

POJOC AND WAMAN WAIN: TWO EARLY HORIZON VILLAGES  
IN THE CHAVIN HEARTLAND

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In 1962, John Rowe presented the somewhat unorthodox view that Chavín de Huántar was not an empty ceremonial center, as Bennett and others had believed (Rowe, 1962, p. 5; 1963, pp. 9-10; Bennett, 1946, pp. 82-83; Bennett and Bird, 1949, pp. 133, 136-137), but was instead a very early instance of an Andean city. It was also suggested that Chavín de Huántar was the center of a local settlement system in which a large number of hamlets and villages would have provided support for the Chavín de Huántar Temple and for the large residential population surrounding it. Using Rowe's terminology, Chavín de Huántar was a synchoritic city, at least during part of the Early Horizon (Rowe, 1963, pp. 10, 3).

The urban aspect of this two-pronged hypothesis had been developed on the basis of evidence collected by Marino Gonzales, conservator and resident archaeologist of Chavín de Huántar, and supplemented by observations made by Rowe during his work at Chavín de Huántar. However, no systematic attempt had been made to evaluate the size or duration of the settlement surrounding the Temple, and excavations outside the ceremonial sector had been limited to isolated unpublished test pits by Muelle and others. Several of the small sites postulated by Rowe as having a synchoritic relationship with Chavín de Huántar had been explored and described by Espejo, Tello and Amat but none had been investigated in detail. Thus for over a decade the Rowe formulation remained a reasonable but unproven hypothesis which could only be critically evaluated after controlled survey and excavation in Chavín de Huántar and nearby sites.

In 1975 I initiated a small project which was intended to address both aspects of the synchoritic city hypothesis. Work was to be divided between the town of Chavín de Huántar and two of the high elevation sites nearby (fig. 1). The investigations in the settlement surrounding the Temple proved to be highly productive, providing corroborative evidence that during the Janabarriu phase of the Early Horizon Chavín de Huántar exceeded forty hectares in size, qualifying it as a "city" in Rowe's terminology (Burger, 1979; ms.). The work at two sites which were likely candidates for the postulated support communities, Pójoc and Waman Wain, was more problematic. Both sites presented archaeological and logistical problems which could not be adequately dealt with because of the limited resources and time available. The results of the investigations at these two sites, Pójoc and Waman Wain, will be the focus of this article.

Ecology and Subsistence in the Chavín Heartland

The relationship between the ancient settlement of Chavín de Huántar and small communities like Pójoc and Waman Wain is best understood within the context of the indigenous subsistence system of this area, with its particular resources and limitations. Since archaeological studies through the central Andes indicate that most major prehispanic cultigens and animals had been domesticated before the middle of the Early Horizon (Pearsall, 1978; Cohen, 1979; Browman, 1981; Wing, 1978; Pires-Ferreira and others, 1976), it is a

reasonable premise that the prehistoric communities of the Chavín area were sustained by a system of high Andean agriculture. This position is consistent with the evidence from the Chavín de Huántar excavations. Carbonized maize kernels were unearthed in the Early Horizon settlement contexts (Burger, ms.), and the preliminary analysis of faunal materials from Janabarriu domestic refuse demonstrates a heavy dependence on animals (George Miller, personal communication). Recent palaeoclimatic research by Henry Wright suggests that 2-3000 years ago the climate and vegetation would have resembled the current ones but with a 100 m. lowering of the effective limits of production zones resulting from a slightly cooler climate (Earle and others, 1980, p. 8); this conclusion is consistent with archaeological studies of the same problem (Cardich, 1976, p. 19). Thus, while the upper limits of tuber production may have been somewhat lower and the effective area of maize production may have been reduced, it is probable that the Early Horizon subsistence system in Chavín resembled the modern agricultural system in a number of ways.

The system of mixed agriculture currently practiced in the Chavín area, although modified by the pressures of the national market system and the introduction and acceptance of Old World plants and animals, still retains much of its traditional structure and provides some useful insights into the realities of local agricultural production.

The Oficina Nacional de Evaluación de Recursos Naturales (ONERN, 1976) identifies three life zones of economic importance to human populations living in the Chavín area. The lowest, the tropical mountainous humid forest (bh-MT), occurs between 3100 and 3300 m. elevation; it corresponds roughly to the production zone commonly referred to as the *quechua* (Pulgar Vidal, 1970, p. 75) or *taisha kechwa* (Fonseca, 1973, p. 30). Within this zone, Chavín agriculturalists make a distinction between the land on the valley floor (*pampa*) and the fields on the lower slopes of the valley. Only the lands of the lower slopes and valley floor are extensively irrigated because this zone consistently receives less rainfall (Table 1) than those at higher elevations, while the cultigens grown there (e.g., maize) are more sensitive to drought than the crops planted at higher elevations where rainfall is more plentiful. At present one major canal channels water from the upper reaches of the Huachecsa River to the fields on and adjacent to the valley floor; natural springs are also a source of water for small scale irrigation on both sides of the Mosna River. However, the irrigated land constitutes only five percent of the total agricultural land and it is doubtful that more than another five percent of the land could be irrigated even with the use of modern technology (Burger, ms.).

The role of irrigation in the Early Horizon production system of Chavín would have been equally circumscribed by the local geography. However, irrigation would not have been essential since a single crop of maize or other cultigens could be grown on the valley floor solely on the basis of natural precipitation (Moseley, 1978, p. 507, Table 11.1). Currently the valley floor is devoted to fields of maize, broad beans, wheat, alfalfa and to gardens where herbs, beets, squash, cabbage, onions and capulí are tended. According to local farmers, there is greater danger from frost on the valley floor than on the lower slopes, used mainly for wheat, barley, maize and peas.

The next life zone defined by the ONERN study is the tropical mountainous very humid forest (bmh-MT) between 3300 m. and approximately 3800 m.; this zone corresponds to the agricultural lands of the upper slopes and high meadows which the local people refer to as the "alturas" and Pulgar Vidal calls

Table 1

Rainfall at Chavín de Huántar (3150 m. above sea level)

	<u>Average</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Minimum</u>
January*	128.9 mm.	193.5 mm.	77.7 mm.
February*	147.8	244.0	95.5
March*	179.2	258.0	114.5
April*	100.4	150.6	66.5
May*	34.7	114.9	2.5
June*	16.8	30.8	2.3
July*	4.6	11.0	1.0
August*	27.2	42.5	7.4
September*	24.7	43.1	7.3
October**	70.5	116.3	22.0
November**	56.0	77.6	22.9
December**	98.5	163.4	54.6

Average Annual Rainfall: 855.8 mm.

Data provided by Estación #350, Cuenca Marañón, Sub-cuenca 11, Chavín de Huántar, Ministerio de Agricultura, Servicio de Agricultura, Meteorología e Hidrología, Departamento de Hidrometeorología.

\*1971-1976

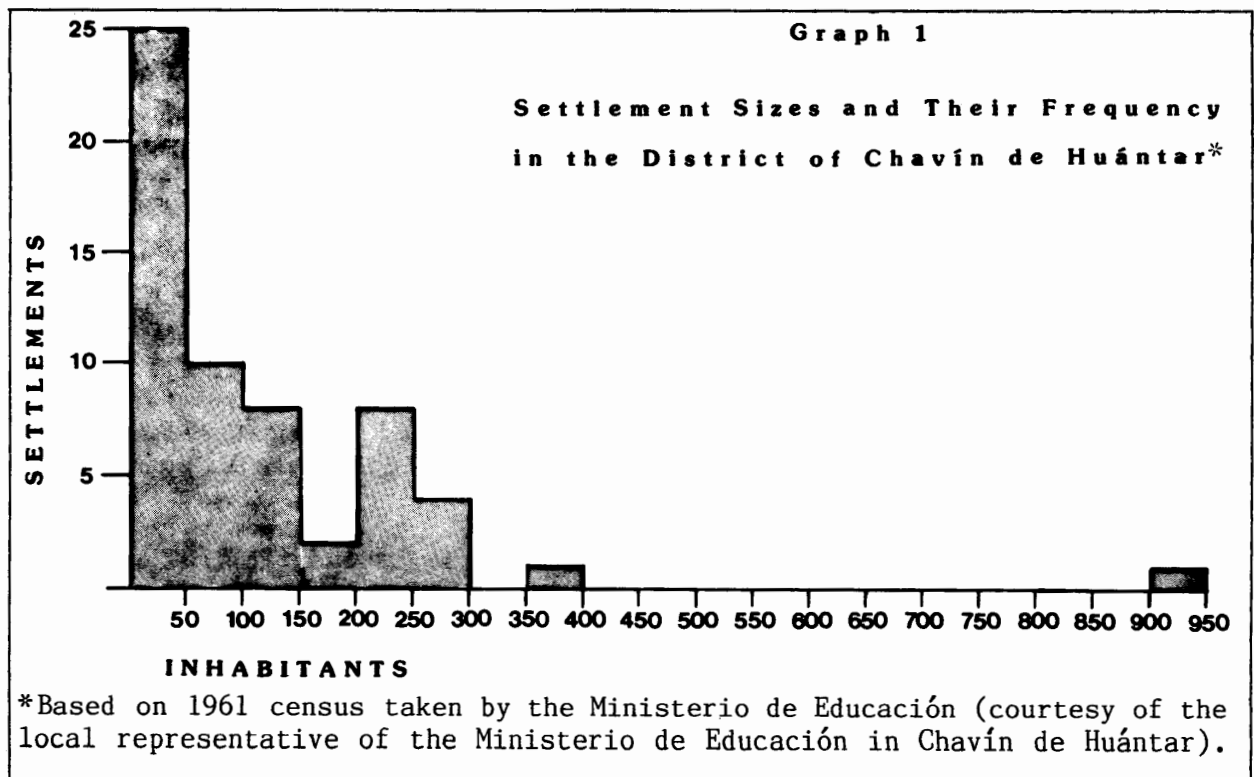
\*\*1970-1975

the *suni* or *jalca* (1970, pp. 89-90). This zone is considered by traditional farmers to be especially desirable because of its good soil and dependable rainfall. Irrigation is generally not practiced on these lands since a longer maturation period and winter frosts make double-cropping infeasible. Broad beans planted in October in this upper agricultural zone can be harvested the following August; the same crop, if planted at the same time on the valley floor, could be harvested in June. Since rains begin earlier and are more reliable at the higher elevations, there is less danger of crop loss from drought; in fact, local farmers usually blame excessive rain for crop losses in this area. The most important crops in this production zone are potatoes, barley, peas, tarwi, quinoa, ullucu, oca, achis, and mashua, roughly in that order. The popularity of barley results from its value as a cash crop and its effective promotion by agents of coastal beer companies. Several high altitude crops, like quinoa, can be grown at lower elevations, and occasionally are, but since they thrive at higher elevations and do not require irrigation, it is not economical to grow them on the scarce irrigated lower lands. Maize is sometimes planted in the higher agricultural lands in sheltered and carefully tended garden plots, but even under such conditions there is considerable risk.

The uppermost zone of economic importance is the tropical subalpine pluvial paramo (pp-Sat) or *jatun-halka* (Fonseca, 1973, p. 32), locally referred to as the *hallqa* or *puna*. This life zone is exploited as pasture land; west of Chavín it begins at 4000 m. and east of Chavín at approximately 3800 m. It is a vast zone, constituting almost 80% of the land with agricultural potential. Precipitation sustains perennial grasslands which can support herds of animals throughout the year. In 1975, 9000 head of cattle and 40,000 sheep were estimated by government sources to be kept on the puna of the districts of Chavín,

San Marcos and Huántar; this figure was abnormally low because of the special conditions created by agrarian reform. A by-product of the herding activities on the puna is the animal manure which is carefully collected and used as fuel and fertilizer in the adjacent agricultural zone, a practice widespread in the Peruvian highlands (Winterhalder, Larsen and Thomas, 1974).

The production zones described above lie close to one another. Farmers walk from the valley floor to the pasture lands in two hours or less. It would be possible, although not necessarily practical to exploit all three production zones from permanent settlements at any elevation. The modern settlement pattern emphasizes proximity to farmland, and small villages are dispersed over the landscape in the production zones below the high puna. The center of the modern settlement system, Chavín de Huántar, is located on the valley floor. In 1961 this district capital had a total population of 909, only slightly more than the 800 residents reported by Rivero and Tschudi a century earlier (Rivero and Tschudi, 1855, p. 282). A local census taken in 1961 revealed that 87% of the inhabitants of the district of Chavín lived outside of the town in 58 named hamlets and villages. Graph 1 illustrates the abundance of hamlets and small villages and the relative paucity of large villages and towns. Excluding Chavín de Huántar, the mean settlement size was 104 in 1961 and 117 in 1972. These small communities are dispersed throughout the area, but are most common in the uppermost agricultural zone (bmh-MT) and on the valley floor. Not surprisingly, they are common on the lower slopes where level areas are scarce and usually reserved for maize. Settlements are also rare in the inhospitable puna, which is mainly exploited by the communities of the alturas, which utilize a clearly defined expanse of grassland and rotate among their members responsibility for the herds. The part time herders follow a nomadic round, often sleeping on the puna in flimsy huts which remain unoccupied most of the year; movement of the animals is necessary to prevent overgrazing.



The modern town of Chavín de Huántar serves as a center for the settlement system, providing shops and markets where goods produced in the small rural communities (e.g., potatoes, cordage, barley) can be exchanged for cash which will then be used in town to purchase essential nonlocal supplies and manufactured goods (e.g., salt, coca, kerosene, ají, sugar, clothing, ceramics). A few items produced in town (e.g., bread) may also be acquired. These purchases complement the reciprocal exchanges of goods produced in the quechua for goods produced at higher elevations. Chavín de Huántar also acts as the religious and administrative center for the small settlements within its jurisdiction. Underlying the settlement system is the unifying thread of zonal complementarity and the interdependency of the populations utilizing the different production zones, and their common dependence upon Chavín de Huántar to obtain vital nonlocal resources. Likewise, the residents of the center could not survive without the business of the rural communities.

Conversations with elderly residents of Chavín de Huántar revealed that at the beginning of this century exotic goods were scarcer and in less demand than at present. For example, rather than coastally produced sugar, a special variety of sun-dried oca (*kauwi*) was used to sweeten porridge; today *kauwi* has almost disappeared. Dried dung, firewood and other local fuels were used instead of kerosene. On the other hand, Chavín was not self-sufficient and these informants recalled that even two decades ago lengthy journeys were made on foot into alien zones by traders or nonspecialists in order to acquire salt, ají and coca. Ají and salt were usually obtained from the Casma Valley, a trip that took from five days to a week when pack animals were involved (see also Matsuzawa, 1978, p. 670). A trip down the Mosna into the lower elevations of the eastern slopes was undertaken in order to acquire coca and items such as medicinal herbs, tobacco, palm leaves, and feathers for dance costumes. Arancay was the center where eastern lowland goods were exchanged for highland products. The trip down the eastern slopes was said to require between five and six days, and over a week to return. One informant remarked that people also went to Arancay to contact curers and witches (Corsino Romero, personal communication). Everyone agreed that these journeys beyond the Chavín area were dreaded because of the bands of highwaymen who dominated the passes.

#### Pójoc (PAN6-2)

The site of Pójoc (3850 m. elevation) is located 2 km. northwest of the Temple of Chavín de Huántar (fig. 1); the steep 700 m. ascent from the valley floor takes almost an hour. The site covers a level ridge overlooking the Mosna River on the east, the Huachecsa on the south; it also provides an unobstructed view of Chavín de Huántar and the peak of Nevado Huansán in the Cordillera Blanca. Pójoc and the area adjacent to it are currently used to grow potatoes, broad beans and barley. A short distance to the west is Chuna, a village of 43 houses with 181 residents, and half a kilometer to the north is the village of Pútcór where 323 villagers occupy 94 houses. Both villages have access to roughly the same resources as Pójoc. However, the view from Pójoc and the very steep slope on three of its sides gives it a more defensible location than the modern communities nearby. A natural spring provides Pójoc with a convenient source of water; this *puquial* is still used by residents of Chuna.

Pójoc was first described by Rivero and Tschudi as "another ruined castle which externally presents what seems a mass of rubbish but we are assured that in the interior are found saloons [*sic*] and a subterranean way

which communicates with the castle" (1855, p. 283); the castle in question is the "Castillo" or Temple of Chavín de Huántar. Julio Espejo Núñez initiated the first archaeological explorations in the vicinity of Chavín de Huántar in 1941 under the supervision of Julio C. Tello. Pójoc (which also appears in the archaeological literature as Pogog, Poqoq-marka, Posoc, Poqog, Posog) was among the 29 sites that he studied (Espejo Núñez, 1951; 1955; 1961). Espejo presents a detailed description of Pójoc from an archaeological perspective (Espejo Núñez, 1961, pp. 122-125); his findings were incorporated in Tello's synthesis on Chavín without explicitly crediting Espejo for the fieldwork (Tello, 1960). The most notable structures on the site, in Espejo's view, were the elaborate funerary chambers (*chullpas*) "de factura y belleza extraordinaria, únicas en su género en las Cabeceras del Pukcha, construidas sólo con pachillas y barro y de planta ovoide o semi-ovoide" (Espejo Núñez, 1961, p. 124); the roof of these buildings was said to utilize the principle of the corbelled vault (Espejo Núñez, 1961, p. 124). There were other *chullpas* of coarser fabrication, one or two story structures with rectangular or circular groundplans. Espejo also describes larger multiroom buildings constructed of medium-sized stones, small flat stones (*pachillas*), and mud mortar, which he identifies as residences. The entire site showed evidence of platforms and terraces, even on the steep slopes to the east and west of the main ruins. Espejo did not excavate but he made surface collections which consisted of coarse jars and human osteological remains looted from the *chullpas*. More interesting, from my perspective, is Espejo's reference to the 1922 discovery at Pójoc of a granite sculpture similar to those at the Castillo of Chavín. Espejo apparently did not observe this piece personally, but he saw a number of dressed and polished stone parallelepipeds on the surface of Pójoc which closely resembled those utilized at the Temple of Chavín (Espejo Núñez, 1961, p. 124).

In 1965 Marino Gonzales presented a report to the Peruvian government drawing attention to the importance of Pójoc and its destruction by local farmers. His description of the surface materials mentions Chavín and Huaylas (i.e., Recuay) style pottery, a golden llama (Inca?), a piece of majolica tile, and a trepanned skull (Gonzales, ms.). Hernán Amat Olazábal also made collections at Pójoc and recovered an even more varied ceramic assemblage including "Rocas" (i.e., Janabarriu), Huarás, Recuay and Inca pottery (Amat Olazábal, 1971, p. 45). Amat adds to previous descriptions by mentioning Recuay funerary chambers and a mausoleum.

I confirmed the observations made by previous investigators during my initial exploration of Pójoc in 1974. The funerary chambers noted by Amat are still visible on the northwest edge of the site. These structures are set into the slope and their long, niched corridorlike chambers support flat roofs of stone slabs; tombs of this type are usually associated with the Recuay culture (e.g., Bennett, 1944, pp. 42-44). The mausoleum referred to by Amat was formed by walling in natural depressions in the vertical face of a rock outcrop on the extreme south of the site. This feature probably contained dozens of interments, and the remains of over a dozen individuals lay scattered on the ground at the time of my fieldwork. Judging from the concentration of surface ceramics in this area, these burials may date to the Late Intermediate Period or Late Horizon. There were also several small *chullpas* and four tall *observatorios* (towers) which were still partially intact, though pillaged. The most common structures at Pójoc are those interpreted as residences by Espejo (fig. 2). These poorly constructed buildings are generally rectangular in shape but frequently have rounded corners. Groups of one, two or three rooms occur without major differences in their construction technique. The size of the

rooms varies from 4 x 5 m. to 6 x 8 m. Walls are approximately 50 cm. thick and consist of medium and small stones either without visible mortar or held together by a simple clay mortar. Intact walls can reach 155 cm. in height and small niches are sometimes found on the interior of the walls. Some of the buildings show evidence of having been gabled. Frequently, finely dressed stones of white granite were reused in these late constructions, supplementing the normal, coarse undressed stone.

Pójoc covers approximately 2.5 ha., most of which is on the top of a long ridge with two natural eminences. Stone terraces and low platforms were built to create flat surfaces at a number of different levels and refuse from the site extends down the steep terraced slopes to the east and west. My surface collections included materials similar to those enumerated by Amat but by far the most common materials were coarse unpolished necked jars, often decorated with stamped concentric circles (figs. 9-15). Among the more interesting surface materials were numerous Inca-related sherds (figs. 3-8), a fragment of *Spondylus princeps*, a drilled marine gastropod, and two painted polychrome bowl fragments whose closest parallels are with the Huari-influenced styles of the Middle Horizon (fig. 16).

During my first visit to Pójoc, I noticed a fragment of dressed and polished white granite from a parallelepiped with a thin raised band framing one face. This fragment is indistinguishable from the edges of Chavín style sculptures from the Temple of Chavín de Huántar. This find, together with Espejo's account, suggested to me that additional Chavín style sculpture might be encountered at Pójoc. In response to my inquiries, I was informed that an incised Chavín style bone had been discovered by looters several years before my arrival and that a carved stone had been recovered at Pójoc by a resident of Chuna who, in 1968, brought the sculpture into Chavín de Huántar with the intention of selling it (Flores, 1981, p. 18). This fragment (fig. 18), which is still stored in the city hall of Chavín de Huántar, when complete would have been much larger. The complexity and style of the motif, and the carving and polishing of this sculpture are equal in quality and style to the sculptures of the Castillo. The lower body, ankle and talons of an eagle shown in profile can be clearly discerned on the fragment. The classic figurative conventions of Chavín are followed, kenning the lower body as a profile face from which emerges the ankle of the bird; the ankle, in turn, has been kened as a rectilinear eye with eccentric pupil. The feathers on the breast of the bird appear as stylized scrolls. The motif was emphasized by cutting away the surrounding undecorated surface and by carving out the pupils, nostrils, and centers of scrolls. The image was framed by a raised band. The style of the piece is similar to that used on the columns of the Black and White Portal. Despite its consistency with classic Chavín stylistic canons, the piece contains a number of heretofore unique features, most notably the kenning of the ankle and the tripartite maizelike projection from the top of the profile head.

A second sculpture from Pójoc was recovered by a Chavín resident who owns land in Chuna. This sculpture is also of ground and polished white granite but, unlike the Temple carvings, the back of the piece has been left in the rounded form of a natural boulder rather than being pecked to a flat, rough surface. The carving (fig. 19) shows a standing anthropomorphic figure dressed in a breechcloth with bands around his wrists and ankles. The figure wears dangling ear pendants and an elaborate stepped headdress with a segmented portion draped down the back of the head. In his left hand the personage

grasps an object, probably a sling; and raised to his lips, in his right hand, is a cylindrical object identified here as a trumpet. The style of the carving is simplified and slightly curvilinear. The only use of visual metaphor is in the vertically oriented mouths which ken the two feet and the representation of the end of the breechcloth as a snake. In terms of both style and content, the Pójoc piece is reminiscent of the Sechínlike sculptures assigned to phase EF of the Rowe sequence by Roe (1974, p. 25). These carvings frequently depict figures carrying weapons (clubs, spears, etc.,) and trophy heads (Tello, 1960, figs. 80-82). Neither trumpets nor slings have been previously identified in Chavín art, although wind instruments are represented in the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras, 1977, figs. 22-24); and a fragmentary tubular clay artifact with a large bore, which might be a trumpet fragment, was recovered from the Early Horizon shrine of Huaricoto in the Callejón de Huaylas. The Pójoc carving bears a strong stylistic resemblance to two sculptures from the nearby site of Yurayaku (Tello, 1960, figs. 80, 81) but the kennings and the more naturalistic rounded rendering of the human body suggest a slightly earlier date than the Yurayaku pieces, perhaps early EF.

### Excavations at Pójoc

The scarcity of early materials on the surface of Pójoc prompted the decision to initiate three test excavations in order to clarify the chronology of the site and its relation to the early developments at the nearby Temple. The testing at Pójoc was also undertaken to determine the relevance and feasibility of future work. The depth and complexity of the post-Chavín deposits convinced me that further excavations could not be conducted within the constraints of the project. A short summary of the results is presented below; discussion of the ceramics is preliminary to a more detailed analysis. The excavation procedures followed at Pójoc and Waman Wain were the same as those followed in the Chavín de Huántar fieldwork (Burger, ms.). Briefly, excavation followed natural stratigraphy, subdividing thick layers into artificial levels of 10 cm. when necessary. All material was screened, catalogued and, finally, stored in the Museo Arqueológico de Ancash.

#### PAn6-2-A1 (fig. 20)

A 1.5 x 1.5 m. test unit was located in the central section of the site, approximately 98 m. south of the cross located where the path from Chavín turns south into the site of Pójoc. The unit was placed in the open area between the remains of three subrectangular stone constructions. The excavation was continued until the weathered surface of the bedrock was uncovered at a depth of from 170-205 cm. below the surface. There were nine distinctive zones (i.e., layers and lenses of soil) some of which can be subdivided. Zone IX lies above the bedrock and consists of a layer of yellow clay and gravel 15-30 cm. thick, completely lacking cultural materials. Most likely it is a deposit left by the glacier after the surface had been scoured during the Pleistocene. Above Zone IX are 170 cm. of cultural deposits; these will be described briefly in the order in which they were excavated.

Zone IA. Medium brown agricultural soil with abundant roots.

Wall 1. Partially destroyed wall of unmodified field stones, two stones thick (approx. 30 cm.) and a single course in height. It is curved and crosses the pit from NE to SW. It is overlain by Zone IA and its base is embedded in Zone IV; it is probably contemporary with the other structures



still visible on the surface.

Zone IB. Medium brown soil mixed with charcoal, bones and stone; appears to be a thin refuse deposit on the living surface west of Wall 1.

Zone II. Patch of hard yellow clay adjacent to east face of Wall 1; may be remnants of a floor.

Zone III. Pit, intrusive from Zone IA, filled with dark brown soil and abundant bone.

Zone IV. Compact layer of light brown silt, 15-30 cm., thick.

Zone V. Thin lens with abundant charcoal at the base of Zone IV.

Zone VI. Layer of angular stones mixed with a small amount of brown soil. Stones vary from 3 x 5 to 15 x 20 cm. in size; thickness of layer ranges from 15-50 cm. May be part of a layer of artificial fill for a platform or floor.

Zone VIIA. Deposits of fine red-brown soil with light patches of disintegrated stone.

Zone VIIB. Thick layer of fine red-brown soil and abundant charcoal.

Zone VIIC. Thin deposit of red soil, less than 10 cm. thick.

Zone VIID. Compact red-brown clay, probably remnants of a floor.

Wall 2. Well-constructed wall of quarried stone, over 45 cm. thick and 80 cm. high. The well-formed west face of the wall slanted slightly inward from the base, suggesting that the wall had thinned at the top; the east face was not visible in my unit. Wall 2 was covered by Zone VIIA and VIIB; its base (and earliest living surface) was set well into Zone VIIB.

Zone VIIIA. Layer of loose clayey soil, approximately 20 cm. thick, with stones, burnt bone and abundant charcoal.

Zone VIIIB. Layer of compact yellow clayey soil.

Zones I, II and III are characterized by coarse jars, usually undecorated with rough surfaces. Concentric circles and raised appliqué bands with small stamped circles or punctation sometimes adorn jar necks (figs. 22-25). Rare fragments of glazed pottery and a metal knife suggest that these zones, and Wall 1, are probably early Colonial in date. A small Spondylus bead, two pressure-flaked points and some crude basalt lithics (flakes, a scraper and a biface) were also recovered from these zones.

Zone IV also contained coarse undecorated late ceramics, but at least one fragment (fig. 26) was decorated with red stripes on a buff surface. Lithics, including pressure-flaked points and polished points were also recovered.

A beautifully chipped projectile point and a ceramic spindle whorl were among the most notable finds from Zone V.

Zone VI included finer ceramics: a bowl with an annular base, sherds with red painting, red slip or low burnish, a ceramic spindle whorl, and a solid ceramic figurine fragment (figs. 27-29). Besides a pressure-flaked point and debitage, two fragments of mussel shell (*Choromytilus chorus*) were found.

Zone VII contained numerous small red-slipped bowls, sometimes with contrasting dark gray interiors. Both surfaces were polished to an uneven gloss. Pattern-burnished lines, apparently intentional, occur on the interior of some vessels. There is red painting on buff and white painting on red-slipped surfaces (figs. 30-32). Jars with flaring necks were also common. There are fine lithics, including polished points and knives, chipped silex points, scrapers and perforators. Zone VII is probably roughly coeval with the Huarás phase in the Temple, a style dating to the end of the Early Horizon and beginning of the Early Intermediate Period.

Zone VIIIA is characterized by the abundance of monochrome red or black neckless ollas, some of which are polished. The lithics included a large obsidian flake. Zone VIIIB contains the earliest cultural materials known from the Pójoc excavations. The ceramics consist mainly of neckless ollas, some decorated with incised rows of small circle-dots or simple circle designs (figs. 34-36). In the lowest level of VIIIB, fragments of an incised polished red bowl with a pouring lip were encountered. Associated with Zone VIIIB ceramics were polished stone points and knives, a grinding stone (*mano*) and a well preserved bone spatula-awl which may have served as a weaving implement. Perhaps the most impressive artifact recovered from VIIIA or VIIIB was a large rocker grinder (fig. 33), which had been carefully shaped by pecking and was equipped with two bulbous handles to facilitate rocking. Its bottom edge was evenly rounded and worn to a smooth polished surface. The dense concentration of lithics near the base of Wall 2 occurs in conjunction with burnt bone, charcoal, a *mano* and the rocker grinder just described. These materials strongly suggest an activity area, specifically a kitchen. The ceramics indicate an Early Horizon date for this assemblage and structure; most likely they are contemporary with the Janabarriu phase occupation of Chavín de Huántar.

PAn6-2-B1/2 (figs. 21, 37)

This unit was located in the northern sector of the site, approximately 47 m. NE of unit A1 and 55 m. SE of the cross near the entrance to Pójoc. B1 was located in a large rectangular building with rounded corners; like the other units, it was oriented to the cardinal directions. The initial excavation was 1.5 x 1.5 m., but when Wall 1 was encountered, I decided to extend the unit an additional meter to the south. The 1.0 x 1.5 m. extension was labeled B2. The excavations revealed nearly 180 cm. of cultural materials before reaching bedrock.

Zone I. Thin layer of dark brown agricultural soil, varying in thickness from 15-30 cm.

Zone II. Thin layer of compact light brown soil, with a maximum thickness of 20 cm.

Zone IIIA. Composed of small angular stones and light brown soil.

Zone IIIB. Thick layer of large and medium-sized angular stones with a small admixture of small stones and brown soil.

Wall 1. A large wall of cut and dressed granite, approximately 70 cm. high and about 72 cm. wide (fig. 37). Judging from its level upper surface it probably never had more than the one course. The wall was only one stone thick, both sides possessing even faces, at least in the small fragment visible in my unit. The large stones were held together by a red clay mortar with pachillas fitted into the spaces between the larger ones. Wall 1 is covered by Zone IIIA; Zone IIIB abuts its southern face. The base of the wall is set into Zone IV.

Zone IV. Layer of compact red-brown clay, limited to the northern section of Bl. Appears to have been deposited as a base for Wall 1 and is similar to the clay used as matrix in the wall.

Zone 1 contains abundant ceramic materials, most notably provincial variants of Inca ceramics and coarse jars with stamped or incised circles on their collars. Zone II also contains Inca-related materials mixed with pottery decorated with red painting. Among the more interesting artifacts are a copper needle, a polished bone point, and a fragmentary stone pestle.

Zones IIIA and IIIB appear to be the result of intentional stone fills. There is no evidence of a living surface such as might be indicated by a floor or a horizontal concentration of artifacts to the south of Wall 1. The fills were excavated using 10 cm. arbitrary levels. In the uppermost level of Zone IIIA (40-50 cm. depth) several typical Recuay sherds and a ceramic spindle whorl were recovered, although cultural materials were substantially less common than in the layers above. In the next arbitrary level materials were very scarce. The top of Wall 1 occurs at a depth of between 84 and 73 cm.; below this depth only 50 sherds were found. All of the sherds from these lower levels of fill belong to monochrome neckless ollas with carefully finished smooth matte surfaces (figs. 38, 39). This group of ceramics provides an unmistakable contrast with most fragments from the upper levels of IIIA and with the pottery from the two upper zones.

An interpretation of this stratigraphy is that most of Zone IIIB constituted the hearting of a low stone platform, with Wall 1 serving as its retaining wall. Zone IIIA, and perhaps the uppermost part of Zone IIIB, would have been deposited subsequently in order to cover the structure in order to provide a level surface for the Late Horizon or early Colonial living surface. The deposition of the post-platform fills would have destroyed the original surfacing of the platform. The ceramics and other artifacts found within the platform fill can be interpreted as either having been included, consciously or unconsciously, as part of the fill or as materials which filtered down through the hearting after the platform surface was broken. In this regard, it is relevant that usual cultural materials (e.g., sherds, lithics) are extremely rare in IIIB; bone is also scarce, with the exception of presumably intrusive small rodent bone. However, a surprising quantity of marine shell was recovered from the fill in levels below 80 cm. Ten fragments of *Choromytilus chorus* and a single piece each of *Aulacomya ater* and *Tegula atra* and chiton; fish bone and fish scales were also found. Although lithics were rare, there were several fragments of clear quartz. These materials form an assemblage so unusual that it seems reasonable to suggest that we are dealing either with offerings made at the time of platform construction, as occurred during the Urabarriu and Janabarriu phases in the Chavín settlement (Burger, ms.), or with materials produced by ceremonial activities that occurred on the surface of the hypothetical platform. The style of stone work utilized in Wall

1 and the prominence of *Choromytilus* shell suggest an Early Horizon date for the earliest cultural component of PAN6-2-B1, since *Choromytilus* is rare to absent in this region in post-Chavín times. The external bevel of a neckless olla rim from the bottom of Zone IIIB has parallels among the neckless ollas of the Urabarriu phase at Chavín.

Zone IV contained a small number of bones, flakes and a single body sherd.

#### PAN6-2-C1

This unit was located in the southern sector of the site in a level area between the two natural eminences; it was 85 m. southwest of A1. The unit, also 1.5 x 1.5 m., was excavated until bedrock was encountered at a depth varying from 222-242 cm. In most of the pit, the bedrock was covered by a layer of red clay 20-65 cm. thick (Zone IX) which lacked cultural materials. However, in the northern part of the unit, a 3 course stone wall (57 cm. high) had been built up from the bedrock with one face against the layer of sterile clay. This structure is probably the stone lining of a deep storage pit which took advantage of a natural depression in the bedrock. Although fragmented charcoal was recovered from this feature, no cultural remains were associated with it, so its date remains problematic.

I shall describe the upper layers of C1 only briefly since they are all late in date and will be treated more fully in future publications. The upper six soil zones consist of a superposition of floors and refuse deposits. There is an upper series of yellow and red clay floors (Zones II/III) above a beautifully constructed fieldstone floor (Zone IV). These floors are contemporary with rustic fieldstone walls. The refuse which occurs in these layers contains the local late ceramic style already alluded to (e.g., figs. 9-15, 22-25), as well as a number of glazed sherds. The glazed materials are of unusually poor quality, displaying incomplete surface coverage, variable surface color, uneven thickness in the coat of glaze and, frequently, a rough surface partially marred by air pockets and inclusions (figs. 40-46, 48). The glaze is most often yellow-green; but some fragments have black, reddish-brown or beige glaze. These Colonial materials continue to appear in small quantities down to a depth of 120 cm. Even Zones V and VI, which were sealed by the stone floor, contain glazed sherds. Besides the glazed fragments, there was no obvious indication of a Colonial date for these layers; numerous stone tools and bone artifacts were recovered from them, along with a *Spondylus* bead and a piece of cut *Strombus* shell.

#### Waman Wain (PAN6-10)

The site of Waman Wain (3500 m. above sea level) is located midway up the slopes of the eastern cordillera, 2 km. northeast of the Temple of Chavín Huántar (fig. 1). The site is bordered on the west by steeply sloping fields which lead down to the Mosna River and on the south by the Quebrada Huamanhuay, which is formed by one of the smaller tributaries of the Mosna. Waman Wain (fig. 49) is situated on a low ridge formed by two natural eminences connected by a narrow saddle. It extends about half a km. from east to west, ending abruptly at a rocky escarpment. The archaeological site covers about 4 ha., including the hilltops referred to locally as Muchín Grande and Muchín Chico, as well as the sloping land north and south of the ridge. Ancient terraces are

visible on the sides of Muchín Grande, but they are being systematically dismantled by modern farmers who view them as a hindrance to agriculture. At the present time, the entire site is farmed, achis, quinoa, tarwi, potatoes and barley being grown there during our fieldwork. Immediately to the north of Waman Wain is the small agricultural community of Chuyu, whose residents work the nearby fields and care for animals in the pasture land located above 3850m.

Waman Wain is closer than Pójoc to the ancient settlement of Chavín, but it is separated from the Temple by the Mosna River, which is impassable near Chavín. The Chavín remains at Gaucho (La Banda), Gotush and Waman Wain strongly suggest the existence during the Early Horizon of some sort of crossing over the Mosna that would have permitted contact between Chavín de Huántar and the communities east of the Mosna throughout the year. The trip from Waman Wain to the Temple can be made in less than an hour and, like Pójoc, Waman Wain has an exceptional view of the Mosna Valley floor.

Julio Espejo was the first archaeologist to explore Waman Wain, and his survey provided the first detailed description of the site (Espejo Núñez, 1951). He recorded the presence of pre-Hispanic rustic walls belonging to terraces and platforms, round and rectangular buildings thought to be tombs, isolated rectangular blocks of dressed granite similar to those used in Chavín de Huántar, fragments of incised polished black pottery in Chavín style, and a fragment of a Chavín sculpture. Espejo concluded from the surface materials that he had discovered a high altitude site which belonged to the Chavín culture (Espejo Núñez, 1951, pp. 144-152). Tello accepted this conclusion and illustrated the Waman Wain sculpture (Tello, 1960, pp. 215, 149). Hernán Amat visited Waman Wain during his work in the Mosna drainage and has provided an account of the badly destroyed terraces and domestic structures still visible on the surface (Amat Olazábal, 1971, pp. 48-49). Neither Amat nor Espejo appears to have excavated at the site.

Espejo illustrated ceramics collected at Waman Wain which are very similar to those recovered from the Janabarriu phase settlement of Chavín de Huántar (Burger, ms.) and from the Rocas Canal in the Temple area (Amat Olazábal, 1971, p. 49; Lumbreras and Amat Olazábal, 1969). The stylistic equivalence or near equivalence between the Waman Wain ceramics and the pottery from Chavín de Huántar is in marked contrast to the distinctive variant of Janabarriu ceramics which were recovered in the lowest levels of unit A1 at Pójoc.

#### Chavín Sculpture from Waman Wain

The granite sculpture fragment discovered by Espejo at Waman Wain is carved in a style indistinguishable from that used in the Temple of Chavín. It represents a bird wing with feathers kenneled as snakes (Espejo Núñez, 1951, p. 14 ; Tello, 1960, fig. 48, p. 215). Other Chavín style sculptures have been recovered from the surface of Waman Wain during the last decade and several are illustrated here for the first time. Four of these were brought to the Museo Arqueológico de Ancash (Marino Gonzales, personal communication) where I had an opportunity to study them in detail. Three other sculptures were recorded during my work at Waman Wain; one of these is still in the possession of Sr. Lázaro León, resident of the ruins, the other two fragments were brought to the Temple for storage. While the style of most of these pieces is very close to that of the Temple of Chavín de Huántar, some are idiosyncratic in their carving style and/or technique. It is likely that the sculpture used at Waman

Wain was produced both by local artisans and by specialists associated with or trained at the Temple.

Four of the illustrated sculptural fragments strongly resemble the stone reliefs from the Temple and could have been brought to Waman Wain from Chavín. All but one of them can be attributed to Phase D or Early EF, using the Roe version of the Rowe seriation of Chavín sculpture (Roe, 1974), while one fragment (fig. 62) can be placed in Phase AB. These sculptures, like the ones illustrated from Pójos, were carved from white granite, which does not occur naturally in this zone. The stone would probably have been quarried from granite outcrops in the Cordillera Blanca, such as those located 18 km. to the west, near Yanashayash, or 15 km. to the south, west of Cahuish (Egeler, 1955, p. 195). A flat rectangular surface was prepared on the stone, which was then incised with the motif and the background was ground down and left undecorated. On at least two fragments, a narrow undecorated raised band frames the decorated face of the granite slab. These carving conventions, along with the raw material utilized, distinguish the classic Chavín sculptures at Waman Wain from the local variant described below; a similar distinction is found in the iconography.

The iconographic elements found on the classic sculptural fragments from Waman Wain are well known from studies of Chavín art and the formal and repetitive nature of the Chavín style makes it possible to relate these small fragments to complete sculptures, thereby establishing the subject matter being depicted at Waman Wain. Fig. 62, for example, shows a subsidiary simple snake emerging from a juncture in the larger raised area which, on close examination, can be identified as the upper torso of an anthropomorphic figure. This fragment is very similar to sculpture VI-NW12 of the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras, 1977, figs. 26-27), which depicts a fanged anthropomorphic figure holding a scepter or club. The individual represented in the Waman Wain fragment has its right arm bent at the elbow with the upper arm raised. The hand is missing, but the location of the snake kenning rules out the possibility that the figure held a scepter or club; it is conceivable that it held a smaller object, like the *Strombus* shell trumpet repeatedly shown on other sculptures from the Circular Plaza. As in these sculptures, a bracelet or wristband is indicated by incisions on the upper right arm. The left hand of the figure is held in front of its chest and two of its recurved talonlike nails are visible. There is also an indication of the lower edge of a collar, a short piece of clothing which covered the shoulders and the area directly below the neck.

A second granite sculpture (fig. 63) is engraved with a diagonal mouth band with three simple snakes emerging from its open end, eared-snakes appearing from the bands bordering the mouth band, and additional simple snakes above and below the mouth band. The raised undecorated bands at the two intact edges of the fragment help to orient the piece and, by comparing it to other sculptures, the corner which is represented can be determined. A comparison with the Temple sculpture reveals that the Waman Wain fragment is very similar in its composition and elements to the tail feathers of the final pair of birds on the lintel of the Black and White Portal (Lumbreras, 1974b, p. 65, fig. 65, lower plate). There are only minor differences between these carvings; for example, the details of the eared-snakes, especially their necks, can be contrasted and there is an inversion of the canines of the mouthband and the secondary snakes (two above and one below in the Waman Wain fragment). However, the similarity between this piece and the Chavín de Huántar lintel is so striking that it is difficult to doubt that the Waman Wain sculpture originally

represented a raptorial bird in profile, and that the carving is roughly contemporary with the lintel of the Black and White Portal and therefore Phase D (Rowe, 1973, p. 276).

A third classic Chavín fragment from Waman Wain (fig. 64) is more difficult to relate to larger sculptures from the Temple, although the style and individual elements are comparable, especially the "collared cat-snake" (Roe, 1974, p. 16, Feature 113) which dominates the piece. The nested snakes whose tails interlock to form an S-like pattern are unusual and I am unaware of other sculptures with this particular configuration. I cannot surmise what the central theme of this sculpture would have been. The fourth, and smallest, piece of sculpted granite from Waman Wain (fig. 65) represents the rounded eccentric pupil and nostril of a raptorial bird. The beginnings of its mouth and the emanations from above its eyes are only partially visible. A sculpture found by Tello in the ruins of the Temple is similar to this fragment (Tello, 1960, p. 209, fig. 41).

Three other fragments of unpublished sculpture from Waman Wain differ significantly from the Temple sculptures in their carving technique and, in some cases, in their style and composition. All three are carved on a flat surface with no attempt to excise the background area or crucial points, like the pupils of the eyes. The absence of these Chavín de Huántar conventions give these pieces a curiously flat and bland appearance. The incisions on these fragments were generally narrower and less regular than on those referred to as classic. One of the sculptures is white granite but the others are softer sedimentary or metamorphic rock which lacks the lustrous and resistant surface of granite.

The best preserved of these sculptures (fig. 66) represents a jaguar in profile; it has cruciform pelage markings and the claws of a raptorial bird. In its general conception it resembles the jaguars of the cornice of the southwest corner of the New Temple (Rowe, 1962, p. 34). As on the cornice, the whiskers of the feline are kenneled as snakes, and an undulating curl emerges from the top of the bulbous nose. The use of cruciform pelage markings, the two-taloned foot, the unkenneled ankle and the distinctive geometric form of the ear have their closest parallels in the jaguars of the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras, 1977, figs. 50, 32). The ray with recurved tip also has parallels on one of the felines from the same plaza (Lumbreras, 1977, fig. 45). The feline from Waman Wain has two large upper canines rather than the traditional crossed fangs. It differs from all of the published two dimensional feline representations from the Temple in this regard, although double canines descending from the upper lip were documented on one of the agnathic tenon heads (Tello, 1960, p. 254) and a sculpture recovered from the site of Runtu (fig. 1), near San Marcos (Tello, 1960, p. 249). It is likely that this feline representation from Waman Wain, like the profile anthropomorphic figure, dates to Phase AB of the Rowe sculptural sequence (Rowe, 1962; 1973; Roe, 1974).

Another sculpture, badly eroded, shows a frontal representation of tail feathers and clenched claws (fig. 67). At Chavín de Huántar, the best known frontal representations of tail feathers appear on the cornices and patio reliefs showing eagles with open wings (Rowe, 1973, figs. 11-13; 1962, fig. 14). In these representations generally four lower tail feathers are shown and the claws are open or extended. The Yauya stela, which is generally believed to represent two caymans (Rowe, 1962, fig. 31), terminates in two lower tail feathers flanking a narrow medial feature resembling fish vertebrae.

The Waman Wain sculpture also has a narrow medial structure, though definitely not vertebrae, separating the tail feathers. An undecorated medial band also occurs on the eagle representation from the Patio. The claws of the caymans are shown clenched not only in the Yauya stela, but also on the caymans shown on the lintel recovered near the Monumental Stairway (Rowe, 1973, fig. 19). Thus, the Waman Wain fragment more closely resembles the lower portion of a Chavín cayman than the known eagle representations, although the specific elements in question have definite avian connotations and their relation to the cayman remain poorly understood. In any case, the Waman Wain representation is, on the whole, simpler than on comparable sculptures from the Temple of Chavín de Huántar. But it adds a kenning which was not employed elsewhere: a lower canine added to the bottom talon, converting the cayman foot into a profile mouth.

The final sculpture to be discussed is a fragment of carved and polished granite whose damaged surface shows remnants of shallow incisions (fig. 68). Part of the upper edge of the sculpture is intact. A crack resulting from a natural flaw in the granite cuts diagonally across the face of the polished stone. The faintly incised motif on the stone is related to the Patio representation of the Smiling God (Rowe, 1962, fig. 11). It is possible to discern the elaborate hairdo parted in the middle, rising from the center of the head and falling along the sides of the face; the coiffure is tied by a simple hairband. As in the Patio sculpture, the hair adjoins the undecorated band that frames the sculpture. The frontal representation of the supernatural's knitted brows and the typical Phase D squared eye can also be recognized (Roe, 1974, p. 15, Feature 76). Unlike the Smiling God representation of the Patio, the Waman Wain slab (fig. 69) displays a variant of "hawk markings" above and below the eye. There are also detailed differences between the two sculptures in the arrangement of the hair, which in some ways is more elaborate in the Waman Wain piece than on the Patio sculpture; the former includes features reminiscent of the braided hair of VI-NW12 of the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras, 1977, fig. 26). The treatment of the area to the left of the face is also unusual; there seems to be an attempt to ken the ear of the personage rather than depict it in the normal stylized fashion (compare Rowe, 1962, fig. 11; Tello, 1960, fig. 126). Only a few details of the right side of the face are visible and almost no indication of carving exists on the lower portion of the fragment. The absence of visible incisions in these areas cannot be explained by the poor condition of the stone, since ample undamaged and clearly undecorated polished surface remains intact. Instead, it appears that the sculpture was never finished, perhaps because of the flaw in the stone. This conclusion is consistent with the technological and stylistic inference that sculpture was being produced at Waman Wain. The unfinished sculpture from Waman Wain also established unambiguously that it was considered appropriate at Waman Wain to depict one of the primary Chavín deities, as well as supernaturals of the secondary order of importance (i.e., eagles, jaguars, etc.).

#### Excavations at Waman Wain

At Waman Wain there is very little naturally level land, and erosion has partially denuded the natural eminences, depositing thick layers of wash on the lower slopes of the site. Surface collections reveal mainly late ceramics, similar to those found on the surface and in the upper strata at Pójoy (figs. 50-59). A single glazed sherd was encountered in the excavations at Waman Wain (fig. 47), and it is likely that the final occupation of the site occurred during early Colonial times. Occasional finds of Early Intermediate Period and



Middle Horizon sherds (fig. 60) further attest to the long occupation of the site. A dressed granite block, a granite mortar (fig. 61) and early ceramics were recovered at various points on the site during my reconnaissance, but these concentrations do not appear to be directly related to subsurface deposits. Three small excavations were carried out to clarify the relation of the surface remains to subsurface deposits and to investigate whether even earlier components lay buried.

#### PAn6-10-A1

This unit was located on the slopes to the south of Muchín Grande, ten meters below the modern trail linking Muchín with Chuyu. This 2 x 2 m. pit was excavated in an area where fragments of neckless ollas and an Urabarriu phase bowl (Burger, ms., fig. 21) were recovered. Although early fragments continued to be found in the upper agricultural stratum, they were absent in the second stratum of more compact clayey soil with small stones. This layer, which begins 25 cm. below the surface, was a thick undifferentiated layer containing late ceramics similar to those found on the surface, mixed with earlier sherds, some of which may be related to the Recuay style. At a depth of approximately 55 cm., late ceramics became scarce and a mixture of early pottery similar to the Urabarriu and Janabarriu phase ceramics from the Chavín de Huántar settlement were recovered. Neckless ollas are by far the most common form encountered, but bowls, jars and bottles were also represented (figs. 70-72). Besides ceramics, this layer yielded several chipped and polished points, obsidian flakes, an anthracite mirror fragment, a blue-green stone bead (chrysocola?) and a bone bead. Bone and charcoal were extremely rare, and it is likely that this 120 cm. thick layer is a secondary deposition of materials washed down from above. Beneath this stratum was a layer of dark brown soil, 25 cm. thick, which slopes strongly from north to south in the same way as the modern surface. This layer shows no evidence of having been used as a living surface, and the only materials recovered from it were a chert point and a number of nonhuman bones. Since no ceramics were found in the layer, its relative date could not be ascertained. A rustic retaining wall is associated with this stratum; it consists of a maximum of three courses of fieldstone held together by mud mortar and reaching a height of 60 cm. The construction appears to be a retaining wall for a terrace or platform since behind it is a fill of small stones without any admixture of soil or cultural materials. The wall runs down the slope, northwest to southeast, so it was probably not an agricultural terrace. From the base of the wall to 180 cm. depth, bones and small fragments of charcoal were occasionally found, but below this, the soil yielded no evidence of cultural materials. At 310 cm. depth, excavation was halted without encountering bedrock.

#### PAn6-10-B1

This unit was located 130 m. to the northwest of unit A1, on the summit of Muchín Grande. It was hoped that deep secondary deposits could be avoided in this area and that the abundance of cut and polished granite on the surface signified that this sector had originally been a focus of Chavín constructions. A 2 x 2 m. pit initially revealed a layer of loose brown soil with dense cultural materials, especially late ceramics, human bone and small sheets of beaten gold and silver. Bedrock was exposed at a depth of only 20 cm. below the surface in the northern portion of the pit. Within our unit, two areas, referred to as Features A and B, had been carved out of the bedrock for the placement of secondary interments. In the southeast, Feature A consisted

of an area 85 x 54 cm. cut away to a maximum depth of 54 cm. below the secondary datum in the southwest corner of the pit. Feature A had sloping sides and extended beyond the unit to the east and south. Feature A had been badly disturbed and there was no intact concentration of cultural materials in it. Feature B, located in the southwest of the unit, had an irregular ovoid shape varying from 63 cm. to 55 cm. in diameter. It was deeper than Feature A, reaching a maximum depth of 92 cm. and had consequently suffered less disturbance. Directly above Feature B were fragments of human skull and vertebrae, and at 27 cm. depth an undisturbed human cranium was unearthed, oriented to the southeast. This skull was set upright on a stone pedestal, and surrounding it, at a lower level (33 to 44 cm. depth), were 5 inverted crania. Below the pedestal supporting the central skull, was another cranium fragment and a piece of gold foil. At a depth of approximately 50 cm., a layer of slate slabs sealed the bottom of the pit. Similar slabs were found on the surface near the unit and some may have originally sealed the top of features A and B. Below the slabs in Feature B, the pit narrowed and contained a mixture of soil, human bone, ceramics, and carbonized maize kernels.

The ceramics recovered from above and within Feature B (figs. 51, 53) and those found on the surface of Waman Wain are similar and probably contemporaneous. Decoration is rare but usually occurs on jar necks, which were decorated with rows of repeating concentric circles, incised or impressed fillets or other plastic decorative techniques. The concentric circles are generally made with a semicircular tool which was used twice to form each circle. Jar necks are convex or convex-concave (S-shaped) and the rims are rounded. The pottery is oxidized but there is considerable variation in the color of the surface and of the paste, probably a reflection of poorly controlled firing conditions. Burnishing is rare but some cursory smoothing was practiced. In the uppermost stratum there were also fragments from simple open bowls with red painted decoration on a light background, and one colander fragment.

#### PAn6-10-C1

This unit was excavated in a level area 100 m. northeast of unit A1 and 145 m. east of unit B1 in the eastern sector of Waman Wain. It was also a 2 x 2 m. unit, and was placed within one of the few intact prehispanic structures remaining at the site. The uppermost stratum was 25 cm. thick and contained a small sample of late ceramics, most of which belonged to undecorated jars similar to those in the upper levels of the other two units. A second natural layer, consisting of gray-brown soil with small stones, produced quantities of thin undecorated pottery. At 50-60 cm. depth, a thin deposit of brown-black clayey soil appeared, which contained a number of Huarás style sherds as well as thin orange ceramics similar to those in the layer above. A layer of dark clayey soil with angular medium and large stones was uncovered next, and burnished black and brown pottery with mica inclusions was recovered from this stratum. Unfortunately, no decorated ceramics or reconstructable vessel forms were encountered. No orange pottery appeared in this layer and this stratum may be contemporary with the Janabarriu or pre-Janabarriu settlement of Chavín de Huántar. A polished slate knife with a flaked serrated edge was recovered. Below this layer was a stratum of black clayey soil with small stones. Artifacts were rare and a pressure-flaked point of clear quartz and a burnished black body sherd constituted the few cultural remains recovered. A sterile layer of yellow-brown sandy soil with small stones began at about 120 cm. depth and by 165 cm. depth the bedrock was exposed in the entire pit.

## Discussion

The excavations at Pójoc and Waman Wain yielded an abundance of information, much of which does not bear directly on the nature of the settlement system of the Mosna Valley during the Early Horizon. At both sites the early materials were overlain by thick cultural deposits spanning two millennia and providing ample evidence of the attraction which these high altitude locations held, and continue to hold, for Andean agriculturalists.

Excavations by Lumbreras and Amat documented the remains of a nucleated village which covered the Temple area of Chavín de Huántar during the Early Intermediate Period (Lumbreras, 1970; 1974a; 1977). Occupation levels with Huarás, Recuay and Callejón style ceramics were recovered in association with agglutinated rooms of rustic construction (e.g., Lumbreras, 1974a, p. 38). Besides the discovery of occasional Inca offerings (Lumbreras, 1970, p. 43), there is little indication of a post-Callejón occupation. The Callejón style has never been described in detail, but it appears to be a late Early Intermediate Period or early Middle Horizon style related to the Marcará style in the Callejón de Huaylas and the Higuera style of Huánuco (Izumi and Sono, 1963; Izumi and Terada, 1972). It is likely that the Temple area of Chavín was abandoned sometime during the Middle Horizon. Amat has catalogued 34 Late Intermediate Period sites and 8 Late Horizon sites in the Mosna drainage (Amat Olazábal, 1976), but detailed descriptions of these sites and their cultural materials have yet to be published.

The similarity between the surface ceramics of Pójoc and Waman Wain and the stratigraphic association of some of these materials with Inca-related and Colonial pottery at Pójoc and Waman Wain suggests that they represent the final local pre-Hispanic style of the upper Mosna. The existence of sealed strata at Pójoc and Waman Wain, in which a variant of this style occurs without Inca or Colonial materials, raises the possibility that this style spans the end of the Late Intermediate Period, the Late Horizon and the early decades of the Colonial Period. The Chavín area of Ancash is generally believed to have been controlled by the Pinco nation or tribe prior to the Inca conquest (Tello, 1942, p. 108; Rowe, 1946, p. 187). Espejo has substantiated this view on the basis of numerous historical accounts (Espejo Núñez, 1961, pp. 117-120), but a detailed study of late prehistoric ethnicity and politics remains to be done. Since the situation may be much more complicated than currently realized (see Duviols, 1974), it is preferable to assign a name to the style free of ethnic or linguistic implications. In my view it would be premature at this point to refer to this or other late styles, or the Late Intermediate Period culture of this area, as Pinco, as Amat has done (1976, p. 534). The name proposed here for this late ceramic style is Pójoc. The excavations at Pójoc also document additional ceramic styles, unnamed and undescribed, which probably were produced during the Late Middle Horizon and/or early Late Intermediate Period.

The evidence presented in this article, along with that published by Espejo, strongly substantiates the existence of Early Horizon occupations at these two high altitude sites. And these materials leave little doubt that such communities were closely tied to the large ceremonial center and settlement on the valley floor. At the outset of this article, emphasis was placed on the potential economic complementarity between the residents of these settlements and those of the valley floor. This relationship can be inferred from the prominence of camelids and occasional cervids in the refuse of the Chavín de Huántar settlement, just as the occasional discovery of obsidian flakes at

the high altitude communities suggests the redistributive role of the Temple, which may have also involved the acquisition and distribution of essential exotic items such as coca and salt.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the work at Pójoc and Waman Wain is the light it sheds on the particular nature of the relationship between these rural communities and the Temple metropolis. The existence of Chavín style sculptures at both villages indicates that the Chavín cult provided part of the matrix cementing the supporting communities to the Chavín de Huántar center. While it is widely assumed that small rural communities assisted in the construction of the Temple, the converse may be equally true. The classic Chavín stone sculpture, along with the numerous cut and polished granite blocks at both sites, can be most easily accounted for by postulating the existence of Chavín shrines at Pójoc and Waman Wain. The monumentality of the stone platform uncovered in unit B at Pójoc and the marine shell and fish bone associated with it certainly bespeak ritual activity at the site. Moreover, the quality of most of the stone sculpture at both sites implies that the temple community not only authorized, but assisted in, the establishment and construction of these branches of cult activity. Similar finds of Chavín sculpture at Runtu, Yurayaku and Gotush (Espejo Núñez, 1955; Tello, 1960, figs. 40, 52, 54, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, p. 238), three other small sites in the Chavín area (fig. 1), suggest that the cult activity at Pójoc and Waman Wain was part of a more general regional pattern.

The remains at these small sites imply access to expertise and resources probably beyond the means of a small agricultural community. Perhaps these remains provide a key to understanding one of the ways in which Chavín de Huántar was able to integrate its rural communities and transform them into support communities without recourse to physical coercion. By providing the hamlets and villages with quality sculpture, exotic ritual paraphernalia and perishable exotic items for offerings, the Temple community would have established the basis for reciprocal obligations owed to the Temple by these communities. If the ethnohistoric and ethnographic materials can be used as a guide, shrines like those at Pójoc or Waman Wain could have been incorporated into a regional ritual cycle of festivals and processions in which the position of each community is reaffirmed by festivals and rituals carried out on a calendrical basis, thereby inextricably binding together secular and religious obligations of support communities within the matrix of a commonly held cosmological system, centered around the Chavín de Huántar Temple.

Very limited archaeological research has documented eight Chavín sculptures at a modest site like Waman Wain, while large scale excavation at a monumental Early Horizon site like Kotosh has failed to yield even a single Chavín sculpture. This contrast is paralleled by the failure of the University of Tokyo Expedition to find early sculpture during its survey and excavations of Early Horizon sites in the Huallaga and Higuera valleys (Izumi, 1971). Clearly, Chavín de Huántar had a special relationship with nearby villages and hamlets, like Waman Wain, one that is different in character from that maintained with first and second order settlements in other valleys.

It is unfortunate that our sample of Early Horizon artifacts from Pójoc and Waman Wain was not better. The ceramics recovered from Pójoc appear to have been produced by a source other than that used at the Temple and its associated settlement, while Waman Wain seems to have had access during the late Initial Period and Early Horizon to the same ceramics as the Temple

community itself. Such contrasts, if substantiated by future investigation, would imply distinctions among the different support communities. Future excavation at these sites could explore this possibility through the study of domestic architecture and activity areas. A preliminary analysis of the scanty Early Horizon faunal materials from Waman Wain and Pójoc documents the utilization of both camelids and cervids but the sample recovered is inadequate to infer the differences in subsistence between the support communities and the inhabitants of the valley floor (Michael Sawyer, personal communication). However, the high frequency of projectile points in later as well as earlier levels provides an interesting contrast with the situation on the valley floor.

One of the original considerations leading to the decision to work at Pójoc and Waman Wain was the possible role that these small sites could have had in founding Chavín de Huántar. I have argued elsewhere that Chavín de Huántar does not appear to have been founded until the late Initial Period (Burger, 1981; ms.), and the source of the original occupants of the Urabarriu settlement and the organizers and builders of the Old Temple is still poorly understood. The possibility existed, and continues to exist, that some of the small prehispanic village sites have occupation histories stretching back into the early Initial Period or late Preceramic; and their populations could have supported, or even initiated, the original Chavín de Huántar center. If such early remains existed at Pójoc or Waman Wain, the evidence for them was not encountered either in the surface survey or in the small-scale excavations. At Waman Wain and Pójoc, sherds from surface or mixed contexts were dated on the basis of style to the Urabarriu phase (fig. 17), and two sculptures from Waman Wain can be tentatively dated to Rowe's Phase AB, the period of the Old Temple, on similar grounds. However, most of the ceramics and sculpture recovered from both sites dated to the Janabarriu phase of the Early Horizon or to post-Chavín times.

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The living and working conditions were less than ideal at the high altitude sites discussed in this article, so it is with special gratitude that I thank Jeffrey Quilter for assisting me at Pójoc, Edgar Torres for his help at Waman Wain, and Martín Justiniano and Amador Justiniano for providing essential manpower and field expertise at both sites. Colleen Beck and Eric Deeds lent their assistance in the mapping of the sites and Marino Gonzales offered valuable suggestions. My research in the Chavín area were authorized by the Comisión Técnica Calificadora de Proyectos Arqueológicos of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, and Isaac Pérez Angulo conscientiously carried out the supervision of the project. Financial support was derived from a Fulbright Hays Fellowship (HEW) and a National Science Foundation Grant for Improving Doctoral Dissertation Research (BNS75 18062). I would also like to thank Liz Kyburg, Mike Sawyer and Lucy Salazar Burger for their assistance in the preparation and revision of the manuscript and Luis Caballero for his help with the illustrations. I was fortunate during my graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, to have had access to two unique and inspiring scholars,

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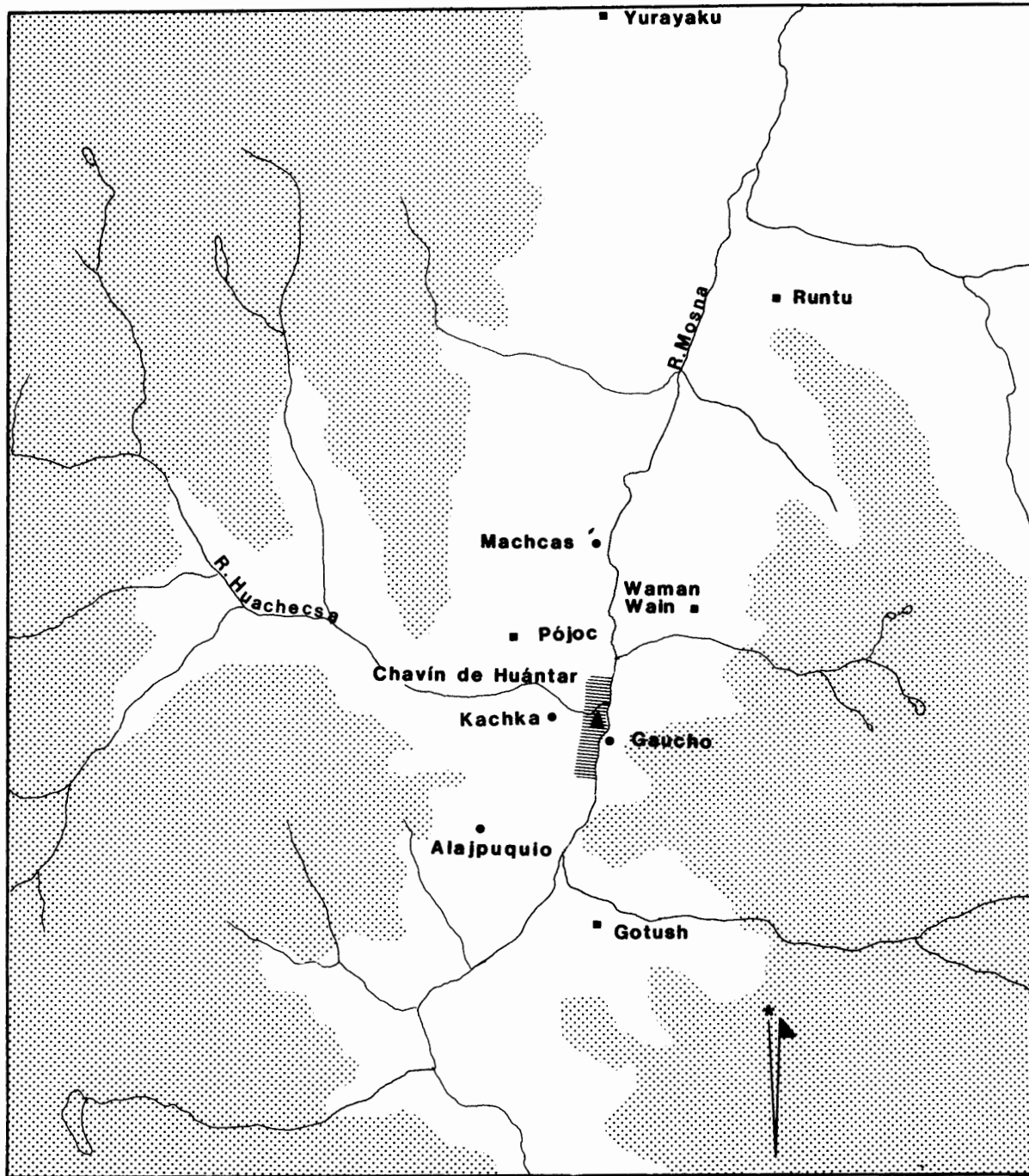
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- ▨ Chavín de Huántar (Janabarriu settlement)
- ▲ Temple
- Sites with Chavín sculpture
- Sites with Janabarriu ceramics
- ⋯ Above limit of cultivation

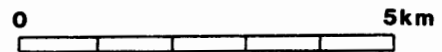
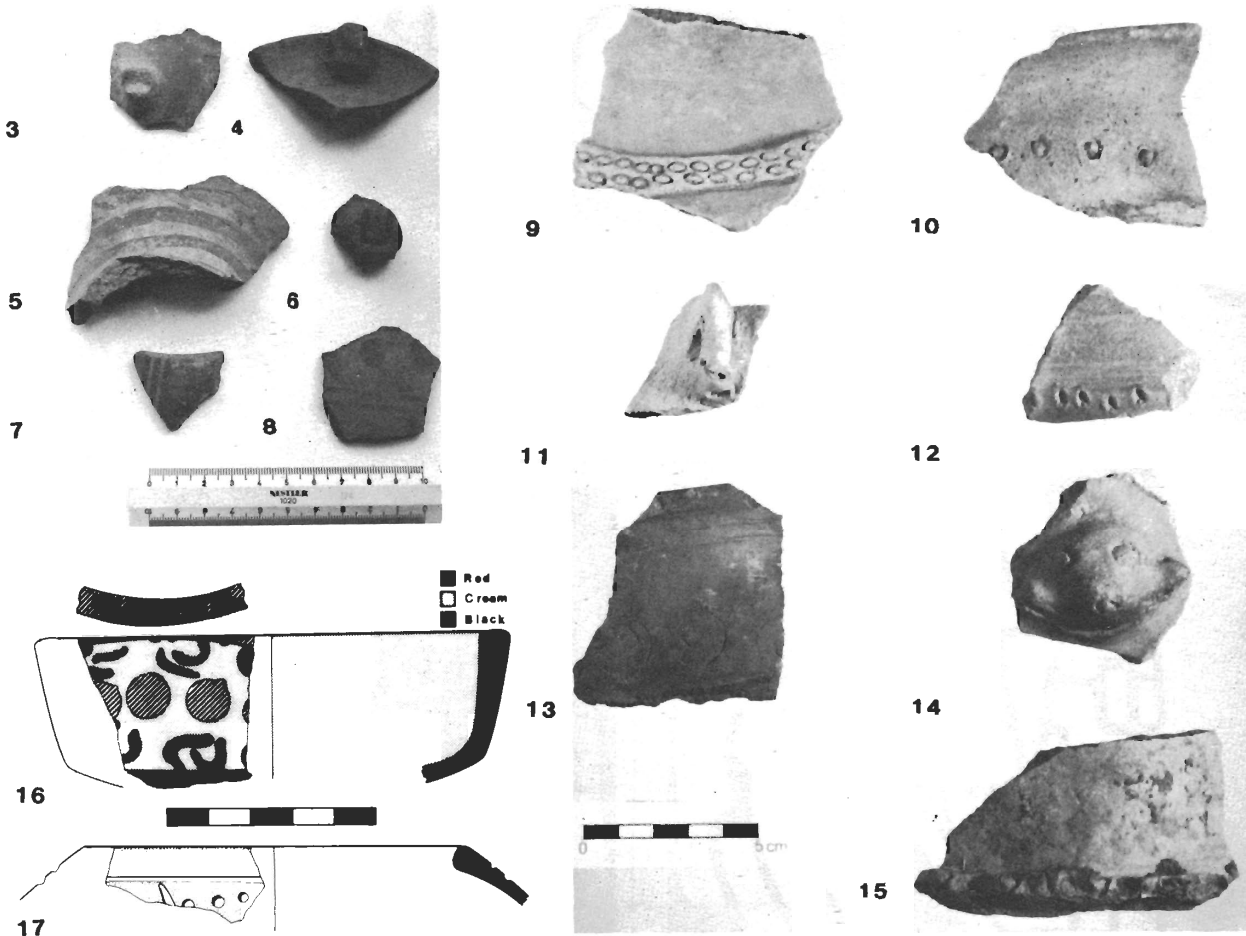


Fig. 1, Early Horizon settlements in the upper Mosna Valley, Ancash, Peru.

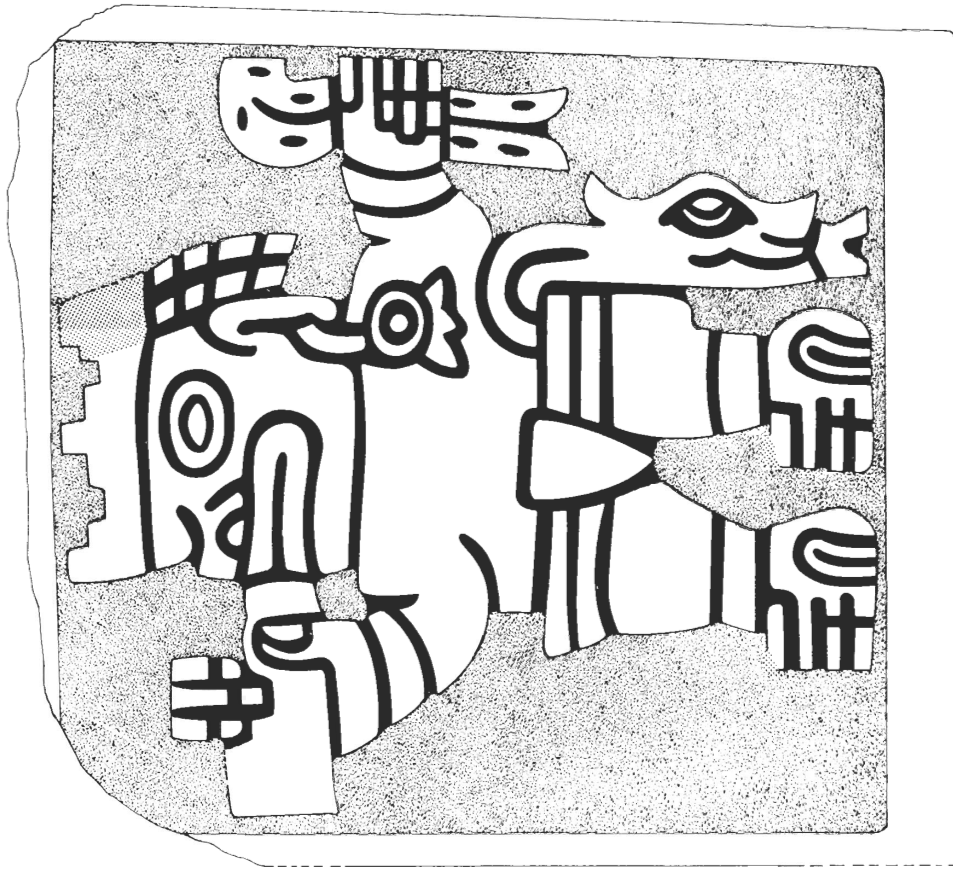


Pójoc surface material. Fig. 2, early Colonial masonry building; figs. 3-8, selected Inca-related sherds; figs. 9-15, Pójoc style sherds; fig. 16, polychrome bowl, Middle Horizon; fig. 17, Urabarrui phase incised neckless olla.

DAMAGED
   
 LOWER SURFACE
   
 UPPER SURFACE

0
   

 5cm



19b



18



19a

Fig. 18, white granite Chavín style profile bird from Pójos, now in the Municipalidad, Chavín de Huántar; fig. 19, granite sculpture said to be from Pójos, Wilfredo Gambini Escubero collection, Huaraz; photo Steven Wegner.

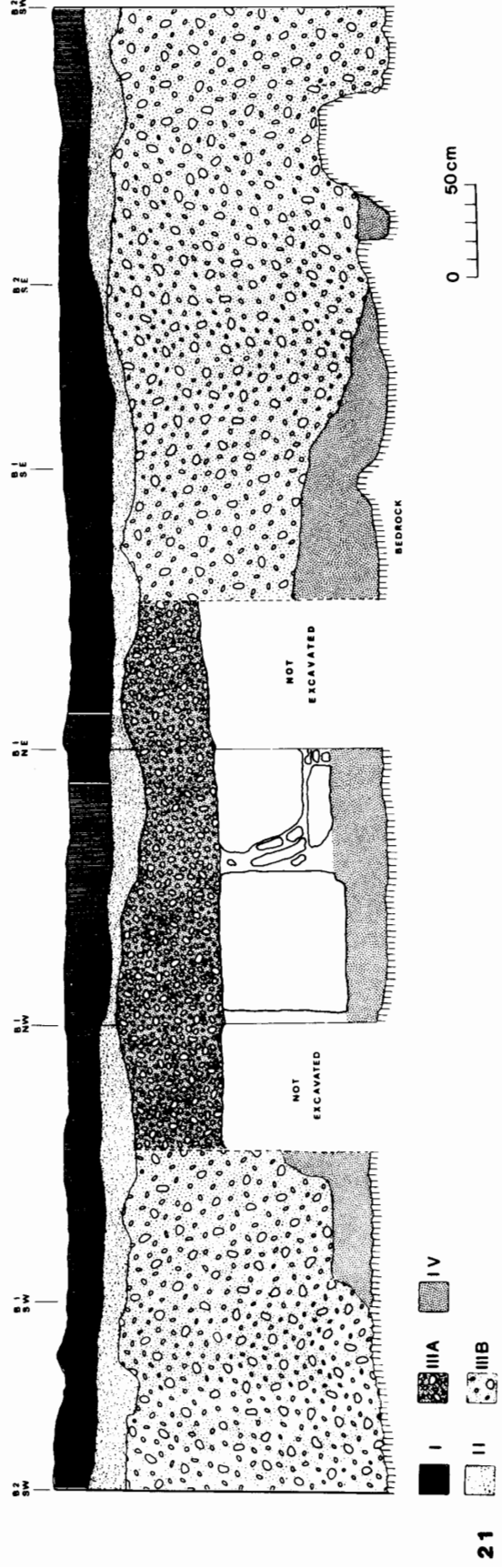
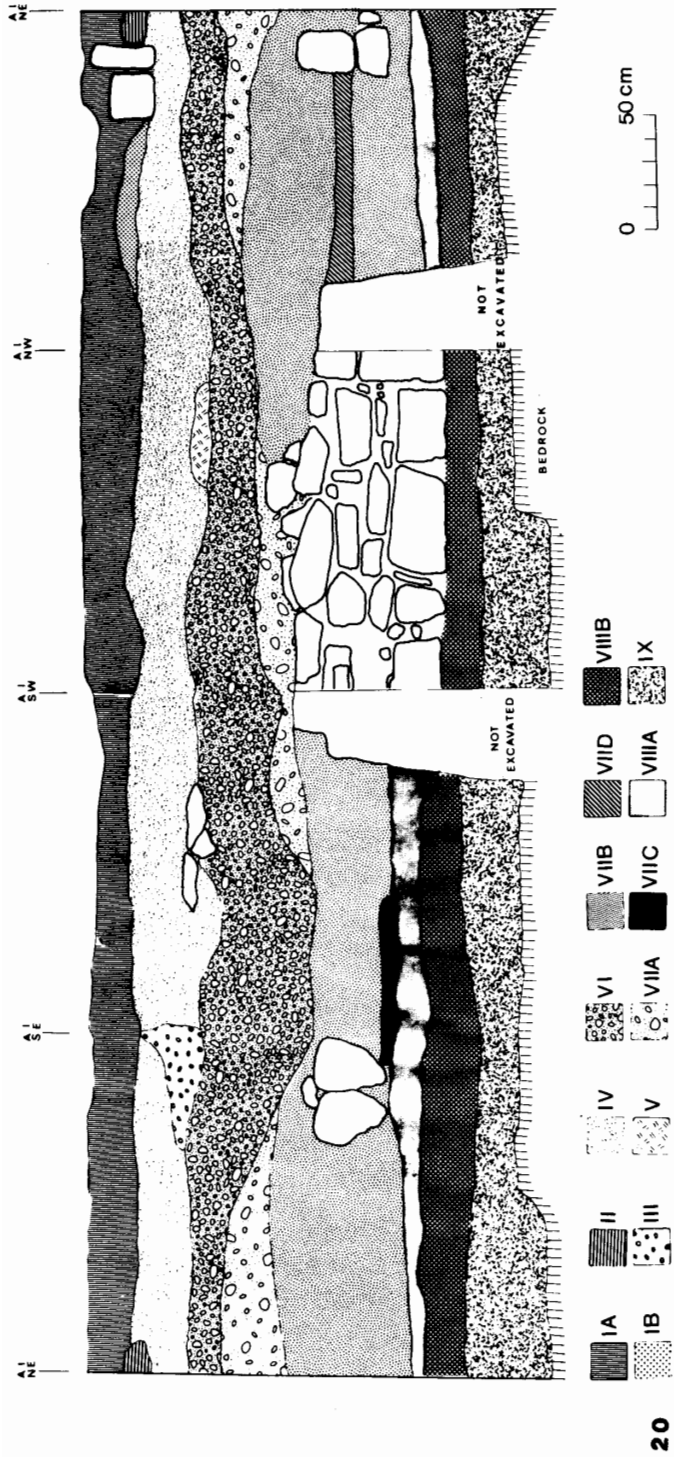
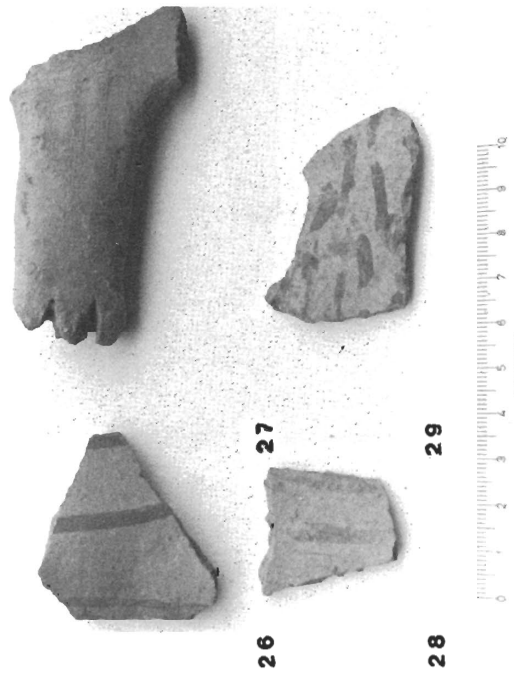
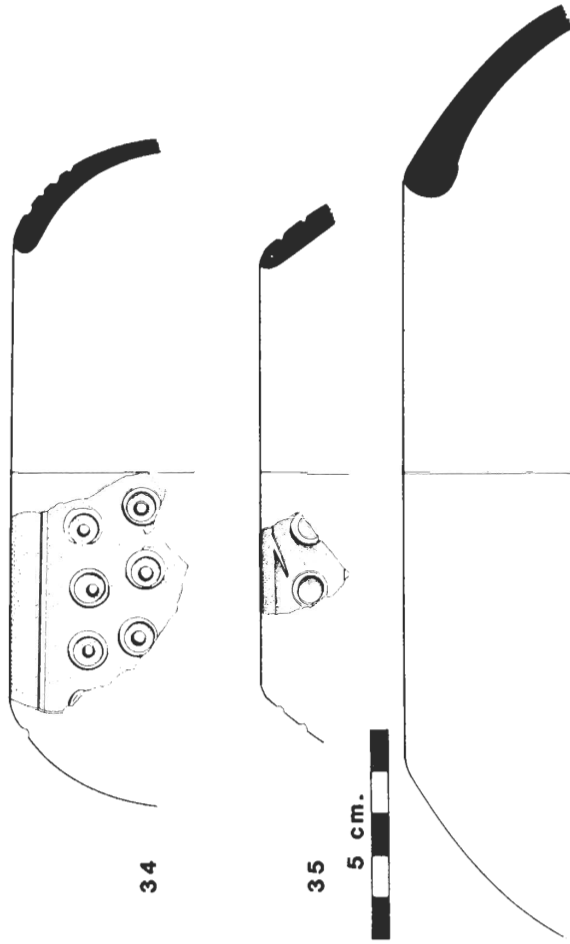
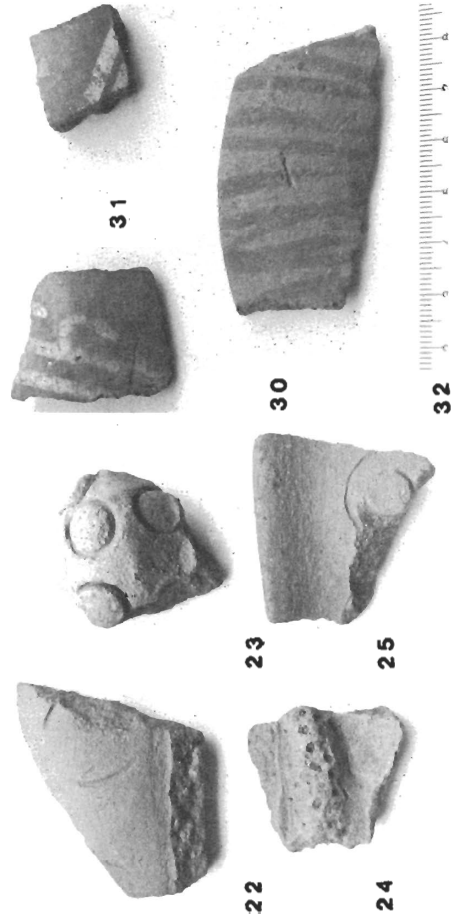


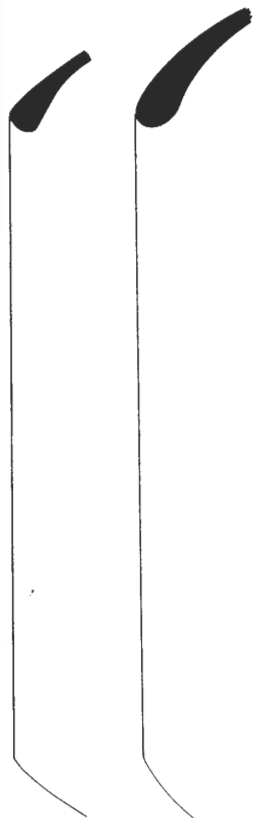
Fig. 20, stratigraphic profile of Pan6-2-A1; fig. 21, stratigraphic profile of Pan6-2-B1.



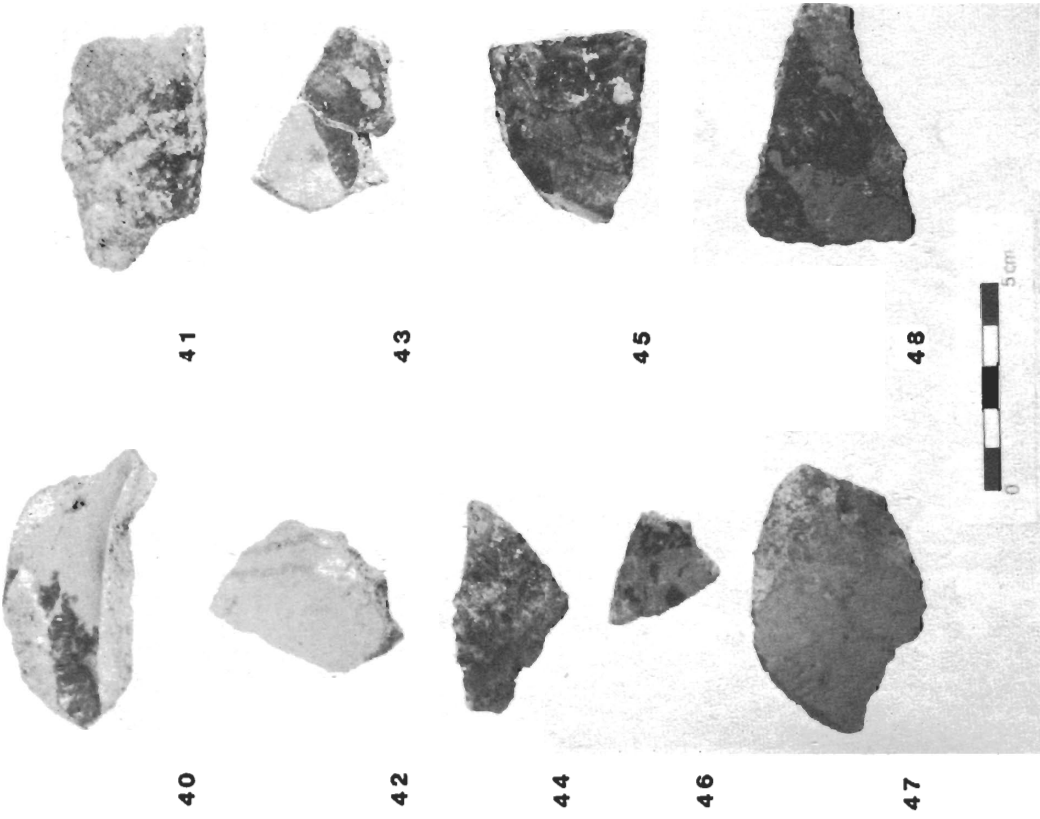
Material from PAn6-2-A1. Figs. 22-25, Zone 1A, decorated Pójjoc style sherds; figs. 26, Zone IV, unknown style; figs. 27-29, Zone VI, unknown style; figs. 30-32, Zone VIIIA, possibly related to Huarás style; fig. 33, Zone VIIIB, rocker grinder (38 x 24 cm., 11.5 cm. thick); figs. 34-36, Zone VIIIB, Early Horizon sherds.



37



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Fig. 37, PAn6-2-B1, Wall 1 and north profile. Figs. 38-39, PAn6-2-B1, Zone IIIB pottery. Figs. 40-46, 48, glazed sherds from Pójjoc excavations, PAn6-2-C1: figs. 40, 41, 44, 48, Zone II; figs. 42, 46, Zone IV; figs. 43, 45, Zone VI. Fig. 47, pottery from Waman Wain, PAn6-10-B1, Zone 1.



49

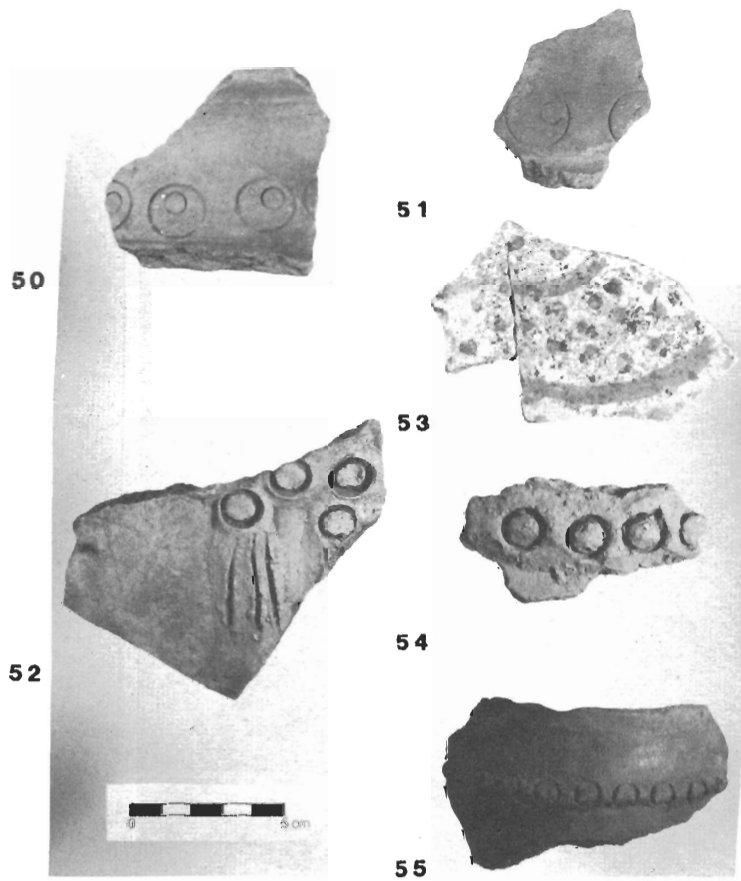
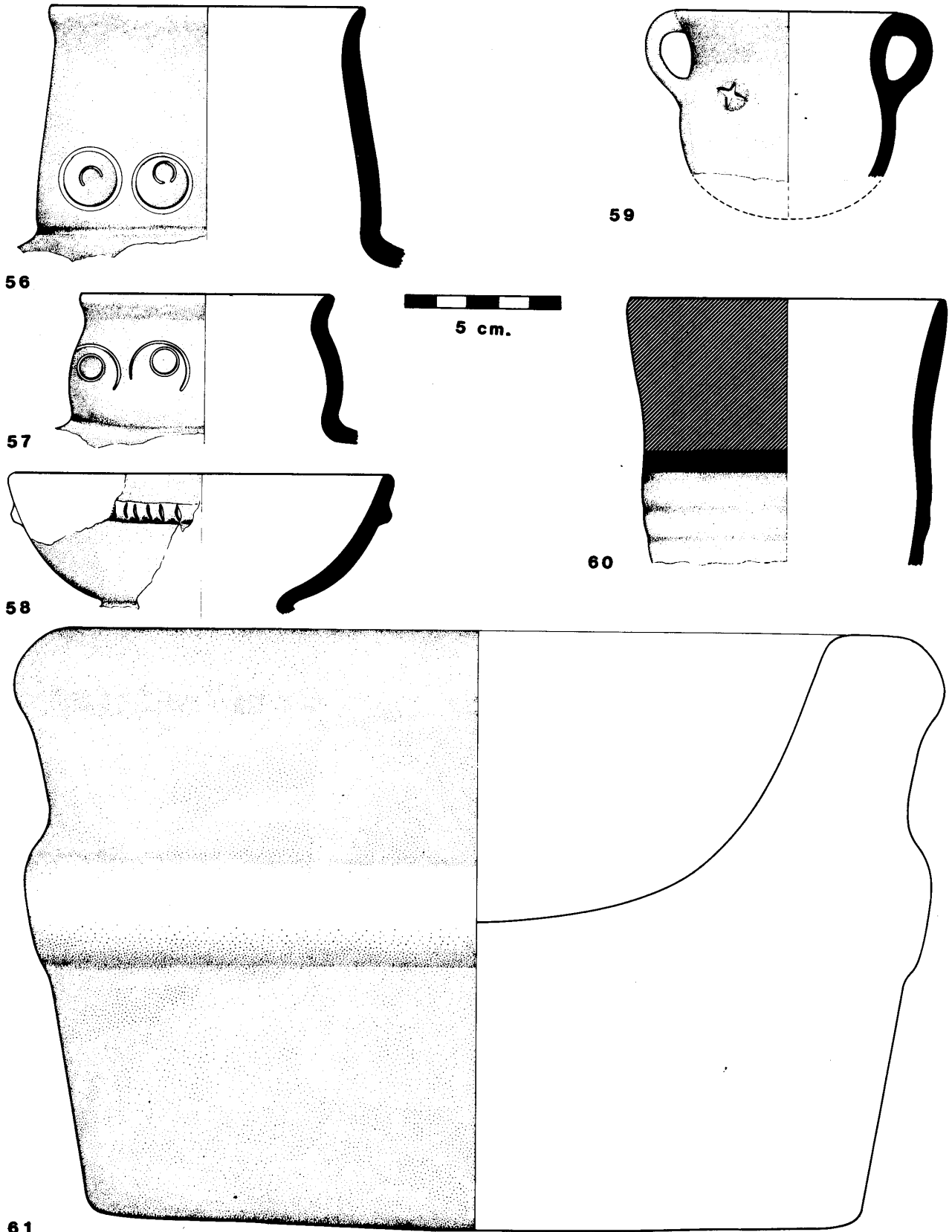


Fig. 49, Waman Wain (PAN6-10), unit A1 visible on left and unit C1 in lower center of photo; figs. 50-55, Pójoc style ceramics from Waman Wain: figs. 50, 52, 54-55, surface; fig. 51, unit B1, feature B; fig. 53, unit B1, Zone 1.





61

Surface finds. Figs. 56-58, Pójoc style jar necks, Waman Wain; fig. 59, Pójoc style miniature handled jar, Waman Wain; fig. 60, Middle Horizon polychrome beaker, Pójoc; fig. 61, polished granite mortar, Waman Wain. Scale = 5 cm.

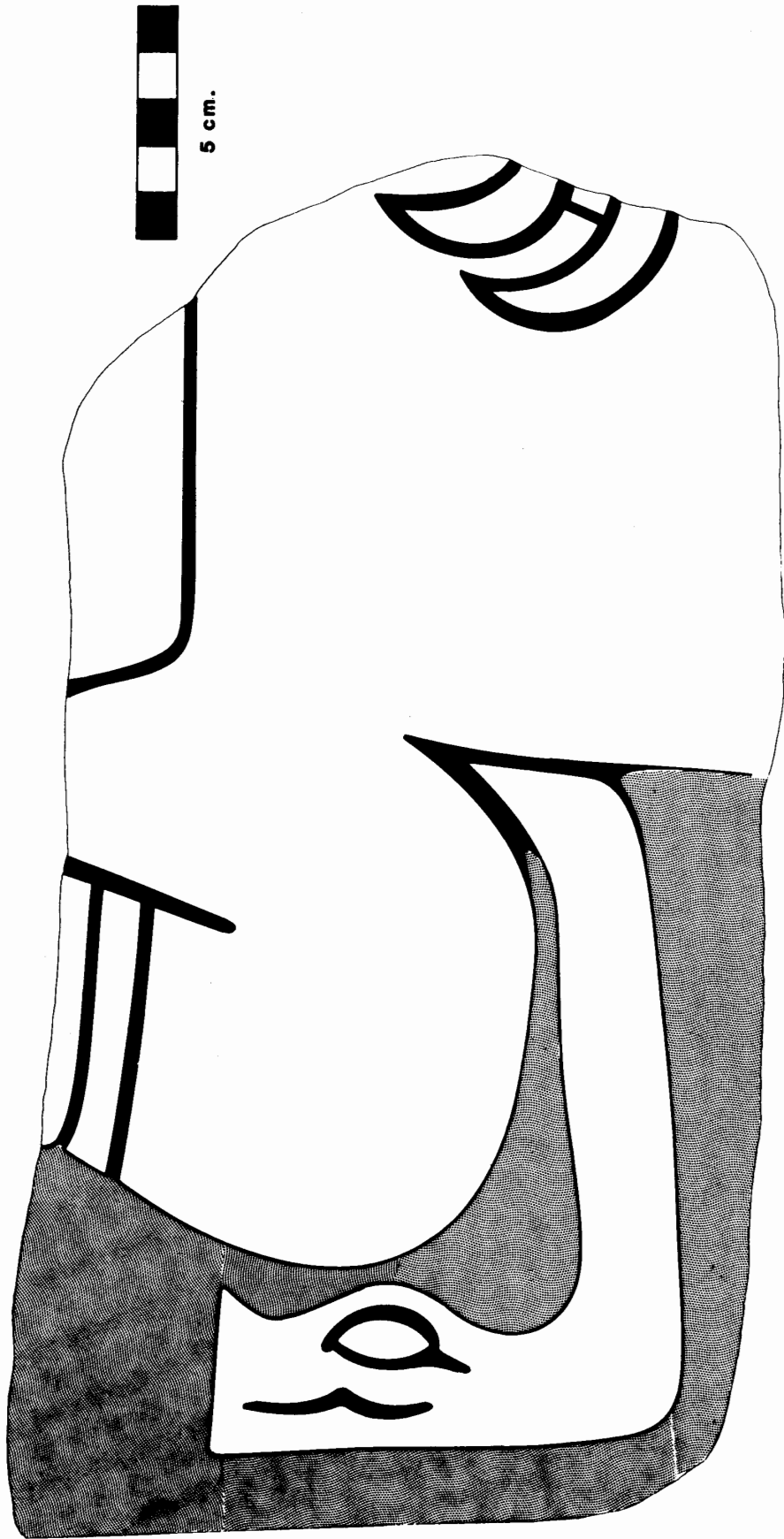


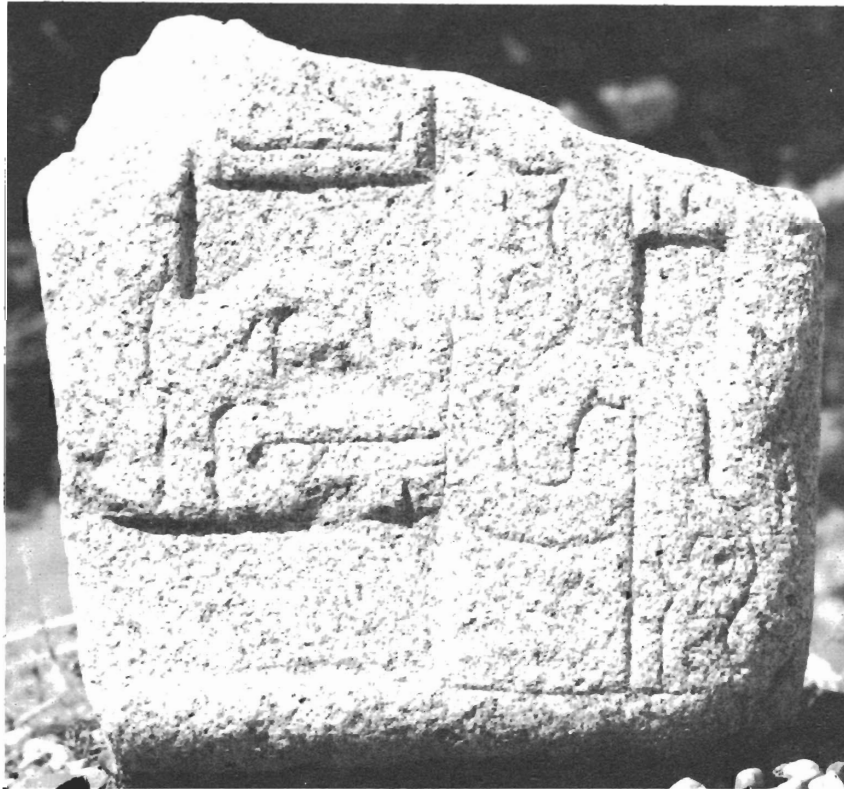
Fig. 62, granite sculpture fragment from Waman Wain surface showing torso, right arm and talons of left hand.



63



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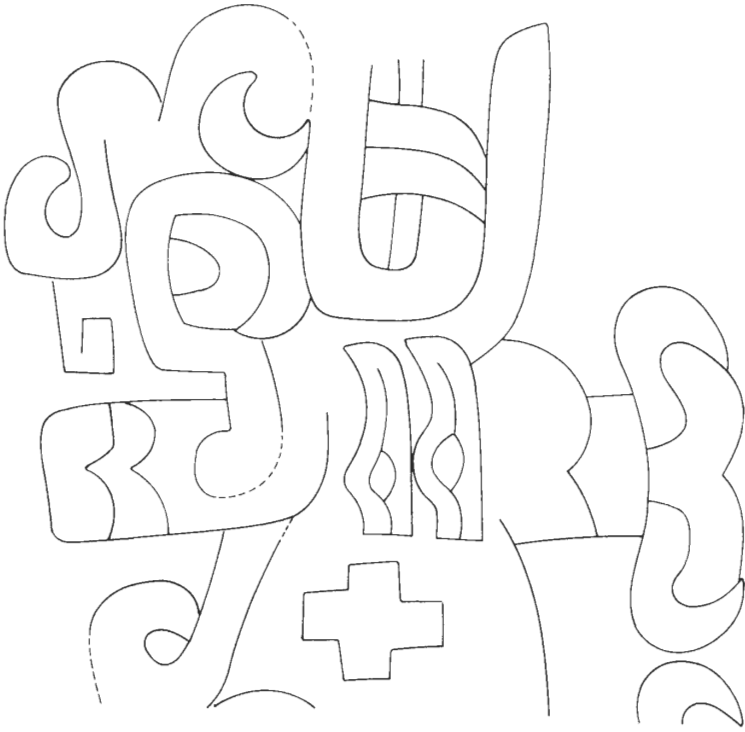


64

Granite sculpture fragments. Fig. 63, said to be from Waman Wain, now in Museo Arqueológico de Ancash; fig. 64, said to be from Waman Wain surface, now in Museo Arqueológico de Ancash; fig. 65, from Waman Wain surface.



66 a



66 b

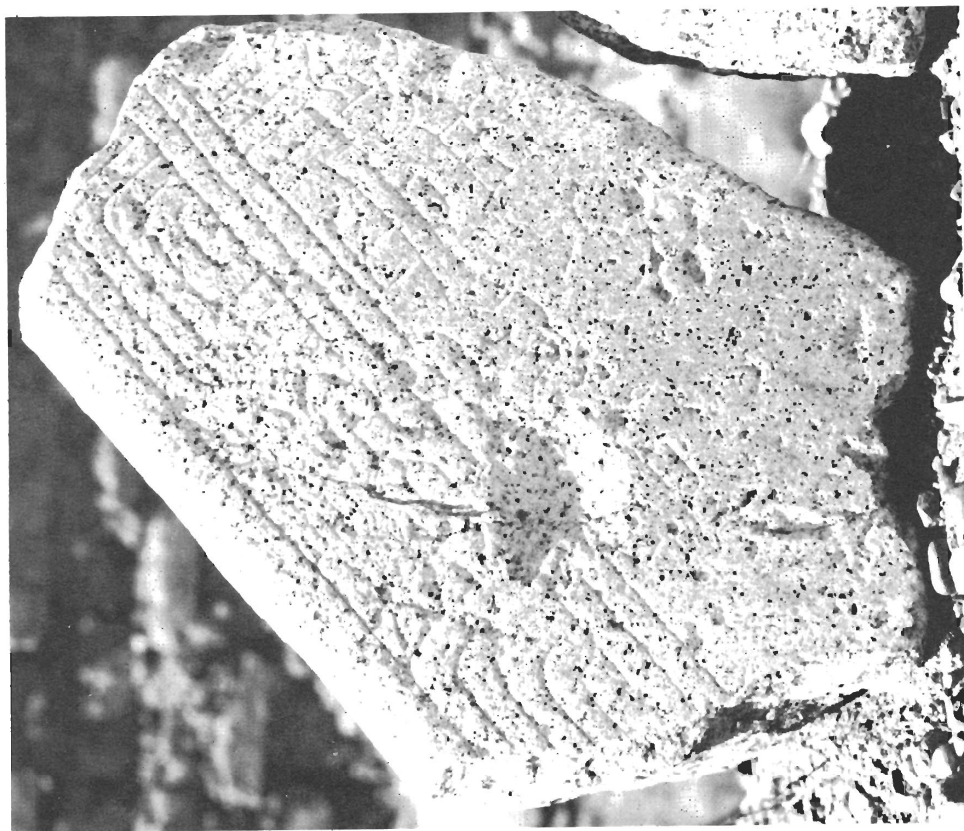


5 cm.

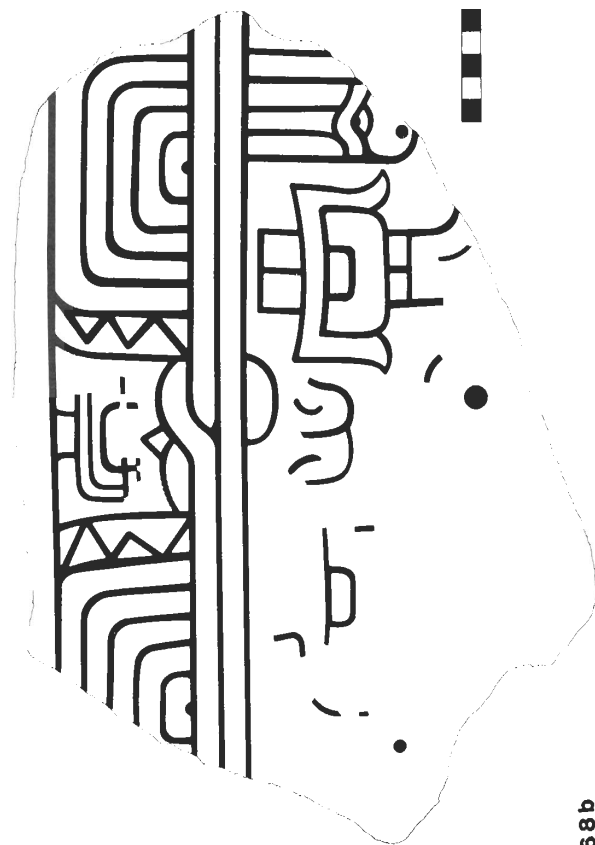


67

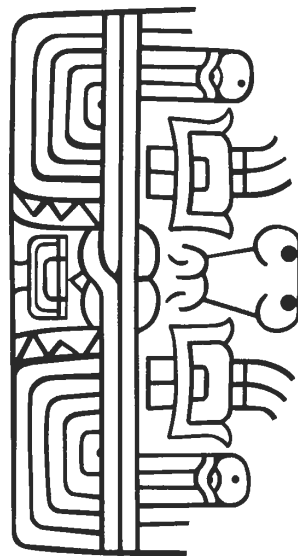
Fig. 66, sandstone(?) sculpture said to be from the surface of Waman Wain, now in Museo Arqueológico de Ancash; fig. 67, eroded sandstone(?) sculpture from the surface of Waman Wain (33 x 15 cm.).



68a

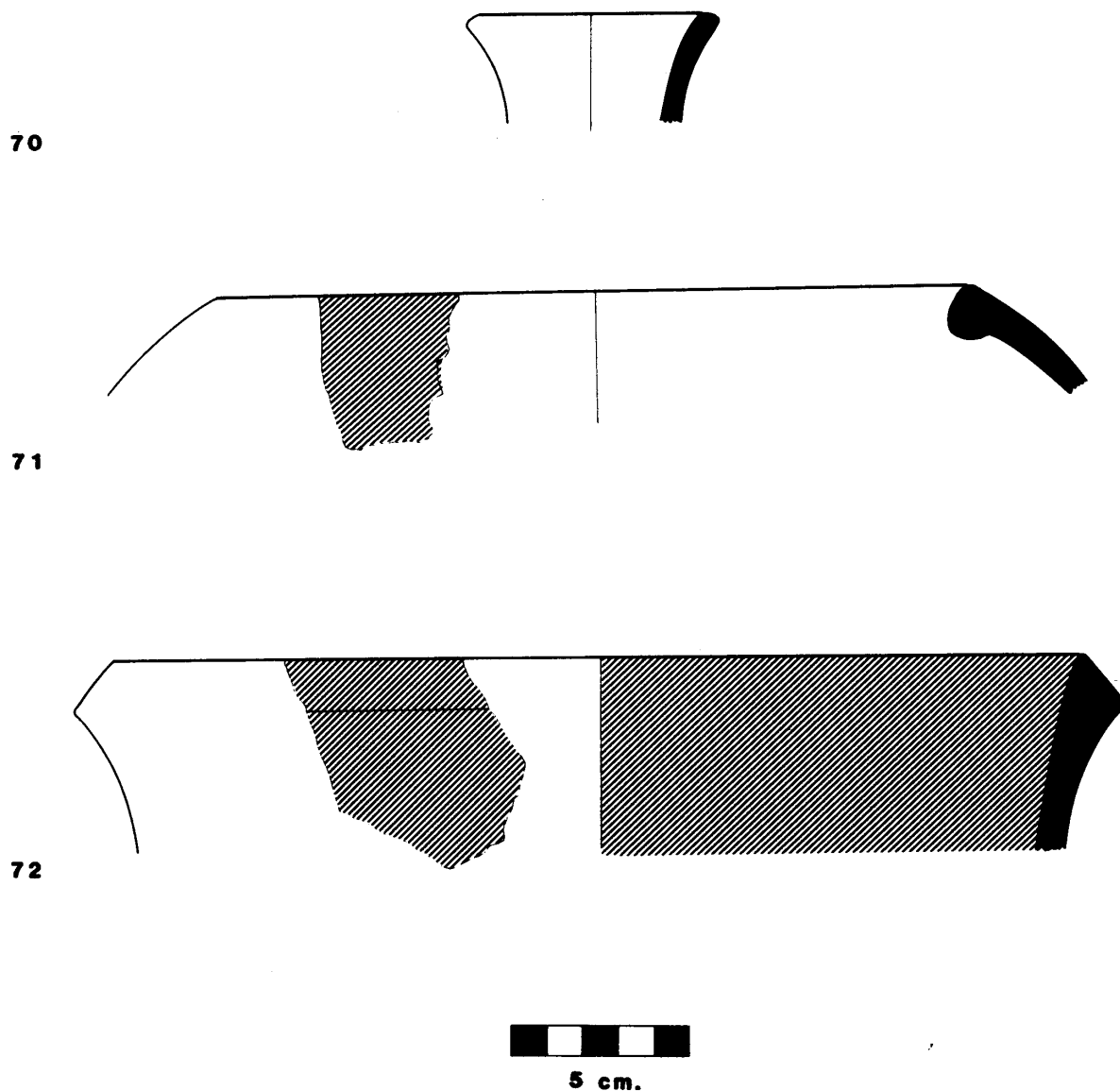


68b



69

Fig. 68, unfinished granite sculpture said to be from surface of Waman Wain, now in Museo Arqueológico de Ancash; fig. 69, hypothetical reconstruction of sculpture in fig. 68 had it been completed. Scale = 5 cm.



Figs. 70-71, Urabarruu style fragments from secondary deposits in upper levels of PAN6-10-A1: fig. 70, bottle rim; fig. 71, neckless olla rim. Fig. 72, Janabarruu style bowl from secondary deposits in upper levels of PAN6-10-A1.