, and the people who lived in the North Sector may have been engaged in the production of chipped stone tools and clay figurines.

These data are an important complement to those of the ceremonial architecture and present

the possibility that in Campanayuc Rumi differential labor organization existed from the time of its emergence. Although the amount of the available data is far from sufficient, this working hypothesis needs to be evaluated through further excavations.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS

In this section, we will present a short summary of the data presented above and discuss them in the broader context of the central Andes during the IP/EH.

The data obtained from the South and North Sectors made it possible to consider the site organization of Campanayuc Rumi. Two occupations were located outside of the Platform Complex three to four hundred meters to the south and north of it. The area between these sectors and the Platform Complex was unoccupied. The population size may have been five to six hundred individuals in total and both sectors continued to be occupied throughout the Campanayuc 1 and Campanayuc 2 Phases. Radiocarbon dates from the South Sector suggest that it appeared within a few generations of the establishment of Campanayuc Rumi as a ceremonial center. This, in turn, suggests that the construction of Campanayuc Rumi did not become possible through gradual population increase. Rather, population concentrated and increased after Campanayuc Rumi was established as a ceremonial center. Both occupations were abandoned with the collapse of Campanayuc Rumi around 500 cal. B.C.

Labor investment and construction techniques used for the residential architecture were consistent with those of other sites in the south-central highlands such as Jargam Pata (Ochatoma 1985) and Atalla (Burger and Matos 2002; Matos 1959). It is worth noting that in addition to cooking and craft production, the sectors also showed evidence of

domestic ritual activities. As seen in the local style figurines and burnt offerings, some of the ritual activities carried out in the residential area were not recognized in the Platform Complex.

In addition, these data suggest that the relationship between the South and North Sectors may have been somewhat different and/or complementary. The North Sector probably had a mixed character comprised of domestic areas with workshops where lithic artifacts and other ritual paraphernalia, such as figurines, were produced. These traits were not recognized in the South Sector. This may suggest that there were two groups residing at the site and they were engaged in different kind of activities. Recently, IP/EH domestic occupations in association with ceremonial architecture have been recognized in some sites in the central Andes such as Purulen in the Zaña Valley (Alva 1988), Montegrande (Tellenbach 1986) in the Jequetepeque Valley, Caballo Muerto in the Moche Valley (Nesbitt 2012; Nesbitt *et al.* 2010), Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984; Contreras 2007; Sayre 2010), Cardal in the Lurín Valley (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991), and Atalla (Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002) in Huancavelica. They provide an important corpus of data for considering the social organizations of this period.

Among them domestic occupations at Chavín de Huántar are especially important as comparative data because the site history of Campanayuc Rumi is deeply related to that of Chavín de Huántar (Matsumoto 2010, 2012). As mentioned above, the ceremonial architecture at Campanayuc Rumi shows strong stylistic parallels to that of Chavín de Huántar, which suggests that Campanayuc Rumi emulated several architectural conventions at Chavín de Huántar (Matsumoto 2010). Comparisons of the domestic occupations at

these two sites will provide useful insights for future research.

The Campanayuc 1 Phase (1000-700 cal. B.C.) corresponds to the Urabarriu Phase at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984). Burger noted that one domestic occupation at Chavín de Huántar was located around the ceremonial architecture and the other to the north of it (Burger 1992:159-160). As for population, he states that "(I)t is unlikely that more than 500 people lived in the two areas" (*ibid.*). Although the constructions of monumental architecture seem to have been earlier at Chavín de Huántar, the sizes of the domestic occupations and the populations of both sites were somewhat similar. One of the notable differences is the locations of domestic occupations. While the South and North Sectors of Campanayuc Rumi were located away from the ceremonial architecture, the main occupation at Chavín de Huántar was placed around the monumental core.

In the Campanayuc 2 Phase (700-500 cal. B.C.), Campanayuc Rumi may have experienced a socio-economic change represented by the possible emergence of marked hierarchical organization (Matsumoto 2010). As was the case with the Platform Complex, burials with offerings and personal ornaments were recovered from the South and North Sector at Campanayuc Rumi. This phase clearly corresponds to the Janabarriu Phase/Black and White Portal Stage at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984, 1992; Kembel 2008) where the same type of radical socio-economic organization occurred in much clearer forms as represented by the hierarchical organizations in domestic occupations and expansion of ceremonial architecture (Burger 1984; Kembel 2008; Miller and Burger 1995). In this context, Matsumoto has argued that the material evidence from the Campanayuc 2 Phase implied

increasing influence from Chavín de Huántar to Campanayuc Rumi (Matsumoto 2010).

However, there are two differences in the domestic occupations of these sites that are worth noting. The first is the shape of the domestic architecture. While all the constructions of the domestic area recovered by Burger are square or rectangular in shape, those of Campanayuc Rumi are circular or semi-circular shapes that present closer similarities to the domestic architecture of the south-central highlands. The other and the most notable difference is the size of the domestic occupations. While the population at Campanayuc Rumi probably did not radically change with the transition from the Campanayuc 1 Phase to the Campanayuc 2 Phase, the transition to the Janabarriu Phase at Chavín de Huántar caused “a population explosion extending along the west bank of Mosna both to the south and north of the temple” (Burger 2008: 696). Although Burger estimated two to three thousand people in a forty-two hectare community (Burger 1984:247), recent excavations imply that the domestic area of the Janabarriu Phase may have been much larger (Contreras 2007:165). In any case, it seems obvious that Chavín de Huántar experienced a huge population explosion which is not recognized at contemporaneous Campanayuc Rumi. The occupations at Chavín de Huántar during the Janabarriu Phase are four times as large as that of Campanayuc Rumi (*e.g. ibid.*; Sayer 2010) and extended to the modern town and the La Banda Sector.

While the data from Chavín de Huántar suggest that people lived around the monumental core and expanded their occupation to the exterior, the South and North Sectors at Campanayuc Rumi were formed avoiding the area of the monumental core of the site. The area around the monumental architecture was kept vacant while Campanayuc

Rumi functioned as a ceremonial center. The difference in size of domestic occupations also corresponds to the construction activities of the ceremonial architecture. While the Janabarriu Phase corresponds to the completion of major constructions (Black and White Portal Stage) (Kembel 2008: figure 2.28), architectural modifications at Campanayuc Rumi during the Campanayuc 2 Phase are much smaller in scale. In sum, while Chavín de Huántar transformed into a “proto-urban” (Burger 1992:65) center, Campanayuc Rumi continued to maintain the same size of society during the EH.

One of the important similarities between the domestic occupations of these sites is differentiations of production activities. As discussed above, a comparison between the South and North Sectors suggests that the North Sector may have been characterized by workshops and allows us to hypothesize that two groups residing at the site were engaged in different kinds of activities. Although at Campanayuc Rumi not enough data is available to relate this argument to that of social stratification, the data from the Janabarriu Phase occupation suggest that the different kinds of production activities corresponded to social hierarchy. While artifacts related to the processing of animal skins were mainly recovered from a commoners’ residential area (Sector A) (Burger 1984:237-239), caches of worked spondylus shell were associated with an elite residential area (Sector D; *ibid.*). With the scarcity of data, it is difficult to know whether the domestic occupations at Campanayuc Rumi were organized in a hierarchical social order, as was the case of Chavín de Huántar. However, this is a promising direction for future research. With a larger corpus of data from these sectors, it will be possible to determine if the South and North Sectors corresponded to a division of elite residents and commoners, or if each sector included different social strata.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our excavations in the South and North Sectors of Campanayuc Rumi demonstrate that this site was not a vacant ceremonial center as Wendell Bennett suggested more than fifty years ago for Chavín de Huántar (Bennett 1944:82-83). The data presented in this article not only show the nature of domestic occupation associated with ceremonial centers, but also indicate the necessity of considering the theme in a diachronic and comparative perspective.

Because of the fragmentary details of the domestic occupations during the IP/EH in the Andes, it is difficult to offer comprehensive frameworks for considering them at a synthetic level. For the purpose of reconstructing social organization, studies of the IP/EH tend to rely on ceremonial architecture. Its size and degree of elaboration are used to evaluate labor investment and artistic sophistication, which leads archaeologists to consider the different types of social organization behind them. Burials found in the temple constructions are also frequently used in discussions of this issue (e.g. Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991; Onuki 1997). Our research was intended to complement the data of ceremonial architecture with that from domestic contexts. As the comparison between the domestic occupations of Campanayuc Rumi and Chavín de Huántar suggests, the data from domestic contexts can provide opportunities to approach several issues that have not been intensively explored in the IP/EH studies, such as craft production, diachronic population change, and spatial organization beyond ceremonial architecture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Yale University Joseph Albers Fund, Coe Fund, and Williams Fund enabled our research at Campanayuc Rumi from 2007 to 2008. National Science Foundation (BCS-0950796) funded the AMS dates presented in this article. The fieldwork included the participation of students from the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga.

Richard Burger, José Ochatoma, Lucy Salazar-Burger, and Jason Nesbitt provided useful comments for shaping this manuscript. We are grateful to Gentaro Miyano for making Figure 2.

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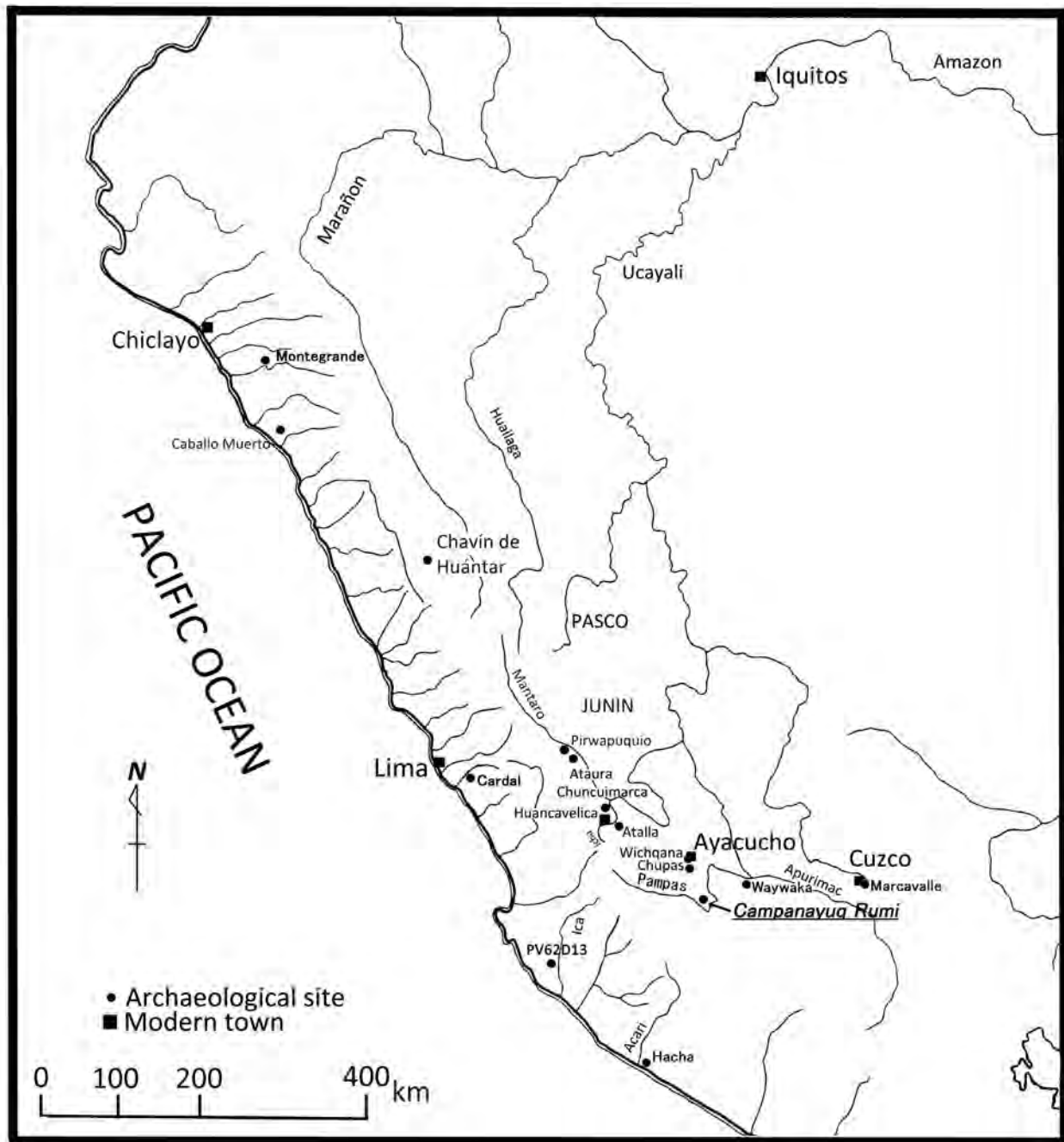


Figure 1: Map of Peru, showing the locations of the sites mentioned in this article (after Burger and Matos 2002: figure 1).

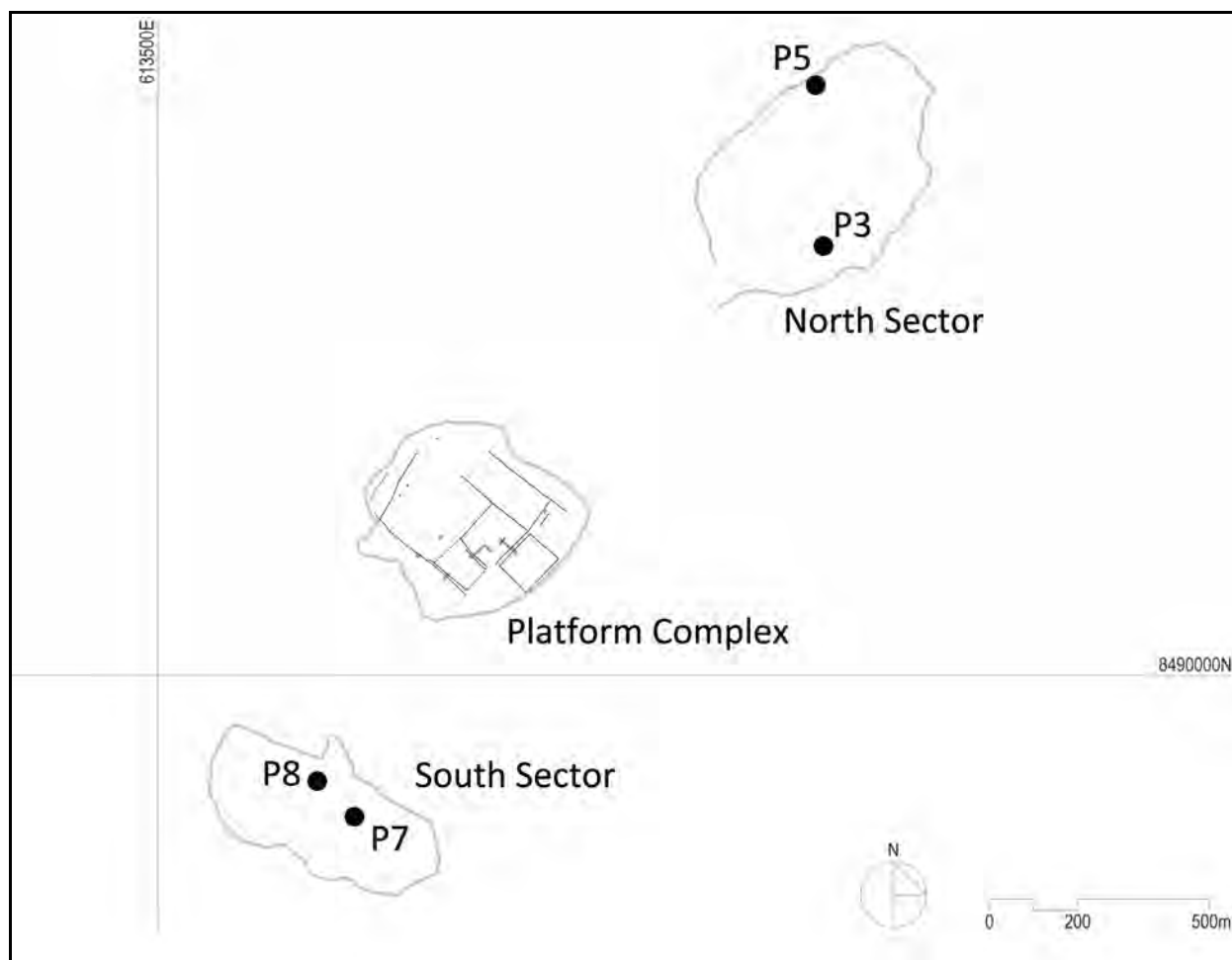


Figure 2: Plan of Campanayuc Rumi showing the locations of the South and North Sectors, the Platform Complex and excavation units 3, 5, 7, and 8.

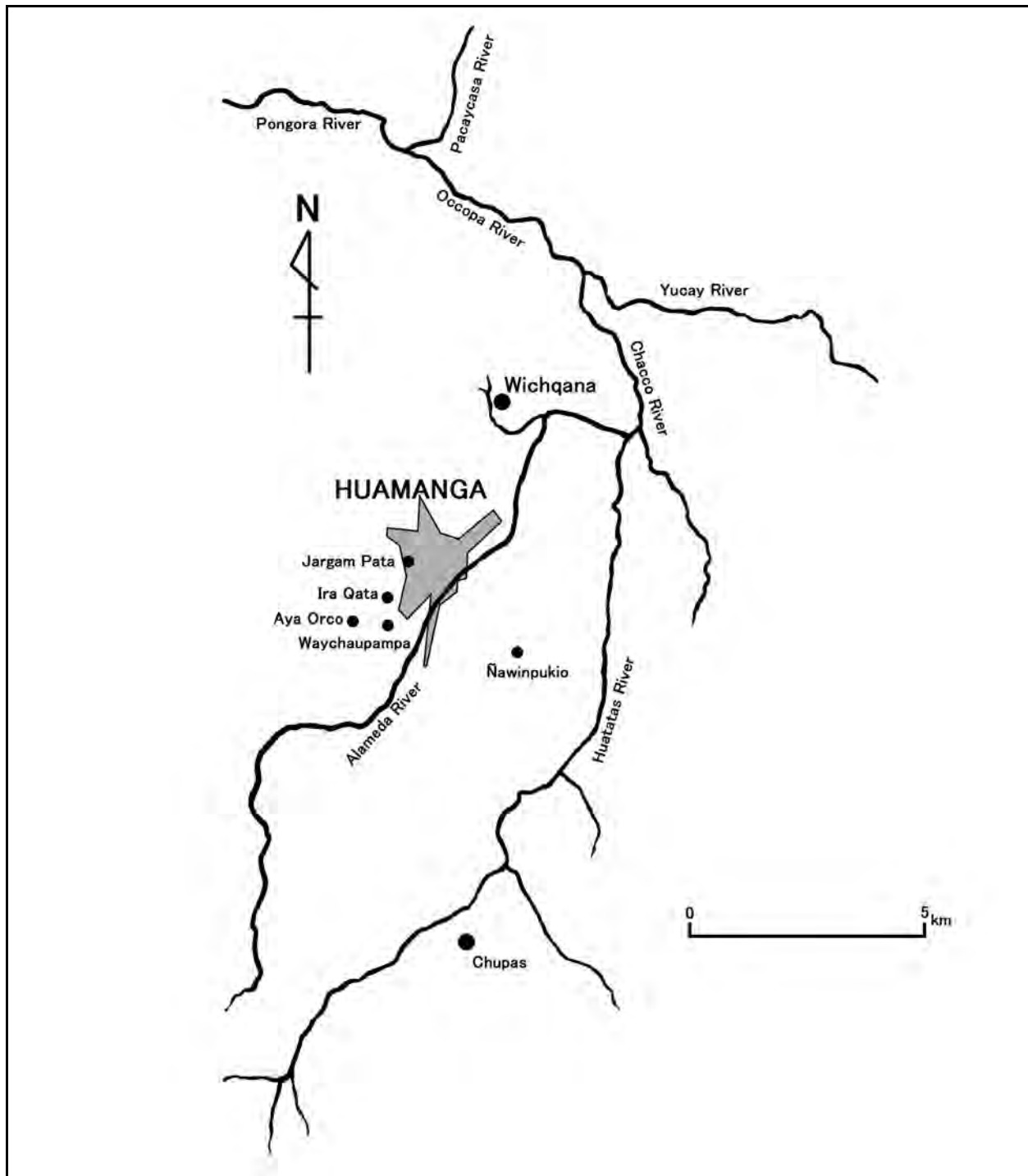


Figure 3: Map of the Ayacucho region showing the locations of archaeological sites mentioned in the text (after Ochatoma 1998: figure 1) Huamanga is an alternate name for the city of Ayacucho.

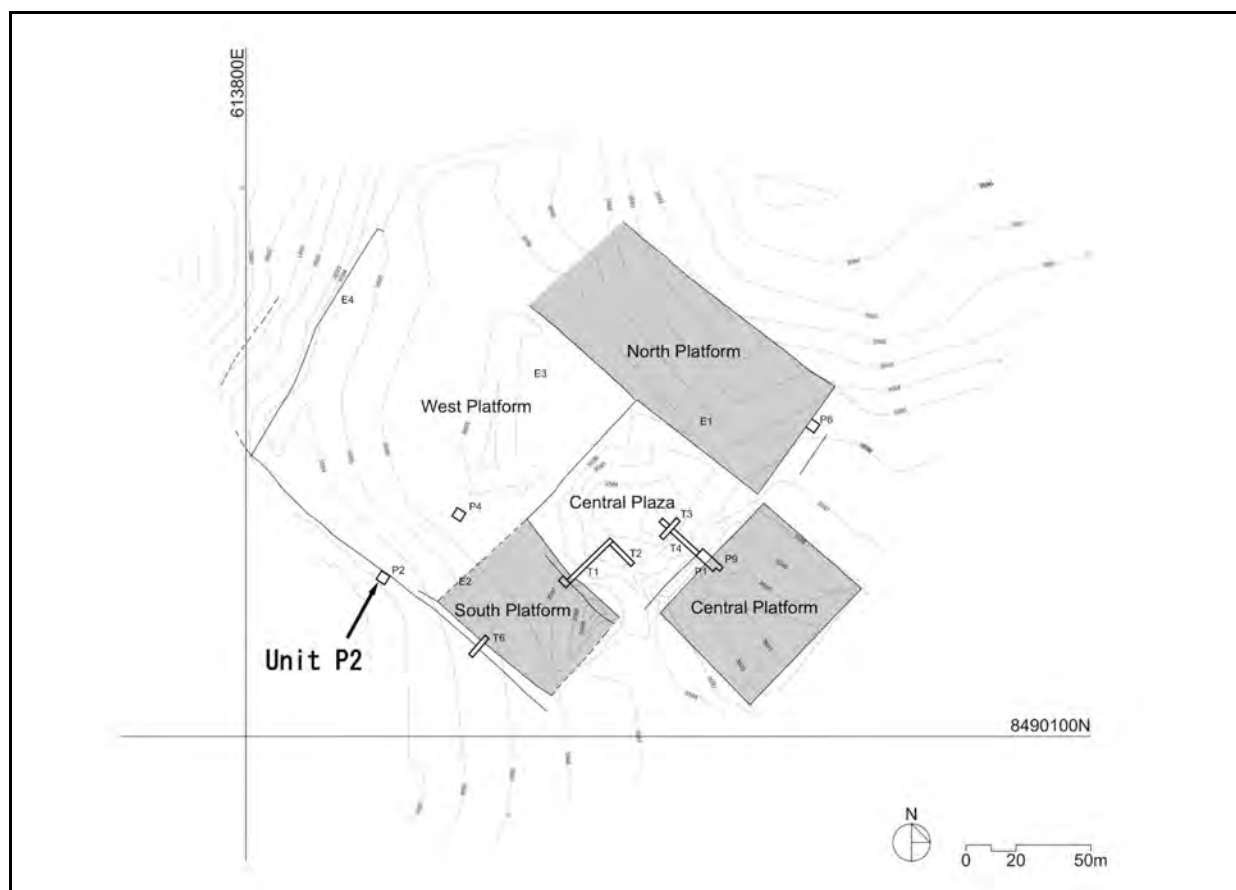


Figure 4: The Platform Complex at Campanayuc Rumi.



Figure 5: Ceramic sherd deposited in the municipality of Vilcashuaman.

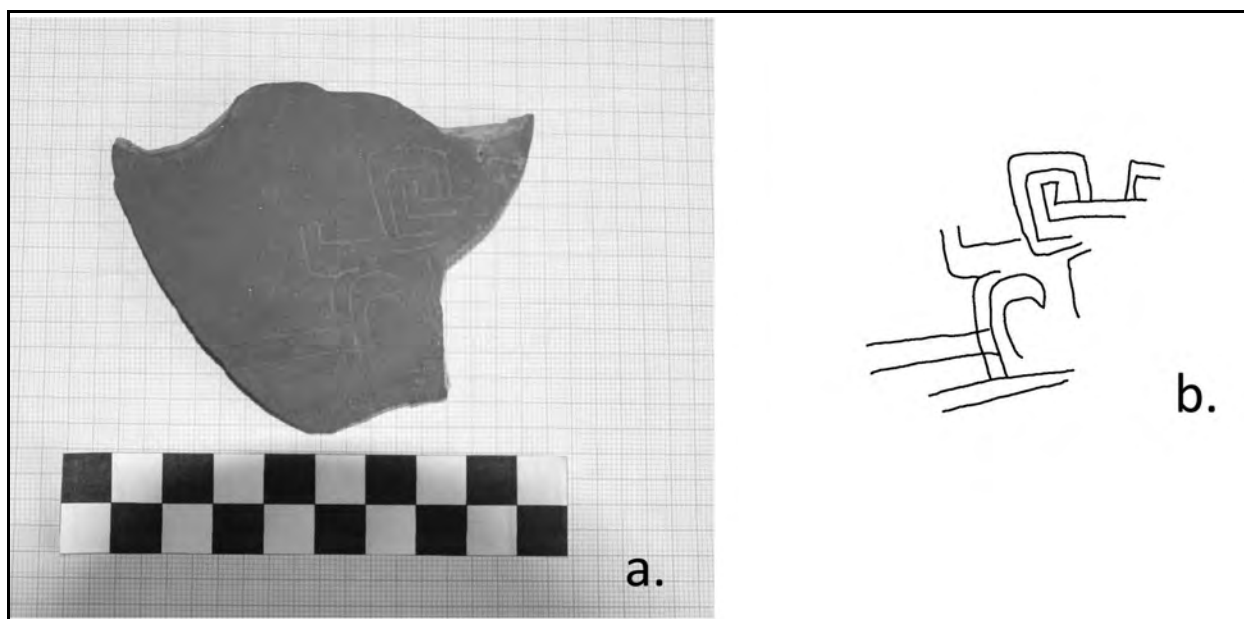


Figure 6: Ceramic sherd deposited in the municipality of Vilcashuaman: (a) body of a bottle with narrow incised decoration; (b) the design motif.

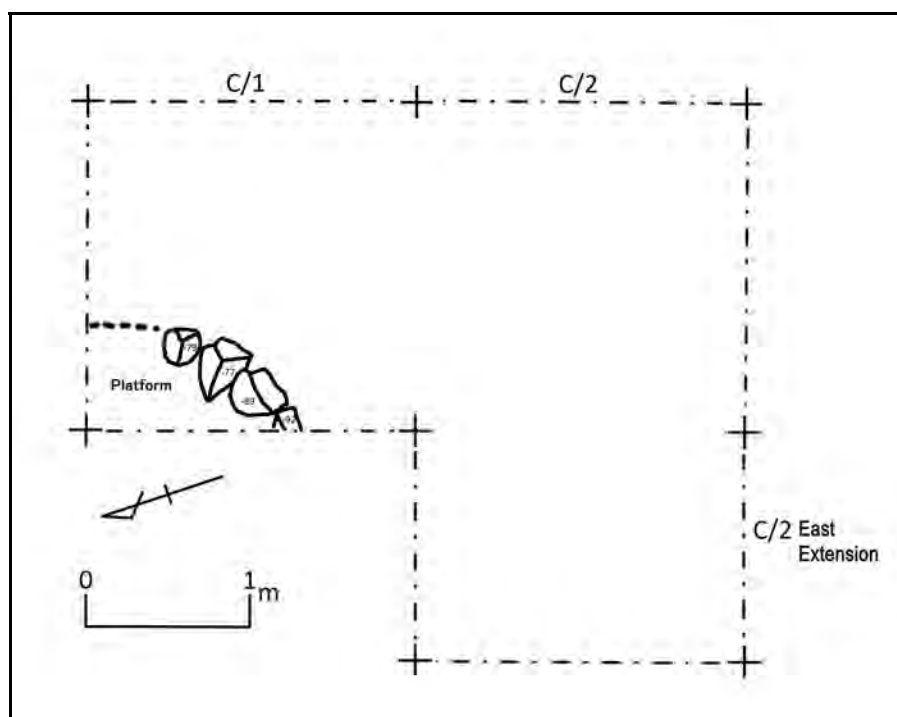


Figure 7: Excavation unit P7, South Sector.

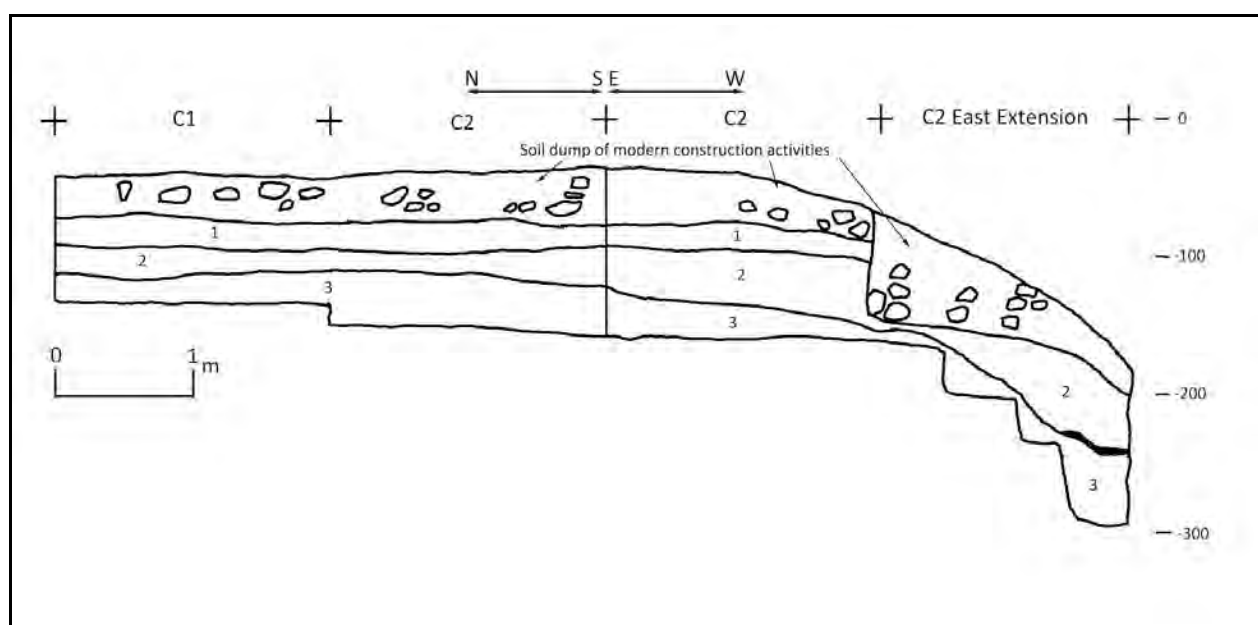


Figure 8: Excavation unit P7, section.

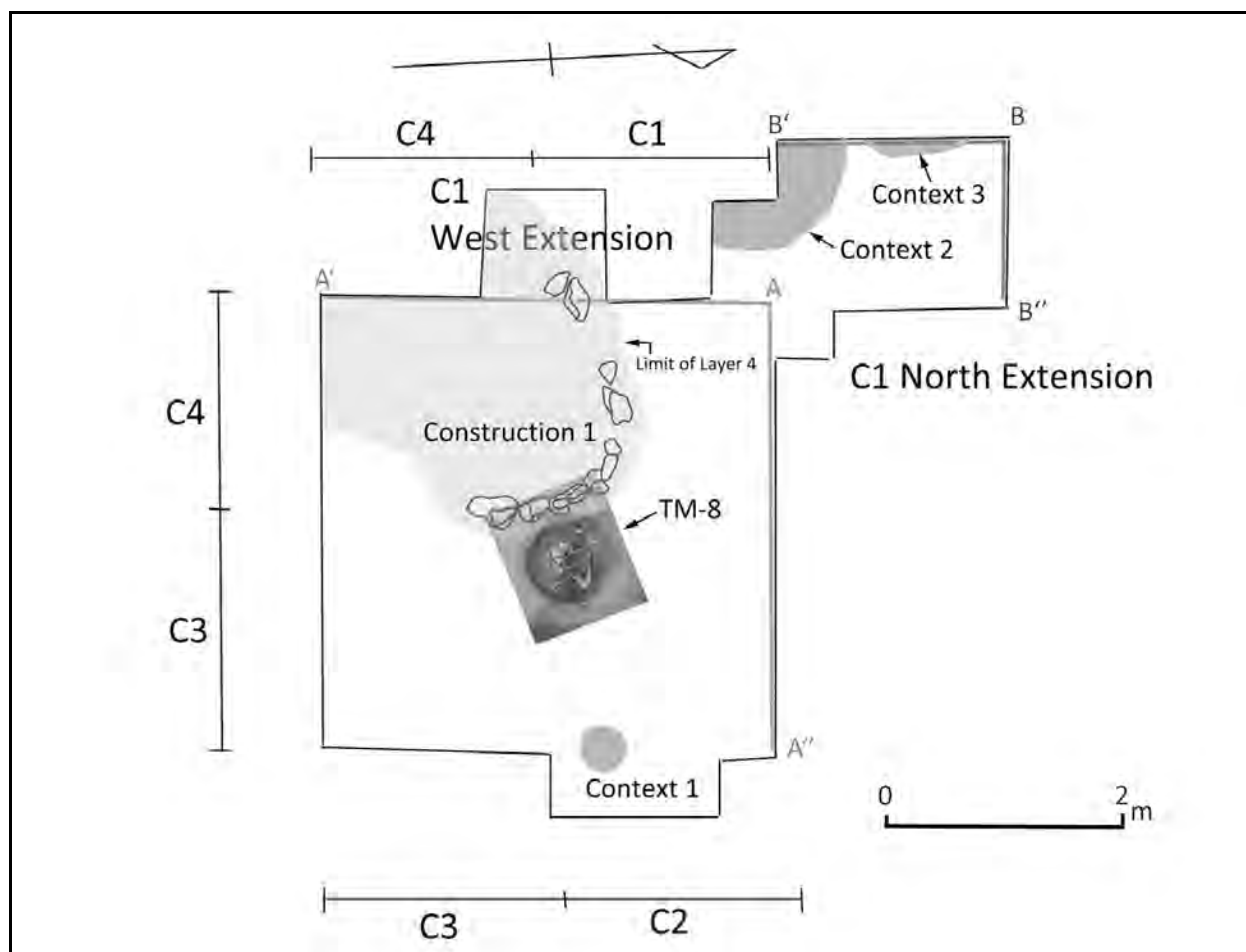


Figure 9: Excavation unit P8, South Sector.

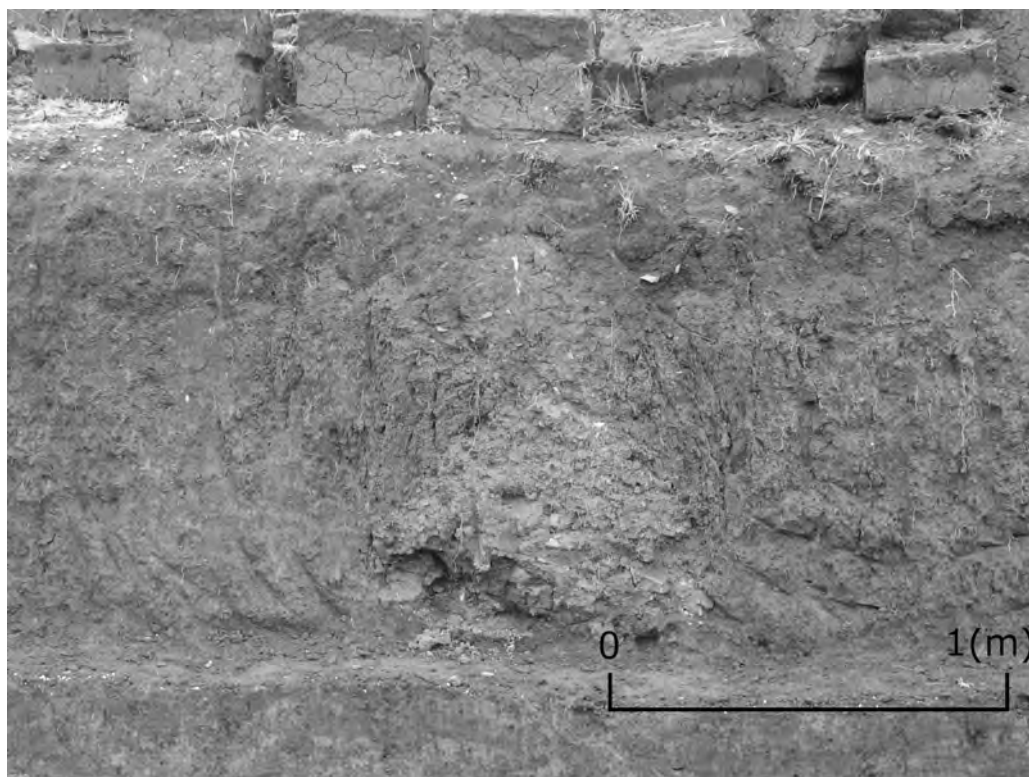


Figure 10: Possible shaft tomb in excavation unit P8.



Figure 11: Jar fragment found near the possible shaft tomb in excavation unit P8.

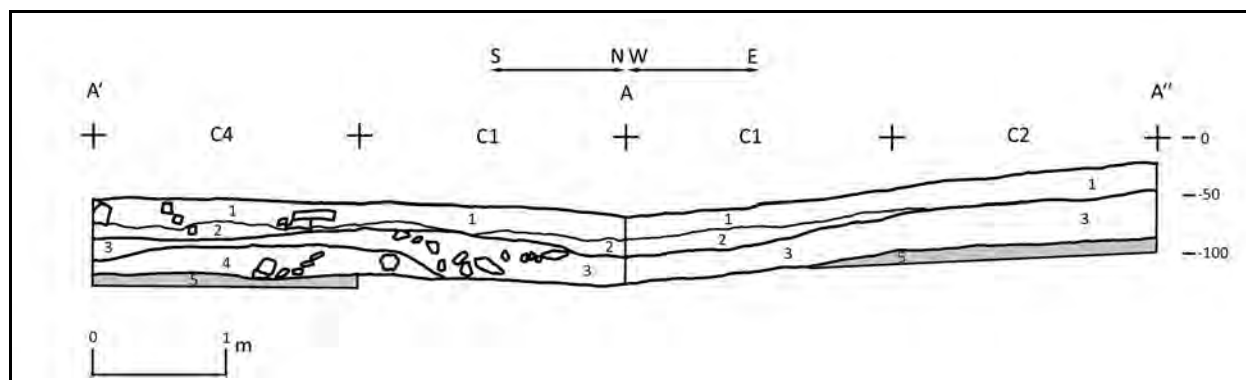


Figure 12: excavation unit P8, section.



Figure 13: P8, Construction 1 and TM8 (tomb). Scale is in five centimeter intervals.

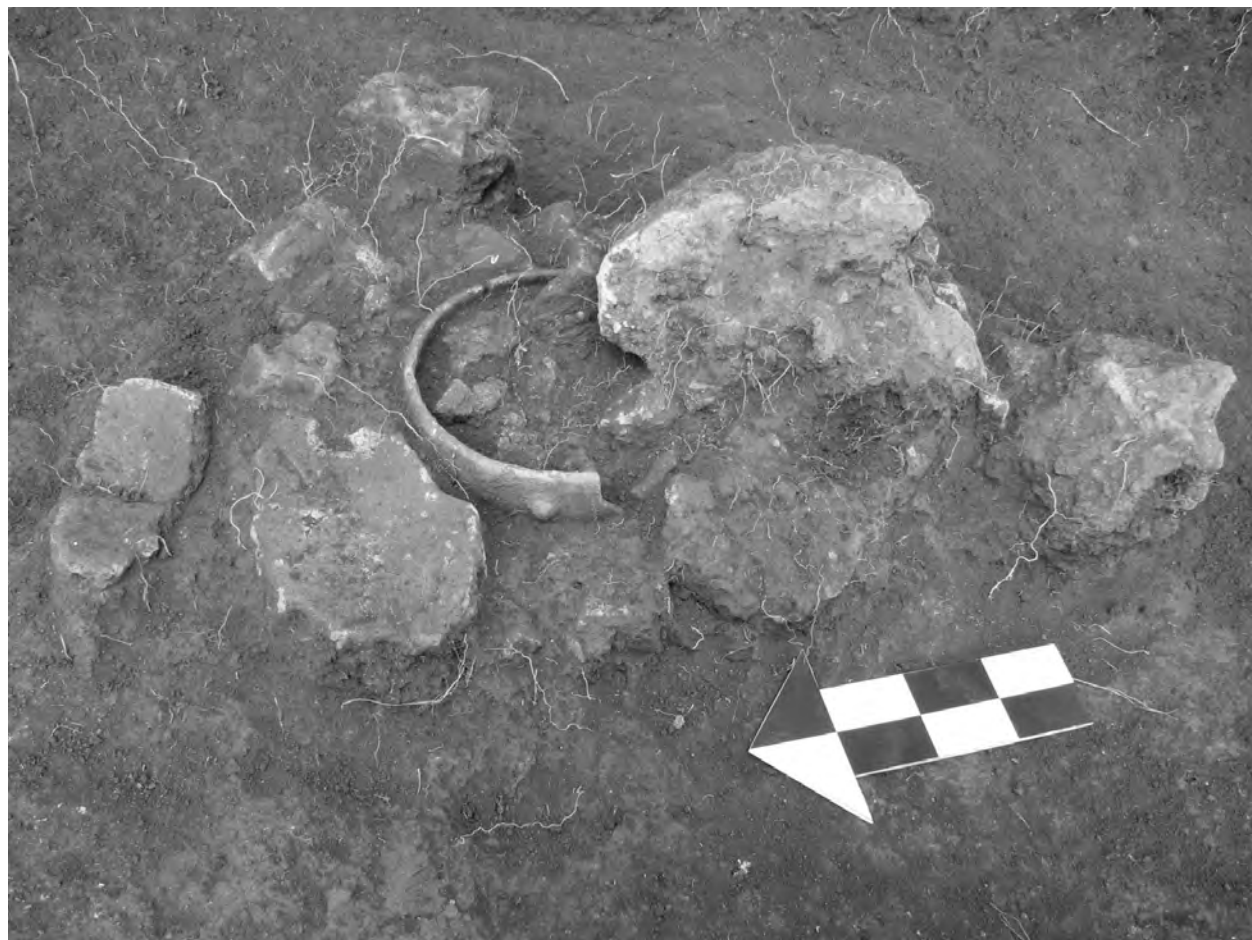


Figure 14: P8, Context 1. Scale is in five centimeter intervals.



Figure 15: TM8 (tomb). Scale is in five centimeter intervals.

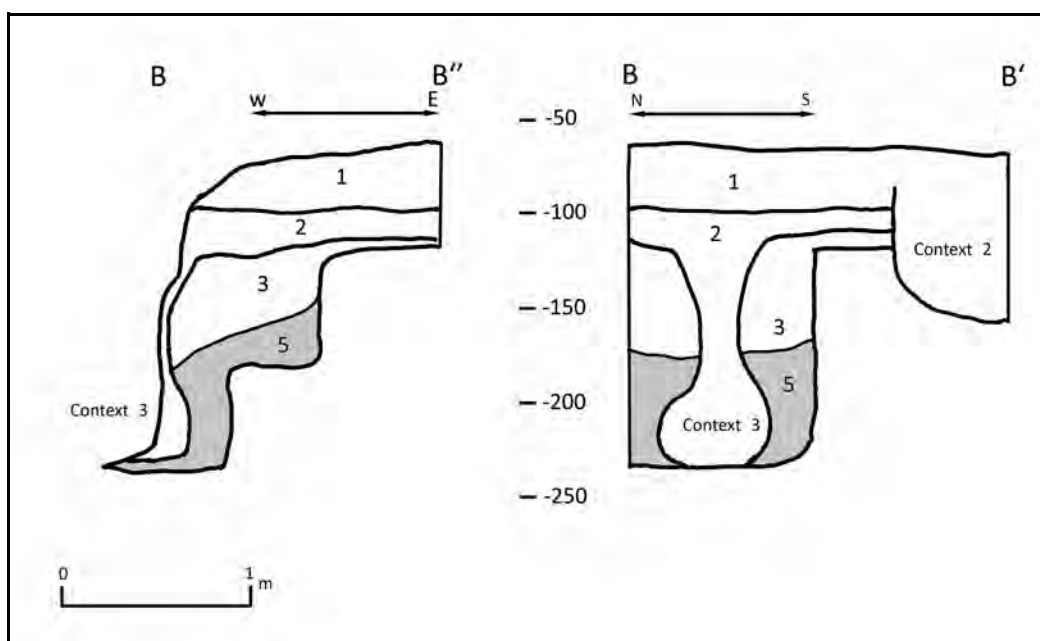


Figure 16: Context 3, section.

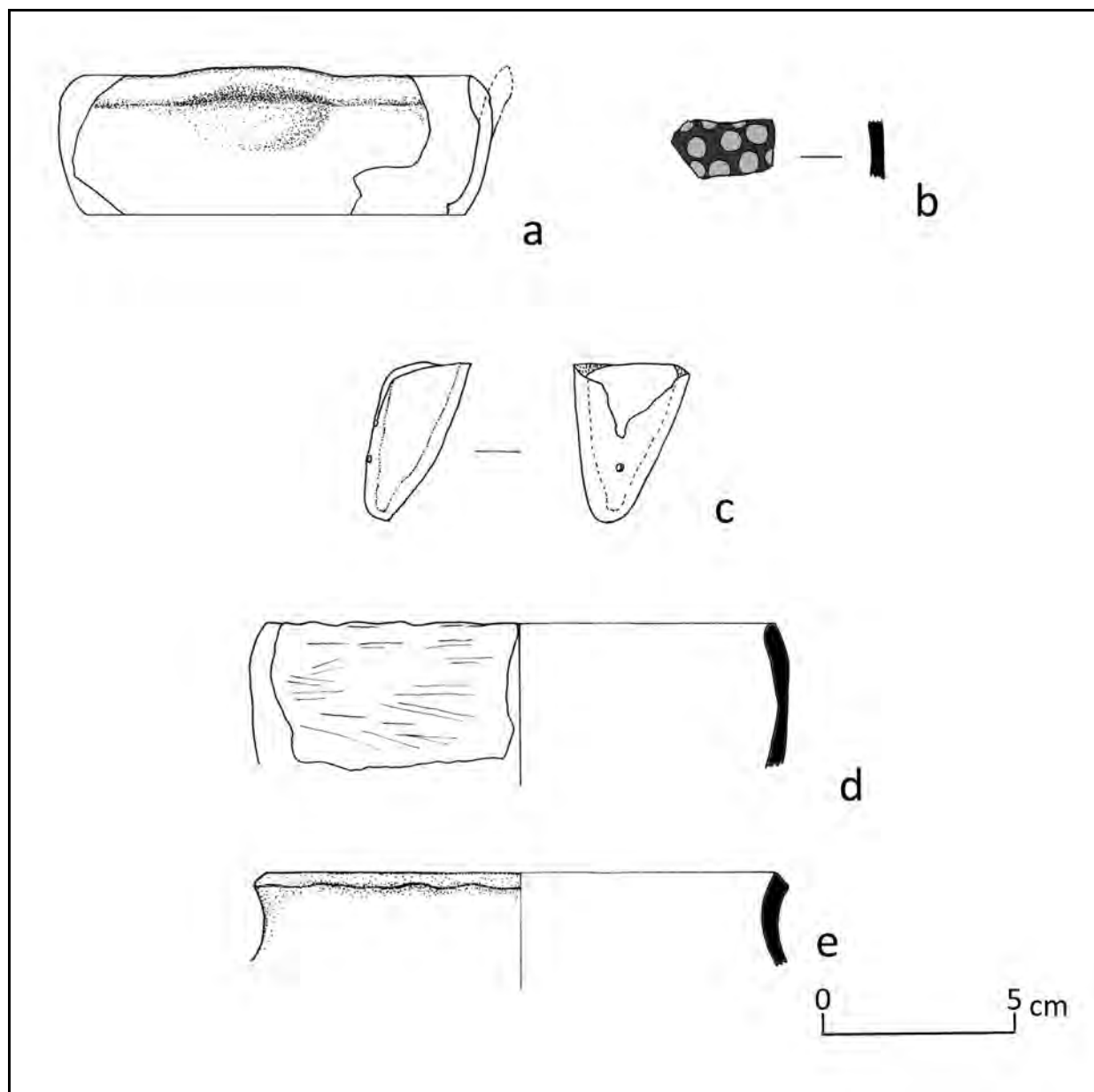


Figure 17: Vessels from excavation unit P8, Context 3.

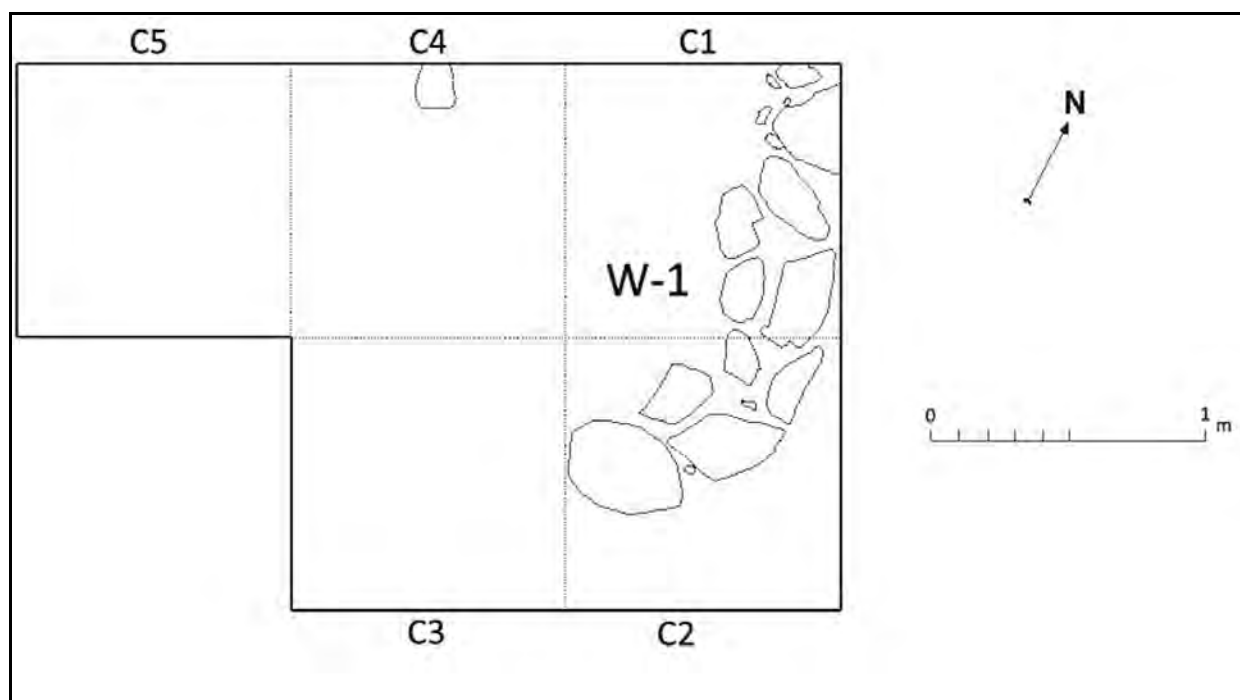


Figure 18: Excavation unit P3, North Sector.

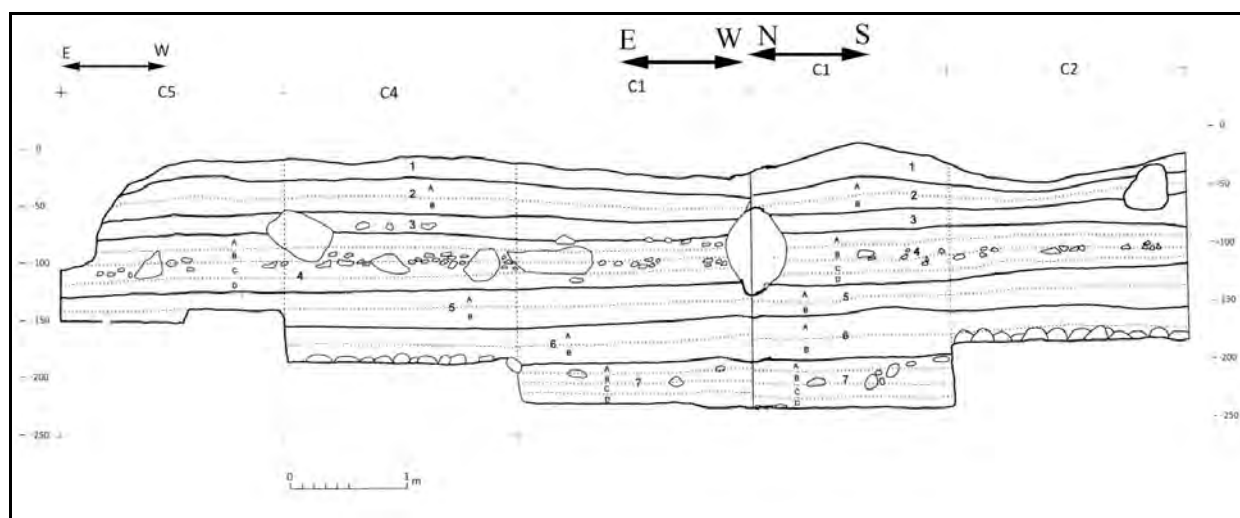


Figure 19: Excavation unit P3, section.

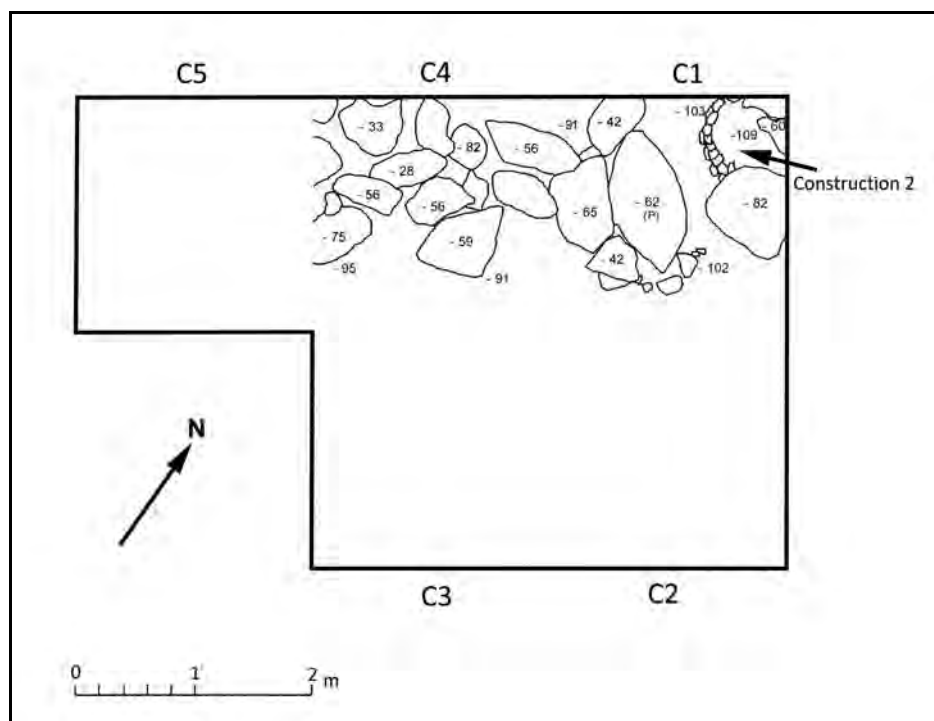


Figure 20: Excavation unit P3, Construction 2.

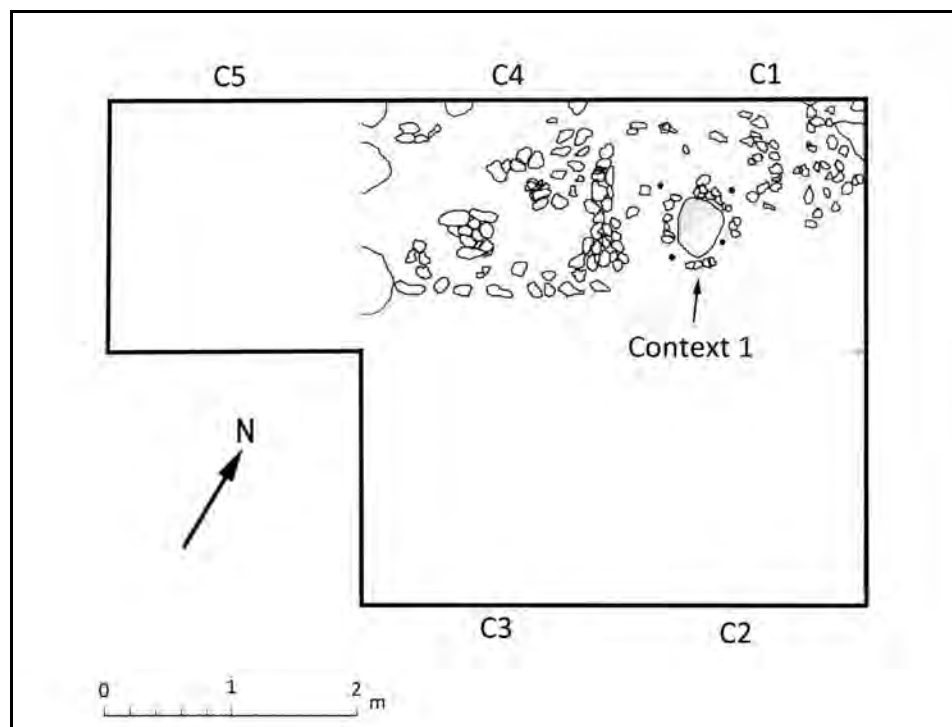


Figure 21: Excavation unit P3, Context 1.



Figure 22: Excavation unit P3, Context 1.



Figure 23: Excavation unit P3, Context 1, probable fire pit. Scale in five centimeter intervals.

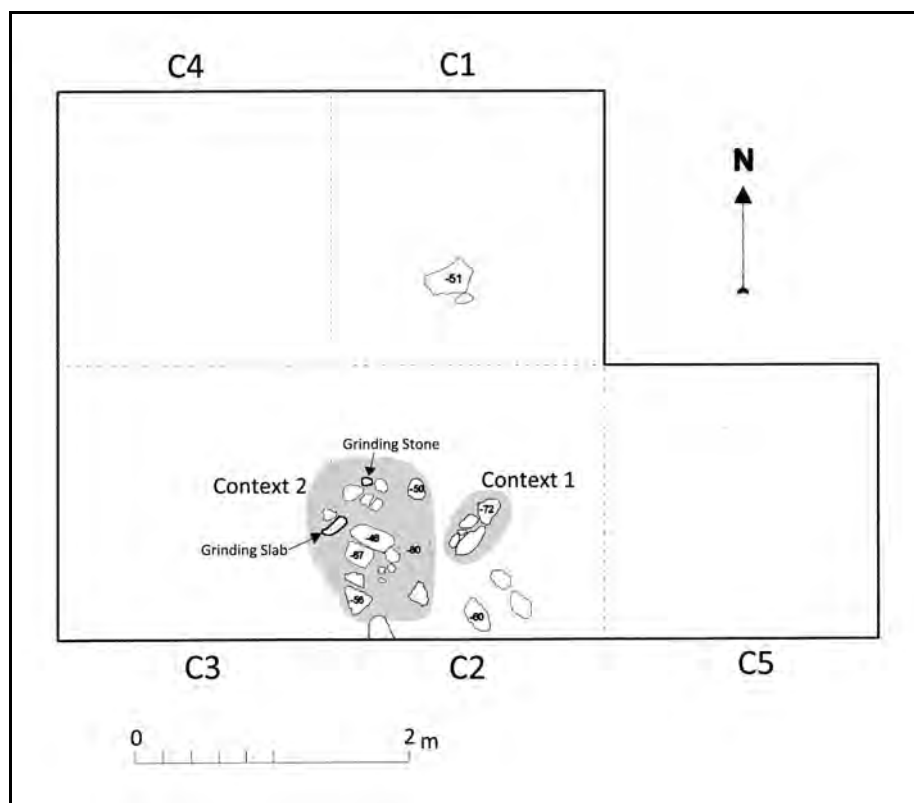


Figure 24: P3, Context 1/TM9 (tomb) and Context 2. Scale in five centimeter intervals.

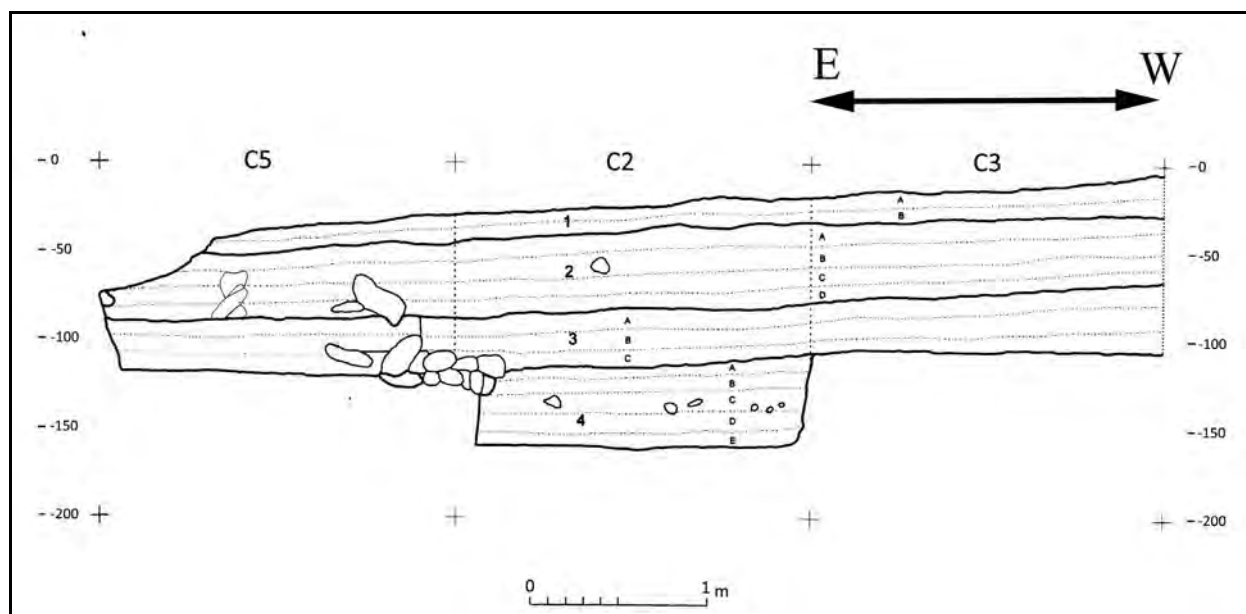


Figure 25: Excavation unit P5, section.

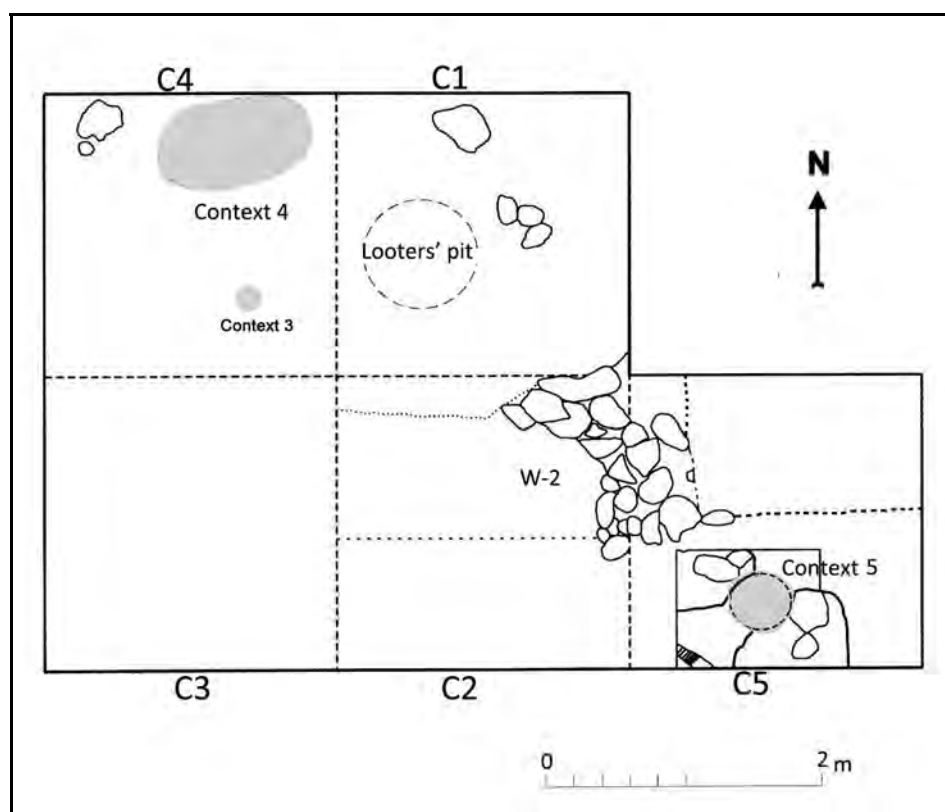


Figure 26: Excavation unit P5, North Sector (2).

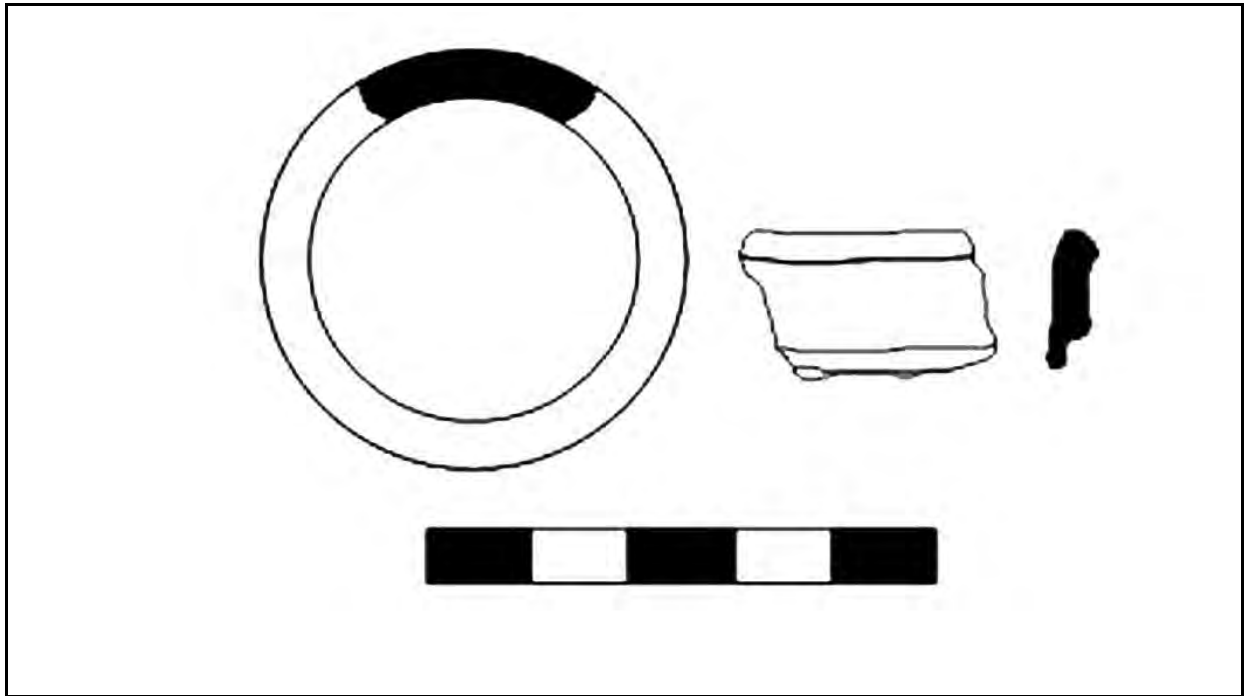


Figure 27: Ear spool recovered from excavation unit P5, Context 2.

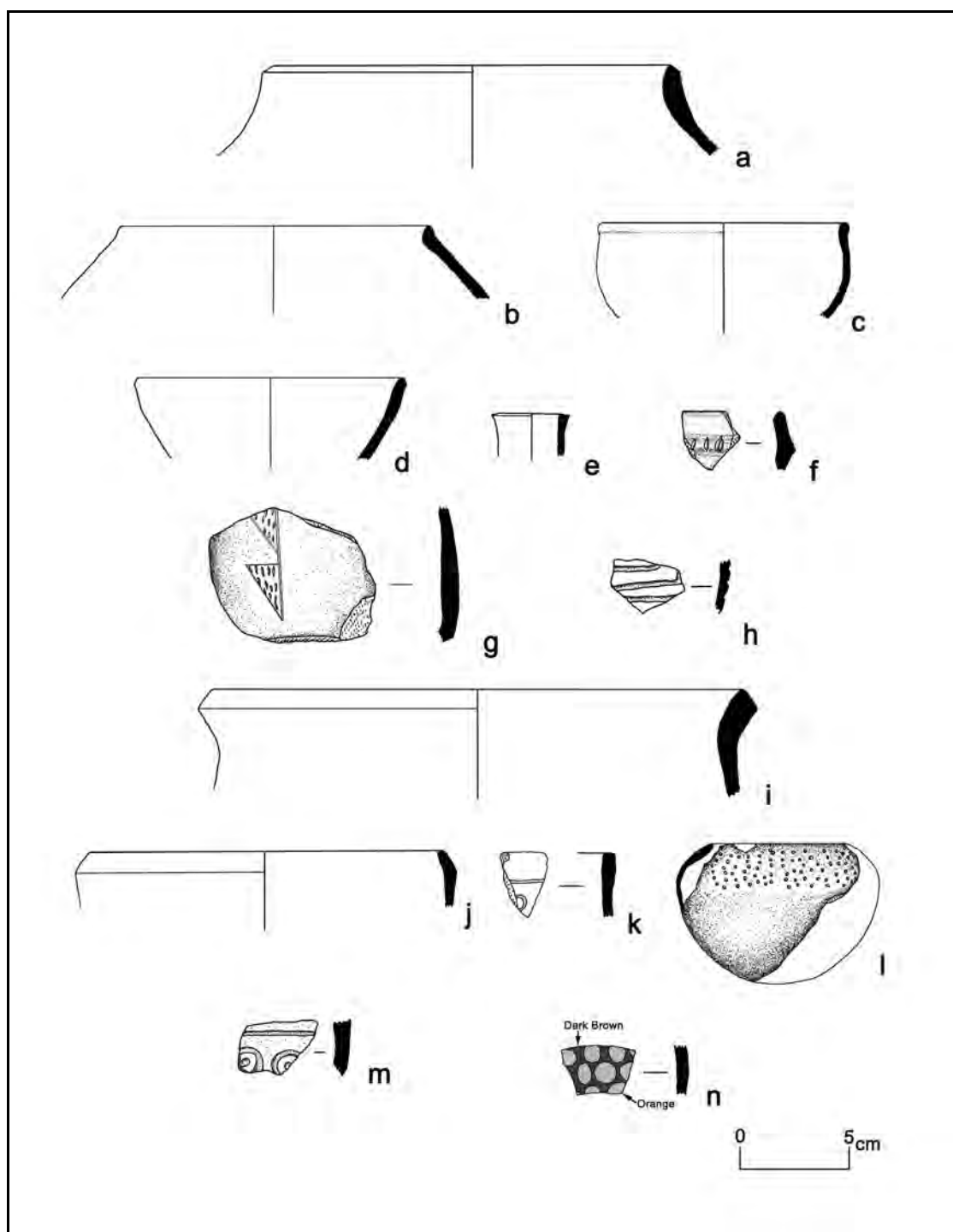


Figure 28: Diagnostic ceramic sherds from the South Sector
(a-h: Campanayuc 1 Phase; i-n: Campanayuc 2 Phase).

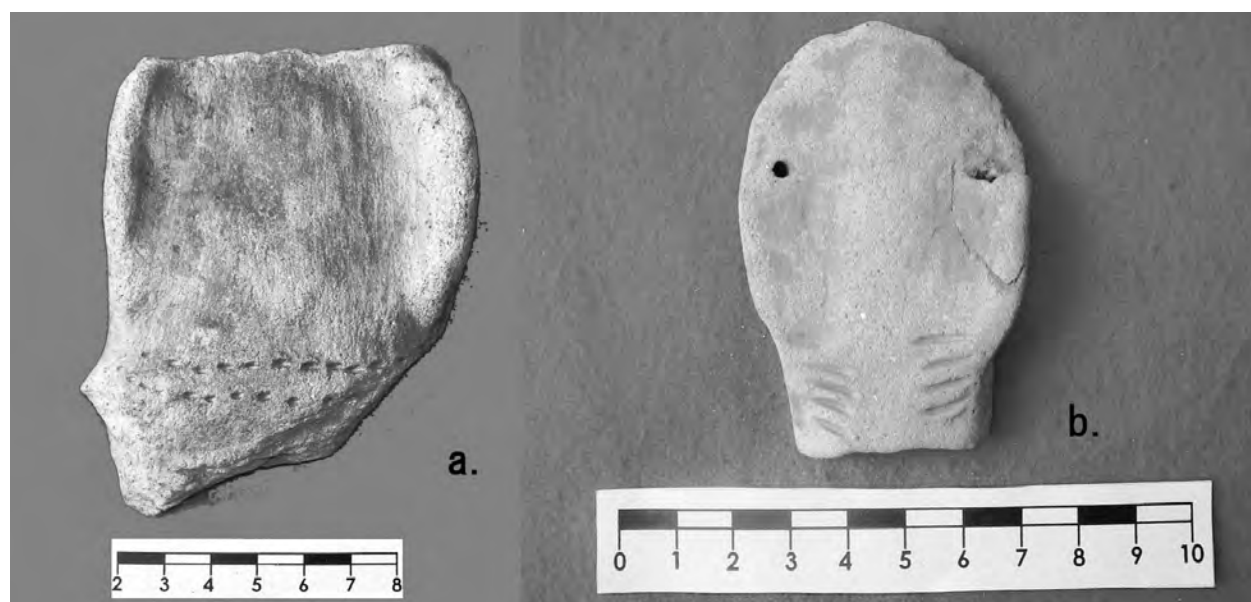


Figure 29: *Figurines from the North Sector.*