

# PARACAS CAVERNAS AND CHAVÍN

BY  
A. L. KROEBER

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# PARACAS CAVERNAS AND CHAVÍN

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## THE PROBLEM

IN A RECENT review and critique of "The Chavín Problem,"<sup>1</sup> Gordon Willey has listed seventeen ancient Peruvian sites whose remains indisputably affiliate stylistically with the type site of Chavín de Huántar. Beyond these, he reviews a greater number of sites for which relationship with Chavín has been alleged. These he puts into three classes: (1) no evidence has been presented for the relationship; (2) there is evidence, but it shows similarities in cultural inventory or context, not of the characteristic Chavín style; (3) evidence is available but debatable. In this last class Willey puts the Paracas Cavernas pottery of Paracas and Ocucaje. He sees in its dark-ware, flat-bottomed, incised bowls<sup>2</sup> close similarity with Ancón and Supe Chavín bowls; but this similarity is balanced by the dissimilarities of (a) most Cavernas ceramics being polychrome, and (b) others being negatively painted,<sup>3</sup> a technique never or rarely occurring in a Chavín context. As for an incised and painted fanged cat-face from Ocucaje,<sup>4</sup> it "lacks the characteristic Chavín rendering."

That the similarities to Chavín of the Paracas Cavernas-Ocucaje material "constitute a minority of the total features of the pottery and culture" is something I recognized in 1944.<sup>5</sup> I added that the similarities consist of "occasional sharply specific resemblances, plus a residual sense of kindred quality." Willey and I are thus in agreement that most of the known Cavernas material is not in the strict style of Chavín. We differ in that, with Tello, I see the Chavín minority ingredient as indubitable and significant; he considers it so negligible as to be doubtful and debatable. This difference of evaluation I wish now to reexamine.

But in addition a larger problem obtrudes: What are the stylistic affiliations of the majority ingredients of Cavernas culture if they are not with Chavín? This problem has been slighted because Tello, the discoverer of both Chavín and Paracas as of so many other ancient Peruvian types, was constitutionally far more interested in cultural similarities than in differences. If Cavernas contained a Chavín component, then to him it *was* Chavín; what the larger remainder of Cavernas might be was something that Tello evidently saw as less important and hardly discussed. That problem has accordingly lain pretty much fallow since my tentative ruminations about Paracas and Ocucaje in 1944. Because of the physical proximity of the Paracas Cavernas and Paracas Necropolis sites, and of the occurrence at Ocucaje, on the Ica River, of Nazca culture remains in close spatial proximity to those of Cavernas type, the first analysis must obviously deal with these three; though of course if remoter cultures show resemblances these must also be considered.

<sup>1</sup> *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (Albuquerque), 7: 103-144, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, 1944, pl. 14, f.

<sup>3</sup> Same, pl. 16, e, g, i; perhaps 15, h.

<sup>4</sup> Same, pl. 13, e.

<sup>5</sup> Same, p. 39.

First of all, however, let us return to the question of how close to Chavín the indubitable similarities in Cavernas-Ocucaje are.

### OCUCAJE

1. The strongest Chavín resemblance Willey does not cite: the face design incised on a calabash from Ocucaje.<sup>6</sup> This is Chavín style all over, the eyes particularly.

2. The incised face on the end of a double-spout jar,<sup>7</sup> which Willey says "lacks the characteristic Chavín rendering," seems to me to be, not indeed of the finest Chavín quality, but thoroughly in the style: fangs, mouth, eyes, above all the sweep of line.

3. Less pronouncedly Chavín in manner, but definitely within the style, is a profile animal incised on the end of another double-spout.<sup>8</sup> It shows nostril roll and seems to have the pupil eccentric.

4. I see Chavín derivation also in the eyes of four other inlaid or modeled vessels from Ocucaje.<sup>9</sup> In two of these the eyes are rectangular; in two, semicircular; in all, the pupil is in contact with the upper edge or lid—in short, eccentric to the eye as a whole—a Chavín characteristic.<sup>10</sup>

5. I was able through the courtesy of Sr. Truel to illustrate altogether 38 pieces of the Cavernas-type pottery which he had recovered in Ocucaje by March, 1942. Six of these show the specific Chavín-style resemblances just enumerated. Eleven others are relatively flat-bottomed, more or less vertical-sided, low bowls of heavy, dark ware of a shape found also in Ancón Chavín, Supe Chavín, Chicama and Virú Chavín, Kuntur Wasi Chavín.<sup>11</sup> Of these 11 bowls from Ocucaje, 4 are incised,<sup>12</sup> 6 painted (mostly in the characteristic Cavernas postfiring technique of crusting,<sup>13</sup> one is painted either positively or negatively.<sup>14</sup> The corresponding bowls at the four compared northern sites appear nearly all to be plain or merely incised, not painted. The unpainted Ocucaje ones are those that Willey admits to be closely

<sup>6</sup> Same, fig. 5, *b*, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Same, pl. 13, *e*.

<sup>8</sup> Same, pl. 13, *c*.

<sup>9</sup> Same, pls. 13, *b*; 15, *a* (rectangular), 14, *b*; 15, *b* (half circle).

<sup>10</sup> Same, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> *Ancón*: Strong, 1925, pl. 48; Carrión, 1948, pl. 25, figs. 1-11, 13, 14. *Supe*: Kroeber, 1925*b*, pl. 79, *f*, *g*. *Chicama*: Larco, 1941, figs. 41, 42, 64, 65, 74 (painted red and yellow), 76, 77A (lower left), 79 (several). *Kuntur Wasi*: Carrión, 1948, pl. 22, figs. 1-4, 6-9.—Chavín de Huántar, to judge by Carrión, 1948, pl. 12, lacks the exact type: fig. 1 is too high, fig. 3 too incurved, fig. 11 too round-bottomed.

<sup>12</sup> Kroeber, 1944, pls. 14, *f*; 15, *j*.

<sup>13</sup> Same, pls. 13, *b*; 15, *a*, and probably *b*, *c*; 16, *f*. We need a term on which we can agree to designate this method of decoration. It combines line incision with areas of coloring; but the incisions are drawn before firing, the color is applied after firing because it would not resist heating. The steps thus are: (1) outlining the areas of a design by incising; (2) baking of the vessel; (3) applying pigment with some sort of binder, presumably resinous. (Junius Bird says that it dissolves in acetone.) In this way, color effects, including greens, were obtained which the ancients could not master with baked pigments. "Intaglio," "inlay," "champ-levé" are not properly applicable because they all refer to areas which are sunk or cut away in order to be filled, whereas in the Paracas Cavernas technique it is only the outline that is cut in. "Cloisonné" is like champ-levé except that the color areas are separated by applied wires or bands instead of by strips of surface left flush or nonsunk. Moreover, both these processes refer primarily to baked enamel colors on metal. On the other hand, inlay sets a solid material into sunken areas, and intaglio is simply relief in reverse without inset or filling. "Crusting" seems to be the most suitable of the terms proposed. Though it does not per se denote the incised outlining, it suggests that the pigment simply dries or hardens in place, without baking; and, in pottery, this last seems the most distinctive feature of the Paracas process.

<sup>14</sup> Same, pl. 15, *h*. The "polka dots" might be negative; the photograph is insufficient for decision.

similar to those of Ancón and Supe. The painted ones, however, seem thick walled and may be the same unoxidized or uncontrolled ware as the plain ones, with post-firing color crusting added.

This makes 17 of the 38 Ocucaje vessels showing Chavín resemblances in one or more traits.

This exhausts the Chavín resemblances in the Truel collections of 1942. It remains to consider resemblances shown by Tello's finds at the Paracas Cavernas type site.

#### CAVERNAS

These are the figured Cavernas ceramics actually found at Paracas that have Chavín relations.

1. Tello, 1929, fig. 79; Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 28. No. 25-4, from Cavern V. Postfiring color. Standing, human figurine, perhaps a fishman. Compare—for the *theme*, not the style—Carrión, 1948, pl. 19, figs. 4, 5.

2. Tello, 1929, fig. 80; Larco, 1941, fig. 72; Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 24. No. 2-5956. Modeled head jar. Evidently colored after firing. The large tubular neck, of thick ware, slightly convex and with everted lip, is Chavín-like, though found in Chavín itself on stirrup mouths and long-necked bottles, as in Cupisnique. The eyes are almond-shaped, the pupil a vertical band. There is in this pupil a suggestion of Chavín mannerism about pupils, but no specific similarity. The mouth with everted lip might be Chavín.<sup>15</sup> The low nose shows two exposed circular nostrils reminiscent of Chavín.<sup>16</sup>

3. Tello, 1929, fig. 81. Also pl. 27, *a*, of present paper. No. 12-6319, from Cavern II. Human-head-and-spout jar, globular, apparently postfired and of course incised. This piece has little Chavín resemblance in its modeling, in the form of its incised hands, or in its geometric design, but it resembles the next.

4. Tello, 1929, fig. 82; Muelle and Blas, 1938, pl. 70, *a*; Larco, 1941, fig. 71; pl. 27, *b*, of present paper. Also numbered 12-6319, but from Cavern VI. Very similar to last, except that the modeling and incising show a jaguar rather than a human figure. The pupil looks eccentric in Tello's drawing, less so in Muelle's plate.

5. Tello, 1929, fig. 114; Larco, 1941, fig. 22; Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 26. No. 2-4319 from Cavern II. Globular head-and-spout with twin heads and forking bridge. Incised, but seemingly not colored. The heads are not Chavín-like. The eyes are an oval outline slightly cut off, squarish, at the bottom and bisected by a horizontal line. I do not recall this particular bisecting effect in Chavín art, but it may be a distorted or simplified reminiscence of the Chavín habit of having the eyelid half-cover the pupil. The lower half of the face design incised on the front of the body of the vessel is definitely in Chavín manner, though somewhat geometric and stiff. The eye in this incised face is a half-almond: arched above, cut off straight and horizontally below. The mouth is wide and has the canines projecting beyond both upper and lower lips. The idea of a face extending across the belly is paralleled in the Chavín Supe crab design in my fig. 5, *a*, of 1944.

6. Jar with medium-long neck and two side handles, No. 2-4590, unpublished—if Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 23 refers to this piece, the sketch drawing departs from the photograph. Black, incised with mainly rectilinear face design. The mouth has tusked canine teeth; the eye pupil is "eccentric."

7. Recurved bowl, lipless, incised and perhaps postfired. Unpublished, no. 12-8126, see plate 29, *b*, of present paper. The shape is much like that of Carrión, 1948, pl. 12, fig. 13, from Chavín de Huántar.

8. Low bowl or plate, punch-marked. No. 12-8983, published in Kroeber, 1944, pl. 41, *b*. It resembles Kroeber and Strong, 1924*a*, pl. 20, from Huaca Alvarado, Chincha.<sup>17</sup> See also plate 29, *e*, of present paper.

9, 10. Two double-spouts discussed in Appendix II and shown in plate 26, *a*, *b*.

<sup>15</sup> See Tello, 1929, fig. 22; Carrión, 1948, pl. 10, *c*, *g*, *h*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Tello, 1943, pls. 21, *e*, 23; Tello, 1929, fig. 22; Carrión, 1948, pl. 10, *d*, *h*, and (Kuntur Wasi) pl. 23, figs. 18-20, 24, 28.

<sup>17</sup> These pieces are referred to again in n. 27 below.

TABLE 1  
CHAVÍN POTTERY  
(\* , occurrence; —, absence; \*\*, especially frequent or characteristic; (\*), present but aberrant)

Shapes and traits	Kuntur Wasi	Cupisnique	Guañape	Ch. de Huántar	Supe	Ancón	Paracas Cav.	Ocucaje	Paracas Neocr.	Nazca
Stirrup-mouth.....	*	**a	*	*	—	— <sup>b</sup>	—	—	—	—
Flask shapes.....	*	**	*	*	*	*	—	—	—	—
Long-necked bottle.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	—	—	—
Medium-necked bottle.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	—	—	—
Globular body.....	*	(*)	*	?	*	*	*	*	(*)	*
Flaring neck.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	(*)	(*)	*o
Lipless mouth.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	—
Low bowl, recurving into lipless mouth.....	—	*	*	*	—	—	—	—	—	—
With one side-handle (canchero).....	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	**
Open bowl.....	—	*	*	*	*	**	*	*	*	**d
Rounded or conical bottom.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	**d
Flat bottom, sides nearly straight.....	(*)	(*)	— <sup>o</sup>	?	(*)	*	—	*	(*)	*
Flat bottom, sides concave, flaring.....	*	*	— <sup>g</sup>	(*)	—	*	—	—	—	(*) <sup>f</sup>
Pedestal, annular base.....	*	*	— <sup>g</sup>	—	—	*	—	—	—	*
Cylindrical goblet (quero-shaped).....	—	—	— <sup>h</sup>	—	—	—	— <sup>i</sup>	—	—	*
With one side handle.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	*	*
Two small handles, vertical.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	*	*
Double-spout with bridge.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	*	*
Head-bridge-and-spout.....	—	(—)	—	—	—	—	*	*	*	*
Surface treatment.....	(*)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	— <sup>j</sup>	—
Incising.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	— <sup>k</sup>	—
Punch-marking.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	*k	*	— <sup>l</sup>	—
Positive painting.....	—	*m	—	(*) <sup>n</sup>	(*)	—	?	?	?	**
Negative painting.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	?	?
Postfired color, incised outlines.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	**	**	—	?

<sup>a</sup> Also at Chongoyape to north.  
<sup>b</sup> See n. 35.  
<sup>c</sup> Shape Q of Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, fig. 2.  
<sup>d</sup> Nazca bowls only approach flatness.  
<sup>e</sup> Does not appear in Virú until Gallinazo-Negative.  
<sup>f</sup> Only in Nazca B, and not true quero profile then.  
<sup>g</sup> Side handle (strap or tube) to neck spout appears at Virú in Salinar, and at Ocucaje (strap) from broad neck to body.  
<sup>h</sup> Appear in Virú in Gallinazo-Negative times.  
<sup>i</sup> Carrón, Paracas, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 23.  
<sup>j</sup> Vertical grooves to mark panels, no true incising.  
<sup>k</sup> Also at Chincha, Kroeber and Strong, 1924, pl. 20.  
<sup>l</sup> Fragments occur, may be residue from Cavernas occupation.  
<sup>m</sup> Junco Bird reminds me that painting occurs in Late Cupisnique only, and then always in areas marked off by incised lines, though apparently the pigment has been baked.  
<sup>n</sup> In incision grooves only.



These detailed similarities of Paracas Cavernas pottery to Chavín ceramics from farther north must be admitted to be somewhat spotty and perhaps more disappointing than those from Ocucaje.

#### COMPARISON OF SHAPES AND GENERAL TRAITS

On the other hand, a compilation of the principal vessel *shapes* and *general* traits of all the wares called Chavinoid, of which we have a good series of examples, reveals at once a number of basic characteristics common to all or most of the sites whose cultures participate in the Chavín style. In addition, such a collocation distinguishes those shapes and traits within the Chavín tradition which are local from those which are universal. For instance, the stirrup-spout occurs at all northern Chavín sites, but only there. Its place is taken in the far south, in Pisco and Ica valleys, but only there, by the double-spout and head-and-spout. In middle Peru, at Ancón and Supe, neither of these ambitious forms has yet been certainly found; the inventory is simpler and is dominated by the bowl shape, which, like incising, is among the universals of Chavín.

The adjoining table summarizes the facts. Very largely, the tabulation has been made possible by recent publications (1948, 1949) of Dra. Rebeca Carrión Cachot, which for the first time provide en masse the needed information on Kuntur Wasi, Chavín de Huántar, Ancón, Paracas Cavernas, Paracas Necropolis. The data in the table on Cupisnique are from Larco, 1941, supplemented by Carrión, 1948 ("Chavin Chicama"); those on Guañape from Ford and Willey, 1949; on Supe from Willey and Corbett, in press in 1951; on Ocucaje from Kroeber, 1944. Paracas Necropolis is outside the Chavín style, but I have added it to the table because of the close topographic proximity of the Cavernas and Necropolis cemeteries, and because of the sharing of certain traits—such as the double-spouted jar—by the two Paracas cultures. Because of the latter fact, I have also included Nazca in the table, although no one considers it as within Chavín culture. —As for the symbols in the table, an asterisk, \*, denotes occurrence; a dash, —, absence of a feature; a double asterisk, \*\*, signifies that the trait is especially frequent or characteristic; one in parentheses, (\*), that the trait occurs in somewhat different or aberrant form. Where information is lacking, the space has been left vacant.

Before proceeding to discuss the table, I wish to record a simple homespun observation. Many years ago, when we were unpacking the Uhle collections that had come to California and were setting them in geographic order on shelves, we were driven to notice one distinction that held, irrespective of the period of wares. Vessels from northern Peru could simply be put on the shelf and they would sit upright: their bottoms were essentially flat. Vessels from southern Peru had rounded bottoms and needed blocks or props if they were not to tilt or roll over. The north is also the region of the stirrup-mouth; the south of the double-spout. These two forms we now know to have persisted in their respective areas from the beginnings of ceramics in the Chavín period as long as native ware continued to be made; much as respective flatness or rounding of base persisted.

The moral is that certain traits of form or features of tradition are independent of the styles characteristic of periods. They crosscut the styles, persist independently of them, and may endure longer; and yet they may remain regional in the

native history of Peru, whereas the styles sometimes have spread far. In tracing the history of ancient Peru, it is accordingly necessary to respect both considerations—regional habits and true styles. They must be kept separate until it is clear that they happen to coincide, as they do sometimes.

In the present state of knowledge, it can hardly be doubted that the Chavín style originated in northern Peru. As it was carried into central Peru, to Supe and Ancón, it became somewhat impoverished. On reaching Pisco and Ica valleys, it became reinvigorated and originated or absorbed new features more or less compatible with its original northern manner. This southern reworked style of Cavernas-Ocucaje thus is in part pure Chavín, in part of local origin. After the Cavernas phase ended, its strictly Chavín ingredients disappeared, or were so altered that we can no longer recognize them. But some of the local features—such as double-spouts or painting—were retained, elaborated, and developed into new styles: namely those of Necropolis and Nazca, in which specific Chavín features are no longer traceable. That is why columns have been added to the table for these two non-Chavín styles.

Let us now proceed to detailed construal of the tabulation.

#### ANALYSIS OF TABULATED FEATURES

*Stirrup-mouth.*—The northern phase of Chavín style is characterized by the stirrup-mouth, both on the coast and inland. We do not know where in the north the form originated, nor under what stimulus. I have thought of an influence of stone carving on Chavín ceramics; Dra. Carrión suggests woodworking. What is most interesting historically is the persistence of the stirrup-mouth form. It was successively taken up in Salinar, Negative, Mochica, in all of which it occurred, in some luxuriated; it receded in coastal Tiahuanacoid, but revived in Chimú.

*Flask shapes.*—The long-necked bottle, and an intergrading medium-long-necked one, occurs in the north as well as at Supe-Ancón. Not a single specimen seems to have been found south of these two sites

*Globular body, flaring neck.*—A jar with more or less globular body and with a neck of medium length, which, however, flares (instead of constricting or continuing as a cylinder, as in the preceding type), has a spotty distribution, perhaps because it is nowhere very abundant. The reported occurrences are:

Kuntur Wasi, Carrión, 1948, pl. 22, fig. 16.

“Chicama,” same, pl. 13, fig. 13; Cupisnique, Larco, 1941, fig. 77, right.

Cavernas, Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, figs. 19, 20.

Ocucaje, Kroeber, 1944, pls. 15, *f*, *g*, 14, *e* (cf. Cavernas fig. 20).

Necropolis, Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 41.

Nazca, Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, p. 5, fig. 2 s.

Although this form occurs in the north, it seems more characteristic of the south. This is in stylistic accord with its globular shape and tendency toward a rounded bottom.

*Globular, with lipless mouth.*—More widely distributed is a globular or somewhat flattened vessel that keeps curving up and inward to a lipless mouth of perhaps half the diameter of the body. It intergrades with the next shape listed in

the table, which differs only in being so low that it can hardly be called even sub-globular. A number of examples are transitional,<sup>18</sup> and some are lenticular. Every Chavín-style site possessing a considerable ceramic series shows one or the other form, if not both.

*Handled corn poppers, cancheros.*—On the contrary, the lower or more lenticular of this pair of intergrading shapes, but with one conical or cylindrical side-handle added, the canchero or popcorn toaster, occurs within the Chavín style so far as known only at Cupisnique (Larco, 1941, fig. 77; right, fig. 80; lower right, fig. 66), and, according to Junius Bird, in Chicama near Huaca Prieta associated with Cupisnique. However, it lasted long beyond Chavín times, occurring in Negative, Callejón (where it is perhaps most abundant), Mochica, and Proto-Lima. There seem to be no southern occurrences.

*Open bowls.*—When it comes to open bowls, we confront perhaps the commonest Chavín forms. I distinguish those with (1) rounded or conical bottoms from those with (2) essentially flat bottoms, and subdivide the latter into subclasses (a) with nearly straight sides, and (b) those with flaring sides usually somewhat higher. This latter subclass, 2b, seems lacking at Cavernas and Ocucaje. On the other hand, 2a is heavily represented there, especially at Ocucaje, and in Necropolis, and is one of the strongest arguments for linking Cavernas with the northern Chavín style.

*Pedestal.*—An annular base or pedestal seems to be a peculiarity of Kuntur Wasi without being a trait of Chavín style. It would thus be a local feature which the Chavín style encountered (or developed) there. Three of Carrión's 24 illustrations show the pedestal.<sup>19</sup> The Kuntur Wasi examples are probably the earliest pedestals yet known in Peru. In Virú, the pedestal does not appear till Negative (Gallinazo) times.<sup>20</sup> It is abundant in the Callejón, and in Cajamarca and Chimú ware. It occurs in Middle Cañete, though on low flat bowls only. From Pisco south, it seems never to have got a foothold, whether in the Paracas, Nazca, Ica, or Arequipa styles. Here we have another persistent regional differentium.

*Cylindrical goblet.*—A cylindrical jar or goblet, quero-shaped, is not abundant but has a rather widespread occurrence.

Kuntur Wasi, Carrión, 1948, pl. 22, fig. 5.

Cupisnique, Larco, 1941, figs. 63, 77 left, 78 top.

Chavín, Carrión, 1948, pl. 12, no. 8 (base rounded).

(Ancón, Carrión, 1948, pl. 24, fig. 7, is lower, tapering to top, and probably a different type).

Cavernas, Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, figs. 10, 11.

The Ocucaje sample does not include the shape, neither does Necropolis. Nazca has cylindrical vessels that are taller than wide, but only in its later or B phase. Their profile swells, constricts, and spreads again, instead of flaring, and they generally bear crowded designs in bands. These Nazca cylindrical jars probably should not be considered historically related to the quero shape, but as only superficially convergent.

*Side handles.*—A side handle on a Cupisnique cylindrical vase,<sup>21</sup> and another

<sup>18</sup> For instance, Carrión, 1948, Chavín, pl. 12, figs. 13–15.

<sup>19</sup> 1948, pl. 22, figs. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Ford and Willey, 1949, fig. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Larco, 1941, fig. 63, 77A left (separate pieces?); Carrión, 1948, pl. 14, figs. 7, 8.

on an olla or lipless incurved bowl,<sup>22</sup> may be the earliest examples in Peru of loop handles curving in a vertical plane (though the transverse plane of the ribbon that forms the loop is horizontal). The only other attested Chavín-style occurrence is at Ocucaje, where a broad strap handle loops from the low body of a jar to its broad neck.<sup>23</sup> Necropolis and Nazca are entirely without handles, until in Nazca AB or B *pairs* of small suspension handles or perforated lugs appear on one shape of jar.<sup>24</sup> Single side handles do not appear in the Nazca style until the decadent Y1 phase.<sup>25</sup> In the north, the first post-Cupisnique appearance of a side handle is in Salinar, where Ford in Virú reports a strap or tube handle from shoulder to neck spout.<sup>26</sup>

*Double-spouts.*—With the double-spout with bridge, we reach a specialized and characteristic form which is undoubtedly of southern origin within the general Chavín horizon. It is abundant at Cavernas and Ocucaje, and again in Necropolis and Nazca, but it does not occur in any other Chavín manifestation, nor in central Peru till White-on-Red, Interlocking, and Proto-Lima, or in the north till Tiahuanacoid times. It is an obvious counterpart of the stirrup-mouth. In both shapes, there are two tubes leaving the otherwise enclosed body of the vessel. In the one case, these are connected and steadied by a flat bridge. In the other, they are connected and steadied by flowing together into one vertical spout. Technologically, the cardinal point of the invention is likely to have been the manner of the insertion of the two tubes into the body of the vessel. That means, on the principle of economy of interpretation, that we are most likely dealing with one basic invention plus one modification. Since most Chavín traits and sites are found north of Pisco-Ica, the spout style as a whole is more likely to have developed there than at Cavernas or Ocucaje, and its first use of compound spouts would thus have been in the region of Chongoyape, Kuntur, Chicama, Virú, and Chavín de Huántar. The influence of this invention seems to have been weak at Supe and Ancón, but to have been carried on to Pisco and Ica valleys, where it encountered some activity or skill, perhaps already established, that led to the transformation of the stirrup into the bridge. It seems unlikely that people would have been able to achieve this transformation who were only just learning pottery making: they would in that case presumably have been content to copy the stirrup-mouth more or less effectively, instead of transforming it. There is thus a suggestion that a pottery art may have been already developed in the Pisco-Ica region when specific Chavín style influences from northern Peru arrived there. It may be worth while to look for such a culture, which might be as late in origin as the origin of Chavín in the north, but would yet antedate the arrival of Chavín-style irradiations in the south.

The specific local Pisco-Ica antecedents to the impingement would not necessarily have had to be wholly ceramic. They could conceivably have consisted of gourds,

<sup>22</sup> Larco, 1941, fig. 61, 77C top left.

<sup>23</sup> Kroeber, 1944, pl. 13, *f*, *g*.

<sup>24</sup> Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, fig. 2 T. The prototype for these may be no. 2-4590 discussed above from Cavernas; and (or?) Carrión, 1949, pl. 18, fig. 23. There are also occasional three-handled Nazca jars made in rough, unpolished, crudely painted ware. One got by Uhle at Ocucaje is shown in Kroeber and Strong, 1924*b*, pl. 28, *i*. I found one or two in Nazca in 1926. They seem to be utility pieces as contrasted with the funerary ware usual in tombs.

<sup>25</sup> Gayton and Kroeber, 1927, pls. 12, 13.

<sup>26</sup> Ford and Willey, 1949, fig. 9. Ford, *ibid.*, records the first paired small handles in Virú Valley as from Gallinazo-Negative period.

gum, and canes (or hollow bird bones as Tello suggested) which established the double-spout *shape*, which was retained after pottery making and then the stirrup-mouth were introduced. If the gourds were painted or encrusted with pigments bound by gum or oil or even clay, this might have served as a model for the post-firing color that came to be applied to Cavernas and Ocucaje vessels. It is best to keep these conjectures quite tentative, but also to have them in the focus of attention as further explorations are conducted in the area.

Double-spouts, raggedly made and almost lacking in style, begin to appear scatteringly in Chancay White-on-Red, continue into Interlocking, and become more frequent and somewhat better in quality in Proto-Lima. By Tiahuanaco times they have attained a new characteristic shape at Pachacamac and Ancón (as well as in Nazca): flattened body, tapering spouts spreading apart, a humped bridge, Tiahuanacoid painted design. Muelle has made a plausible case for this modified form being the result of development in sheet metal, then retransferred to clay. This new double-spout reached the northern coast in Tiahuanacoid times, tending to displace the native stirrup-mouth. It maintained itself until Spanish times, although with the Chimú the vogue of the older stirrup also revived.

On the other hand, the stirrup-mouth never did penetrate the south. In the Late period it seeped as far as Lima Valley, most often in black-and-white or black-white-red Chancay or sub-Chancay tradition; but not regularly beyond.

So much for the interesting history of these two related forms.

*Head-bridge-and-spout.*—It still remains, however, to consider another form obviously related to the double-spout, namely the head-bridge-and-spout, in which a human, animal, or bird head "replaces" one of the two spouts. This looks like a derivative from the pair of unfigured spouts. The distribution in our tabulation confirms the conjecture. The head-and-spout occurs in the same cultures as the double-spouts, though less abundantly: Cavernas, Ocucaje, Necropolis, Nazca.

There is a second distribution of head-bridge-and-spout vessels that seems to be separate from the present one, and is in fact outside the Chavín tradition. It is post-Chavín in period, and it occurs in northern instead of southern Peru and in the highland as well as on the coast. It will be discussed separately below.

We come now to surface treatment in the Chavín style.

*Incising.*—This is of course the characteristic Chavín method of decoration. It is universal. Its absence from the Necropolis and Nazca styles marks these two manners as perhaps partly Chavín-derived but no longer within the Chavín style. Necropolis occasionally shows vertical grooves that separate swelling panels; but such grooves are part of the basic shaping, not superstructural incising. Nazca of course replaces incisions by polychrome painting. It is therefore remarkable that Necropolis wholly lacks *both* incising and paint.

*Punch-marking.*—Although the basic Chavín method of incising is with a heavy, flowing line, there are also various ways of scoring or roughening the surface or adding buttons or other appliqué. The recent Carrión publications assemble convenient sketches of most of these methods; and the present plate 30, *e*, shows one Cavernas type. I am here singling out one particular method of roughening because it brings an additional valley into the Chavín range, namely Chinchá. I have previously commented on the resemblance of certain shallow conical bowls

from Cavernas to fragments dug by Uhle in the Huaca Alvarado in Chinchá.<sup>27</sup> The punching is diagonal to the surface; the impressions almost cuneiform.

*Positive painting.*—A small minority of characteristic Chavín vessels are painted as well as incised. Junius Bird calls the manner “incised zone painting.” Larco has assembled the greatest number of examples from Cupisnique,<sup>28</sup> and subsequently has put them into a late subperiod of Cupisnique.<sup>29</sup> For the Chavín name site, Carrión mentions only occasional painting in the incision grooves.<sup>30</sup> At Supe, Uhle found at least one sherd that was baked red-painted within incision-bordered areas.<sup>31</sup> For Ancón, Carrión is silent. For Ocucaje, I am in doubt and at fault: owing to lack of time, I failed to supplement with written notes the photographs authorized by Sr. Truel.<sup>32</sup>

By contrast, the efflorescence of polychrome painting in Nazca is very marked, especially in view of the fact that the other post-Chavín culture of the area, Necropolis, seems wholly to lack painting on pottery as well as incising.

*Negative painting.*—This is characteristic within the Chavín tradition only at Cavernas and Ocucaje.<sup>33</sup> Farther north, negative or reserved painting is characteristic of post-Chavín horizons: White-on-Red and Interlocking, Recuay, Virú-Gallinazo. This is one of Willey’s reasons for essentially excluding Cavernas and Ocucaje from the Chavín style.<sup>34</sup> However, the conflict is in the criteria used to define our classifications, not in the total styles themselves: there is no doubt of the fact that negative painting occurs in association with Chavín design at the two southern sites.

*Postfiring color.*—Also characteristic of Cavernas and Ocucaje—and only of them in all Peru, so far as known—is the use of postfiring color crust in areas bounded by incised lines. There is no trace of this process at Necropolis, which geographically adjoins Cavernas at Paracas, nor in any phase of the Nazca style, whose remains closely adjoin the Cavernas-type remains in the oasis of Ocucaje. The isolation of the phenomenon leaves it unexplained. What there is need of, while discovery of related or identical techniques elsewhere is being waited for, is microscopic examination and chemical determination of the color material and process of application.

#### SUMMARY

This analysis of ceramic traits and their distribution shows that at least three local phases must be recognized within the Chavín style and culture. The northern is characterized in pottery by stirrup-mouths—also by a tendency to sculptural modeling in clay and, in the highland, in stone. The central sphere to date is known

<sup>27</sup> Kroeber, 1944, pp. 34–35, pl. 41, *b*; Kroeber and Strong, 1924*a*, pl. 20. See n. 17 above.—Pl. 12, fig. 10, of Carrión, 1948, from Chavín de Huántar, is similar except for the wide spacing of the single impressions. Her 1949, pl. 18, fig. 17, from Cavernas is less similar, both in vessel shape and in regularity of the seemingly almost vertical punch marks. The fragment from Supe in Kroeber, 1925*b*, pl. 79, *j*, is somewhat similar.

<sup>28</sup> Larco, 1941, figs. 38, 40, 48.

<sup>29</sup> Larco, 1948, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Carrión, 1948, p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Kroeber, 1925*b*, pl. 79, *h*.

<sup>32</sup> Kroeber, 1944, pls. 15, *h*; 16, *f*, look negatively painted but may be positive.

<sup>33</sup> Kroeber, 1944, pl. 16, *a*, *e*, *g*, *i*, apparently also 16, *j*, *k*, perhaps 15, *h*, 16, *f*—from 4 to 8 vessels out of 38. It is possible that negative painting carried over from Cavernas into some phases of Nazca. See Kroeber, 1944, pp. 36, 117.

<sup>34</sup> Willey, 1951, p. 132.

from Supe and Ancón and seems to lack tubular spouted vessels,<sup>35</sup> as well as effigy modeling. The southern province is characterized by substitution of double-spouts and head-and-spouts for stirrup-mouths. It possesses some modeling, negative painting, and postfired pigment crusting.

Although the center of gravity of the Chavín culture undoubtedly lay in northern Peru, and Cavernas-Ocucaje is its most southerly known manifestation, this outlier does belong within the culture, though it also does contain elements lacking in the north and center. It may be somewhat later; but there is nothing to show that it was markedly later than the Chavín of Chicama, Virú, and Huántar. The most parsimonious interpretation is that it was only as much later as it took substantial elements of the north Chavín culture to be carried and introduced to Pisco and Ica valleys.

### NECROPOLIS AND NAZCA

In distinction from Cavernas and Ocucaje, Necropolis and Nazca contain no clear Chavín traits, though they carry on certain Cavernas-Ocucaje specialties, such as double-spouts.

I think therefore that there can no longer be any question that the Cavernas culture was earlier than both Necropolis and Nazca.

As to the time relation between these two latter, I hesitantly once advanced the theory that Nazca, or at least its beginning, the A phase, preceded Necropolis.<sup>36</sup> This was largely on the ground that Necropolis embroidered designs were more likely to be based on the similar Nazca painted pottery and painted cloth designs than the reverse.

I am more dubious of this hypothesis than I was nine years ago. On the other hand, I see no specific reason which demands putting Necropolis earlier than Nazca. The close physical collocation of the Cavernas and Necropolis cemeteries at Paracas might suggest a close connection in time also, but by no means proves it. At Ocucaje, the Cavernas-type remains occur topographically just as near to Nazca A and Nazca B<sup>37</sup> remains.

I had hoped that the tabulation, which in the preceding pages has been analyzed for its relations internal to Chavín, would extrapolate so as to indicate either Necropolis or Nazca as agreeing in definitely more features than the other with Cavernas-Ocucaje. But the results are far from decisive.

#### *Nazca more similar to Cavernas-Ocucaje* (as per table)

- Globular jar with flaring neck
- Low bowls with bottom rounded or conical
- Cylindrical jar (but Nazca has no true quero shape)
- Two small vertical handles on shoulder

#### *Necropolis more similar to Cavernas-Ocucaje*

- Low bowl curving into lipless mouth
- Low bowls with flat bottom and straight sides

<sup>35</sup> Strong, Willey, and Corbett, 1943, p. 16, report but do not illustrate "one excellent fragment from a stirrup-mouth jar . . . found in one of the test pits" at Ancón.

<sup>36</sup> Kroeber, 1944, p. 34.

<sup>37</sup> The Nazca-type collections from Uhle's excavations at Ocucaje described by Kroeber and Strong in their Ica paper, 1924b, are the type collection for Nazca A. But Ocucaje also has Nazca B sherds in abundance on the surface—women's yellow faces in patterned rows, and so on. This is my personal observation in 1925 and 1926.

This does not seem a conclusive preponderance for priority of Nazca.

On the other hand, there are certain specific similarities in design between Uhle's A collection from Ocucaje and the Truel Cavernas-type collection from Ocucaje.<sup>88</sup> They are significant because the material is from the same "oasis" and because Nazca A is assumed to be the earliest form of Nazca. The resemblances list as follows:

<i>Uhle Ocucaje Nazca A</i>		<i>Truel "Ocucaje" Cavernas</i>
Pl. 25, <i>a</i>	Man-figure jar	Pl. 14, <i>b</i> (13, <i>a</i> )
26, <i>a</i>	Bird	15, <i>e</i>
26, <i>j</i>	Bird	14, <i>e</i> , 15, <i>d</i>
27, <i>o</i>	Bird	
26, <i>e</i> , 27, <i>c</i> , 28, <i>f</i>	Diamonds	14, <i>f</i> , 15, <i>f</i>
27, <i>e</i>	Checker	16, <i>f</i>
27, <i>l</i>	Step (-fret)	15, <i>g</i>
28, <i>m</i>	Face	15, <i>b</i> , 12, <i>a</i>

The human-figure jars are not too similar, except in general idea, and this resemblance should not be pressed. All the other resemblances are in design, pigment painted in Nazca, usually postfiring painted in Cavernas, but also incised.

In the first of the birds there is, on both sides, a long beak, a long deeply looped neck, a long wing separated from the body by a cleft. The second Nazca bird, plate 26, *j*, has the beak pointing downward and a band across the base of the tail. This banding recurs in both the Cavernas counterparts, and the lowered beak in plate 15, *d*. The third Nazca bird, plate 27, *o*, and several hummingbirds have no precise Cavernas equivalents.

The diamonds or erect rhomboids are in a continuous row in Nazca, free-standing in one Cavernas equivalent, contiguous in the other. Erect diamonds are not common in Peruvian design on pottery; usually they lie.

The two checker-covered bowls are strikingly similar.

The step is accompanied by a fret in Nazca, not so in the Truel piece; but there is an impression of similarity, owing to thin-line borders or incisions.

The faces are done in different stylistic manners, but agree in each having two vertical lines below the eyes and in two long locks or loops curving from the top of the head down past the cheeks on each side. The principle of the designs, their theme, is markedly similar, once it has been recognized. The motive recurs in the Cavernas-Ocucaje painted cloth of plate 12, *a*.

These resemblances are all in minutiae, it is true, but some of them are quite specific and would, even if unsupported, go far toward establishing some historic connection between the two wares, in spite of their technological and stylistic difference.

The known Necropolis pottery, unfortunately, is without designs, so can have no corresponding similarities with either Cavernas or Nazca. The cited Nazca-Cavernas resemblances therefore prove nothing as to the time order of Nazca and Necropolis. They do establish that Nazca evidently followed on Cavernas after a not too great interval, though long enough for one style to be superseded by a quite distinctive one.

<sup>88</sup> Kroeber and Strong, 1924*b*, pls. 25-29; Kroeber, 1944, pls. 12-16.



Reviewing with closer comparison the publications on Cavernas, Necropolis, and Nazca textiles by Carrión and by O'Neale,<sup>39</sup> I now conclude that all three arts are basically close together. I would no longer group Cavernas and Nazca as contrastable with Necropolis, except in what might be called quantitative weighting of processes. Necropolis embroiders much more lavishly than the others. But Nazca embroideries technically match those of Necropolis, except for being fewer, smaller, and less sumptuous. This difference may well be one of economics rather than of textile skill. And in weaving proper as distinct from embroidery, all three arts run closely parallel.

In pottery, the interlocking fish or snake pattern, which inevitably suggests a textile origin, appears in the later or B phase of Nazca. But its hitherto overlooked textile antecedents, so far as reported, occur in *Cavernas*, as Carrión's important illustrations show.<sup>40</sup> This might seem to indicate a juxtaposition in time of Cavernas and Nazca. But if so, it would put *late* Nazca near Cavernas; and since because of the total absence of outright Chavín features Nazca cannot be put before and must be put after Cavernas, we have two alternatives left. Either Nazca B was not late but early Nazca, as Tello always contended (he called it Pre-Nazca); which I cannot believe because the drift between the two phases seems to me stylistically construable in one direction only. Or we are driven to the explanation that the interlocking fish pattern of Cavernas textiles required the duration of Nazca A for its transfer into pottery painting in Nazca B; which is a possible view, but a speculative one.

I think what we must admit is that we must await further evidence before deciding positively as to the time order of Necropolis and Nazca—in fact also, possibly, as to the precedence of Nazca A and B.<sup>41</sup>

It is evident that ceramics were much less stable in style than textiles in this southern area in early times. Some of the basic shapes of Cavernas pottery continued; but its incising was lost in both Necropolis and Nazca; its postfired painting and probably negative painting seem also to have been lost in Necropolis but replaced by positive painting in Nazca.

The two successor styles differ markedly in one regard. Necropolis is known to us only as sharply localized at one site in one time. Nazca is all over Ica and Rio Grande valleys in its presumably early and mature A and B forms, and in its decadent and mixed Y phase it spread south to the Majes, north to the Cañete,

<sup>39</sup> Carrión, 1931; O'Neale, 1937; O'Neale and Kroeber, 1930.

<sup>40</sup> Carrión, 1931, fig. 2, p. 41—See also Yacovleff and Muelle, 1934, p. 141, fig. 26, *g* (Cavernas weaving, not Necropolis embroidery).

<sup>41</sup> It is of course conceivable that the Nazca A of Ica Valley represents a local variety of Nazca as well as a time phase, or that it represents a local variant even more than a temporal one. However, I do not consider the latter likely, because all or most Ica Valley types of Nazca ware are found also in Nazca Valley. I may add that I consider the Gayton and Kroeber 1927 classification of Nazca ceramics into A, AB or X, B, and Y essentially sound, but now believe that we might have classified with more precision if, instead of depending primarily on shape-design correlation, we had frankly regarded the Ocucaje-Ica Nazca collection of Uhle as a "pure lot sample" which served to define Nazca style A (less possible minor regional variation), and if we had then defined AB and B first of all by subtracting the A types from the large collection of mixed A, AB, B, and Y which Uhle had obtained in the Rio Grande Valley largely by purchase from huaqueros, with excavation of only a few graves by himself. However, this means only that hindsight is often the better, and I am in no sense repudiating our 1927 classification, merely suggesting that it can be corrected in detail.

inland to Huari.<sup>49</sup> Necropolis certainly looks like an end about to die; Nazca clearly ran a long and varying course and left wide influences if not direct issue.

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<sup>49</sup> Nazca shares its characteristic gray pigment with Classical Tiahuanaco, Coast Tiahuanaco, and Huari. This gray is so uniform that it is surely due to one particular mineral constituent, wherever and whenever it occurs. The ceramic styles using the pigment are therefore historically connected by it; and, until now, Nazca A appears to be the earliest of them.

I express appreciation to my colleague John H. Rowe for much aid he has given me in finding specimens and references in the literature, as well as by fruitful suggestions of interpretation.

A.L.K.

Berkeley

October 20, 1952

## APPENDIX I

### Northern Head-Bridge-and-Spouts

I return now to the second and semiautonomous distribution and history of head-bridge-and-spout vessels in Peru. This current is post-Chavín instead of Chavín in origin; and it is primarily northern instead of southern. It also includes certain forms not characteristic of Paracas and Nazca head-and-spouts. The occurrence falls outside of our tabulation: in Salinar, Virú-Negative-Gallinazo, Recuay, and Wilkawain in what might be called early post-Chavín times; and subsequently, in Huari-Tiahuanacoid, Lambayeque-Abigarrado-Cursive Modeled, and Chimú and Chimoid.

In this northern form, the head may be replaced by a bust or half figure, or by a whole figure, and this may be human, mammal, bird, or even plant. These variations seem to be secondary. But a distinction must be made between (1) single vessels bearing the head-bridge-and-spout and (2) double-chambered vessels ("double jars") of which one bears a head (or *is* a figure) whereas the other bears a spout, these upper elements being then connected (perhaps originally for structural strength) by a nontubular bridge, in addition to the invisible opening connecting the two chambers below. The second type results very easily as an elaboration or by-product of the basic two-chamber form, especially if one of these is shaped as an effigy. In the single-chamber or single-receptacle type, however, the head-bridge-and-spout complex is not suggested by the basic form, but is deliberately imposed on it.

With one or two exceptions attributed to Cupisnique,<sup>48</sup> the earliest examples of the single-chamber head-bridge-and-spout seem to be in the Salinar culture of the northern Coast with which Larco's little monograph of 1944 has made us familiar. Salinar is a stirrup-mouth ceramic (though rarely so, Junius Bird tells me, in nonpreselected material) which, however, also employs the figure-bridge-and-spout complex. When there are two figures or chambers, they are connected by a stirrup-mouth;<sup>49</sup> the bridged forms are all single-chambered.<sup>48</sup> In the Salinar collection which I inspected in the Larco Museum at Chiclín in 1942—presumably somewhat preselected as to quality—about 10 per cent of the vessels were bridge-and-spout.<sup>48</sup> The human exemplars vary from a head to a half figure to a full figure;<sup>49</sup> sometimes

<sup>48</sup> One of these pre-Salinar pieces is Cupisnique in Larco, 1941, fig. 77C right. This is a two-chambered vessel representing what is probably a dog, with a spout rising out of its haunches. No photograph of this piece seems to have been published, and the outline drawing does not seem very Chavin-like in style. Confirmation from other, similar examples is therefore desirable to make sure there has been no error of attribution or record.—The second specimen was found with the Chongoyape gold, and though therefore generally credited with Chavín-Cupisnique affiliation, it is aberrant. The vessel is single-chambered, cylindrical-lenticular. From its top, near the edge, rises a modeled erect animal figure, or half figure, perhaps of a rodent, facing outward. From the animal's neck there issues not a bridge but a short tube that joins a longer curving one which rises from near the opposite edge of the top of the main body of the vessel. On joining, the two tubes rise in a typical Cupisnique spout. What we have, then, is really a typical stirrup-mouth except for the abnormality that the base of one of its tubes is replaced by a modeled figure; but this figure is quite similar to those of Salinar figure-bridge-and-spouts. The piece accordingly is hybrid in type; or, historically, it looks like an undifferentiated stirrup-mouth-figure-and-spout. Neither of these presumably Chavinoid specimens thus fully anticipates the standard single-chambered figure-bridge-and-spout of Salinar: the first is double-chambered, the second lacks a true bridge.

<sup>44</sup> Larco, 1944, figs. on pp. 2, 3, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Same, pp. 5, 9, 10, 11 top.

<sup>46</sup> Kroeber, 1944, p. 56.

<sup>47</sup> Larco, 1944, pp. 5, 9.

the figure is a bird, or a plant something like a cactus.<sup>48</sup> Some of the figures look across the bridge at the spout,<sup>49</sup> in contrast with the normal arrangement in nearly all post-Salinar cultures, where the spout rises behind the head or person. This inward-facing position seems the result of indeterminacy during the groping, formative phase of this style element.

Larco has also illustrated three figure-bridge-and-spout vessels as being Virú-Cupisnicoides.<sup>50</sup> This is a Virú Valley variant of Cupisnique, probably later than Chicama Cupisnique, possibly of a period equivalent to Salinar in Chicama Valley. At any rate the three vessels in question are very similar to the more numerous Salinar figure-bridge-and-spouts just discussed, in body shape, spout, half-length human figure, sharp nose on this, facing toward as well as away from the spout.<sup>51</sup> And the one Virú-Cupisnicoid "phytomorph" is in its general shape—a bud, bulb, or swelling shoot or fruit—much like the Salinar "cactuses."

We next come, in time sequence, to Virú, as Larco has renamed his former "Negative" and Bennett's "Gallinazo." Here, in contrast with Salinar, we encounter not only single-chamber but double-chamber figure-and-spouts. Larco shows four of the single and two of the double type, besides a double one of the Virú style of Chicama Valley, which he construes as later.<sup>52</sup> Bennett figures one and two examples respectively.<sup>53</sup>

Like Virú, the Recuay style of the Callejón de Huaylas uses negative painting. There are other resemblances, and the two cultures may be contemporaneous. Bennett shows both single-chambered<sup>54</sup> and double-chambered spouts.<sup>55</sup> Bennett also has classified 357 Recuay-style vessels from eight collections. These contain 79 single-chambered and 22 double-chambered figure-and-spouts, 49 of the former and 10 of the latter with three-color negative painting.<sup>56</sup>

It is clear that the figure-bridge-and-spout device is strongly represented in post-Cupisnique, pre-Mochica northern ceramics—on top of the occurrence of single-chambered vessels in Salinar, of both single and double in Virú-Gallinazo and Recuay.

By contrast, the figure-bridge-and-spout goes out almost wholly in Mochica—a style which channeled and reduced the number of its basic shapes—except for rather rare though well-made double-jars.<sup>57</sup> In these the figure-and-spout idea seems incidental to the double-chambering.

<sup>48</sup> Same, pp. 10, 11 top.

<sup>49</sup> Same, p. 5, middle row, p. 9, right.

<sup>50</sup> Larco, 1941, figs. 43 (two on left), 40; first two also in clearer outline drawing in fig. 80A, top left. In Larco's publications of 1945 and 1948 the term Virú-Cupisnicoides is no longer used.

<sup>51</sup> In fact, 1941, fig. 43, second from left, might, so far as the reduced photographs allow judgment, be identical with Salinar, 1944, p. 5, row 2, second from right, except for the broken tip of the spout of the latter.

<sup>52</sup> Larco, single-chambered: 1945, p. 5, top right (figure on caballito raft, looking inward); p. 5, bottom right (also 1948, p. 23, second from right), shrimp with spout and fish, both on rectangular box (two figures on a single chamber!); p. 7, top, lying deer, bridge from neck of animal to spout out of rump; 1948, p. 23, third from right; possibly also 1948, p. 5, lower left, feline. Double-chambered: 1945, p. 4 (also 1948, p. 23, third from left), drummer; 1948, p. 23, second from left, man jar on pedestal, rear chamber probably spouted.

<sup>53</sup> Bennett, 1939: single-chambered, fig. 13, *j*, on pedestal; double-chambered, figs. 14, *e*, 13, *g* (this last has four pear-shaped receptacles).

<sup>54</sup> Bennett, 1944, fig. 32, H-1, H-2; also types H-3, H-4, p. 102.

<sup>55</sup> Same, fig. 32 I-1, and p. 102.

<sup>56</sup> Same, pp. 99, 103.

<sup>57</sup> Kroeber, 1925*a*, pl. 56, *k*, *l*. They constitute only 2 out of 594 vessels in the Uhle Mochica collection.

After Mochica times, the figure-bridge-and-spout was again made in northern Peru, notably in Coast Tiahuanaco (Huari-Norteño), Huari-Lambayeque (Abigarado, Cursive Modeled), and Chimú. It occurs there in single- and double-chambered form, and alongside the nonfigured double-spout, which was the old dominant spouted shape in the south in Chavín and Nazca times and which seems to have been carried to the north by the stream of Tiahuanacoid and Huari influences. After the first surge of this stream into the north weakened, the original northern stirrup-mouth revived in favor, and in Chimú times it was reestablished (both in old Mochica territory and north thereof, and to some extent to the south as far as Chancay and Lima) almost as prominently as in Mochica days.

Proto-Lima has been omitted from this review of northern spouted forms because its spouts seem to have been derived mainly from the south. The simple double-spout exceeds the figure-and-spout (or head-and-spout) by 6 to 1 in Gayton's published Nievería material, and by 15 to 5 in d'Harcourt's "Cajamarquilla." The stirrup-mouth is lacking. The style which precedes Proto-Lima, Uhle's Interlocking at Chancay, shows two double-spouts.<sup>58</sup> In the Chancay White-on-Red that apparently precedes Interlocking, there is one clear case of a double-spout<sup>59</sup> and a marginal one of a bird head-and-spout.<sup>60</sup> As for Proto-Lima, northern influences are not wholly lacking in the ceramics of this culture.<sup>61</sup>

Middle Cañete has both plain double-spouts and single-chambered head-and-spouts that show more or less late Nazca (B) influence.<sup>62</sup> Cañete being more or less halfway between the Nazca area of Ica and Rio Grande drainage, and the Lima-Chancay area, it should have served as gateway for the northward transmission of Nazca influences to Interlocking and Proto-Lima; and its spouted ware looks transitional between the two. It is at any rate out of the northern head-bridge-and-spout current.

The main facts are all so familiar that they need not be substantiated by further citations. They are here reviewed as being the concluding chapter in the complex history of interrelations of the stirrup-mouth, the double-spout, the single-chambered figure-and-spout or head-and-spout, and the double-jar or two-chambered form of this. All of these are typologically related by being based on the element of the tubular spout. They are also undoubtedly related historically. As the foregoing paragraphs show, the interrelations are fairly complex, but there is now enough temporally placed evidence available to make the outline of events fairly clear.

## APPENDIX II

### Unpublished Examples of Paracas Ceramics Cavernas and Necropolis

The number of whole pottery vessels that have been found in Dr. Tello's explorations at Paracas is not known. It seems not to have been large, and only a fraction

<sup>58</sup> Kroeber, 1926, pls. 88, *a*; 89, *f*.

<sup>59</sup> Same, pl. 86, *f*.

<sup>60</sup> Same, pl. 86, *g*.

<sup>61</sup> Compare the Mochica-influenced effigy vessels in Gayton, 1927, pls. 92, *a, b*; 95, *g, h*, and the corn poppers of pl. 95, *a, c, f*.

<sup>62</sup> Kroeber, 1937, pl. 70, fig. 2; pl. 73, figs. 1, 2, 3 (double-spouts); pl. 73, fig. 4 (figure-and-spout); see also for two of these Bennett, 1946, fig. 12, *c, e*.

of those excavated have been reproduced in illustration, except for Dra. Carrión's welcome outline drawings. In fact fewer pieces have been available in published photographic reproduction from the famous Cavernas and Necropolis sites together than I was able to show in my 1944 monograph from Ocucaje through Sr. Truel's courtesy. Moreover, the tendency has been to figure the same few Paracas pieces over and over. See for instance, at the beginning of the present paper, in the list of Cavernas vessels evincing Chavín similarities, nos. 2, 4, 5, on pages 314–315, each of which has been illustrated by no less than three authors.

This dearth of data accessible to North American and European scholars on the highly characteristic ceramics of a civilization important in culture history, has led me to include in my presentation plates 26 to 30, of Cavernas vessels and plates 31 to 32 from the even less known Necropolis inventory. Most of the photographs I obtained in Lima in 1942 by application to Dr. Luis Valcárcel, then Director of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología on Avenida Alfonso Ugarte, and they were made for me from Museum negatives as postcard-size prints at the nominal charge at which the Museum furnished photographs of its objects to scholars and the public.

The four spouted jars shown in plates 26 and 27 have a different history. When Dr. Tello was in the United States in 1935—a trip that was memorable to North American Peruvianists in that it led, at Tello's suggestion, to the founding of the Institute of Andean Research—he brought with him a large album of photographs and water-color paintings which he hoped to induce some American publisher or institution to bring out. This hope was not realized; but the photographs now shown were taken as a precaution against loss. The two Cavernas vessels in plate 26 have, so far as I can find, never been reproduced, and were apparently not at the Museo Nacional in 1942; at any rate, they were not included in the list of pots photographed for me. The two of plate 27 have been published previously several times: they are nos. 3 and 4 of my list on page 314. I have included them because the paintings show some detail of design—especially in color values—not clearly visible in the photographs; also because their comparison with the published photographs will serve as an index of accuracy for plate 26, for which there are no photographs from life presently available.

These illustrations serve to define the distinction of Cavernas from Necropolis ceramics.

Characteristic of Cavernas, not represented to date in Necropolis, are:

1. Black or very dark ware.
2. Incising.
3. Postfired color crusting within areas marked by incised lines.
4. Punch-marked surface.
5. Negative painting.
6. Low bowls with flaring sides.
7. Globular jars with constricted neck and flaring lip.

Necropolis ware shows fewer positive characteristics. The surface is plain; incising, punching, crust color, negative painting seem to be lacking. Also absent, to date, are low bowls and globular jars. There is less modeling than in Cavernas: compare plate 31, *a*, with 28, *a*. But it does occur: witness the double-chambered

piece of 31, *b*, and Muelle and Blas's plates 68, 69. The octagonal shape and side handles of plate 32, *c*, *d*, are not too important as stylistic innovations. All in all, Necropolis ware is retractile, if it developed out of Cavernas; it has given up traits, but has failed to develop or even strengthen notable new ones.

There are some tantalizing sporadic cross-ties in detail. Such are:

1. Cylindrical blocks as bases for spout insertion: plates 26, *a*; 28, *b*; traces in 31, *a*, *d*.
2. Flaring spouts: plates 26, *a*; 30, *d*; 31, *a*.
3. Vertical grooving, or paneling by furrows: plate 26, *b*; Carrión, 1949, plate 18, figures 44-46, 50.
4. Jars like plates 30, *g*; 32, *f*.

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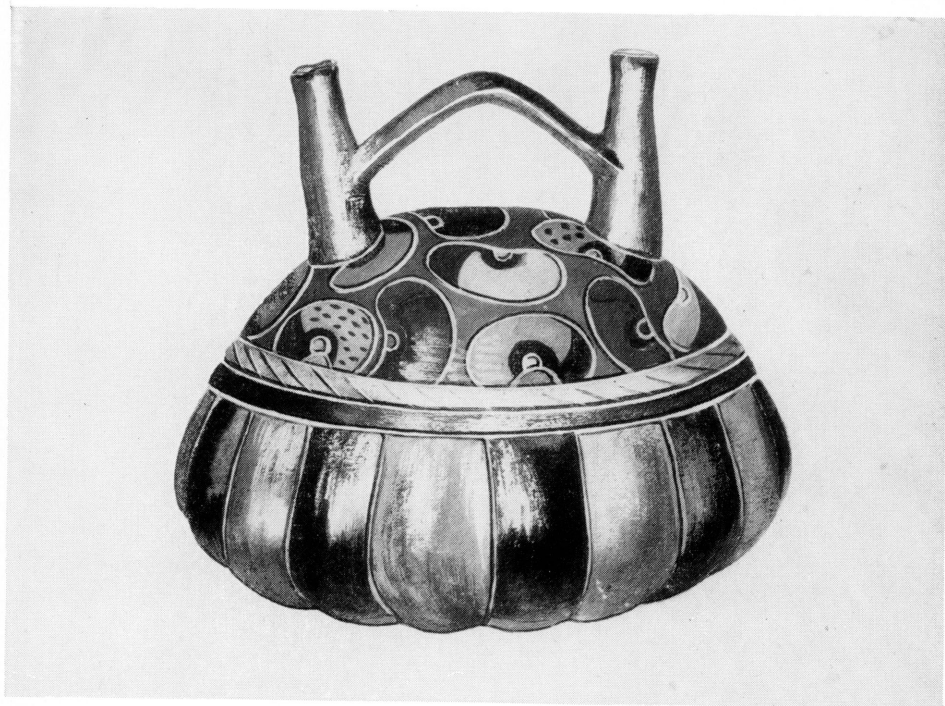


## PLATES

## PLATE 26

*a.* C25, no museum number. Highly stylized feline on double-spout. Note flare and inset of spouts. The flare recurs in Necropolis pl. 31, *a, d*; the inset in Cavernas pl. 28, *b*.

*b.* C24, no museum number. Pallares ("Lima" beans); also vertical furrow-paneling, heretofore considered characteristic of Necropolis, as in Museo Nacional 12-6011, 12-6582, 2-4727 (this last a purchase).

*a**b*

PARACAS CAVERNAS

## PLATE 27

a. C21, no. 12-6319, Cavern II. Tello, 1929, fig. 81.

b. C22, no. 12-6319 (*sic*, same as last), Cavern VI. Tello, 1929, fig. 82; Muelle and Blas, 1938, pl. 70, a; Larco, 1941, fig. 71.



a



b

PARACAS CAVERNAS

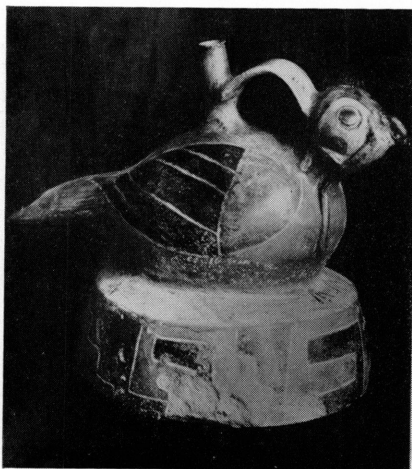
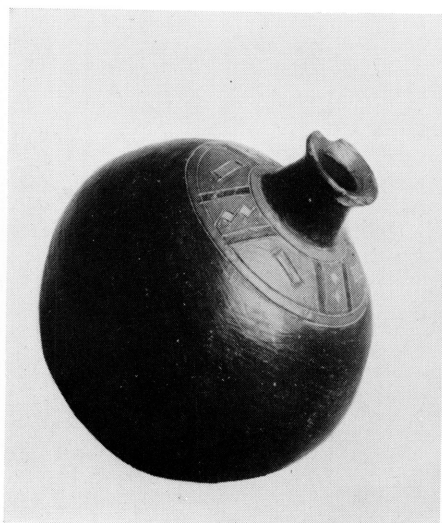
## PLATE 28

*a.* Bird head-and-spout, incised and postfiring color-crusted, 21 cm. high; no museum number reported.

*b.* Double-spout, spouts tapering but inset (cf. pl. 26, *a*); fragment of incising; 10 cm. high. No museum number reported; provenience from Cavernas not assured.

*c.* Globular jar, incised and crusted, 16.5 cm. high, No. 25-8b. Previously illustrated in Muelle and Blas, 1938, pl. 70, *b*. Similar to Kroeber, 1944, pl. 15, *f, g*.

*d.* Similar jar, incised and crusted, 14 cm. high. No. 25-9.

*a**b**c**d*

PARACAS CAVERNAS

## PLATE 29

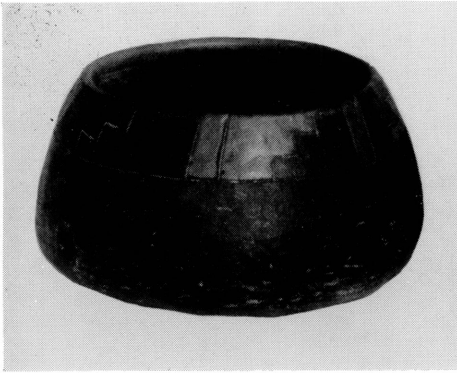
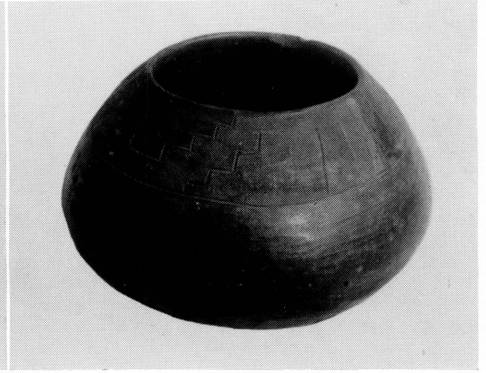
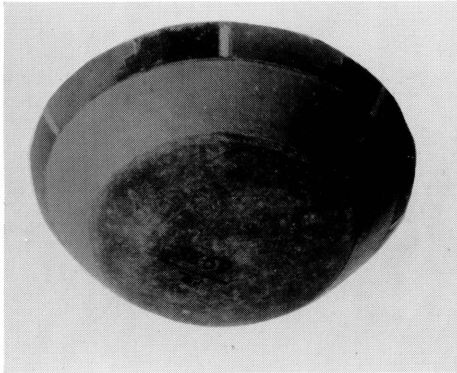
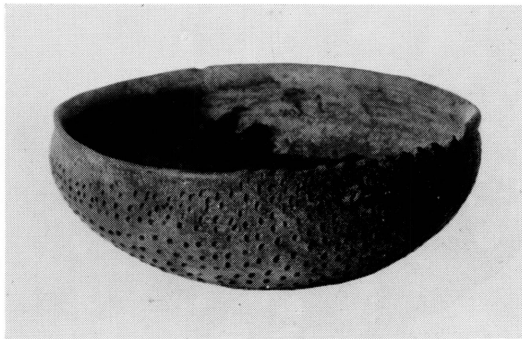
*a.* Bowl, incised and crusted, 6.5 cm. high. No. 25-6.

*b.* Similar bowl, 11 cm. high. No. 12-8126. Referred to above on p. 315, no. 7.

*c.* Shallow open bowl, incised and crusted, 14.5 cm (in diam. ?). No. 12-8988.

*d.* Flat-bottomed bowl, negatively painted with disks outside, 18.5 cm. diameter. No. 25-10.

*e.* Punch-marked bowl, no museum number, but carried as Cavernas.

*a**b**c**d**e*

PARACAS CAVERNAS

## PLATE 30

- a. Round-bottomed bowl, 17 cm. diameter. No. 12-9474.  
 b. Incurved bowl, 5 cm. high. No. 12-9096.  
 c. Flattish-bottomed bowl, 14 cm. diameter. No. 12-9084.  
 d. Similar, 12 cm. No. 12-8981.  
 e. Flat-bottomed bowl, spliced crack, seems to have borne paint, 20 cm. diameter. No. 12-8764.  
 f. Similar, sides more flaring, also cracked and spliced, probably unpainted, 21.5 cm. diameter. No. 12-8364.  
 g. Jar, very similar to Necropolis pl. 32, f, 8.5 cm. high. No. 12-8756, carried as "Cavernas desmontes" (clearings).  
 h. Jar, 7 cm. high. No. 12-9011.



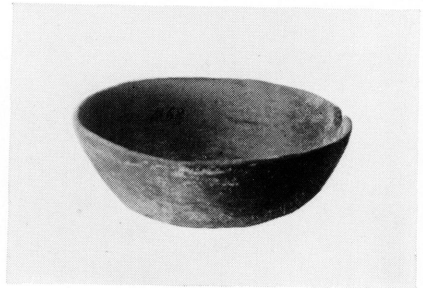
a



b



c



d



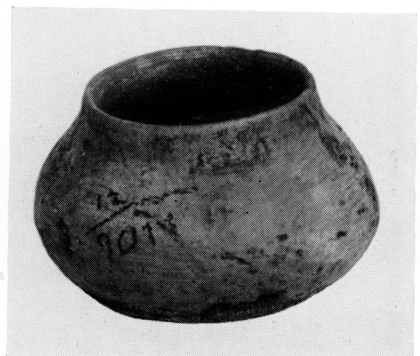
e



f



g

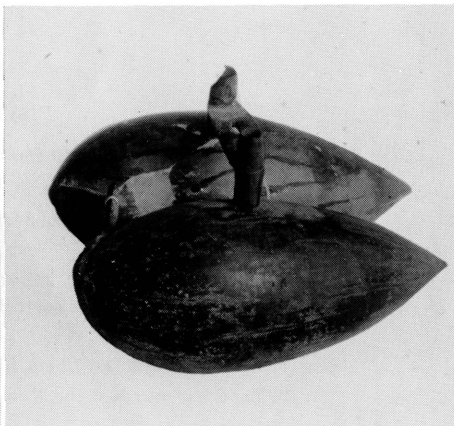


h

PARACAS CAVERNAS

## PLATE 31

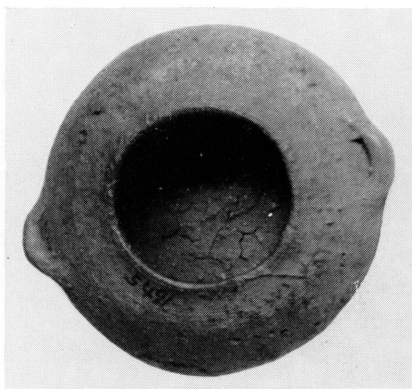
- a.* Bird-head-and-spout, the latter flaring, 10 cm. high. No. 27-1.  
*b.* Double-chambered double-spout with wide, flat bridge, 12 cm. high. No. 12-5378. Shown in Muelle and Blas, 1938, pl. 69, *a*, but the present view is from a different side and angle.  
*c.* Double-spout, cylindrical, spouts long and tubular, bridge humped, 12 cm. high. No. 12-5778.  
*d.* Double-spout, cylindrical, spouts flaring as in *a* and in Cavernas pl. 26, *a*. No. 12-6280.

*a**b**c**d*

## PARACAS NECROPOLIS

## PLATE 32

- a.* Plain double-spout, 10 cm. high. No. 12-5837.  
*b.* Similar, 9 cm. high. No. 12-5818.  
*c.* Incurved bowl, apparently octagonal, roughish surface, 8 cm. high. No. 12-5419.  
*d.* Incurved bowl with two side-handles, rough, 3.5 cm. high (near-miniature if this is correct). Dried food (?) contents show. No. 12-5491.  
*e.* Wide mouthed jar, 12 cm. high. No. 12-5593.  
*f.* Tapering mouthed jar, 8 cm. high. No. 12-5570.

*a**b**c**d**e**f*

PARACAS NECROPOLIS