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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

An Analysis of Gallinazo Ceramic Assemblages from Cerro Oreja, North Coast of Peru

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts

in

Anthropology

by

Andrew Thomas DeLeon

Committee in charge:

Professor Paul Goldstein, Chair
Professor Suzanne Brenner
Professor Thomas Levy

2017

The Thesis of Andrew Thomas DeLeon is approved and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2017

DEDICATION

This thesis is a result of the unwavering support and guidance of several individuals who made its completion possible and is dedicated to them. Paul Goldstein, Alicia Boswell, Brian Billman, Celeste Gagnon, Patrick Mullins and those not mentioned were instrumental in the success of this work.

For Mom and Dad. Your unwavering support and inspiration have allowed me to see this project through to its completion. I am so lucky and thankful for your guidance and love. This thesis is just one small token of my gratitude for everything you have sacrificed for me.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

An Analysis of Gallinazo Ceramic Assemblages from Cerro Oreja,
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by

Andrew Thomas DeLeon

Master of Arts in Anthropology

University of California, San Diego, 2017

Professor Paul Goldstein, Chair

Archaeological research on gender in burial customs of pre-Moche societies on the north coast of Peru have been generally lacking. In an attempt to shed more light on the topic with respect to such societies, this paper utilized distributive data of ceramic assemblages from the site of Cerro Oreja on the north coast of Peru along with statistical analysis in the form of simple random sampling to determine the nature of gender

dynamics within several pre-Moche burial assemblages. Cupisnique, Salinar, and Gallinazo were the main societies of focus. For each culture, the distribution of ceramics was compared according to their deposit in male, female, and subadult burials. Due to the unevenly represented population of males and females (male burials outnumbered females), simple random samples were taken from each culture to provide an even base for comparison. Ultimately, the findings determined that pre-Moche societies experienced less of a status division based on gender due to the distribution of ceramics within the burial assemblages as more pottery was deposited with females in the earlier societies. Those distributions became less evident in later periods. Furthermore, the types of vessels deposited may imply a gendered belief in the practice of ritual feasting in the afterlife, as males were buried with a wider assortment of vessel types than females.

Introduction

Archaeological research can benefit greatly from the study of ancient burials and their associated goods. Within this field, archaeologists are constantly inquiring about social units of the past that can range from the individual, family unit and up to the regional civilization. Research on burial customs of pre-Moche societies on the north coast of Peru such as Salinar and Gallinazo is lacking. This analysis will utilize distributive data of various ceramic assemblages unearthed from a pre-historic cemetery at the site of Cerro Oreja on the north coast of Peru in order to better understand the mortuary practices that occurred there. This research looks to shed light on aspects of social status and gender dynamics in the burial setting. Both processual and post-processual theoretical perspectives will be taken into consideration for formulating interpretations. The goals of this paper will be to determine if variables such as gender have any effect on the ceramic distributions within burials, which can be an indicator of social status and gender dynamics. Much of the information gathered on the site, as well as the tabular data of materials is drawn from an official site report by Jose Carcelen (1995) that details most of the sites geography, architecture, occupations and collected materials.

Mortuary Analysis: Theory and Methodology

The excavation and analysis of human burials and grave goods has been a main staple in interpreting practices at the individual and societal scales since the formalization of archaeology as a discipline. Various theoretical frameworks have been utilized by archaeologists to help in the interpretation of grave goods and contexts. During the processual and post-processual shifts in archaeological thought, these methods have undergone a series of reformulations in order to satisfy those theoretical frameworks. Under the influence of Lewis Binford and the processualist tradition, the association of burial goods with the remains of deceased individuals was seen to have a direct relationship. Analyzing burials with this framework suggested that burial goods were items which indicated the interred individual's occupation in life such as the grave of a warrior being inferred by the presence of weaponry (Ekengren 2013:174). This method of interpretation is still used today although as with all theory, there are critiques that can be made such as those who believe the grave context can only be correctly interpreted by those who prepared it. Later, the post-processualists would argue that a strict functional interpretation of the grave goods being associated with the individual ignored the symbolic purpose of grave objects and their meaning for ritualistic purposes and or cultural practices, in other words, their role as a means of symbolic communication (Ekengren 2013:175). For example, instead of utilizing eating and drinking vessels in a burial as an indicator of social status or labor role, they could instead be interpreted as part of a specific ritual in which identity was bestowed on the individual and vessels were associated with feasting in the afterlife (Ekengren 2013:187). Both the processual and post-processual frameworks offer a useful take on the interpretation of burial goods.

A mortuary analysis of remains based on sex and social status is not a new concept in archaeological investigation. There are two basic assumptions associated with mortuary analysis in archaeology. The first assumption states that there are clusters of variables within a mortuary context that divide to represent differences in social status and class, while the second argues that the rules which organize the sets of social statuses, are the same as those that organize social relations in the general or living society (Saxe 1970 in Goldstein 1981:54). These assumptions were influenced by the work of Art Saxe and Lewis Binford which attempted to link social theory with material culture in which the organization of the mortuary assemblage was a result of the social organization experienced within the living culture (Brown 1995:12). Early work utilizing this theory and methodology has been employed in various cultural regions including the Andes. Despite this fact, a gendered analysis of mortuary finds which takes social status into account has been lacking in the case of pre-historic cultures on the north coast of Peru that existed before the Moche civilization in the early intermediate period.

The analysis of ceramic assemblages in the burial setting can benefit from both processual and post-processual approaches. To do this, we can take the approach utilized by the processualists and posit that the grave goods associated with the individuals may have some direct connection to their status and possible occupation in life (check elite toasting in moche book). Generally speaking, we can assume that those buried with a more abundant amount of elaborate goods held higher social status than those with a lesser amount of elaborate goods.

In the burial context, the presence of various forms of food association serves as a significant indicator of status in many cases. In several islander societies including Dobu

near Papua New Guinea, yams serve as a symbol of kinship and women are buried along with their brothers in the center of the villages signifying an ownership of the soil through the matrilineal line reminiscent of seed yams (Parker-Pearson 1999:10). Artifacts in the form of animal sacrifices or edible offerings also confer status for interred individuals. Similarly, objects associated with food such as storage and serving vessels signify as much. Ceramic vessels used for food in these cases are often interpreted several ways depending on whether or not they contained food in the burials. If they indeed contained traces of food, it is often the case that they are viewed literally as utilitarian vessels that may have been associated with the person in life. If food traces are absent, they might be interpreted with a more symbolic meaning such as containers for the soul or feasting in the afterlife (Parker-Pearson 1999:10). Although traces of food in vessels from Cerro Oreja has yet to be determined, the presence of various food vessels offers insight into both perspectives which can still speak to status and gender dynamics of individuals in the burial setting and possibly of the larger site. In the case of Cerro Oreja, many of the vessels associated with food preparation or serving were deposited with the dead such as ollas, cantaros, bowls, or plates. Bray (2003) outlined some of the uses and forms of imperial Inca utilitarian wares many of which are common in pre-Inca Andean societies such as those from Cerro Oreja. Some of the vessels relevant to Cerro Oreja were ollas and cantaros, used for food preparation, platos used for serving, although Bray states that different forms of platos would also be used for stews, and drinking vessels such as glasses and cups (Bray 2003:104). Margaret Jackson (2008) offers an alternative interpretation of ceramic vessels associated with Moche burials which are more similar to those discussed in this paper. She classifies certain burial

ceramics as “ritual serving vessels” which in form and function, are linked to their practical use for elites during feasting after public events (Jackson 2008:53-54). Looked at comparatively between the sexes, this information would also allow for a gendered interpretation of status in burial. For instance, if such vessels are found to be more common among females versus males, it would be fair to suggest that females possessed a higher social status than males or vice versa. Consequently, if these observations are compared at a broader level with respect to different cultural periods, social status and gender relations can be traced on a trajectory by examining burial patterns for each. We will return to Jackson’s methodology in more detail later.

In order to deal with the uneven distribution of male and female burials in each cultural period, which may contribute to the discussion on gender dynamics on its own, simple random samples were taken from the total pool of male burials in each cultural period to compensate for the smaller number of female burials in order to allow for more direct comparison between the sexes. Five combinations of simple random samples were taken from the total male burials in each cultural period to give a more accurate representation of the data.

The Region

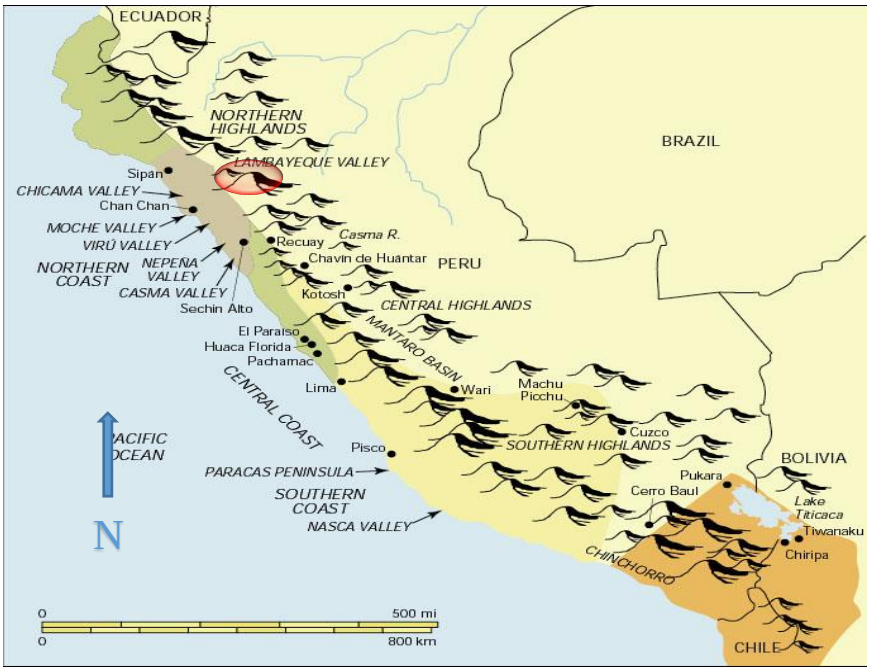

Figure 1a: Map of north coast Peru (Image http://class.csueastbay.edu)

The Peruvian landscape commonly referred to as the Andes, is well known for elaborate finds associated with pre-historic civilizations such as the Inca and Moche. Here, civilizations flourished resulting in a vast material record. The regional landscape of the Andes can be divided into three contrasting climatic zones that include the tropical forests, the highlands, and the coastal deserts (Quilter 2011:12-14). The zone that will be the focus of this paper is the latter desert climate, which is common on the north coast of Peru. The Moche Valley is one of several ancient valley systems that were occupied by prehistoric peoples for several thousands of years, with the Inca being the last major group to occupy it before the eventual Spanish incursion in 1532. This valley contains the site of Cerro Oreja that will be our major focus (See Figure 1a).

The Period

When dealing with time periods in the Andes, scholars commonly reference five major sequences that divide up the major civilizations into "horizons" which include the Early Horizon (900- 200 B.C.), Early Intermediate Period (200- 600 A.D.), Middle Horizon (600- 1000 A.D.), Late Intermediate Period (1000- 1476 A.D.) and Late Horizon (1476- 1534 A.D.) (Moseley 2001:22). It is important to note however, that these divisions of time serve as a guide for scholars and that many of the groups associated with certain horizons do not disappear completely and may often exist contemporaneously with a later group before being incorporated. The Moche Valley was occupied in each of the main periods but was at the height of its power and prominence in the Early Intermediate and Middle Horizon periods. Due to the subsequent occupations throughout the time sequence, the material record for the valley is of high interest to researchers who are able to determine the extent of sociopolitical organization and interaction through excavation which often brings about more questions than answers.

Gallinazo

This study will focus on an earlier group which existed late in the Early Horizon and into the Early Intermediate over 1,300 years before Spanish contact known as Gallinazo. The Gallinazo cultural period saw the most represented numbers of buried individuals and materials at Cerro Oreja. The referential meaning of Gallinazo has a somewhat muddled history which we will discuss further on. As with many of the prehistoric civilizations of the region, the term referred to a shared artistic style, mainly through a prominent ceramic tradition, that was distributed among specific sites along the north coast although this has been disputed. Some of the major archaeological finds associated with Gallinazo came from excavations conducted in the Viru Valley just south of the Moche Valley by Wendell Bennett (1939, 1950) and later by James Ford (1949) and Gordon Willey (1953). Bennett excavated a series of platforms, pyramids and earthen mounds distributed among thirty sites in the valley that he termed, "The Gallinazo Group" (Bennett 1953:18-19). One of the major aspects of Bennett's study in the Viru Valley had to do with his classification of ceramic wares found within sites that have since long been used as identifiers for Gallinazo occupation and include Castillo Incised and Castillo Modeled wares that were domestic utilitarian vessels (Millaire 2009:4). Bennet's typology was viewed as problematic by some scholars which we will address later. Elaborate burials associated with Gallinazo occupations and pottery remains are some of the best indicators of social status due to their impressive preservation characteristics as well as the ability to sequence their forms.

The Debate

As previously stated, the term Gallinazo has been referenced by researchers as an artistic sequence of pottery, as well as a cultural tradition and sociopolitical entity. The term was introduced by Bennett and later expanded upon by Ford who used the term in a more open-ended sense referring to the generalized prehistory of the Viru Valley. With the publication of Willey's research on The Gallinazo Group, scholars began to use the term "Viru-Gallinazo" to refer to a group of people as opposed to a strict ceramic sequence (Makowski 2009:33-34). With all of these terms and definitions, archaeologists were certain that the presence of certain ceramic wares, primarily those mentioned in the above section (Castillo Incised and Castillo Modeled) marked the indisputable presence of a Gallinazo occupation. This claim has been challenged by Christopher Donnan (2009) who specializes in ceramic iconography and sequencing especially regarding the Moche civilization. He argues that the presence of Castillo Incised and Modeled wares, which were utilitarian vessels, is not enough to classify a population or site as Gallinazo and refers to this phenomenon as the "Gallinazo Illusion." Furthermore, he states that it may be more appropriate to ascribe the Gallinazo classification through the presence of a more restricted ceramic style (Castillo Negative) which was much more distinct and less widespread than the utilitarian wares (Donnan, 2009:30). Much of the debate surrounding the term Gallinazo (A.D. 1-200) stems from the belief that it served as a precursor to many of the prominent ceramic forms and styles of socio-politically dominant civilizations such as the Moche (A.D. 200-600). Although Gallinazo occupations clearly pre-date Moche periods, there is strong evidence to suggest that the two civilizations were contemporaneous at one point. Despite all of the debate surrounding the term, it is

clear that what is known as “Gallinazo” either as a label for ceramics or cultural tradition is wholly unique from later traditions even though certain forms and characteristics survived. The findings in this paper will attempt to offer further analysis of Gallinazo as a cultural group by analyzing the implications of their burial practices.

The Site

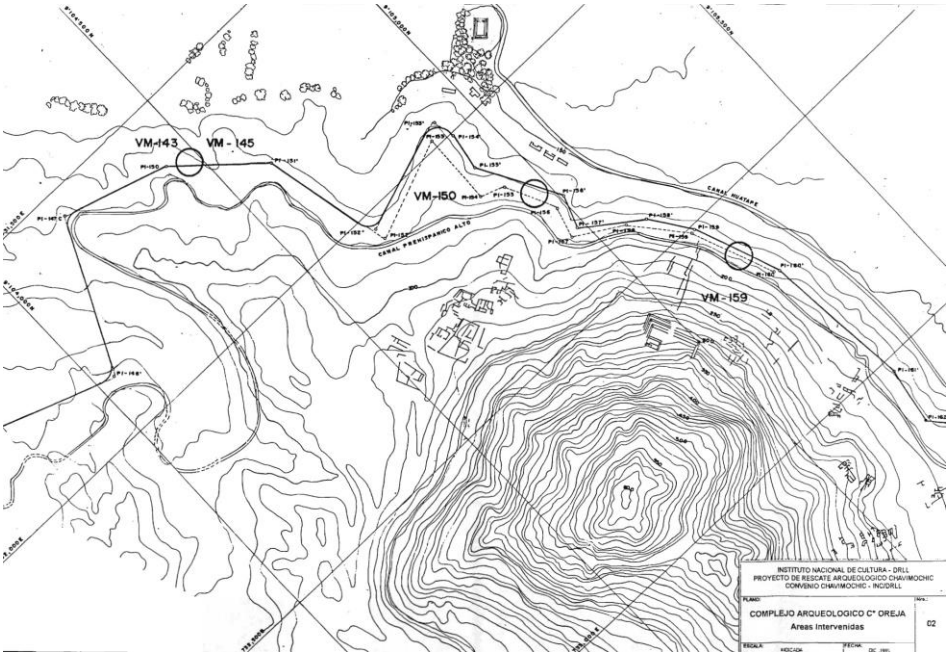

Figure 2a: Cerro Oreja site map (Carcelen 1995:169)

Cerro Oreja sits at the western mouth of the Moche Valley on the Peruvian northcoast and was occupied by several groups both before and after the Gallinazo occupation. One of these groups the Moche, that existed later in the Early Intermediate Period are commonly known to constitute one of the first major expansionist groups in the region (Shimada 2010:70). The Moche are well known for their distinctive pottery and elaborate ceremonial complexes which were spread throughout the north coast. Their presence at Cerro Oreja is well documented through architectural remains that exhibit common Moche building techniques and style such as structures made with smoothed marked adobe bricks (Carcelen 1995:3.2.3). Another prominent group following the Moche occupation of the site were the Chimu, who adapted some of the previous customs of the Moche in their occupation of the site but ultimately reutilized the northern slopes for terraced agriculture, a technique later used by the Inca. Still, even before these two

groups came to power, several other occupations existed that pre-dated Gallinazo occupation which include Cupisnique and Salinar. Salinar occupation of the site dates to the earlier part of the Early Intermediate Period while Cupisnique dates back even further to the Early Horizon c.a. 1800-400 B.C.E (Gagnon 2008:179). Both of the occupations were inferred from the available pottery excavated from burial contexts that adhere to those styles.

Cerro Oreja which is split into two numbered sites VM: 150 and 159 (See Figure 2a) that are part of the same archaeological context. Billman states that at the height of its occupation during the Gallinazo phase (A.D 1-200), Cerro Oreja may have had a population numbering in the thousands (1999:152). Ceremonial architecture at the site accounts for 77 percent of the total construction which included adobe mounds and hilltop platforms. It is believed that the placement of such structures on high slopes would have been highly visible to those traveling the valley reminding them of the power associated with the people of the site (Billman 1999:152). This could suggest that prior to the height of the Huacas de Moche during the early intermediate period, Cerro Oreja may have been the central site in the Moche Valley during the Gallinazo phase. VM: 150 is located above a sand deposit that forms a slope to the northwestern side of the site. Sand dunes accumulate in the valley due to wind movement of beach sand. From east to west, the site is crossed by a pre-colonial canal that splits it into upper and lower divisions. VM: 159 is situated on the northern portion of the hill site and is also divided by the pre-colonial canal into lower and upper portions. The upper portion contains a large adobe structure seated 100m above (Carcelen 1995:1.2).

Although burials exist for each of the occupations of the site, Gallinazo period burials greatly outnumber any other due to the fact that the population seems to be at its greatest during this period. The central area of Cerro Oreja was utilized as a funerary complex for most of the site's existence, starting with the Cupisnique occupation until parts of it were re-situated during the Gallinazo phase, which also included the construction of domestic structures over the cemetery (Gagnon 2008:175). Several re-organizations of the site space would occur in the later Moche and Chimu phases as well. Overall, Cerro Oreja could be best understood as primarily Gallinazo with small components of other periods. The correlation between the burials and their cultural affiliations were determined through ceramic chronology, as well as characteristics of the deposit such as orientation of the body which was distinct in each period. Some of the other identifying features of the cultural phases such as tomb types and other non-ceramic artifacts will be discussed further.

Burials

The function of Cerro Oreja as a site changed beginning with the Gallinazo occupation and continued on with the Moche and Chimu. With these three sequences, the site included agricultural sectors as well as domestic areas for residents. However, prior to this transformation, Cerro Oreja was used mainly as a funerary complex starting with Cupisnique and Salinar occupations. In fact, some of the later domestic structures utilized by Gallinazo, Moche and Chimu were built atop burials from the two older occupations. Despite those changes, the site still included some funerary complexes for the later occupations. The preservation of burials in the funerary complex proved to be favorable and a total of 901 individuals were recovered. Of the 901 individuals, 811 were associated with Gallinazo. Of the entire burial population, a total of 370 complete ceramic vessels were excavated (Carcelen 1995:4.5). Several grave types were present corresponding to each of the occupations although some shared similar techniques. A basic burial type was described as "simple" and included a shallow grave filled with offerings and covered with a layer of fill sand. This was the most commonly encountered burial type at the site and associated with all occupations except Chimu. The second burial type known as the "sealed grave" was rectangular in shape and covered by a sheet of compacted mud that measured 0.2m in thickness. These burial types either concealed the remains of individuals, objects such as pottery or were empty. A total of 48 sealed graves were associated with the Gallinazo occupation with most of them being disturbed. A few other burial types encountered include "cist" graves that contained floor chambers where bodies would be placed and filled. Most of these were associated with earlier Salinar occupations. Funerary enclosures were another form of burial within a series of

quadrangular rooms. The walls of the rooms measure 0.50m wide and 1.5m high. Within them, floors were constructed with compacted mud and filled with sand. Funerary enclosures were found with, and without, seals covering the top of the graves. These burials were also associated with the Gallinazo occupation. Finally, the last type encountered by archaeologists was burial by covering in which an individual was laid above the surface and covered with fill. 170 of these types were encountered and all but one has been associated with Gallinazo. The majority of burials of this type were found with Gallinazo style ceramics, although one contained Recuay ceramics. Individuals buried in this manner were laid in a horizontal position.

At other Gallinazo sites such as El Castillo de Santa, there is very little variation of burial types as only two graves featured fragments of cane casing while several contained textiles that were used as burial shrouds (Gagne 2009:207).

Mortuary Treatment

The cultural affiliations and chronology of the burials were determined from the associated ceramic goods placed in graves. When such items were not available, other burial characteristics were taken into account such as the position of the body and the association of other burial goods (Carcelen 1995:4.5). Beginning with the first cultural group at the site, Cupisnique, the individuals were laid in a semi-flexed position generally placed in an east to west orientation with the feet to the east and head to the west, while lying on varying planes including the back, side, and front. All of the burials in the occupation were classified as simple burial types. Some of the non-ceramic materials associated with the burials from this period include jewelry such as rings, nose rings and necklaces. Spindle whorls were also placed in some of the burials. (Carcelen 1995:4.5.3).

The majority of individuals from the Salinar occupation which occurred just after Cupisnique, were placed in an extended position within the graves. Common tomb types for this period were simple and cist graves. They were also placed in an east to west orientation with the head facing west. A major difference with these burials not seen during the Cupisnique phase is the presence of red pigment and textile that are placed on the body. Bodies were covered in the pigment although this was not the case with all (Carcelen 1995:4.5.3).

The Gallinazo phase that follows represents the most abundant sample in terms of individuals and grave goods. The most common placement of the body for this phase was in the extended position, although flexed and sitting positions were also observed. The bodies were situated in an east to west orientation as in the previous cultural phases. During this period, there were also a wide range of tomb types that included simple

graves, sealed graves, funerary structures and burials by covering. This is by far the most variety of tomb types seen for any cultural occupation of the site.

In general, the assortment of non-ceramic artifacts from Gallinazo burials is much more elaborate than anything observed in the earlier cultural phases. Some of the burials included metal headdresses shaped as feathers or metal headbands. Precious metals such as gilded copper were used for some headdresses and were also used to plate other material such as wooden cane. Other forms of jewelry were associated with the burials including necklaces made with shell, bone, or rarely turquoise beads. Other non-ceramic items were observed in the graves such as spondylus and conus shells, and various non-human bones shaped as spoons. Pieces of copper are sometimes found in the mouths of the individual or placed at various parts of the body. In burials of the Salinar phase, some individuals were marked with red pigmentation commonly on the face which was rarely found (Carcelen 1995:4.5.3).

The Moche period was the next major cultural occupation of the site. The individuals associated with this period were found in simple tombs that were associated with a residential building phase of the sector in which the cemetery was not utilized. Individuals of this period were predominantly buried in the extended position. Aside from pottery, objects of copper are recorded. Based on comparative collections from other Moche sites, the assortment of artifacts found for Moche burials at Cerro Oreja is consistent with a domestic context of lower status, as individuals of high status would have been buried with much more elaborate materials such as headdresses, gilded copper or elaborate jewelry (see Alva & Donnan 1993).

Gender in Burial

Using mortuary methodology allows us to look at aspects of gender and compare the status of females and males to determine if we can infer gendered divisions based on the available burial materials. Mortuary archaeology remains one of the best methods for studying gender relations for people of the past through the association of individuals with their burial goods. The connection that people have with material goods in many cases can be understood as a dialogue in which meaning is constructed through interaction with such objects (Sofaer & Sorensen 2013:532). Furthermore, objects themselves have particular social histories that can also tell us about the people associated with them (Eckardt & Williams 2003:141). Those interactions that people had with objects may serve as the best indicator for interpreting aspects of gender and social relations in burial contexts. Thinking of the meaning associated with objects compliments the functional viewpoint held by archaeologists of the processual school.

Since many artifacts serve a specific utilitarian purpose in life, even if imbued with symbolic meaning later in burial, the activities associated with the object's use are a good guide for positing the previous roles or occupations held by interred individuals. For studies of gender, this is extremely important because it may ultimately reveal clues as to what women and men did in life based on the artifacts associated with their burials. After this, a comparative analysis can be made to formulate models for gender dynamics along with other social relations.

Gallinazo Ceramics and Labor Roles

At Cerro Oreja, there are several ceramic vessel forms that remain relatively consistent through each of the cultural occupations of the site. The vessels have been classified as follows: Botellas, cancheros, cantaros, copas, cuencos, jarras, ollas, platos and vasos. Some of the most commonly found vessel types in each of the cultural periods are ollas, cantaros, cuencos and botellas. Ollas are generally used for various types of food preparation including chicha production (Kaulicke 2009:236). The size of the ollas varies but all have a rounded base, constricted necks and flare at the top with a wide rim. Similar to these vessels are cantaros that appear similar in form with a slightly more rounded base and were also likely used for cooking. Jarras may have been used for food or liquid storage. A distinct style of jarra known as the face neck jar, has been associated with the Gallinazo period. These vessels as the name implies, feature the typical shape of a jar vessel with round bottom but anthropomorphic eyes and noses are impressed into the neck giving the appearance of a human face. Most of the ollas represented in the various cultural assemblages are plain containing no impressions or molded patterns. Cantaros and jarras on the other hand occasionally have such decorations without them.

There has been no analysis of the pastes of vessels from Cerro Oreja. Sherds in Chapdelaine, et. al (2009:181-206) from the Gallinazo site of El Castillo in the lower Santa Valley closely resemble pottery classifications for Gallinazo determined by (Bennett 1950) and (Strong and Evans 1952). Chapdelaine et al. (2009:192) notes that neck jars from the Viru Valley were rarely made with high quality pastes causing them to believe that the Castillo Modeled ceramics were likely utilized in a domestic setting. The jars from the Viru Valley compare closely with those from Cerro Oreja in which the same

hypothesis is applicable. Since Cerro Oreja is also a Gallinazo site, it allows for an association with the domestic setting to be made for its assemblages to allow for more interpretations of status and gender dynamics in the burial setting.

Apart from domestic pottery, which is highly abundant at Cerro Oreja, there are several highly decorative pots classified with "negative" decoration. This refers to a technique in which monochrome negative-resist paint is used on vessels which are also given a high polished- surface (Castillo et al. 2009:119). Donnan (2009) argues that a Gallinazo occupation can be inferred from the presence of negative wares. At Cerro Oreja, the presence of negative pottery usually in the form of decorated bottles allows for a comfortable classification of a Gallinazo occupation at Cerro Oreja as Donnan defines it. Although the site features vessels of this type, they are few in number when compared to non-negative undecorated vessels. Negative wares seem to be a consistent minority find especially at sites which contain domestic components.

Interestingly, evidence from other sites in neighboring valleys such as San Jose de Moro in the Jequetepeque, suggests that Gallinazo domestic ceramics continued to be used by later groups that developed their own decorative ceramics. In the case of the Moche that gained prominence just after, domestic utilitarian vessels of Gallinazo style appear to continue to be manufactured and used by the same people at San Jose de Moro (Carpio Perla 2009:68). Furthermore, the Gallinazo style vessels when compared to Moche vessels San Jose de Moro appear to be different with respect to function, although they are also visually distinct as well. It is believed that the Gallinazo style vessels were manufactured and used as utilitarian vessels while Moche style decorative ceramics were manufactured as burial offerings (Carpio Perla 2009:68). In the Chicama and Moche

valleys, negative fine ware makes a brief appearance in the early intermediate period but is quickly replaced by Moche forms (Uceda Castillo et al. 2009:119). The case studies show how influential Gallinazo ceramics were for the later cultural groups that were introduced to them. Even Moche decorative ceramics share characteristics of earlier vessels manufactured for similar purposes. Ultimately this demonstrates a sense of stylistic continuity in domestic plain wares for undecorated ceramic types of the north coast over time.

Ceramic Forms at Cerro Oreja

There were several general categories used to classify the ceramic wares in each of the cultural occupations at Cerro Oreja. Because of the close similarities exhibited in these forms throughout each of the occupational time periods, similar materials unearthed from other sites on the north-coast can be used as reference for interpreting the use and significance behind the various forms at Cerro Oreja. To do this, we will draw on Margaret Jackson's analysis on assemblages from Cerro Mayal in the Chicama Valley as well as Christopher Donnan's findings and analysis of ceramic assemblages from excavations in the early 1970's on a series of Moche cemeteries in the Santa Valley. Although the Moche culture and their associated material fall later in the chronology of north-coastal groups, the vessel forms utilized in each cultural period remain relatively similar. Many of the ceramic forms from Cerro Oreja fall within the category suggested by Margaret Jackson as "Ritual Serving Vessels." Such vessels include bottles, cancheros, jars, ollas, plates, and cups. She suggests that the use of these vessels in feasting and gift exchange implies a degree of significance to their deposition in burial settings (Jackson 2008:55).

Table 1: Ritual serving vessels

Crude Vessels	Fancy Vessels
Ollas	Botellas Cantaros Cuencos Jarras Platos Vasos

As mentioned, some of the vessel types at Cerro Oreja include ollas, cantaros. botellas, jarras, and cancheros. Christopher Donnan's analysis of surface and burial ceramics (1973:102) separated those forms into two categories which he termed "crude" and "fancy" (see table 1). Ollas, which were utilized for storage and cooking are the only vessels he classified as crude, while all other forms were considered to be fancy. At Cerro Oreja, especially during the Gallinazo occupation of the site, there were several types of vessels used for eating and drinking including cuencos (bowls), platos (plates), and vasos (cups).

Cupisnique Distributions

The earliest cultural period present at the cemetery of Cerro Oreja is Cupisnique, 1800-400 B.C.E (Gagnon 2008:174). To begin, we will first examine the raw totals of male and female burials and then compare the data to the simple random samples done to give equal representation for both sexes. The Cupisnique period has far fewer sexed individuals than later periods. There are only five total sexed adult individuals. Of these, three are male (Figure 1b). For them, only one pottery form is present out of the 16 total categories. Five cuencos account for all of the associated pottery for adult males of this period.

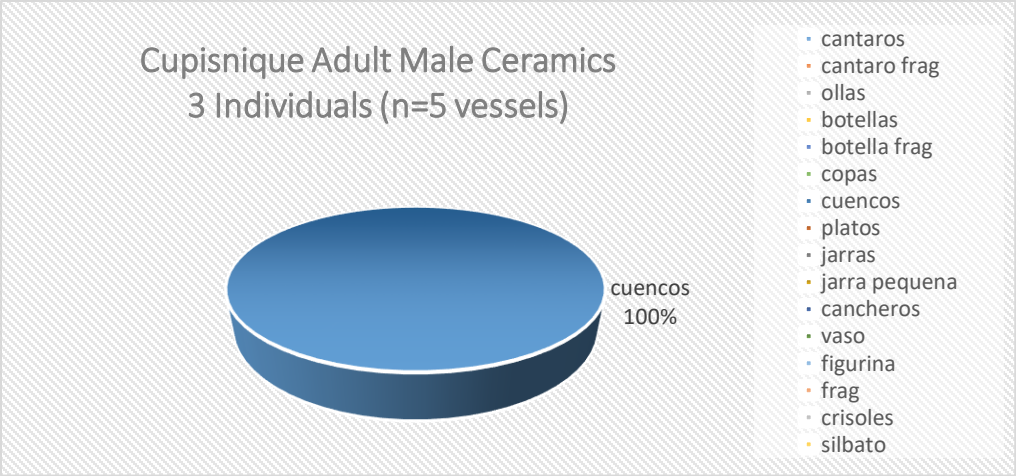

Figure 1b: Cupisnique adult male ceramics

Two of the five total individuals of the Cupisnique period are female (Figure 2b). Interestingly, there is more variety in ceramic forms than seen with males. Three cuencos are still the most common type of vessel accounting for half of the entire assemblage. Two ollas (Figure 2c.) make up the second largest vessel type at 33 percent. One botella (Figure 3c.) accounts for the final category represented in female burials of the period making up 17 percent of the assemblage.

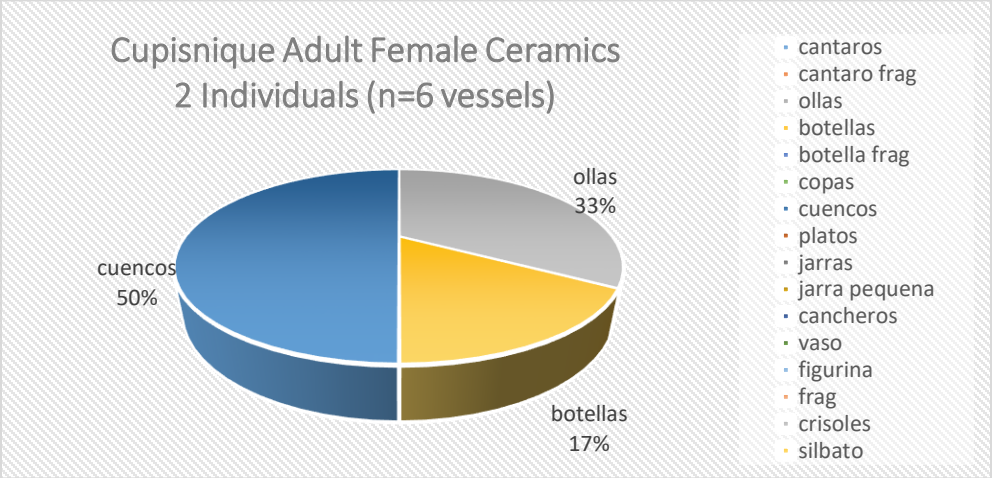

Figure 2b: Cupisnique adult female ceramics

Table 2: Cupisnique adult pottery

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cuencos	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	3	0	5	0	5
F	2	1	3	2	6

Comparing the raw totals one on one, we see that the female vessel total is only one more than males. For both groups, cuencos represent the most common pottery form between the sexes. For women, there is a broader range of vessel types represented with the presence of botellas, cuencos, and ollas.

For the simple random samples (see pg. 31), three combinations were possible due to the availability of only three male burials. In each sample, for which only two male burials were randomly selected to equal the amount of available female burials, female vessel totals outnumbered males. In two cases, the female vessel total was double that of males. Cuencos were still the most common form and were mostly identical in

total with only one sample in which males contained one more cuenco than females. If we utilize Margaret Jackson's analysis here, perhaps females in the Cupisnique period may have received higher prestige in burial than males due to a wider variety of vessels which would have been offered to serve them in the afterlife.

Salinar Distributions

If we turn to the distributions of ceramic artifacts for the Salinar period, we see a wider variety of vessel types for males than females as opposed to the earlier case. The Salinar period (400-1 B.C.E) followed just after Cupisnique (Gagnon 2008:174). In terms of the raw totals, burials during this period consisted of 38 total sexed adult individuals which accounts for the second largest group of burials compared to Gallinazo. Of these, 30 were male burials containing 43 vessels (Figure 3b). Of the 16 total ceramic categories, seven appear in adult male burials. Of those seven types, the most common type was 18 ollas that accounted for 41 percent of the total. The second most common type was 10 cantaros (Figure 3b.) that made up 23 percent of the total ceramic assemblage. Seven cuencos make up the third most common ceramic form at 16 percent of the total. Aside from these common types, three others are rarer among male burials

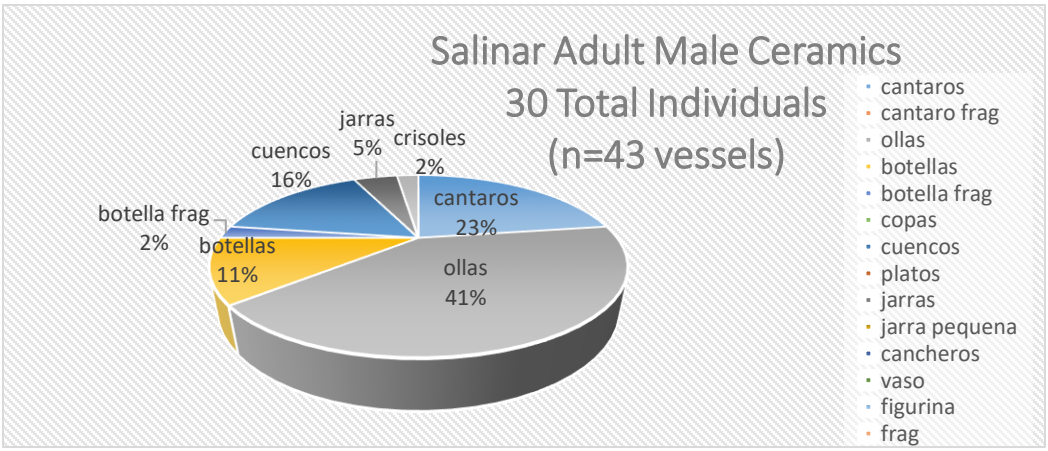

Figure 3b: Salinar adult male ceramics

and include five botellas and one fragment, two jarras (Figure 3b.) and one crisole which was the least common.

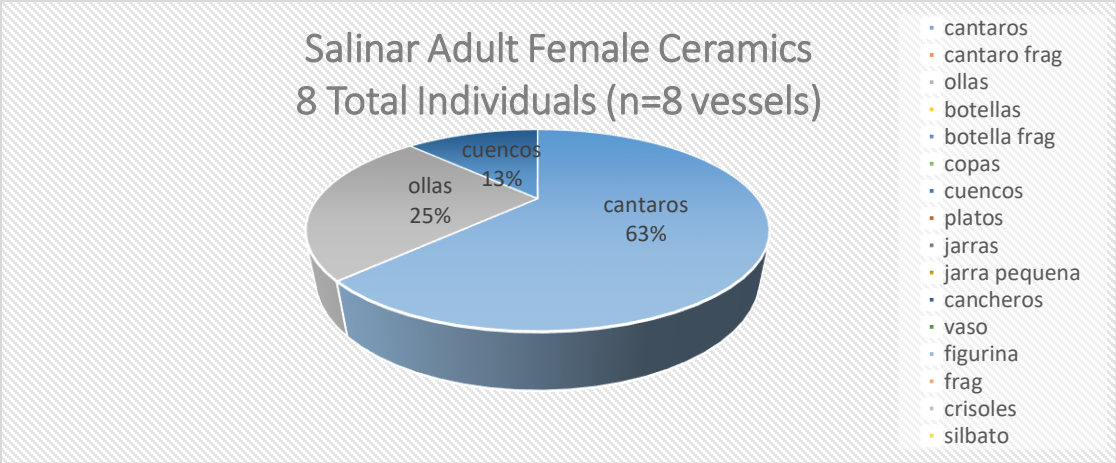

Figure 4b: Salinar adult female ceramics

In the case of female burials of the Salinar period, only 8 female individuals were identifiable by sex with eight vessels in their tombs (Figure 4b). Of the eight burials, three of the 16 total vessel types were represented. Five cantaros were the most common vessel for females and constituted 63 percent of the entire assemblage. The second largest category were two ollas that accounted for 25 percent of the total assemblage. The last represented ceramic category for female burials was one cuenco that accounted for 13 percent of the assemblage.

Table 3: Salinar adult pottery

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Botella frags	Cantaros	Crisoles	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	30	5	1	10	1	7	2	18	43
F	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	8

Looking at both male and female distributions, there are more obvious differences in the assemblage than will be seen in later periods. First, there is no shared common vessel type between males and females. Ollas were the largest represented category for

males while cantaros were the most common for females. When comparing the second most frequent vessel type for each sex, there is a reversal. Cantaros are the second most prevalent vessel for males while ollas are the second most common for females. Cuencos or bowls, account for 16 percent in the male case and 13 percent in the female case. There are two final vessel types present for males that are not seen in female burials. These include jarras and a crisole. The finding of a single crisole is interesting because it was found only in this period in a male burial. Crisoles are very small ceramic cup shaped pieces or "finger pots," and are most frequently found in burials, although their function remains relatively unknown. They may have been used as small chicha drinking vessels that were heated to warm the liquid, but were more likely made specifically for burial rituals (Costin 1999:88, 99). Perhaps the exclusivity of the crisole in this context implies its role as a marker of high status, although this is uncertain.

In terms of the simple random samples taken for this period (see pg. 32), eight male burials were selected from the 30 total burials to equal the amount of total female burials. Five different combinations were utilized and generally reinforce the findings from the raw totals above. Despite this, there were two differences in the ceramic distributions for the simple random samples when compared to the raw totals. First, in each of the five combinations of random sampling, females were buried with more contaros than males while in the raw data, males were buried with double the amount of cantaros compared to females. Secondly, in all five random sample combinations, male burials did not contain vessels of each type as shown in the raw data.

From the Salinar period, there were also sub-adult burials containing 31 individuals with 30 associated vessels. For this paper, sub-adults will be classified as

individuals not old enough for sex classification. Ollas are the most common vessel type found (n=15), accounting for 48 percent of the entire asslemblage. Cuencos (n=7) make up the second most common type at 23 percent of the non-adult assemblage. Botellas (n=4) and Cantaros (n=3) are found in similar numbers at 13 and 10 percent respectively. One jarra and various fragments each account for 3 percent of the entire assemblage. Compared to the non-adult population of the later Gallinazo period, ollas dominate as the most common vessel type, although cuencos have a stronger presence during the Salinar period. The distribution of botellas and cantaros is still relatively frequent.

In total, the number of vessels found with sub-adult individuals (31) with 30 vessels compared to the adult population (38) with 51 total vessels is similar enough to make distinctions. Sub-adults are buried at a rate of 31 vessels for 31 individuals, adult males with 43 vessels for 30 individuals, and females with 8 vessels for 8 individuals. The sub-adult and adult male populations both share ollas as the most common vessel type with botellas similarly distributed in each group. Cuencos are more common among sub-adults than either adult males or females. The prevalence of ollas among adult males and sub-adults may imply some sort of importance in the afterlife for ceremonial toasting since the vessels are commonly associated with maize beer production. In this instance, it may be the case that males and sub-adults were supplied with a high rate of ollas in order to assist them in the afterlife with toasting which was often the role of elite individuals. Although ollas are less prevalent among females, the prevalence of cantaros among them may imply a similar role through their association with liquid substances. During the Salinar period, the prevalence of ceramic vessels associated with liquid substances may imply an importance of ceremonial toasting in the afterlife which is a prestigious mark.

What separates the sexes however is the fact that males were buried with more total vessels in general.

Gallinazo Distributions

After closer inspection of the data, several interesting observations can be made thus far. The ceramic forms become more diverse moving into the Gallinazo phase. After this, the presence and variety of ceramics dwindles in the Moche and Chimu phases. The largest sample of burials at Cerro Oreja comes from the Gallinazo phase which includes 166 adult male and 79 adult female individuals in the raw data. During this phase, there was a wide distribution of ceramic types which included 10 of the 16 total categories from all cultural phases. Male burials feature 8 of the 16 total categories of vessels while females feature six. The most common vessel type found in Gallinazo male burials (See Figure 5b.) are 46 cantaros which account for 48 percent of all pottery distributed for them. The second most common vessel type are 23 botellas that account for 24 percent of the pottery. 13 ollas make up the third largest category at 14 percent. Several other forms of ceramics are also found in male burials and include four cuencos, four platos, two cancheros (See Figure 5b.), two vasos and 1 jarra which is the rarest type found. With adult female burials of the Gallinazo period (See Figure 6b.) which includes 79

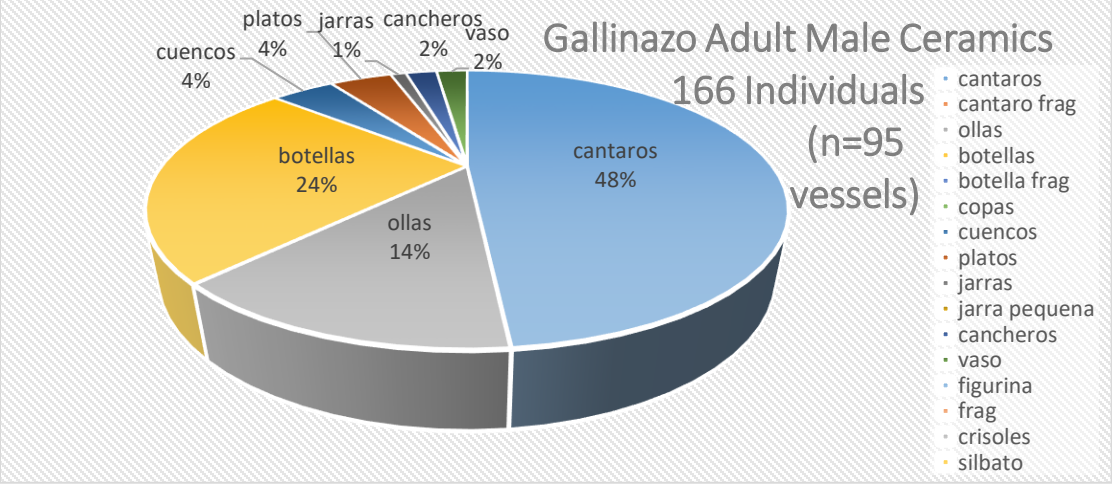

Figure 5b: Gallinazo adult male ceramics

individuals, 13 cantaros are the most common type found constituting half of their available assemblage. The second most common type are 6 ollas that account for 23 percent of present ceramics. Three botellas are the third most common vessel type accounting for twelve percent of available ceramics. The final two vessel types found in female Gallinazo burials are two copas and one silbato which is one of the rarest ceramic artifacts for all cultural periods at the site.

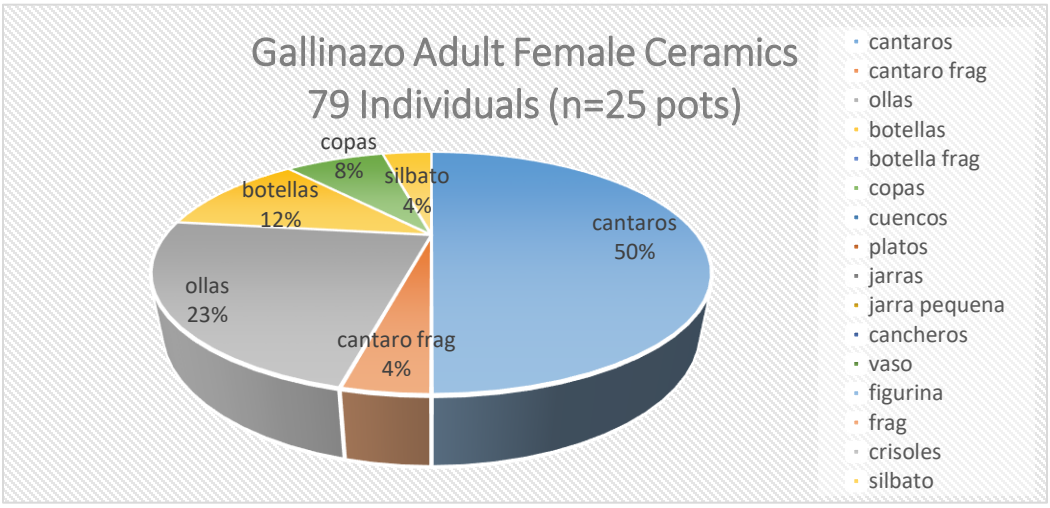

Figure 6b: Gallinazo adult female ceramics

Taking the female population into account, the distribution of artifacts is surprisingly similar to males (see table 4). With both sexes, cantaro vessels are the most common form found. Aside from cantaros, olllas and botellas are also common for both sexes but are reversed in order in terms of their frequency. For females, ollas are more common than botellas while for males, the reverse is true. Functionally, cantaros, botellas and ollas are more commonly used for liquid substances which may be a further extension of the importance of ceremonial toasting in the afterlife for this period similar to the Salinar period. In terms of the assortment, Males appear to be buried with a wider variety of ceramic types. Cuencos, platos, vasos, concheros and jarras which are the

rarest forms for men, make up the rest of their ceramic categories. Four percent of the assortment are plates while vasos or cups which make up 2 percent of the assortment. In the case of females, there is little variety of the less common vessel types. Copas or cups account for 8 percent of the ceramic total. The rarest form for Gallinazo females and in general for all cultural periods, was a single silbato which has no association with food. Scenes have been observed on Moche ceramic vessels in which major characters such as those in the sacrifice ceremony parade around with various instruments including whistles (see Benson 2012:60 figure 6.8). Whistles therefore may imply prestige serving as a high-status marker in burial contexts.

Table 4: Gallinazo adult pottery

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cancheros	Cantaros	Copas	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Platos	Silbatos	Vasos	Vessal Total
M	166	23	2	46	0	4	1	13	4	0	2	95
F	79	3	0	13	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	25

If we now examine the simple random samples (pg. 33), the patterns established from the raw data remain generally similar. 79 random samples were taken from the 166 total male burials to equal the number of female burials. In each of the five combinations of random samples, cantaros, botellas, and ollas remained the most common vessel types for males and females. Males were still buried with a wider variety of vessel types and more total vessels than females. On average, males were buried with close to double the amount of total vessels as females.

Aside from the sexed adult individuals, there were also a significant number of sub-adult individuals associated with the Gallinazo period. There was a total of 448 sub-adults. This is nearly two times the burial population of adult males and females. The

most common ceramic form for sub-adults were ollas that accounted for 49 percent of the entire sub-adult assemblage. The second most common form were cantaros that made up 32 percent. Botellas made up the third most common type found accounting for 10 percent of the assemblage. The least common types found were cuencos at 4 percent, crisoles at 2 percent, jarras at 1 percent and figurinas at 1 percent. In total, 7 out of 16 total vessel types were present for Gallinazo sub-adult individuals.

With the sub-adult population, there are noticeable differences in the frequency of the common forms when compared to adults. For both male and female adults of the period, cantaros were the most common form found. Ollas were the second most common category for females while botellas were the second most common ceramic form for males. In the case of sub-adults, ollas dominated. Again, we see a dominance in vessels types associated with liquids which lends credence to notion of toasting in the afterlife. The appearance of figurinas and crisoles which were the least common forms, have a more obscure functional purpose and may simply serve as objects of prestige. The inclusion of those ceramics in the burials as prestige offerings, along with vessel types associated with sustainment and feasting/toasting in the afterlife may suggest a degree of higher status for some sub-adults over adults.

Ultimately when comparing sub-adult individuals in the Salinar period to those from Gallinazo, there are some interesting features. What separates Gallinazo sub-adults from Salinar sub-adults is the presence non-food related ceramics such as figurinas and crisoles. Both are interpreted more as prestige items. In terms of their symbolic function, they could have something to do with individual personhood for the people buried with them. This is the only period in which figurinas are found.

Moche Distributions

The Moche period at Cerro Oreja is less prominent than the earlier Gallinazo phase, although the Moche dominated much of the surrounding valley at the height of their existence. For the sake of the argument, unidentifiable individuals will be used for analysis due to a lack of data on sex. There is a total of 6 adult individuals. In the Moche period, Cantaros and Ollas are equally the most common ceramic type which can be associated with ritual food serving. The next most common ceramic type are botellas. The least common and final ceramic type represented in the Moche period are jarras, although only one is present. Looking at the entire Moche ceramic assemblage, all of the vessel types suggest an association with ritual food service. This suggests that subsistence in the afterlife in the form of feasting and toasting was viewed as important for both males and females, aside from the fact that males were buried with more pottery in general.

Discussion

After examining the distributions of ceramic artifacts in each of the cultural groups, we find that pottery in general is not evenly distributed between the sexes. In many cases, when simple random samples were taken to allow for one to one comparisons between the sexes, males were almost consistently buried with double the amount of vessels as females. Although most of the available material comes from the Gallinazo period, we were able to see trends in vessel type distribution in each of the cultural periods. In the Gallinazo and Salinar phases, ollas and cantaros dominated much of the ceramic distributions. Salinar was also the second most abundant phase for material behind Gallinazo. There is not enough available Moche material to determine if the trend continued after the Gallinazo period but our analysis of the preceding cultural phases suggests that it was likely. Starting from the first identifiable cultural period of Cerro Oreja (Cupisnique), we found some distinct differences in the gender distribution of ceramics, although cuencos were common for both sexes. This demonstrates that while the sample size for Cupisnique was very small, males, were buried with no variety of artifacts and their burials only contained cuencos. With the two female individuals, cuencos, botellas and ollas were found, which indicates that women were treated differently in burial from men. During this period, females may have possessed higher social status than males and were buried with more types of pottery to equip them well in the afterlife. In a strictly material interpretation, females were buried with more goods which implies a higher social status in general. As we move further on in time through subsequent periods, we find that more material becomes deposited with males.

After Cupisnique, the Salinar phase shows some clear differences in the gender distribution of offering ceramics. Here, male burials contained more variety of ceramic artifacts than females. Males are also buried with more total vessels when compared to females. A similarity between males and females of this period is the apparent emphasis on vessels associated with liquid substances which were the most common type for each sex.

During the Gallinazo phase, the distribution of ceramic types between the sexes became more apparent. In the simple random samples, males were buried with nearly double the amount of total vessels as females. In the raw data, males continued to outnumber females, but they only had two more additional ceramic types represented in their burials than females. The less common ceramic types such as a whistle or figurinas were found only with females or sub-adults and are not associated with food at all. The rare artifacts in both groups contain objects that can be associated with prestige and high social status but may also be markers of personhood.

Conclusions

Taking all of the observed trends through the cultural periods into account, one could make the case that females start out with a generally higher social status than males and the trend reverses as time progresses into the Gallinazo period. This trend is also supported by a general lack of female burials compared to male burials, although this could have been due to a sampling bias during the excavations. There is not enough concrete data to support this trend during the Moche and later Chimu periods at Cerro Oreja, but we know from other case studies in the general region that women held comparable prestige and power to men especially in ceremonial roles as women occupied positions as priestesses and even inspired their own cults of worship at sites such as San Jose de Moro (Swenson 2012:173). In general, north coastal pre-historic societies in Peru seem to contain less of a status division based on gender.

What is clear from the available ceramic data is that there seems to be a strong case for an emphasis of ritual feasting in the afterlife as discussed by Margaret Jackson. The most common vessel types in each period are related to food and liquid substances more specifically. What can be inferred from the available data is that perhaps both males and females were seen as pivotal players in terms of toasting in the afterlife due to the prevalence of vessels associated with liquids. For males however, the fact that they were generally buried with a wider assortment of vessel types and more pottery in general may suggest that the people believed they required more sustenance in the afterlife than females. It would useful to compare the burials at Cerro Oreja with others in the closer region to determine if similar patterns can be found. Information on these questions would present an interesting regional study of gender relations and social status in burial

that could be cross-analyzed and possibly traced to other regions of Peru to better understand the similarities and diversity present in the archaeological record. Further research in the area of burial archaeology is required to answer those questions. Ultimately, issues involving gender dynamics and social status remain important in our current society and understanding the dynamics of those issues in the past may offer insight into how developments are shaped today. Although there is a wide range of data on those issues from later archaeological periods on the north coast, such as the Moche, there has been little written on such social relations for earlier cultural periods of the region like those discussed in this analysis. The archaeological information gathered from Cerro Oreja is one of the first steps in a wider study of social dynamics for pre-historic peoples on the north coast of Peru.

Cupisnique Simple Random Sample Combinations

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cuencos	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	2	0	3	0	3
F	2	1	3	2	6

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cuencos	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	2	0	4	0	4
F	2	1	3	2	6

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cuencos	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	2	0	3	0	3
F	2	1	3	2	6

Salinar Simple Random Sample Combinations

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Botella frags	Cantaros	Crisoles	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	8	1	1	4	0	4	0	3	13
F	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	8

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Botella frags	Cantaros	Crisoles	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	8	1	0	3	0	2	1	4	11
F	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	8

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Botella frags	Cantaros	Crisoles	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	8	1	0	1	0	2	0	4	8
F	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	8

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Botella frags	Cantaros	Crisoles	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	8	0	1	1	0	2	1	6	11
F	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	8

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Botella frags	Cantaros	Crisoles	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Vessel Total
M	8	1	0	4	1	1	1	6	14
F	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	8

Gallinazo Simple Random Sample Combinations

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cancheros	Cantaros	Copas	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Platos	Silbatos	Vasos	Vessal Total
M	79	12	2	27	0	3	1	4	3	0	2	54
F	79	3	0	13	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	25

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cancheros	Cantaros	Copas	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Platos	Silbatos	Vasos	Vessal Total
M	79	14	2	24	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	46
F	79	3	0	13	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	25

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cancheros	Cantaros	Copas	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Platos	Silbatos	Vasos	Vessal Total
M	79	19	2	24	0	2	1	4	4	0	1	53
F	79	3	0	13	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	25

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cancheros	Cantaros	Copas	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Platos	Silbatos	Vasos	Vessal Total
M	79	10	0	19	0	3	1	6	4	0	1	44
F	79	3	0	13	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	25

Sex	No. of Individuals	Botellas	Cancheros	Cantaros	Copas	Cuencos	Jarras	Ollas	Platos	Silbatos	Vasos	Vessal Total
M	79	9	0	16	0	3	1	11	4	0	1	45
F	79	3	0	13	2	0	0	6	0	1	0	25

Common Pottery Forms

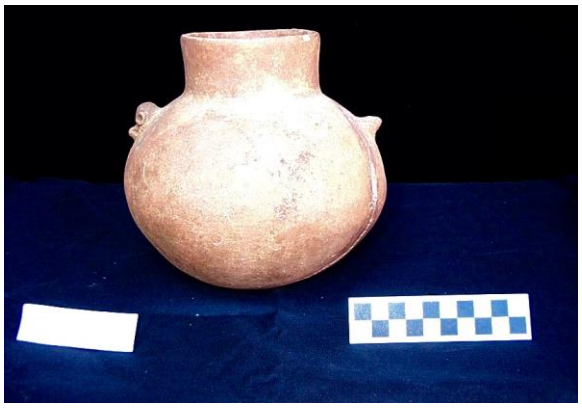

Figure 1c: Cantaro

Figure 2c: Olla

Figure 3c: Botella

Figure 4c: Jarra

Figure 5c: Canchero (All Photos courtesy of Brian Billman)

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