CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD IN ANCIENT PERU

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Dedicated to the memory

of my father

Kelvin Bernard Bettcher

(1936-1999)

ABSTRACT

Children and Childhood in Ancient Peru

Katrina Johanna Bettcher

This thesis is an attempt to bring children and childhood into the archaeological narrative of Peru and to examine the assumptions of mortuary theory. Archaeological burial data from the Preceramic to the Late Horizon (Inca) were examined to determine how the social identity, social status, and symbolic meaning of infants and children changed over time. Whereas Andean cultures of different time periods expressed ideas about fertility, death, and the ancestors through child burials, the context and significance of the child burials changed as societies became more complex. Contrary to the expectations of processual mortuary theory, children in societies where status was achieved had a social identity right from birth and infants seem to have had special attention paid to their burials. As societies became more complex, the status of children decreased. Child sacrifice became more common as the symbolic meaning of the young was co-opted by the élite.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Children, in general, have not had a significant role in the archaeological narrative of Peru. Subadults are mentioned in burial reports but often there is not much interpretation of the burial data. Interpretation may not go beyond trying to determine if the type of child burial found at a site was diagnostic of a stage in cultural evolution. For example, at Aspero, a Late Preceramic site dated to around 2857 B.C., an elaborate infant burial was thought to be an indicator of a ranked society (Feldman 1980, 1985). Such an interpretation is based on the assumptions of a particular set of mortuary theory. According to this body of inquiry, children in societies where status is achieved have little effort spent on their burials while in societies where status is ascribed some infants receive more elaborate burials than some adults. These assumptions need further examination. The amount of effort spent on a child burial may reflect factors other than social organization such as ideas about death and the afterlife. There has been little thought about the symbolic meaning of child burials or what the burials have to say about the children themselves and their place in a particular society.

When there has been an effort to view child burials as more than indicators of social complexity, the interpretation has been only relevant to the site or local area or, if more comparative work has been done, it only relates to a certain time period. For example, Quilter (1989) compares the Preceramic burials from Paloma (5700-2800 BC), on the central Peruvian coast, with more or less contemporary burials from Las Vegas,

Ecuador and the Chinchorro Tradition of the north coast of Chile. He notes that group burials and special attention to subadults characterized the Paloma, Vegas, and Chinchorro burial practices.

When the symbolic meaning of child burials is noted, it usually is within the context of discussions about the Inca *capacocha* or child sacrifices. For instance, Sillar (1994) examines Andean concepts interrelating childhood, work, play and the supernatural to suggest why children were considered to be appropriate sacrifices to Inca deities. In general, there has been a lack of a diachronic perspective concerning children and perceptions of childhood in Peruvian studies. However, comparisons about child burials of different time periods have been made to ethnohistoric information about the Incas with little consideration of the fact that the mortuary practices are occurring within different social, economic, and ideological frameworks. For example, a mortuary structure at Paloma which was the burial place for several fetuses or neonates was interpreted by Quilter (1989:67) as being a fertility shrine similar to those described in historic documents about the Incas. He did not point out, however, that fertility rituals in Inca times were related to agriculture, whereas the Palomans relied upon maritime resources, nor that the bodies of adult males, as well as infants, were honoured by the Incas for their connection to agricultural fertility.

At least one study, however, has not relied upon direct comparison to Inca practices. The ritual Moche infant deposits recently excavated at Huaca de la Luna have been interpreted by Bourget (in Scott 1999) within the context of Moche society, as understood from archaeological evidence. He relates iconographic depictions of infants, burials, ritual, and dialogue with ancestors and deities.

Around the world, there is only slightly more discussion, most of it very recent, of children in the archaeological record. The recent research (e.g., Lillehammer 1989; Moore and Scott 1997; Park 1998; Scott 1999; Sofaer Derevenski 2000; Stoodley 2000) shows that children are an important part of the archaeological narrative and that a range

of questions may be posed about children and their place in prehistory that will expand our understanding of these societies. Such questions, which have yet to be addressed in Andean studies, concern the economic role of children in different societies, how they were socialized into their gender roles, and how the transition to adulthood may have taken place. Age is an important element of the identity of each member of society and individuals will pass through different age stages as they pass through the lifecycle. Which ages are emphasized, however, and the meaning of the different stages depend upon the historical, socio-political, and ideological context of each different society. The following are examples of archaeological research that have raised these issues about children and childhood.

Lillehammer (1989) has written about the archaeology of children in Scandinavia. There are also a few papers on children in the archaeological records of other parts of Europe in a volume concerned with the issues of childhood and gender edited by Moore and Scott (1997). Park (1998) has recently published a paper on the subject of Inuit children's toys that have been found in archaeological contexts in the Canadian Arctic and the role these toys may have fulfilled in teaching children their economic roles.

A recent volume of *World Archaeology* (2000) is concerned with human lifecycles and includes discussions about how different age groups are signified in different societies and how this may change over time, (e.g., papers by Sofaer Derevenski 2000; Stoodley 2000). Sofaer Derevenski examined how age-gender distinctions, as symbolized by copper, changed over time in the Carpathian Basin. During the early Copper Age, metal objects were used in graves to signify the age-gender identities of individuals five years of age and older. By the end of the Copper Age, however, identities based on age and gender were no longer strongly marked and few metal objects were found in the graves. Stoodley studied age thresholds marked by the Anglo-Saxon culture. He noted the change in burial assemblages as individuals reached different ages and looked at the relationship between physiological aging and the variations in the

burial rite to see if there was a close link or, alternatively, if biology was used as the basis of a cultural, more flexible system of marking stages in the lifecycle.

Scott's (1999) volume *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death* is concerned with the whole issue of infancy, from a deconstruction of biases and social constructions of infancy in the modern west to an overview of infant mortality and mortuary practice over a wide range of time and in different geographic regions. Topics covered include evolution and infancy, aspects of pregnancy, childbirth and childcare, domestic infanticide and sacrifice. Many examples are from Europe, but of particular relevance to this thesis are her discussions of Sillar's (1994) work on the Inca *capacocha* and Bourget's (in Scott 1999) study of Moche infant deposits.

As the examples from the above discussion illustrate, different themes in childhood studies may be discerned. In evolutionary studies, child burials have been used as diagnostic indicators of cultural complexity. In other studies, the symbolic meaning of children has been a concern. More recently, questions related to age stages in various societies have been investigated. The thesis will explore the potential and the limitations of these different spheres of childhood studies.

Organization

The intention of this thesis is to attempt to bring children and infants into discussions about the archaeology of Peru. First, the introduction will examine some of the reasons why children have been left out of archaeological narratives and then propose that they should be included. Chapter Two will discuss what sorts of questions archaeologists could ask about children in ancient Peru. These questions concern aspects of culture where variability between prehistoric societies could be expected to occur, based on evidence from social history, ethnohistory and ethnographic studies, examining such issues as when individuals attained a social identity, socialization in gender roles,

and the adoption of economic roles. Another important problem that may be explored is that of age thresholds, or how old are individuals when they pass from one biologically and culturally defined stage of the lifecycle to the next (e.g., at what age did the transition from childhood to adulthood occur in a particular culture)?

I will concentrate on mortuary evidence since it is the most obvious place to see children in the archaeological record and provides the most direct evidence (Lillehammer 1989:103). Elements of the child's social persona may be reflected in the material and formal attributes of the graves as a representation and reaffirmation of the important organizing principles of a society (Rega 1997:229). On the other hand, burials may reflect the ideology of the society or the aspirations of individuals. With respect to the mortuary treatment of infants (but this applies to child burials, too), Scott (1994:4) states that "[i]mages of infants, and the infant dead...can be manipulated to make statements, to reflect cultural beliefs, to affect existing ideological schemes and to articulate social and political tensions and concerns".

Mortuary evidence, however, has its limitations. Many of the pre-Hispanic cemeteries in Peru have been looted, so it is hard to obtain data from many sites and preservation is not always good. As well, the usual pattern of mortality where most deaths occur under the age of five years or in adulthood means that there will probably be few individuals between five years and adulthood in cemeteries (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970). Thus there will be limited data for answering questions about older children. Another limitation is that often few artifacts are found in the graves. Because of these limitations with the Peruvian data, the thesis only notes the potential of research into age stages, engenderization, and the adoption of economic roles, but does not attempt to investigate such questions.

Chapter Two then will turn to the problems upon which the thesis will focus. Children have been considered most often when archaeologists have used mortuary theory to discuss the social organization of societies. Mortuary data may be used to

examine questions about the social identity and social status of children at different time periods during Peruvian prehistory. However, some of the underlying assumptions of mortuary theory, particularly with respect to children, must be addressed. Since burials reflect attitudes to death and cosmological concepts, as well as the social roles that individuals held while alive, the symbolic aspects of child burials must be considered in addition to the questions about social identity and social status.

Chapters Three and Four present the archaeological data for child mortuary practices over time in ancient Peru. The data are presented chronologically and separated into evidence from the Preceramic and from the periods following the Preceramic. The Preceramic mortuary treatment of children seems to differ from the mortuary treatment of children in the later periods.

Chapter Five offers a discussion of the archaeological data, by contextualizing the burials within the social, economic and ideological spheres of their societies. Through the use of a diachronic perspective, this chapter challenges the assumptions of archaeological mortuary theory. The questions about the social identity, social status, and symbolic meaning of children at different time periods in Peruvian prehistory will be explored. For interpretative purposes, the thesis will draw on information about children and childhood from social history, ethnographic studies, ethnohistory, and archaeology. Some of the sources I have used relate specifically to Peru, but I will also draw upon evidence from other parts of the world if I consider it relevant.

As a final note, I should explain how I am using the term "child". I employ it in a somewhat open-ended manner, not only because different cultures see the change from child to adult occurring at different ages but also because the archaeological reports do not always define what they mean by child (i.e., at what age an individual is considered to be an infant, a child, or a youth, or an adolescent or an adult). When examining the archaeological data, however, I generally considered anyone aged 15 years or under to be a child. This is an arbitrary dividing point between children and adults but there seemed

to be some agreement between Andean ethnographic data (e.g., Portugal Catacora 1988), from my own interviews in the Ayacucho region, and archaeological reports (e.g., Benfer 1984:Table 21.1; Engel 1988a; Stoodley 2000:457) that individuals 15 years or older are no longer children. I am also including infants in the category of children but I will distinguish infants from older children when more specific age categories are needed, depending on what ages particular archaeological reports used. In general, I regard an individual three years of age or under to be an infant but when a source uses a different definition of infant, it will be noted. In addition, fetuses will be distinguished from infants when the distinction is deemed to be important.

Why an Archaeology of Children?

Why have children been left out of the archaeological narrative? This is one of the important questions that has been raised in the volume *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, edited by Moore and Scott (1997). The authors in the volume (e.g., Scott 1997; Rega 1997; Sofaer Derevenski 1997) employ a feminist and postprocessual perspective. They criticize traditional archaeologists for writing about the past as if women and children did not exist or else for making assumptions about gender and age. Processual archaeology is also found to be at fault for its narrow selection of questions that are studied, its overemphasis on ranking and hierarchies in explanations of cultural change and its lack of an understanding of the significance of the symbolic realm or individual action.

This thesis draws upon the feminist and postprocessual approaches in an attempt to investigate questions about age, with a focus on children in ancient Peru. It will examine the assumptions that have been held about children and will consider the symbolic meaning of child burials in addition to their significance for questions about social complexity.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of the section, part of the reason that children have been neglected in archaeological discussions is because they are not the ones carrying out research and writing about it. Most of the discussion has been written by adult males who write about other adult males and more recently by women writing about women. They have not thought to write about children (Scott 1997; Sofaer Derevenski 1997).

At other times children have not been forgotten but have been consciously left out of the discussion. Even though archaeologists have known that one of the basic components of social personality is age (along with gender, relative social status, and social affiliation) and that this may be symbolized by differential mortuary treatment (Binford 1971), Rega (1997:229) has pointed out that archaeologists have tended to focus on vertical social categories such as ranking, but not spend much time on horizontal social distinctions such as age, gender, and kinship (e.g., Peebles and Kus 1977). These latter categories have not been thought of as being worthy of study and have even been considered as confounding the analysis of ranking and as problems that must be factored out (e.g., McKay 1988). Thus, Rega concludes that there are patterns of variability in the archaeological record based on age that could be explored if it is realized that they are not distortions, but reflections of past social behaviour. One could add as emphasis what Scott (1997:5) asserts: that if we consider only rank and class from an adult male perspective, we are not getting a complete picture of society in the past.

It has also been argued that there are methodological reasons for not being able to see children in the archaeological record. The argument is the same as against 'seeing' women in the archaeological record. Such research about women and children is deemed too abstract or not testable. Certainly, studying questions about women and children may be difficult, however those who study questions of gender have responded that other equally abstract problems such as 'ethnicity', or 'population pressure', or 'exchange systems' have been considered legitimate issues for inquiry (Conkey and Gero 1991;

Scott 1997) so why not discuss gender and age? It may be argued that the goal of studying childhood in the past is to understand processes and not to look at categories (Scott 1997:6). As pointed out by sociologist Jens Qvortrup (1994:4), childhood should be thought of as an integral form that is interrelated with other structural forms so "childhood is formed by its mutual interchange with socio-economic forces in principle in the same way as other social forms". In other words, childhood is an essential component of the interconnected relationships of a society. Concepts of childhood have changed over time and should be understood within their historical and sociocultural context.

Why should children be considered an important subject of inquiry? Every society has children and children make up a large part of the population of societies. Unlike such figures as 'administrative officials' or 'chiefs' who are featured in archaeological discussions and who presumably existed in the past, we know for sure that children were present. Age, along with gender, kinship, and social status are important parts of the identity of each member of a society. Age is one of the important structuring principles of societies and needs to be studied in order to understand the structure of any society. Children are very important in the process of a society passing on information from one generation to the next. They are socialized and taught what their place is in the society. They learn about how to make a living, about the myths and beliefs of the society, and about how males and females relate to one another among many other things. They can also have an active role in the economic and social life of a culture. Children do not just play, they also work. They may also be participants in the ceremonial life of a community.

Of course, children are biologically different from adults and do not have the same cognitive or physical abilities. Infants are small and dependent on their caregivers. As they age, children pass through recognizable stages of cognitive and physical development before finally becoming adults. All societies recognize the biological facts

of growing up but the meanings that are attached to the different phases and the emphasis that they receive will vary.

While every society has children, not every group brings up their children in the same way nor has the same view of childhood. Among the social historians, Philippe Ariès (1962) was first to demonstrate that concepts of childhood have changed over time as demonstrated in his study of French upper-class families living under the *ancien régime*. Another social historian Shulamith Shahar pointed out that childraising, educational methods, and parent-child relations are not just determined by biological laws but are culturally constructed. In each particular society, these must be examined "within the context of material culture, economic conditions, levels of medical knowledge and hygienic standards, political and social structure and prevailing beliefs and value systems" (Shahar 1990:1). Ethnographic studies, such as by Whiting and Whiting (1975) have shown that among contemporary societies around the world there is a range of childraising practices. Childhood may be shorter or longer in different societies. It may be viewed as just one continuous stage or else it may be divided up into distinct age grades. The transition to adulthood occurs in different ways. There may be more or less interaction with the adult members of society. Children enter into and participate at different times in the economic life of society. They may be viewed as social beings at different ages. They may be more or less marginalized from the rest of society. There are different ways of socializing them into gender roles.

It is important to examine how children are integrated into different societies because they are a basic component of the structure of all societies and how they are integrated into their respective societies has an impact upon, and is affected by, the socioeconomic, political, and ideological systems of those societies. In addition, concepts of childhood do change over time and are very dependent on their sociocultural and historical context. Just consider how many Canadian children are now in daycare as compared to a generation or two ago. The change reflects not only different attitudes

about childcare but also changes in the economy, politics, gender roles, and even religious beliefs. Or consider how in some societies engaged in warfare; children may be passive bystanders whereas in other societies children are active combatants (e.g., the kidnapped child soldiers of a rebel army in northern Uganda or the young Palestinian stone-throwers).

The following chapter will examine more closely the different ways that children may be perceived, not just by the cultures in which they were a part but also by social scientists and archaeologists who have had their own assumptions about children.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND: METHOD AND THEORY

Introduction

The potential of childhood studies in archaeological research will be explored in this chapter. Some of the questions that may be asked about children in the archaeological record in general have been posed by Lillehammer (1989). These include questions about when children in past societies passed the age of childhood and how the transition took place, as well as if there was a difference in this process between hunter-gatherer societies and agricultural ones, or between more stratified and less stratified ones? Other questions that may be asked are: How are they engendered? How are they integrated into the economic system of a society? When do individuals gain a social identity? What status do children hold within a particular society? Suggestions will be made about how such questions may be addressed using archaeological evidence.

Since the thesis focuses upon burial data, the limitations of these data for answering the above questions will be addressed. A discussion of mortuary theory and how child burials have been used in interpretations of social organization will follow. The expectations or assumptions that have been made about the mortuary treatment of children will be pointed out. Burials reflect attitudes to death and the after-life as well as the roles that individuals may have had in life, so the symbolic aspects of child burials will also be taken into consideration.

Age Grades and the Transition from Childhood to Adulthood

Childhood is not just a biological phenomenon (defined as the period between infancy and puberty). The time and state of being a child varies between cultures (Lillehammer 1989:93). In other words, each culture has its own view on the nature of childhood and how long it lasts. As the authors of *Theorizing Childhood* point out, " in any particular culture or at any specific historical moment 'the child' is a product of the ways in which the process of aging is qualitatively, rather than simply quantitatively, accounted for " (James et al. 1998:62).

Societies may focus on continuity in childhood and define it in opposition to adulthood by viewing children as lacking in adult qualities. On the other hand, childhood may be viewed as a series of stages or hierarchical grades that individuals must pass through as they approach adult norms. There are often rites of passage or initiation rituals associated with entering the next age grade (Van Gennep 1960[1908]; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). There may be social functions assigned to the different stages or grades and these vary with the specific historical period or culture. For example, as noted by Philippe Ariès (1962:24-25) in his discussion of childhood under the *ancien régime*, in the French iconography of the fourteenth century the ages of life were defined in sections with certain modes of activity, physical types, social functions and styles of dress associated with each section. The first stage of life, 'the age of toys', was represented by children playing with a wooden horse and dolls. 'The age of school' was marked by boys holding a notebook and pen, engaged in reading and writing while girls learned to spin. 'The age of love or of courtly and knightly sports' depicted feasting as well as boys and girls walking together. A man bearing arms represented 'the age of war and chivalry' while the last stage, 'sedentary age' was depicted by old bearded men wearing antiquated clothes, seated at desks studying law or science.

An example of an archaeological study concerned with how individuals passed through different age thresholds bracketing stages in the lifecycle was carried out by Stoodley (2000) with British archaeological data. He examined data from early Anglo-Saxon (fifth to seventh century A.D.) burials to identify age-related patterns and to analyse the representation and the meaning of the lifecycle. More specifically, he looked at the relationship between physiological aging and the variations in the burial rite to see if biology determined the observed patterns or if biology was used as the basis of a cultural, more flexible system of marking stages in the lifecycle. He found that infants were greatly under-represented and over half of those infants that were present did not have any grave goods. Many infants were found in multiple burials. The first threshold seemed to occur around two to three years of age when the treatment of young children began to have more in common with adult burials. From this threshold on, the number of grave goods and the types of grave goods both increase with age. The next stages seem to be subdivided along the lines of gender with changes in weapon assemblages (assumed to symbolize a masculine identity) and dress fasteners and jewelry assemblages (assumed to symbolize a feminine identity). Changes in the feminine assemblages indicated that a second threshold occurred at around five years (when feminine objects begin to be placed in graves), another strongly marked threshold at 10-12 years (when the assemblage becomes much more complex and elaborate), and another in their late teens. Changes in the masculine assemblages indicated that a threshold occurred at around three to four years when spears initially appear in a small number of burials in this age group. Another threshold was at 10-14 years when spears were most likely to show up in the child group. The principal threshold occurred in the late teens when a wide range of weapons was included in burials. Weapon assemblages were commonplace mainly in the adult group. Some of the thresholds had links with biology, such as the principal one for females at 10-12 years, around the time when they would have entered puberty. But another threshold in the late teens suggests that other identities contributed to the female persona.

Females, as well as males, seem to have been considered mature adults at this general threshold. Perhaps this is the age when individuals got married. Not all burials had strong gender- and age-specific symbolism, either, so symbols of maturity may also have been related to social status. In other cases, individuals were buried with full feminine and masculine attire before their respective biological thresholds.

Historic sources from Peru demonstrated that the Incas defined 10 or 12 standard age divisions for census purposes and labour tax assessment. The discrepancy between the number of age divisions, according to ethnohistorian Rostworowski (1988), depended on whether the writer was native Andean or Spanish. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980[1615]) used the decimal system and Andean concepts to describe the Inca age grades whereas the Spaniards' accounts employed the European system of counting by dozens and non-indigenous concepts (Rostworowski 1988:218). Because an exact reckoning of age was not kept, i.e. they did not know for sure how old they were (it was not unusual for people in the past to be uncertain about when they were born [Ariès 1962; Wiedemann 1989]), the transition from one grade to another came with obvious changes in physical condition and economic usefulness (Rowe 1946:256). Guamán Poma (1980[1615]), in his letter to the Spanish Crown, listed several stages of life for males and females in the Inca Empire. He listed ten *calles* or *visitas* for males and ten for females. Each *calle* or *visita* simply meant another stage of life. As Rostworowski (1988:215) has pointed out, the age grades were not listed in chronological order (i.e., from infancy to old age), but instead started with the age of greatest strength and potential for work (i.e., from 25 to 50 years). The capacity to do work was very important to the Incas and thus formed the basis of the age grades. The specific tasks assigned to the children's age grades will be discussed in the following section. The different age grades are listed below.

For males, the *Primera, Segunda, Tercera,* and *Cuarta Calles* were concerned with mature men. The *Quinta Calle* (*sayapayac* or messengers) were around 18-20 years

old. The *Sexta Calle* (*mactacona* or youths) were between 12-18 years old (Figure 1), those of the *Sétima Calle* were 9-12 years of age, the *Octava Calle* (*pucllacoc* or 'children who play') were 5-9 years old, the *Novena Calle* (*llullo llocac uamracona* or 'nursing infants beginning to crawl') were 1-5 years old, and the *Décima Calle* (*uaua quiraupicac* or newborn nursing infants in the cradle) were around one to five months.

For the females, the first four *calles* were for mature women. The *Quinta Calle* (*allin zumac cipascona* or 'good beautiful maidens') were unmarried young women. This stage could last until 33 years of age. The *Sexta Calle* (*corotasque* or 'girls with short hair') were about 12-18 years old. The *Sétima Calle* (*pauau pallac* or 'flower gatherers') were 9-12 years old (Figure 2). The *Octava*, *Novena* (Figure 3), and *Décima Calles* corresponded to those for the boys.

Another document, written by the Spaniards Castro and Ortega-Morejón (1867 [1558]), purports to list 12 age grades that the Inca census-takers were interested in but more than half of the classification deals with children and nursing infants. So much attention to categorizing children and infants does not seem likely since the census-takers were probably most interested in who was available to do work for the state. Rostworowski (1988) points out that this classification disagrees with the indigenous concepts of Guamán Poma, who noted that infants, because they were dependent and unable to work, had little utility.

An ethnographic example from Peru provided by Portugal Catacora (1988:299) illustrates how an individual's passage through different age grades may be symbolized materially through clothing and hairstyle. Modern indigenous people in the Department of Puno talk about a person being born several times. A child is born physically and mentally at 0 years and is at a dependent stage of life. A working individual who contributes to the economic well-being of the home is born at 6 years, an independent stage. This stage is marked by the child's first haircutting ritual (*el rutuchi*), where members of the community are invited to cut the locks of hair that have been allowed to

grow since birth and the child receives gifts of domestic animals, clothes, fruits, etc. Also around this age, a girl will receive a small carrying blanket and a boy will receive a bag to carry a cold lunch while out working. Finally, an adult member of the community with rights and responsibilities is born at 15 years and enters an inter-dependent stage of life, working with other adults on community projects. Further data from Puno show that the transition from youth to adult status is marked by changes in clothing (Flores Ochoa 1979). In the illustrations that accompany Guamán Poma's (1980[1615]) text, it is interesting to note that there are some distinctions in the hairstyles and clothing between the different representative ages. Young girls have short hair but young women have long hair (compare Figs. 2 and 4). Hair has symbolic meaning for many peoples so perhaps in prehistoric Andean times changes in hairstyle and particular articles of clothing marked entry into a new age grade and this may show up in the archaeological record where preservation permits.

The duration of childhood also has been perceived differently in various cultures and times. In the European Middle Ages, the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence was recognized as occurring at age 12 for girls and 14 for boys. However, there was no uniform age of maturity, i.e., agreement about at what age individuals achieved adulthood (Shahar 1990:28-29). Ariès (1962:26) wrote that until the eighteenth century, the French confused adolescence with childhood. The long duration of childhood occurred because people were indifferent to strictly biological phenomena such as puberty. The idea of childhood was tied to dependence. To be considered an adult, one had to leave the dependent state, which meant being financially dependent and with one's own household. Lower ranked individuals such as servants would also be called by terms used for children.

On the other hand, cultures may view individuals reaching adulthood at a specific age, in association with a particular ceremony. Wiedemann (1989:113-115) explains that in ancient Rome, boys gave up their child's clothes and protective amulets and put on the

toga when they were 16 years of age in a preliminary ritual to prepare them for being soldiers and citizens at 17 years of age. However, when fighting was no longer of importance in the Roman Empire, citizen status was no longer a sign of adulthood. Children began to inherit positions formerly achieved by adult male citizens. Entry into adulthood was associated with puberty. Roman girls, on the other hand, were considered women when they got married.

During Inca times, boys had a maturity ceremony at about 14 years of age when they were given a breechcloth and a new name in a public, collective ceremony called *Waracikoy* (also written *Guarachicuy*)(Cobo 1990 [1653]; Rowe 1946:283-285). The ceremony for lower classes must have been ordinary but for the royalty the ceremony was elaborate and lasted for several weeks. The boys were given a shield, sling, and a mace because they were old enough to be warriors. Girls had individual maturity ceremonies when they first menstruated. They also received a permanent name at this time. However, peasant males and females did not have to take on full adult responsibilities in the community until they married and established a household. At this time they became taxpayers. On the other hand, children of the nobility were married at five to nine years of age (so as to maintain the purity of the aristocratic lines) but they lived with their respective parents until they were old enough to have marital relations (Espinoza Soriano 1987). Criteria other than marriage must have marked their passage into adulthood.

Until about the 1920s and 1930s, remnants of the *Waracikoy* ritual existed in the Lake Titicaca region (Portugal Catacora 1988). Two groups of youths (about 15 years of age) would engage in a mock battle with each other. They would lash each other on the bare legs until one side surrendered. This marked the age when they could have the right to enter into common-law relationship or marry. The winners of the combat, because they were considered heroes, were considered attractive partners. At 15 years, they were considered to be adults with full rights and obligations and had to take part in community projects.

Here are some questions that could be asked about the nature and duration of childhood in ancient Peru: Are all the subadults treated the same or are there signs that different stages of child development were recognized? Is there evidence of age grades? At what age are individuals treated as adults? Does this differ between males and females? Is there a sharp dividing point? Gradual change? Do all members change at the same age? Are there class differences? How closely linked are the cultural changes and biological ones?

Children as Part of the Workforce

As noted in the previous section, the age grades during Inca times were closely linked to the capacity to do work. In fact, around the world children from cultures past and present have been an active part of the economies of their communities. The ages at which children contribute and the types of tasks they are thought capable of handling, though, differs from culture to culture. For instance, during the European Middle Ages, children were sent from the home at around seven years of age to be apprenticed for a trade (Ariès 1962:365-366). On the other hand, !Kung children are not expected to contribute to the subsistence economy until they are teenagers (Zeller 1987:545). Ethnographic sources representing cultures around the world demonstrate a variety of tasks which children undertake at different ages. Research by Nag et al. (1978) examined the workloads of Javanese and Nepalese children. These children carried out a substantial amount of work. The activity which occupied them most was animal care. Caring for younger children was also a significant activity, with older siblings being responsible for most of the childcare and freeing the mothers for other duties. Whiting and Whiting's (1975:84) research of six cultures around the world (the communities of Nyansongo in Kenya, Juxtlahuaca in Mexico, Tarong in the Philippines, Taira in Okinawa, Khalapur in India, and Orchard Town in New England) showed that children

as young as three to four years old were expected to work. Children's tasks included collecting firewood, fetching water, collecting fodder, cleaning and sweeping, food preparation and cooking, agricultural tasks, and herding. As well, they were to run errands, fetch and carry, and pass on messages.

Studies of contemporary traditional communities in Peru demonstrate that children carry out various economic activities (recall the children in the Department of Puno). In the community of Moche on the North Coast, children began to do chores around six years of age. Girls would help with such domestic duties as sweeping or carrying water. Boys would help with weeding, watching the cows, and with irrigation. When infants were not being nursed, they were carried about by older children (Gillen 1973 [1947]:67). In the highlands, in the Quechua community of Sonqo near Cuzco, girls used to first practice spinning and weaving at age five or six. Before schooling became common, children were responsible for taking care of the herd animals. Younger children would sweep the house (Wagner 1983:30-31).

From my own observations of rural children in the Department of Ayacucho in the Peruvian highlands, I noted that they were responsible for gathering firewood, carrying loads, carrying younger siblings, washing clothes, fetching water, and tending livestock from about six or seven years of age. I also interviewed adults about their childhood work in rural Peru. I was told that in Sarhua, boys of around four or five years of age would receive small farming implements and would be expected to work in the fields. In the Huanta area, by seven or eight years of age, boys would have their own small field to sow, tend, and harvest. Younger boys would take care of small farm animals and when they got older, they would take care of the larger animals. At around age 12-15, boys would go to the *selva* (lowlands) to work with their fathers in the fields. At 15 years they would help with the *faenas* of communal work like cleaning the irrigation canals. Boys also would carry out domestic duties such as sweeping the house, carrying water, food preparation such as shelling beans, removing maize kernels from the

cob, etc. but would not cook. Girls, on the other hand, were expected to help almost exclusively with domestic duties, including cooking. One informant said that when she was seven or eight years old she would go to the *selva* for three-month stints to cook and wash clothes for her father. I was told by my informants that children considered it their duty to help and that "*el niño es para mandar*" ("a child is for bossing around").

Child labour begins at an early age in rural Peru for economic as well as for educational reasons, the emphasis on each of these two aspects depending on the age of the child, according to Walter Alarcón Glasinovitch (1988) who wrote a study for UNICEF. Children serve the family like all the other members because there is the understanding that responsibility for the home is collective (Alarcón Glasinovich 1988:45,163)

Historic sources from Peru indicate that children in Inca times worked. Rowe (1946:288) stated that child subjects of the Inca state were so busy working and helping their parents fulfill their labour tribute that they did not have much time for fun and games. Murra (1956:172) noted that under the Inca, one took part in labour services all one's life, first to carry out the duties required of the parents' household by the state, then upon marriage and the assumption of adult status, as the responsible head of the household.

As mentioned previously, in Guamán Poma's (1980[1615]) letter to the Spanish Crown, he listed several stages of childhood and what the duties of the male and female children were at each stage. Youths of the *Sexta Calle* were 12-18 years of age. They served the community and hunted small birds to make a special kind of *charqui* (dried meat). Boys of the *Sétima Calle* (9-12 years old) helped the older members, hunted birds, watched the herds, and gathered firewood and straw. Those of the *Octava Calle* (5-9 years) were called *pucllacoc* or 'children who play' but they were already working with the herds, collecting firewood, and caring for younger siblings. Those of the

Novena and *Décima Calles* (under five years) were considered to be of little use because they did not work.

Young women of the *Sexta Calle* (12-18 years old) helped their parents with light labour in the fields, watched the herds, spun and wove, made *chicha* (corn beer), and worked in the kitchen. The *Sétima Calle* (called *pauau pallac* or 'flower gatherers) were 9-12 years of age. They gathered edible wild plants and flowers to make dyes. Girls of the *Octava Calle* who were about five to nine years of age were termed 'girls that play' but the author's illustration depicts a five-year-old carrying water and the label says she serves her mother. The letter states that girls of this age group had to help with such domestic duties as bringing firewood, helping to make *chicha*, and caring for younger siblings.

The ethnographic and ethnohistoric information about children's work raise questions about what one might discover about children in ancient Peru. At what age were the subadult individuals in Peruvian communities recognized as contributing (or potentially contributing) to the workforce? Can one expect children to be buried with tools of a particular occupation or craft? If so, for what age groups were these types of goods placed in the grave? This may give an idea about whether their work was valued or if the adults recognized their economic contributions.

Gender Issues

Studies that focus on male and female roles distinguish between biological sex and gender. Biological sex pertains to reproductive potential whereas gender is a social and cultural construction which is defined primarily in relation to biological sex but not exclusively (Rega 1997:231-232). Gender refers to the socially and culturally perceived differences and similarities between and among males and females (Conkey and Gero 1991:8-9). Gender structures are integrated with ideology and other social and economic

institutions of a society. It may be viewed as a process. As Sofaer Derevenski (1997:193-194) has noted, gender is actively created, mediated and passed on from generation to generation. As children develop, they learn the gender ideology of their culture, the roles they are expected to play, and they form a gender identity

Children are socialized into gender roles but how this is done varies from culture to culture. Gender differentiation or instruction in the division of labour by gender may not be focused upon when a child is younger. For example, amongst the Inuit, both girls and boys would play house and also go with their fathers on hunting and fishing expeditions. Role differentiation did not become strong until the children were nine or ten years old, and even as adults gender roles were not completely firm as some women were hunters (Park 1998:279).

On the other hand, children may be taught at an early age about role differentiation. In a Nepalese village, for instance, it was noted that female children in the age category six to eight years old were often responsible for caring for their younger siblings, while the boys of the same age rarely had that responsibility (Nag et al. 1978:295). For an historical example, girls in ancient Athens stayed in the home and were only taught domestic duties (Golden 1990:72). The boys went to school. Tomb iconography depicted different characteristic attributes for boys and for girls who appear to be some years older than infants. Boys were associated with wagons and girls with dolls and ducks.

Initiation rituals or rites of passage may be important for teaching gendered skills or gendered behaviour. Gender learning may occur during different age stages (Sofaer Derevenski 1997). For example, in classical Athens the girls belonged to religious cults which had public rites reflecting training in women's work (childcare, weaving and food preparation)(Golden 1990:48). As mentioned in the section about the transition to adulthood, in Inca Peru, boys of the Cuzco élite who were about 14years of age took part in a ceremony called *Waracikoy* (or *Guarachicuy*) which involved activities necessary for

becoming a warrior. Part of the ceremony for a girl's arrival at puberty was her serving her relatives at a feast, a role considered proper for a woman (Rowe 1946:282).

Ethnographic examples from traditional communities in Peru indicate that there is gendered division of labour. Catherine Wagner's (1983:39-43) research in Sonqo, in the *puna* near Cuzco, described how men and women carry out separate but complementary activities. Men are identified with agricultural labour (though women place the seeds in furrows and turn clods of earth that the men have plowed). Women are identified with the household and with herding. They are viewed as the transformers of raw materials into finished products such as wood into fire, agricultural produce into food, sperm into children, and wool into clothing (though men knit and weave as well). Boys about ten years old and onward are teased or chided into going to work in the fields with the men. Girls meet with disapproval if they want to carry out male activities. Social activities are also separate. At public gatherings, women sit separately from the men. The female role at the gatherings is to serve, the male role is to dance and eat.

In my interviews with rural Peruvians in the Department of Ayacucho in the Peruvian highlands, I was told that if the little four- or five-year-old boys wanted to stay at home instead of working in the fields, they were teased and asked if they were women. Boys did not cook. Likewise, if a girl tried to work in the fields instead of in the home, she would be teased and asked if she were a boy. This was how they were encouraged to learn the gendered division of labour.

From the ethnohistoric and ethnographic data, one would expect gendered division of labour to have occurred in pre-Hispanic Peruvian cultures as well. When analyzing the burial evidence for ancient Peru, archaeologists may be able to determine at what age gender differentiation is made. Are there gender differences recognized in the burials and at what age do these start to occur? Is there already strong gender differentiation for infants or does this occur later on? If there are tools of a trade or craft, do these indicate division of labour along gender lines?

Unfortunately, subadult skeletons are not reliably distinguishable by sex (except recently where DNA testing has been possible). It is commonly agreed that the skeletal indicators of sex only show up after puberty with the development of diagnostic bony features (contra Schutkowski 1993). Thus the biological sex of the child is not known in a burial. Therefore, indirect methods have to be found to answer questions of gender. One clue to gender identity in child burials might be body orientation in the grave. A study by Rega (1997) of a Bronze Age cemetery in central Europe demonstrated a correspondence between biological sex and the orientation of adult skeletons which indicated a highly gendered structure. The same variation in grave orientation occurred in child burials as well, suggesting gender treatment paralleling that given to adults. Perhaps the location of burial may be another clue if adult males and females are buried apart but there are children with them. However, such cultural-archaeological identification of sex or gender invites problems of circular conclusions.

Gender may be symbolized in material form, as well. Clothing or adornments, for example, may be a marker of gender as it maintains the symbolic structure and values of a society. Material culture may also actively construct the world of an individual (Sofaer Derevenski 1997:194). A study carried out by Sofaer Derevenski (2000) of Copper Age Burials of the Carpathian Basin of Central Europe demonstrated that copper was used to mediate meanings of age and sex. Sexual difference was reflected in side of burial, with men buried on the right and women on the left and children also buried on their right or left. Particular copper types would be associated with side of burial. At around five years of age, right-side burials received arm rings and left-side burials received finger rings and copper beads. Men also had arm rings but not after the age of 25 years and women had finger rings and copper beads.

In an ethnographic account about the alpaca herders in the Department of Puno, Peru, Jorge Flores Ochoa (1979:51-52) wrote that clothing was classified according to the age and sex of the wearer. Under the age of five or six years, both boys and girls wear

similar clothing but of different colours (white for boys and red for girls). At five or six years, they begin to wear gender-specific clothing, homespun pants and white shirts for boys and woven skirts and red and black blouses for girls. Also as noted in the discussion about age grades, the children of the Department of Puno, when they reached the age of about four to six years, received carrying blankets if they were girls or bags if they were boys (Portugal Catacora 1988:156).

Particular types of material goods (e.g., tools) that are associated with either the male or female gender in adult burials may also occur in a parallel manner in child burials. Pottery, jewellery, or hairstyle might be other kinds of material indicators of gender. However, one must be careful not to assume that gender-artifact relationships are constant over time and space, since gender is historically and culturally constituted (Conkey and Gero 1991; Gero 1992). The artifact distributions found with the children in a particular culture must be compared with the distributions found with the adults in the same culture. If there is a gendered distribution of artifacts with the adults in a society and a parallel distribution is found amongst the subadults, then we perhaps can assume that the children were also symbolically gendered.

Issues of Social Complexity

In the cross-cultural study of children by Whiting and Whiting (1975), an association was seen between the amount of economic contribution made by children and the complexity of the society. The study was carried out by six teams of ethnographers who studied the communities of Nyansongo (Kenya), Tarong (Philippines), Juxtlahuaca (Mexico), Taira (Okinawa), Khalapur (India) and Orchard Town (United States). The communities of Nyansongo, Tarong, and Juxtlahuaca were classified by the researchers as having a simple socioeconomic structure because they had little or no occupational specialization, a localized kin-based political structure, no class or caste system, and no

professional priests. On the other hand, the Khalapur and Orchard Town communities were classified as being complex for the following reasons: occupational specialization, central government, a priesthood, social stratification, and settlement in nucleated villages with public buildings. The Taira community was regarded as being border-line complex because it had less occupational specialization, no priesthood, and an incipient class system. The researcher found that the children in the communities with a simple socioeconomic structure were expected to carry out more tasks and at a younger age than those children of societies classified as being more complex. They concluded that this was because mothers in the simpler societies had a greater workload and had to share the work.

Unfortunately, the researchers may have been comparing the élite groups of some societies with the lower classes of other societies and not comparing societies at different levels of complexity. Six groups formed the basis of the study; five out of six of these groups were agricultural subsistence societies, the sixth a small urban community in the eastern United States. One of the groups called complex by the researchers was the Khalapur community of India, a caste that had formerly been warriors but were farmers at the time of the study. This must have been an élite group because the Khalapur children did not have to carry out tasks because the servants did them (the children of poorer families that did not have servants were thought to have had more chores but were not observed in this study). On the other hand, one of the groups labelled as being simple was a Mixtecan community in Mexico, acknowledged by the researchers as being treated as an inferior minority by the rest of the nation.

While the Whiting and Whiting study may not have actually compared societies of different social complexity, at least it did raise the issue that there may be a correlation between the complexity of a society and the economic contribution of children. However, a survey carried out by Zeller (1987:546) of children's economic contributions in several hunter-gatherer societies demonstrated that there was a range of ages and

amount of work expected and that one could not correlate subsistence base straightforwardly with children's contributions. For instance, in hunter-gatherer groups such as the Cree and Tiwi, children are potentially self-supporting by age twelve whereas in other groups such as the !Kung, children of this age are not expected to make a major contribution to subsistence

Certainly in societies that have reached a complex stage of development, which are characterized by large, dense populations, inequalities between different socio-economic groups, and occupational specialization, children and childhood may have been viewed differently by the different classes. For example, in ancient Rome, children were seen as a luxury, not as a necessity by wealthy adults because they had servants to care for them in old age (Wiedemann 1989:26,155). On the other hand, Roman peasant children had to work and were economically necessary to the family. In the European Middle Ages, amongst the urban folk there were formal legal ages when children reached adolescence but amongst the peasants the commencement of independent labour and the acquisition of manual skills marked the transition to this stage (Shahar 1990:27-29). Peasant children had to work at a younger age and were a significant factor in the work-force at an earlier age.

Likewise, in complex societies at the state level, there may be a difference in how children in the core region were integrated into the society versus how children in the provinces were integrated. Furthermore, one has to consider how the state administration may have considered children as compared to the local communities of which they were a part. In the Inca Empire, the children of the provinces were the ones that were chosen to be the *capacocha* or sacrifices and sent to Cuzco, the capital, for state ceremonies before being sent back to their provinces to be immolated (Rowe 1946).

Several questions can then be asked about the relationship between the culture's perception of children and social complexity: Are there trends in the treatment of ancient Peruvian children over time? Over space? Can differences between cultures be related

to type of subsistence base? To social complexity? Can differences between cultures be related to rural versus urban settings? Within a stratified society are there differences between lower status and higher status children compared to the lower status and higher status adults?

Limitations of the Peruvian Archaeological Data

The above sections have dealt with types of questions that have only recently occupied archaeologists in Europe but have yet to be considered by archaeologists who work in Peru. I believe that the Peruvian archaeological data do have potential for examining questions of age stages, gender processes and the adoption of economic roles but there are factors that make such investigations difficult. For instance, body orientation is not always used to differentiate sex. Sofaer Derevenski (2000) was able to carry out her age-gender investigation of European Copper Age burials only because of a definite distinction between adult male and adult female body orientation and because the same pattern occurred among subadults. Also, many Peruvian burials are simple and do not have a great variety of artifact types. Tools are often absent.

One important factor putting a constraint on the data is the pattern of mortality that is common for most populations. Some age categories are more at risk of dying than others. It is fair to assume that in earlier times infant mortality, especially of newborns, had been high. Mortality decreases gradually during childhood and reaches its lowest value at adolescence. Mortality then rises again in the adult age category. Age specific mortality rates represented graphically yield a U-shaped curve, with high infant death rate representing the descending stem of the curve and old-age mortality representing the upward stem of the curve (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970:25-27). When examining the burial data from a cemetery population, then, if all age categories were represented, most individuals will fall in either the under five years or the adult age categories. Relatively

few fall in the older child or adolescent categories which would be the categories most useful for studying questions about the transition to adulthood, engenderization, and the adoption of economic roles.

Studies can be done on older children and adolescents in some circumstances. Stoodley (2000) was able to perform a study of different Anglo-Saxon age groups, including those between five and adulthood because he used a very large pooled sample (1230 individuals) from forty-six cemeteries to get enough individuals in the age categories where death rates are lower. It was not possible to get such a large sample size with the Peruvian data because the looting of graves over the centuries has left few undisturbed burials that can be studied.

When large numbers of older children and adolescents do appear in a mortuary context at a site, however, this may indicate that they did not die a natural death since death is not common in such age categories. Then questions about sacrifice and the symbolic meaning of the death of young people must be addressed.

Children have been considered most often when archaeologists have used mortuary theory to discuss questions about social status and the social identity of individuals within societies (in other words, the vertical dimensions of a society). The symbolic meaning of child burials has been pondered as well. Though these issues have been written about often, this does not mean that there is a proper understanding of children. There are many assumptions about child burials that need to be re-examined. The following sections are concerned with examining the questions of social identity and the assumptions of archaeological mortuary theory as well as the symbolic aspects of child burials. These issues are, in fact, what the thesis will focus upon when looking at the archaeological data in Chapters Three and Four.

Questions About Infant Mortality and When Individuals Gained a Social Identity

Social scientists from various disciplines have been interested in questions about the social identity and the social status of children. Social historians have commented on the marginality of children. Roman and Greek writers did not view children as rational or sufficiently human. Children were portrayed as weak and powerless. Being born did not automatically qualify one as being a member of a society. In classical Athens and Rome, for example, a newborn had to be accepted by the household head (father), otherwise the infant was exposed, i.e., abandoned and left to die (Golden 1990:23; Wiedemann 1989). If an infant were allowed to live, it could take more or less time for him or her to be officially acknowledged as a person. Athenian children had two ceremonies to mark their acceptance, a sacrifice on the fifth or seventh day after birth and a naming ceremony on the tenth day after birth (Golden 1990:23). It is interesting to note that Inca children did not receive a name until weaning, about one or two years after birth, and then did not receive a permanent name until their maturity ceremony around puberty (Rowe 1946:282). The marginality of Roman children also seems to have been reflected in mortuary practices. Infants who died before the age of 40 days were exempt from the rule that burials had to take place outside of the settlement (Scott 1999:1).

The historical data point to the practice of infanticide (e.g., during Roman times), but infanticide is not easy to detect with archaeological data because methods that are commonly used to kill babies (smothering, strangling, drowning, neglect, abandonment) do not leave traces on the body (Scott 1999:66-67). Indirect evidence may occur in the form of skewed sex ratios of infants and adults. This may indicate that one sex is preferentially being killed. However, it is difficult to determine the sex of subadults, except for recent cases where DNA testing of the skeletal remains has been possible.

A debate has occurred amongst social historians about how much emotional involvement people in the past invested in their children. Ariès (1962), recognized as

starting the modern interest in childhood studies, believed that because infant and child mortality was high in the past, adults expected that many of their offspring would die so they did not form an emotional attachment and did not care when they lost a child. Other authors have copied his view (e.g., Pinchbeck and Hewitt 1969; Shorter 1976; Stone 1977; Finley 1981). It was argued that the reason that Roman infants, for example, were not named until the eighth or ninth day after their birth was that the first week of life was so risky and there was no point in giving a social identity to someone who had a high probability of dying (Wiedemann 1989:17). As well, there was no specific word for baby in Latin. Social historians (e.g., Wiedemann 1989:179; Parker 1983) and archaeologists (e.g., Ucko 1969; Lanning 1967; Moseley 1975; Carmichael 1988) have thus argued that when infants and children are buried differentially from adults, for instance in middens, or under house floors or walls, or at the threshold of the home (e.g., Roman infants under 40 days old), this is a reflection of less care about the death of an infant than of an adult who has been buried in a specific cemetery. In a study of ethnographic data carried out to interpret archaeological funerary remains, Ucko (1969:271) noted that several tribes around the world disposed of their babies and young children in a perfunctory manner and he assumed it was because of high infant mortality amongst these groups. He also assumed that this applied to prehistoric peoples as well.

However, other social historians, such as Golden (1990:83-85) and Shahar (1990:2-3) have argued against this view of parental indifference, drawing on evidence from ethnographic sources (e.g., Levine 1977:22-23) that demonstrate that in communities where high infant mortality is common, mothers and caregivers were constantly attending to their babies in a effort to increase their chances of survival. These authors asserted that the ancient Greeks and people of the medieval period had diverse practices that they thought would help the children survive. If they did not seem devastated by the death of a child, it was because they had rituals for expressing their

grief. Also, the children had more people taking care of them than just the parents (older siblings, servants, etc.) so grief was shared.

In regions of contemporary rural Peru, data compiled by UNICEF (Alarcón Glasinovitch 1994:31-33) demonstrate that infant and child mortality is still high. Data collected in 1991 showed that Peru, along with Haiti and Bolivia, were the three countries in the Americas with the highest child (0-5 years) and infant (0-1 year) mortality. There are regional differences in the Peruvian mortality rates. In Metropolitan Lima, infant (0-1 year) mortality was 30 per 1000 live births. On the other hand, in the rural Región Inka (Cuzco area), infant mortality was 104 per 1000 live births. (For the purpose of comparison, in Canada in 1921 the infant death rate was 102.1 per 1000 live births, and in 1990 it was 6.8 per 1000 live births [Statistics Canada 1993]). The three major causes of infant mortality in Peru were from perinatal causes (35%), respiratory infections (30%) and diarrheal disease (11%). Perinatal causes included complications in pregnancy and labour, lack of adequate pre-and post-natal care, mothers who were either very young or too old, not enough time between births, too many pregnancies, or nutritional deficiencies of the mothers. Mortality due to diarrhea was caused by inadequate sanitation and hygiene. Respiratory infections were simple infections that had worsened without treatment.

Since infant mortality is so high, how do the parents react? According to an educator who has written about indigenous Peruvian children (Portugal Catacora 1988:17), if a mother is stoic about the death of her child, it is because it is an act of nature and out of her control. On the other hand, if there is some way she can avoid harm to her children, she will make whatever effort she can to protect them.

Alternate explanations have been given for the burial of children in or around the house, these being, for example, that the mother did not wish to give up her child or else there was a belief that the spirit of the child would be born in another individual (Rose 1922:129; Tyler 1921:125-126). Scott (1997:7-8) asserts that we are not looking at a

case of careless mothers and that we must examine the ritual and ideological contexts of the burials. A further discussion of the symbolic aspects of child burials will take place in the section on mortuary theory below.

Archaeological Mortuary Theory

Archaeologists have had their own particular interests in terms of mortuary theory. Andeanists have had apparently especially narrow areas upon which they focus. In the introduction to the volume *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, Tom Dillehay (1995) notes that Andeanists have not gone beyond noting local patterns and have not reconstructed interpretative models of the meaning and context of death and burial in the Andes. He states that "(a)lthough the more tractable vertical distinctions (e.g., rank and wealth) of Andean societies may be surmised archaeologically, other general indicators of social distinction have not been defined in terms of burial contexts..." (Dillehay 1995:6). Thus many questions have not been dealt with, including those about age and children.

When children have been considered in the Andes, they are noted within the context of the assumptions of mortuary theory. Archaeological mortuary theory has two different schools, one of which focuses on social factors as influencing burial patterns, the other on ideological factors. Using the theory of one school or the other can influence expectations about child burials. This apparently has been the case in Peruvian archaeology.

The mortuary theory developed by the American archaeologists Arthur Saxe (1970) Lewis Binford (1971), and Joseph Tainter (1978) interprets burial practices as reflecting the sociopolitical organization of societies. Burials, including those of children, are thought to reflect the sociopolitical persona that the deceased had once held

in life. The complexity of the society determines the magnitude of the social persona that a child may be expected to have as reflected by mortuary treatment.

According to the theory developed by Arthur Saxe (1970:8), in his dissertation *The Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, individuals in simpler, egalitarian societies (i.e., societies which lack a hierarchy of statuses) acquire more rights and have more obligations owed them by others as a result of passing through age grades. As a consequence, it is expected that infants in such societies where status is achieved (i.e., not inherited at birth) would have fewer people owing them social obligations than would the elders. The infants would have simpler burials while elders would have more effort spent on their burials. On the other hand, if infants are buried in a more elaborate fashion than some elders, this probably indicates a more complex society where the principle of ascribing social ranking at birth occurs.

Lewis Binford (1971), drawing upon Saxe's work, carried out a cross-cultural, ethnographic survey of mortuary practices. Social organization was proposed as being the primary factor determining burial patterns, with simple societies choosing particular characteristics as the basis for differential mortuary treatment and complex societies emphasizing other characteristics. He measured social complexity in terms of subsistence and contrasted the mortuary practices of egalitarian hunter-gatherers with those of ranked or non-egalitarian settled agriculturalists. In hunter-gatherer societies burials were differentiated on the basis of age, sex, and status deriving from personal achievement in life. When age was the feature being distinguished, infants and children were buried differentially from the adults. Binford (following Saxe) explained that this was because they had participated less in the social life of the group and fewer people had social obligations to them. Infant and child burials were differentially located in places that were not obtrusive to the wider community. They could be located in the life space of the family, for example under the house floor, in contrast to the adults buried in a cemetery or other public location. Or infants and children were buried on the periphery

of settlements, as opposed to the adults who were buried in designated locations within the settlement. In the more complex societies of settled agriculturalists social position, varying independently of age and sex, is utilized as the basis for differential mortuary treatment.

Joseph Tainter (1978) also believed that burials were a reflection of social persona and the more energy spent on burial, the greater the social persona of an individual in life. Energy expenditure may be inferred from "such features of burial as size and elaborateness of the interment facility, method of handling and disposal of the corpse, and the nature of grave associations " (Tainter 1978:125).

To summarize the recent American mortuary theory: In a less complex society which lacks ranking and stratification and where status is achieved through personal experience and effort, infants are not expected to have made much impact on the sociopolitical life of the community, therefore they are expected to receive less elaborate burials than the adults. On the other hand, in more complex societies where one's social position is ascribed at birth, a limited number of infants will receive more elaborate burials than that part of the adult population who were not of high status families. Some investigators, however, seem to have generalized this concept and automatically assume that if one finds elaborate infant and child burials, then this is a reflection of their position in a less egalitarian society. They do not consider that there may be alternative explanations for why nonadults may receive more care in burial than the adults.

The idea that children are differentially buried because they had not made an impact on society had been proposed already in 1907 by Robert Hertz, of the *Année Sociologique* school and a student of Emile Durkheim. He wrote an essay on how societies respond to the death of a member. It was based on library research that he had done on ethnographic accounts of Borneo. He wrote that the function of mortuary ritual is to re-adjust society after the death of a member and to reallocate the roles that the deceased once occupied. He noted that there was differential burial of children and that

they were excluded from normal funeral ritual because "[t]he death of a new-born child is, at most, an infra-social event; since society has not yet given anything of itself to the child, it is not affected by its disappearance and remains indifferent" (Hertz 1960:84). However, in addition to social factors, he gave philosophical and religious explanations, too. The children were thought to not have really been separated from the world of spirits and were thought to be able to return there more directly, without any sacred energies needed to be called upon.

Other archaeologists and social scientists have pointed out that social factors are not the only influence on mortuary practices. Ian Hodder (1986) has argued against the general correlation between the complexity of mortuary ceremonialism and the complexity of social organization. He considers ideological factors to be important and states "[h]ow burial reflects society clearly depends on attitudes to death" (Hodder 1986:3). Bruce Trigger (1974:100) noted that elaborate goods in children's graves may not necessarily correlate with wealth or status in life and may have symbolic aspects instead. The over-emphasis on the correlation between the remains of mortuary practices with social organization has also been criticized by Pader (1982:53), who argues that ritual, as well as the ideology and daily life of a society must be taken into account otherwise interpretation will be one-sided and misleading. In yet another cross-cultural survey of mortuary practices in nonstate societies but with the consideration of factors in addition to the social ones affecting mortuary practices, Carr (1995) found that indeed, philosophical and religious beliefs, as well as social factors, do affect burial patterns. When, for instance, child burials are differentially located from those of adults, this may be attributed to the degree of involvement of children in social life, as recognized by Binford (1971) and Saxe (1970) but *also* to beliefs about the soul's nature, cosmology of the society, and their view of the nature of the afterlife (Carr 1995:192). Alternative reasons for why children may be buried in and around the house have been suggested,

these being perhaps that the mother did not wish to give up her child or else there was a belief that the spirit of the child would be born in another individual.

Summary

With the Peruvian burial data, I wish to see if there are clues about when children received a social identity. Were children viewed as being central or marginal to a culture? Did adults seem to care when their children died? (This is a question that social historians have debated). Perhaps how much care or indifferent treatment was given to infant and child burial as compared to adults within the same culture would give some indication. It is important to note if all age groups are accounted for in a cemetery. If differential treatment occurs, at what age does this change take place? Are infants only under a certain age considered non-persons or are all children treated differently?

This chapter has outlined some questions that may be addressed about children in the archaeological record. Some of these questions, concerning age grades, economic roles and engenderization have only recently received the attention of archaeologists, especially of those working in Europe. These are issues that investigators working in Peru should at least consider, even though the archaeological data may not always provide an answer. In matters such as those concerned with vertical distinctions in a society, children have received some attention but there are assumptions about the meaning of child burials that need to be re-examined. Also, archaeologists have not adopted a diachronic perspective concerning how children were integrated into their respective societies and how perceptions of children, at least reflected by mortuary practices, may have changed over time as different social, political, ideological, and economic systems developed. The next two chapters will examine the archaeological evidence for the mortuary treatment of children in ancient Peru from the Preceramic to the Inca empire.

An explanation of how the chronological framework of Peruvian archaeology is conceptualized should be given before presenting the data (Table 1). As the framework of Peruvian archaeology was being developed by such investigators as Max Uhle at the beginning of the 1900s and John Rowe and his students in the 1950s, the Andean cultural sequence was viewed as horizons or times of geographically widespread styles alternating with intermediate periods of local development. Following Rowe (1960) and using the dates provided by Moseley (1992:22-23) and Richardson (1994:27), the sequence is as follows: Preceramic (10,000?-1800 B.C.), Initial Period (1800-800 B.C.), Early Horizon (800-200 B.C.), Early Intermediate Period (200 B.C.-A.D. 600), Middle Horizon (A.D. 600-1000), Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1000-1470), and Late Horizon (A.D. 1470-1532). Since the sequence was developed with evidence from the central Andes, it works best there and less well elsewhere, but the framework has been maintained because no alternative has been accepted.

Since presenting evidence from all of the time periods is not practical, this thesis will focus upon only a few of them, these being the Preceramic, Early Intermediate Period, Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon to demonstrate that the perceptions of children and childhood did not remain static over time.

CHAPTER III

THE MORTUARY TREATMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE PRECERAMIC

Introduction

Archaeological evidence from infant and child burials from the Preceramic in Peru will be described in this chapter. Comparisons will be made to subadult burials from societies of similar social complexity and time period in Chile, Ecuador, and Colombia. The possible meanings of the Preceramic mortuary treatment of children will be reserved for discussion in Chapter Five.

The following information about the Preceramic in Peru is derived from Moseley (1992), Fung Pineda (1988), Rick (1988), and Chauchat (1988). The Preceramic, or the time before pottery was produced, covers a large block of time from the earliest inhabitation around 10,000 or more years ago to around 1800 B.C. Over this time period changes occurred in subsistence, mobility, and population size. During the Early Preceramic (from the peopling of Peru to around 6000 B.C.), small mobile groups made a living by hunting and gathering. Later on in the Middle Preceramic (from 6000 to 3000 B.C.), coastal groups subsisted on maritime resources and wild terrestrial foods. Cultigens were not very significant. A rich food supply allowed these groups to become more sedentary. Contemporary highland groups raised a variety of cultivated plants and probably had already domesticated llamas and alpacas. In the Late or Cotton Preceramic (3000 to 1800 B.C.), coastal populations emphasized industrial cultigens such as cotton for nets and textiles, and gourds for floats and containers rather than edible domesticates such as squash and beans. Highland groups increased their reliance on agriculture and

pastoralism. Populations were concentrated in settlements and monumental construction had its beginnings. In spite of the long time period and the changes during the Preceramic, there seem to have been commonly held ideas about children, at least as reflected in the burial patterns.

Edward Lanning (1967), in his book *Peru Before the Incas*, makes a broad generalization about what was thought to be the typical burial patterns of adults and children in the Late Preceramic. According to Lanning, during the Late Preceramic most burials in cemeteries were of adults and adolescents, where bodies were wrapped in many burial cloths and accompanied by elaborate burial goods. Children (and some adults), on the other hand were buried randomly in middens, with a limited number of cloths and few, if any grave goods. He further goes on to state that "the latter disrespectful treatment was reserved for the young and the destitute or despised, while cemeteries were for the use of 'full members' of society" (Lanning 1967:65). Moseley (1975:75) generalized further by implying that throughout the Preceramic the newborn and very young received "cavalier treatment". As will be seen by the data below, however, such poor treatment of the very young during the Preceramic does not seem to be the case.

Early Preceramic

Burials from the Early Preceramic (from 10,000? to 6,000 B.C.) are neither abundant nor well-described but some evidence exists for the mortuary treatment of children from this time period (Figure 5).

Pampa de los Fósiles

Pampa de los Fósiles 13, an open-air campsite, is located in the Cupisnique Desert found between the Chicama and Jequetepeque Valleys on the Peruvian north

coast. Two primary burials were found eroding out of the surface of a hillock overlooking the site. The excavated burials were determined to belong to a 12- to 13-year-old child and an adult, buried less than 1 metre apart from each other. The body of the child lay on its left side, hands clasped near the face. Near the sacrum was a perforated fish vertebra, which perhaps had been used as a button or pendant. The adult, probably a young man, lay on his left side with his hands crossed on the pubis. He seemed to have been buried with a mat. A charcoal sample taken from the campsite gave a radiocarbon date of 10,200 ±180 B.P.(Chauchat 1988:59,60). No differential treatment seems to be given to the child compare to the adult male.

Quirihuac Shelter

The Quirihuac Shelter, in the Moche Valley on the Peruvian coast, was discovered and excavated by Paul P. Ossa (1978). Underneath a huge granite boulder was an overhang which contained a human occupation layer. There was lithic debris, landsnail shells and charcoal, as well as the burials of an adult and a child (Chauchat 1988:293; Ossa 1978:293). Radiocarbon results from the bone samples gave dates between 9000 and 10000 B.P.(Ossa 1978). Unfortunately, no ages at death were given for the individuals (nor other information) but this evidence demonstrates that in this case there was no differential burial by age or at least, that the same type of location was considered appropriate for an adult and a child (even if they were not buried at the same time).

Lauricocha Cave

Human skeletal remains excavated by Cardich (1964) in the earliest levels of Lauricocha Cave L-2 in the Marañon Basin of the central Andean highlands provide more detailed evidence from the early Holocene. The radiocarbon date for the level in which the burials were found is 7566 B.C. Eleven individuals, of whom three were children

(Burials 9, 10, and 11), were excavated from the cave. The children, as well as those of two of the adults, were buried in an otherwise culturally sterile glaciofluvial stratum.

Burial 9 belonged to an individual who was about 1.5 to 2 years old. The grave had been dug next to a large rock projecting from the same glaciofluvial deposit in which he or she had been buried. The body was surrounded by some flakes and next to the head was a piece of red ochre.

Burial 10 belonged to an individual around 12 years old of indeterminate sex. A small pit had been dug into sterile sand. The grave was marked by three stones surrounding it. Some of the bones were missing, and the bones that were present were not in anatomical position. This was either a secondary burial or else animals had disturbed it. Artifacts associated with the body included six flake knives, a scraper, five polished bone points, yellow ochre, a small piece of turquoise that probably was a necklace bead, and semicalcined animal bones.

Burial 11 was placed in a pit between two rocks projecting from the glaciofluvial deposit. This individual had been about two years old at death. Grave goods included a leaf-shaped point of quartzite and a bone bead. Notably, a large amount of shiny magnetite-containing crystals had been used to cover the grave.

In contrast to the children's graves, those of the adults were much simpler. They were not marked by rocks, nor were they as deeply buried. In addition, adult grave goods were much simpler, including some animal bones as well as some retouched flakes and knife-scrapers. Only one of the adults received a bit of red ochre.

Tres Ventanas

Preceramic burials of children and adults were found in the Tres Ventanas Caves located at around 4000 m asl in the Chilca Basin about 70 kilometres south of Lima. Unfortunately the descriptions and stratigraphic data from Cave I and Cave II of the Tres Ventanas group are a bit confused, with conflicting information given in three different

articles about where the child burial bundles were recovered (Engel 1970; 1987; 1988b). Presumably the most recent article from 1988 has the most accurate information since it provides the most detailed information. Two intact funerary bundles containing children were recovered from Cave 1. The graves were simple holes dug into the detritus of the cave. The bodies were wrapped in fiber mats and straw. They were placed on their backs with their legs drawn up. The child in the upper level had some finely made fiber clothing, some of which was rubbed with red pigment. A shell amulet and a bone needle accompanied the child. The mat wrap was radiocarbon dated to 6290± 120 B.P., but Engel (1988b) considers this to be too old since there was evidence of cultivated beans in this level, and he states that agriculture was thought to have developed on the coast somewhat later (however, Lynch [1980] reported finding cultivated beans from a level in Guitarrero Cave dated from between 8600 to about 5600 B.C.). In a Preceramic, pre-agricultural level below this child was the funerary bundle of another child, approximately three years old. A cord was wrapped around this child's neck.

In Cave II, the remains of an individual who had been about 12-15 years old was recovered, as well as the remains of an adult. The younger individual lay flexed on the left side on top of some straw bedding which had a radiocarbon date of 8030 ±120 B.P. The body wore a mantle of vicuña and was wrapped in straw and enveloped by a reed mat. The adult individual was also flexed on one side, wrapped with straw and a mat and also had a hide wrapping, perhaps of vicuña. There seem to be little difference between the location and treatment of the child and adult burials.

Summary

The available evidence from the Early Preceramic indicates that adults as well as children, some as young as 1.5 or 2 years old, received burial in the same locations. All of these individuals had been interred individually in simple pits with few or no grave goods. Differential mortuary treatment of children and adults is evident in Lauricocha

Cave. The children received more attention to their burials than did the adults. Thus, only minor differences, if any, occurred between the burials of adults and children during the Early Preceramic, and in the one example where there were differences, these favoured the children rather than the adults. The Early Preceramic data provide a very useful baseline for comparison with later cultures.

Middle Preceramic

Paloma

Paloma provides data that give interesting clues as to how children and childhood were perceived in the Preceramic. At this site, not only was the mortuary treatment of infants and children different from that of the adults, but the burial pattern changed over time.

Jeffrey Quilter's 1989 book *Life and Death at Paloma* provides the following information. The site, located on the Peruvian coast just 65 kilometres south of Lima, consisted of the buried remains of a village of reed huts. Based on uncalibrated carbon-14 dates, the village was occupied between 5700 and 2800 B.C., with the main occupation occurring between 4000 and 2800 B.C. . This period of time was just before the transition to food production. Subsistence was based on maritime resources (fish and shellfish) supplemented by *lomas* (desert fog oasis) plants. The population was semi-sedentary. Though it is difficult to determine how many huts were occupied at a particular point in time, Quilter estimates that one or two to ten families were there at any one time. Paloma had only a very small population.

Over 200 burials were excavated at Paloma. They were discovered in or near the huts. All age classes were represented by the burials, including infants and fetuses, which in fact made up the greatest proportion of burials. Apparently this was not an unusual situation in the Preceramic. Engel (1980:108) noted that it was not uncommon to find burials of premature babies and neonates in the early and middle Holocene sites

which he had explored (though he did not mention any sites in particular). The number of subadult burials by age category is as follows: 17 fetuses or newborns, 32 infants from 0 to 1 year, 15 children from 1 to 4 years, 14 children from 5 to 9 years, and 11 individuals from 10 to 14 years, for a total of 89 subadults. There were 110 individuals over 15 years of age (Quilter 1989:170-172). A large proportion of the preserved population (45%) did not live past childhood.

In general (considering the whole population of the site), the burials were simple. Typically (for all individuals) the bodies were flexed, wrapped in straw matting, then interred beneath the floor of the hut. Few grave goods were placed near the deceased. Many burials had no grave goods other than the straw wrapping, while others received only one or two items. The most elaborate interment at the site belonged to a 17-year-old male. He was missing his entire left leg and had cut marks on his left ilium and right humerus which indicated that he had been the victim of a shark attack. A well-made cane structure covered the grave. The grave goods included a mano, wool, a mussel shell offering with wool, a gourd bowl, feathers, hair, a bead strung on a quill, a rope with elaborate knots and a tassel, a tabular rock and a sea mammal bone. Quilter (1989:59) speculates that the reason for this individual's elaborate burial was his accidental and violent death.

Most burials were single inhumations but there were three cases of double infant burial (B.27 A&B, B.125 A&B, and B.153 A&B), one case of a double adult burial (B.142 A&B), a multiple burial with two adult females, an adult male and a 13-year-old male (B.213, B.215 , B.222, and B.213), and a multiple burial of a 32-year-old individual (unknown sex) with a fetus and an infant (B.121 A,B,&C). In some instances there may have been double burials with an adult and a child buried together, since some graves contained a few adult bones with a few child bones (e.g., B.103 A&B, B.120 A&B, and B. 145 A&B). Except for one or two cases where infants were placed in what were apparently abandoned storage pits (unfortunately no burial number was given for these

burials nor was there mention of these in the list of burials in the appendix), the burial pits were specially dug. Also, there was one instance where an infant or fetus (Burial 48) was buried in a large gourd. However, these last two contexts (storage pits and a gourd) were unusual for infant burials at the site, as will be seen below.

At Paloma there was differential mortuary treatment according to age. It seems that not only did children, especially infants, receive different burial treatment from the adults, they received special treatment. The most special grave good, for example, belonged to a two-year-old who had the finest necklace at the site. It was of stone pendants, barnacle beads, and crab claws. This burial was found in an earlier level of the site, Level 500, which dated to between 7000 and 5500 B.P.

The fetus/infant burials in the structure known as House 28 also came from an early level (Level 400/500) of the site and represented another notable example of the special treatment of the very young at Paloma. While most of the structures at Paloma tended to be circular, House 28 was more quadrangular. On the east side of the structure were twelve small burial pits for premature or neonatal infants. (This was different from the regular pattern of starting burials on the west side of the houses). The floor on the west side of the structure was clear of any artifacts or features. Apparently this structure had not been used for domestic purposes whereas the other interments at the site were found in structures used for habitation.

Another structure, House 13, may also have originally been used for infant and child burials, though there were also some adult burials. Several of these young burials (four out of ten infant/child burials in this structure) had shell offerings such as mussel, *Mytilus* sp., and lomas snail, items that were found in other infant/child burials as well as in adult burials. Single mussel shell valves containing offerings were found in eight infant graves (25% of the infant burials) and six adult graves (5% of the adult burials) at the site. Cut shell disks and crescents were associated with Tegula shells, and only in

mortuary contexts (e.g., Burial 112 of an infant). Shell disks were also found in and around Houses 12, 13, and 28.[1]

The burial patterns for infants and fetuses changed over time at Paloma. In the later levels, infants and fetuses were interred in the domestic structures along with the other household members.

At Paloma, only 17 of the over 200 burials contained tools as grave goods. Only two of these graves related to nonadults. In the appendix containing information on the burials, I found information relating to only one subadult burial. Interestingly, Burial 79 belonged to an infant or fetus who was accompanied by a piece of an unidentified bone tool in the grave (along with fish bones and what appeared to be a squash seed).

Paleodemographic work at Paloma was carried out by Robert Benfer (1984).[2] He found that there was a higher rate of mortality amongst the young in the earlier levels as compared to the later ones. In Levels 400 (5500-7000 B.P.) and below, 48% of individuals died before the age of ten years. This figure was 35% in Level 300 (5200-5500 B.P.) and 28% in Level 200 (4600-5200 B.P.).

Over 28% of the Paloma burials were aged one year or younger (including fetuses and stillborns). Excluding the fetal remains, 19% were infants. The percentage of infant deaths (including fetuses) decreases at Paloma from the Level 400 (38%) to Level 300 (26%) to Level 200 (17%).

Benfer (1984:534-538) sexed the fetal and infant remains by using Weaver's (1980) technique of examining the auricular surface morphology of the ilia (though this method may be flawed, as will be discussed later on). In his text, Benfer stated that there 18 female infants and 7 male infants under the age of one year, indicating that many more infant females than males died at Paloma, supporting an interpretation of female infanticide. Unfortunately, it was not clear where he obtained these numbers or if he included the fetuses in these values because his Table 21.1 showing the age and sex distribution of the Paloma burials listed 6 males, 11 females, and 15 individuals of

unknown sex in the 0-1 year category. Two males, five females, and nine individuals of unknown sex were in the fetal category according to the table. Thus, the numbers of male and female individuals under one year of age listed in the table do not add up to the number of male and female individuals under one year of age mentioned in the text.

The adult sex ratios were also skewed in a couple of adult age groups. There were 18 males and 10 females in their 20s (the greatest difference in mortality occurring in the age 25-29 category). On the other hand, more adult females than adult males were represented in the category of individuals in their 30s (the greatest difference in mortality occurring in the age 30-34 category). The sex ratios were not skewed, however, when considering the total number of males and the total number of females over the age of 15 years: 48 males and 46 females.

Chilca

Only eight kilometres away from Paloma, on a bank of the Chilca River, Engel (1984:31, 36) recorded a Preceramic village and nearby cemetery, designated 12b VII-1 and 12b VII-680 respectively, which in the catalog of sites are called Pantano II but elsewhere are referred to as Chilca Monument I (Quilter 1989) or as Chilca, Pueblo 1. The village site consisted of about 50 huts and was occupied intermittently. The carbon-14 dates range between approximately 5700 to 3600 B.P. These dates overlap with those at Paloma. Food remains found in the huts indicate that subsistence was based upon marine resources and cultivation (Engel 1988a:16). The adjacent cemetery (Figure 6) seems to be of a similar age as the settlement but Engel suspects that the first settlers buried their dead inside the village and the later occupants buried their dead in the cemetery.

Burial data were given by Engel (1988a) for 61 adult and 37 subadult burials (15 fetuses, 8 infants, 10 children, and 4 youths). The subadults accounted for 37.7% of the buried individuals. Three types of mortuary treatment occurred at Chilca 1: (1) isolated

burials where one or occasionally two bodies were inside or outside a hut, (2) multiple burials, where in one instance eight adults were buried together in a hut, and (3) collective burials in a cemetery. Children, as well as adults, were represented in both hut and cemetery burials but in the one multiple burial they were absent. Even newborns and fetuses received burials in the huts and in the cemetery (Figure 7). All bodies wore clothes and were wrapped in matting forming a bundle tied by cords. Many burials were found with no items, others only had a few. When grave goods were present, they were usually objects such as tools (e.g., manos, knives, or chisels) or personal adornments such as seed, stone, or shell necklaces.

At Chilca, some adults had stones placed on their stomach and abdomen. Other adults had wooden stakes driven through them. One infant about six months old (Tomb 65) was held down by a needle.

Fetuses were wrapped in matting of plant fibres and then pushed into gourds, which were interred under a hut floor or in the cemetery. Twenty-seven percent of the fetus burials (four out of fifteen fetuses) had artifacts other than the mats or gourds. Some interesting examples of fetal burials include Tombs 6 and 10 which were in huts and Tombs 49 and 90, which were in the cemetery. Tomb 6 contained a fetus's body wrapped in a tapestry decorated with some purple feathers. A knife was placed under the bundle. The fetus in Tomb 10 had grave goods which included a bone bodkin, an eyed needle, another bone tool, a grinding stone, a fragment of hematite, shellfish and plant remains (Figure 8). The fetus in Tomb 49 had a necklace of green and red stones. The individual in Tomb 90 wore a fine twined shirt decorated with whole shells, seeds and little shell beads which had been sewn on. There was also a necklace of tubular shells.

One infant (Tomb 48), who represented 12.5% of infant burials, and one child (Tomb 38), who represented 10% of the child burials, also had necklaces but the majority of infants and children did not have any grave goods associated with them. A higher

percentage of fetuses were associated with grave goods as compared to the infants and children.

There was a grave (Tomb 67) that contained the remains of a woman with a fetus buried beneath her. Another double burial (Tomb 47) contained two children.

As mentioned above, tools were found in Tombs 6 and 10, which belonged to fetuses. These represented 13% of the fetus burials. Sixteen out of 61 (26%) of the adult graves contained tools, as well.

Encampment 96 and Village 514

A two-component site from the Paracas Bay area of the south coast was also investigated by Engel (1981). Both components belonged to the Preceramic and contained child and adult burials not too different from those at Paloma and Chilca.

The older component, designated Encampment 96, dated to around 8000-9000 B.P. (Engel 1981:32). A double burial of an adult and a child of around five to eight years of age was thought to belong to this component (Engel 1981:36). A large twined mat enveloped both of the bodies. The child was wrapped with another mat of reeds, and the head was covered by a vicuña fur attached with two strings, one of which formed a decorative knot on the chest of the child.

Village 514 represented the reoccupation of the site between 6000 and 4000 years ago, when early farming was practiced and people had settled into a village of huts. The burials, like at Paloma and Chilca were simple, with the bodies wrapped in mats. In this case, however, the youngest individuals (one infant was around one to two years old, the other was two to three years old) did not have any artifacts other than clothing. An individual of around 15 years of age had a chopper, an urchin, a large mussel, and a seabird wing on the chest. Adults also had a few similar objects, including tools.

Ossuary of Cabezas Largas

Engel did encounter one cemetery which did not have the usual Preceramic mortuary pattern. On the Paracas Peninsula, at the Ossuary of Cabezas Largas, a site slightly later than Paloma, Engel (1981:31) states that " [n]o children bones were found, nor those of foetuses which are usually numerous in any preceramic burial ground." Some elaborate adult bundles were found but the majority of corpses were just thrown in.[3] Apparently not everybody was treated equally.

Summary

A large number of Middle Preceramic burials have been excavated, largely from the south central coast, giving important data concerning the mortuary treatment of different age categories. All age categories, including fetuses and infants, are present in the community burial grounds (except at Cabezas Largas). Even the youngest individuals (i.e., the fetuses) received careful individual interment and often had artifacts accompanying them. Some of these objects were of a special nature and sometimes even fetuses had tools placed in their graves. A higher proportion of the fetuses and infants had grave goods as compared to the older children. Note that not all the adults had artifacts with them.

Late Preceramic

Asia 1, Unit 1

Greater differences between the mortuary treatment of children and adults occurred at Asia 1, a small village found in the Omas drainage about 110 kilometres south of Lima (Figure 9). Once again, Engel (1963) was the investigator who excavated this Preceramic site. Food remains indicate that subsistence was based on horticulture, plant gathering, shellfish collecting, fishing, and hunting. Burials were found both within the patios of an architectural compound and outside (Figure 10). Forty-nine funerary

bundles were excavated from 40 pit graves (some graves had more than one bundle). The remains comprised 30 adults, 3 adolescents, and 16 children. One half of the children, (i.e., eight individuals), were described as being infants. Most of the graves had been dug into refuse and sometimes passed through the earthen floors. The rest of the pits had been dug down from the surface during the last period of village occupation. Not all of the burial bundles were complete. A couple of adult burials were missing heads, while three adults were represented only by skulls. Two adult bodies were represented by only some of the bones of the body, but it seems that these burials had been disturbed. There were also incomplete child bundles: four represented by skulls and three by bundles with bones missing.

Burials varied in the number of mats used to wrap the bundles, anywhere from one to six mats were used. The majority had two or three mats. Of the burials with only one mat, six of these belonged to adults (20% of the adults) and one (Grave 43) belonged to a child (6% of the child sample). On the other hand, there were two bundles with four mats: one belonged to an adult (3% of adults) and the other (grave 6) belonged to a child (6% of the children). Having fewer mats did not mean that a bundle was less impressive, however. Three of the bundles having only two mats had been made into attractive, elaborate shapes. Two of these elaborate bundles belonged to children. That of grave 29 was made into a coffin which was decorated by an elaborate system of straps, strings, and knots. That of grave 45 (an infant) had the shape of an animal.

The distribution of cloth pieces at Asia was studied by Moseley (1992:108). There was a definite variation in the number of fabrics found in each grave. Except for one adult secondary burial, all the bundles contained fabrics ranging from one garment or fragment to various layers of different fabrics. The principal garment of the adults was a large rectangular cloak. Children's bundles were treated in a variety of ways. In some cases the child's body was wrapped in various fabrics, bound with straps and belts. In others, the child was in a bag or cradle. The examples of burials with a large variety of

fabrics belonged to adults. It must be noted, though, that the majority of fabrics had decayed so it was difficult to assess the original amount of fabrics.

Adults were more likely to have artifacts in addition to mats and fabrics (over two-thirds of the adults as compared to one-half of the infants and children). In general, those adult bundles containing artifacts had a greater number and variety of objects such as ornaments and tools than did the subadult ones. Examples of artifacts found with the infants and children include shells, necklaces of bone, stone or shell beads, an ornament of bird plumage, bird bone tubes, gourds, a slate tablet holding a sparkling flake of hard stone which was also inlaid with green stones and shell beads. Plants and seeds were also included in some of the bundles.

Tools were also found in many of the burials. Adults were more likely to have tools and a greater quantity of them than the subadults. One half of the adult graves contained tools but three out of eight (37.5%) of the infant graves had tools and two out of 16 (12.5%) of the child burials had a tool. Note that a higher percentage of infants had tools as compared to the children. One infant had three spindle whorls, another had a bone spatula, and the third had a possible grinding stone. The two children who were found in one bundle had a possible hammerstone.

One infant burial is particularly notable because it was the only grave located in its own stone structure (Figure 11). This is Grave 45 which was found in a structure of uncut stones with a pit lined with two rows of stone. Many stones and a possible grinding stone were laid on the bundle as well as a length of knotted reed rope. The child was wrapped in an unusual mat bundle which at one end looked like projecting fins, giving it an animal shape. A decorated twined cloak or blanket wrapped the body. There was a looped bag at the feet, and more looped fabric at the neck and on the skull. There were wood sticks in the bundle in addition to twigs and gourd fragments.

Artifacts were also found with the incomplete burials. Grave 3 contained a child's skull wrapped in at least two mats bound with braided and twisted ropes and in several

layers of looped and twined fabrics, one of which was feather decorated. Objects that accompanied the skull included a necklace of bone beads, a stone bead on the skull, some feathers, and a wad of sliced reed stems. An ornament of bird plumage seemed to decorate the head. This is an elaborate treatment of a child's remains.

Grave 10 contained the skull of an adult (who had cut marks on the skull and the skin from his face torn off) and the skulls of three infants. The skulls had been wrapped in mats. One of the infant skulls was associated with a necklace of bone discs. The adult skull had offerings such as an engraved tray holding a mirror, shell pendants, a bone pin, feathers and red pigment.

Culebras

Culebras was a large Preceramic village with substantial constructions of basalt blocks set in clay mortar. Subsistence was based upon fishing, the raising of guinea pigs, and apparently some cultivation. Burials were described as being wrapped in many layers of cloth and being accompanied by many ornaments, gourd vessels, and foodstuffs. the graves themselves were placed under the floors of houses or in the cemetery. No mention was made of the age of the buried individuals, if there were child or infant burials excavated at the site, or if there were midden burials. However, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Lanning (1967:65) made a broad generalization about the burials of adults and children during the Late Preceramic, then later on discusses the site of Culebras. The reader is led to understand that Culebras followed these patterns, though specific burial data from the site is not given. According to Lanning, during the Late Preceramic most adults and adolescents were buried in cemeteries, with many textiles and elaborate burial goods. Children, on the other hand, were buried randomly in middens with few textiles and not many grave goods.

Thus, it is possible that differential mortuary treatment of adults and children did occur at the site of Culebras, but unfortunately the description is not clear.

Aspero

The Late Preceramic site of Aspero, located in the Supe Valley near the ocean, featured extensive midden deposits and large constructions including ceremonial mounds, plazas and terraces. Subsistence was based primarily on fishing. Cultivation was mainly for the production of gourds and cotton which were used in fishing. Some other food plants such as squash, chili peppers, legumes, and achira were grown but were secondary in the diet. An average of radicarbon dates for charcoal found in the structure known as Huaca de los Sacrificios is 2857 B.C. (Feldman 1980:246).

Seven burials were excavated by Robert Feldman (1980,1985) at Aspero. Three of these represented infants and four burials were of adults. One infant and one adult were buried in an architectural context on a mound (Huaca de los Sacrificios) whereas the rest of the infants and the adults were found in the midden areas (but apparently had been buried before refuse had accumulated).

The richly adorned infant burial (under two months old) in the Huaca de los Sacrificios is one of the most notable of any Preceramic burials. Around the head of this young individual were found over 500 beads of shell, bone, plant stem, and clay or silt stone which at one time must have been part of a cap or hat. The body was flexed and wrapped in twined cotton textiles. The bundle was placed in a basket, which was wrapped in more textiles. A mat was rolled around the bundle and tied with strips of twined white cotton cloth. A gourd was also found. A bundle of two textiles (one all white and the other decorated with brown stripes) was placed next to the burial bundle. A finely worked four-legged grindstone carved from a single boulder had been inverted to cover the two bundles. The adult burial, found about 3.5 metres away from the infant, on the same clay floor, lacked grave goods except for a broken gourd and some poorly preserved wrappings of cotton textiles and reed matting.

The other infant and adult interments were very simple. One point of interest, though, is that an infant (under two months old) in the midden area was buried about 70 cm above an adult. Near the infant's body was a gourd with some rope on top and the other end of the rope leading to the adult burial bundle underneath.

Another infant (about 1 month old) had been placed, extended, between two thin pieces of wood or bark, then wrapped with cotton textiles. Small cobbles covered the torso part of the bundle. Three shell artifacts were the only grave goods.

La Galgada

Located in the northern highlands of Peru, in the Department of Ancash, La Galgada was the contemporary of Aspero and Asia. The site was apparently first occupied about 3000 B.C. by settled agricultural people. In addition to houses, small chambers were built where firepit ceremonies took place. Over time, these chambers coalesced into temples which in turn were converted to tombs when further construction followed. As a result, two large ceremonial platform mounds surrounded by other structures were formed. The site was abandoned by 1500 B.C. Occupation of the site thus covered the Late Preceramic and the early part of the subsequent Initial Period when ceramic production began in the area (Grieder et al. 1988).

Sixteen tombs containing multiple burials were identified. The early chambers were built into the firepit chambers and were smaller than the later gallery tombs which were constructed outside of the firepit chambers. The tombs contained the remains of men, women, and children. Paleodemographic information indicates that perhaps not all members of the population had equal access to the tombs (Grieder et al. 1988:196). During the Preceramic (around 3700-3800 B.P.), 25% of the bodies in the tombs belonged to subadults (under 20 years old) and 70% (or 17.5% overall) of these were under five years of age (Grieder et al. 1988:105). It seems that the mortality rate for infants and young children was very high but these young individuals were strongly

under-represented in the tomb since it was expected that around half of the dead should have been infants and young children. Later on in the Initial Period (around 3400 B.P.), 44% of the individuals placed in Tomb E-11:J-7 were subadults, with 25% of these (or 11% of all individuals) being less than five years of age (Grieder et al. 1988:105). The infant and early childhood mortality was apparently lower and the inclusion of infants and young children was more common. In this particular tomb, there was a more even distribution of ages, with individuals in the 5-9 year old, 10-14 year old and 15-19 year old categories, probably indicating more stress (nutritional and/or disease) during the lifecycle.[4]

Many of the tombs had been looted. However, information from one partially destroyed tomb (C-12:D-1) does illustrate the kinds of artifacts found with adults and children (Grieder et al. 1988:246-247). Three of the seven adults were associated with clothing and personal adornments whereas two of the four or five children had textiles but no jewelry.

Summary

During the Late Preceramic, infant interments were found in the same burial areas as adults though perhaps not in the numbers one would expect from societies where infant mortality must have been high. At La Galgada infants were under-represented in group tombs during the Late Preceramic but were included more often during the subsequent Initial Period. The infant burial on Huaca de los Sacrificios at Aspero was the most elaborate of any of the Preceramic burials that have been excavated, but the other infant and adult interments at Aspero were quite simple. At Asia (and possibly at Culebras) there was a tendency for infants and children to receive less elaborate mortuary treatment than the adults.

Comparison with Contemporary Practices Outside of Peru

As in Peru and the central Andean area during the Preceramic, similar mortuary patterns seem to have occurred in other areas of South America. The following examples from northern Chile, Ecuador, and Colombia have been included for comparative purposes.

Chinchorro (northern Chile)

The Chinchorro Tradition occurred along the extreme northern coast of Chile. Starting around 6000-4000 B.C., small groups of people became fisher folk with a sea-oriented technology. Mortuary practices persisted over a long time for the Chinchorro (until 500 B.C.). Burials occurred in cemeteries, in groups of several people of different age and sex, usually with three to six children and two or more adults (Rivera 1995:51). There was a high number of infants and fetuses who were given special mortuary treatment. The focus was on the bodies, not on grave goods (Arriaza 1995:60).

The Chinchorro are noted for mummifying their dead. Some of the mummification occurred naturally because of the extreme aridity of the Atacama Desert. Artificial mummification was also practiced (Figure 12). Radiocarbon dates indicate that the natural mummies pre- and post-date the artificial ones (Arriaza 1995:135). One type of artificial mummification involved very complex procedures of removing the skin and organs from the body, drying the body with hot ashes, filling the cavities with straw and placing sticks to keep the bundle well-packed, modeling the face and body with clay, and the application of bandages of skin (Rivera 1995:55). An example from one site, Camarones-15, demonstrates that infants also received complex mummification (Rivera 1995:54). The two infants had their faces covered with clay that had been painted red. Their heads were adorned with the feathers of tropical birds sewn together in a complicated fashion to make crowns. Offerings found with the bodies included pieces of

brown dotted pelt (probably feline), water bags of sea lion bladder, and figurines of stone, wood and bone.

In the case of the Chinchorro, older children also received careful treatment (Rivera 1995:65,67). Two boys, around 8 to 10 years old, at the Camarones site had feathered head ornaments, as well as feline furs as wrappings, baskets, and cotton-and-wool textiles.

According to Arriaza (1995:59,135,137), it is possible that the artificial mummification techniques were first practiced on children. At the Camarones 14 (ca. 5050 B.C.) and Camarones 17 (ca. 4980 B.C.) cemeteries, all of the children were artificially mummified but the adults had mummified naturally. At a later site known as Morro 1, both artificially mummified children and adults were buried next to each other (ca. 3290-3210 B.C.). There were 96 bodies: 42 children and 54 adults. Of the complex mummies at this site, 57% were subadults. Since only the children were radiocarbon dated at these sites, however, it has not been confirmed that the practice started with the children. What is important to note is that while both adults and children received artificial mummification, this procedure was done more often on the children.

Las Vegas (Coastal Ecuador)

The site of Las Vegas on the coast of Ecuador was occupied by Preceramic people who had an unspecialized economy which included hunting, fishing, gathering, and primitive farming. The burials from the Late Las Vegas phase (8000-6600 B.P.) represent the largest group of skeletons of such great age reported in the New World. The remains of 122 adults and 70 subadults were uncovered by archaeologist Karen Stothert (1985) and analyzed by the physical anthropologist Douglas Ubelaker (1980). There were three types of burials practiced: (1) primary, single burials, (2) small secondary burials and (3) large secondary burials. Subadults, in addition to adults, were included in all three types of burials.

Thirty-four primary, single burials were located in deep midden, nine of which belonged to subadults (two infants in addition to seven individuals between eight to fifteen years old)(Ubelaker 1980). The skeletons were often flexed and lying on their sides (Stothert 1985:624-625). The subadults were found more frequently on their left sides but there were no differences found between adult males and females with respect to burial position. Whereas adult males tended to be interred with their heads oriented to the west, only one of nine subadults were placed this way, and the adult females were oriented any way without preference. Stones were placed on one infant burial, as well as a on a double burial of a male and female in their early twenties.

Some offerings were associated with primary burials and included neatly rectangular secondary bone bundles (see below), shell and lithic items, and pigment. Stothert (1985:627) notes that the sample of primary burials is small, but it seemed that the adult females (74% of 19 burials) and subadults (78% of 9 burials) were more likely to have durable offerings than the adult males (56% of 9 burials).

The fragmentary or relatively complete remains of one or more adults and subadults were also contained in small secondary burials in deep midden, in shallow contexts, and also in association with primary burials. Examples of secondary burials associated with primary burials are Feature 3 with a primary burial of an adult, probably female, associated with secondary burial bundle containing the remains of a subadult that was about 15 years old at death and Feature 13 with the primary burial of an 11-year-old associated with the secondary burial of an adult male(Stothert 1985:Figure 8; Ubelaker 1980:5,6). Thus a child primary burial could be associated with a secondary subadult burial or vice versa. The small secondary burials did not have grave goods (Stothert 1985:627).

Four large secondary burials (ossuaries) with adults and subadults were excavated. The bones may have been heaped into pits or else placed in a structure. One grouping had the partial remains of at least 17 adults and 21 subadults (11 individuals

were between birth to 1 year, five were between 1 and 2 years, one was 3 years, one was 4 years, one was 5 years, one was 7 years and one was 9 years)(Ubelaker 1980:9). Also within the bone pile were a partially articulated adult male and two articulated subadults (eight and nine years old). Another articulated subadult lay immediately beneath the ossuary (Stothert 1985:625). Two of the other ossuaries had a similar demographic profile while the fourth contained the remains of ten adults and one infant who was nine months of age (Ubelaker 1980:5,9,11). The large secondary burials had some simple items such as shell, animal teeth, coloured beach pebbles, and modified pebble tools in association (Stothert 1985:627).

Interments at Las Vegas must have occurred in two stages, with the primary burial as a first step, then reburied in secondary burials. All categories of individuals (males and females, adults and children) were represented in the secondary burials (Stothert 1985:628).

Aguazuque (Central Colombia)

The site of Aguazuque in the Bogotá Savannah of the eastern high plateau of Colombia has provided late Preceramic burial data. The site was excavated in 1984 by Correal Urrego (1989) and his colleagues. Aguazuque was successively occupied from 5025 B.P until 2725 B.P. There are the remains of huts that probably were similar to those found during the Preceramic on the central coast of Peru. Subsistence focused on the hunting of deer and smaller prey, shellfish collection, fishing, and the intensive collection of nuts and other plant products with the addition of some cultivated plants later on. There was a trend to sedentism over time.

A total of 59 burials was registered at the site. These included single burials, double burials, and a collective burial. Primary and secondary inhumations were practiced. Adults and children were represented in all these types of burials. At Aguazuque the bones of adults and children were often decorated with pigments.

Single burials of children included those of older children (around seven to twelve years old), as well as fetuses and infants (Correal Urrego 1989:144,151). Even the bones of the very young had been covered with pigment.

Double burials at the site occurred in three forms: double interments of adults, double interments of children, and interments of adults with children. A double child burial involved individuals who were about four to six years old (Correal Urrego 1989:143). The bones were impregnated with white lime and red ochre was scattered on the floor and over the remains. Grave offerings included a mortar and the remains of game animals. In another grave, next to the remains of an adult woman were found adolescent cranial bones that had been decorated with red pigment and nacre-coloured spots (Correal Urrego 1989:259). Beneath these lay the skeleton of a full-term fetus.

A collective burial had strong ritualistic tones (Correal Urrego 1989:139,141,258-259). The remains of 21 individuals, including males and females, adults, youths and children were arranged in a circle with a diameter of 4.5 metres. The southern part of the circle was closed by the semi-flexed lower extremities (pelvic, leg and foot bones) of another two individuals and a group of deer bones. Some isolated and burned human bones, and two fragmented skulls which had been painted were also present. Offerings accompanying the inhumations included animal bones (deer, guinea pig, and peccary) and some utilitarian objects such as mortars, scrapers, flakes, and bone tools.

Summary of Preceramic Mortuary Treatment of Children

Contrary to Lanning's (1967:65) assertion that children were buried apart from adults and received few grave goods, the mortuary treatment of children during the Preceramic in Peru is quite notable for the inclusion of the very young in the collective burial grounds of communities. At Paloma infants and fetuses made up a large proportion of burials (Quilter 1989). Engel (1980:108) noted that it was not uncommon to find

burials of premature babies and neonates in the early and middle Holocene sites which he had explored. Children, including infants, were often buried in primary, single burials when this was the pattern for adults as well; or when multiple burials were practiced, they were usually included, too. They were also included in the more unusual burial practices such as at Asia when three infant skulls were found with an adult skull or at Chilca where bodies were occasionally pinned down by stakes or needles.

Differential mortuary treatment of subadults did occur, however. The children at Lauricocha Cave were interred in deeper pits than the adults and were marked by rocks. One child's grave had crystals spread over it. At Chilca, the bodies of fetuses were placed in gourds before burial. Fetuses and infants were buried in a separate, distinct structure at Paloma.

Within the subadult category, there were differences in the amounts of artifacts found with fetuses and infants as compared to children. At Paloma, the only subadult with a tool was a fetus. Infants were more likely to be buried with artifacts than were children. A higher proportion of the fetuses, as compared to the infants and children, at Chilca were buried with grave goods other than mats. The infants at Asia were more often associated with tools than were the children.

Not only did Preceramic children receive grave goods, often these goods were of a special nature when compared to the goods associated with older individuals. The children at Lauricocha Cave had ochre, beads, and projectile points within their graves whereas the adults only had some retouched flakes, knife-scrapers and animal bones. The finest necklace at Paloma was associated with a child and cut shell discs and crescents were also associated with children. The most elaborate burial of the Preceramic was that of the infant buried at Huaca de los Sacrificios with a finely worked four-legged basin, hundreds of beads and fine textiles accompanying the remains.

Tools were most commonly found with adults but it is interesting to note that even fetuses and infants, as well as older children, occasionally were associated with tools, for example at Lauricocha, Paloma, Chilca, and Asia.

Evidence for infanticide during the Preceramic is ambiguous. A cord was found around the neck of a three-year-old at Tres Ventanas. Possibly there was a skewed sex ratio at Paloma indicating the practice of female infanticide (though see the discussion in the final chapter). At Asia, three infant skulls were found interred with an adult skull that had evidence of the removal of flesh.

In other areas of South America, contemporary groups also included infants and children in their community burial places and accorded similar or more elaborate treatment to the remains of their young members than they did to adults. All age groups were represented in primary, secondary, and ossuary burials at Las Vegas in Ecuador. A similar situation occurred at Aguazuque in Colombia where single and double primary inhumations, as well as a collective burial included children and adults. Even fetuses received their own separate graves and colourants such as red ochre or white pigment. The Chinchorros were notable for the elaborate mummification of their dead and the fact that this procedure was done more often on children than adults.

The Peruvian Preceramic covered a long period of time and though there are some common patterns in the mortuary treatment of children, changes did occur over this stage. During the Early Preceramic, children received similar, or in one instance, more elaborate treatment than adults. There was evidence of change at Paloma during the Middle Preceramic as initially the fetuses were buried in a separate structure but later on were included in burials in domestic structures with other members. Children and infants are present in the cemetery and hut burials at Chilca but are absent from a multiple burial involving eight adults. Over time there was a trend to less elaborate treatment or at least different treatment. At the Late Preceramic site of Asia, while some child burial bundles were fairly elaborate and an infant was the only individual to receive its own structure, in

general children received fewer and less elaborate goods than the adults. Apparently the mortuary treatment of children at Culebras represented less effort than that given to the adults. On the other hand, the most elaborate burial of the Preceramic belonged to an infant buried within a platform at Aspero and accompanied by luxury goods. This did not represent the usual burial treatment of infants at the site. The other infants found buried at the site had very simple graves. At La Galgada, a highland site occupied during the Late Preceramic and Initial Period, infants and children during the earlier component were less represented in the communal graves but their representation increased over time, a trend that is in contrast to the changes on the coast.

Child burials seem to occur within different contexts after the Preceramic and the next chapter will illustrate this.

Notes:

1. No information about House 12 was available but Houses 13 and 28 had infant and child burials.

2. There are discrepancies in the totals of individuals in each age category as presented by Quilter (1989) and Benfer (1984) but this is probably due to the fact that Benfer had some individuals in general categories who must have been given more precise ages by the time of the later publication.

3. Engel does not specify into what the bodies were thrown but presumably he meant a pit or pits dug into the sand.

4. Wood et al. (1992:344) point out that demographic nonstationarity can create difficulties in reconstructing the demography of past populations. Small variations in fertility have large effects on the age-at-death distribution.

CHAPTER IV

AFTER THE PRECERAMIC : CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

Introduction

The use of pottery in Peru is associated with societies that relied upon intensive food-producing agriculture. These populations were organized into permanent settlements which often featured large monumental constructions, which must have required great amounts of labour and centralized authority. These societies were complex, with evidence for different occupational roles, for example administration or craft specialization, and the existence of inequalities between socio-economic groups. However, such characteristics are generalizations and the societies varied in how strongly they were expressed. The mortuary treatment of children differed within the various ceramic-producing societies as well. This thesis will not discuss the mortuary treatment of children from the Initial Period or Early Horizon Periods following the Preceramic because of the lack of adequate cemetery information. Instead, the thesis will skip to the Early Intermediate Period (200 B.C.-A.D.600).

Salinar (Early Intermediate Period on the North Coast)

The Salinar Phase in the Chicama, Moche, and Virú Valleys on the north coast of Peru was characterized by a significant expansion of irrigation systems and the production of metal items. Ceramic vessels portrayed realistic views of life, such as pitched roof houses. Domestic settlement occurred throughout the Moche Valley but the

largest settlement was Cerro Arena with its hundreds of stone-walled houses. The Virú Valley was characterized by scattered villages on the valley margins and hilltop defensive works. Small compounds, apparently the residences of local élites and their retainers have been excavated (Conklin and Moseley 1988; Donnan and Mackey 1978; Moseley 1992; T. Topic 1982).

A few burials were discovered at the multi-component Huanchaco site which is 11 kilometres northwest of Trujillo in the Moche Valley (Donnan and Mackey 1978:25-36). The graves were simple pits in the sand with few accompanying goods. Three of the four burials of the Salinar Phase at Huanchaco belonged to children, one of whom was four to five years old, another was five to six years old and the third was seven to nine years old. An adult male was also buried there. The children had one to four ceramic vessels as grave goods. One vessel contained a coiled junco rope and a piece of asphaltum. Fish and shells were found in one grave. The adult only had one ceramic vessel and a spindle whorl accompanying his remains.

Nasca (Early Intermediate Period on the South Coast)

The Nasca people occupied the Ica and Nasca drainages on the South Coast of Peru during the Early Intermediate Period, which is defined by the Ica Valley ceramic sequence as occurring roughly between 200 B.C. to 600 A.D. (Figure 13). Subsistence was based upon food crops such as maize, peppers, beans, squash, and tubers. Cahuachi, the largest Nasca site, featured forty mounds and platforms with adobe façades against natural hills that produced an imposing effect without much labour investment. The Nasca culture is famous for its polychrome ceramics and stylistically innovative textiles but no workshops have been excavated. If such facilities did exist, they must have been uncommon (Carmichael 1988; Moseley 1992). This culture is also known for the numerous geoglyphs in the vicinity of Cahuachi that must have required a coordinated

effort but "the actual labour involved in their construction was not great, and most could have been produced by small workgangs (including children) in the space of several days to a few weeks" (Carmichael 1988:424).

A review of Nasca burial practices based on a large, excavated sample was carried out in a doctoral study by Patrick Carmichael (1988). He studied 168 individual burials from the Nasca stylistic Phases 2-8 as well as 35 multiple and secondary burials and eight Phase 1 interments. The burials came from 14 sites in the Rio Grande de Nazca Drainage Basin and from 5 sites in the Ocucaje oasis near Ica (Carmichael 1988, 1995).

The standard burial practice for all Nasca members through Phases 2-8 was to place the bodies in a seated, flexed position and to wrap the body in one or several shrouds. The remains were put in a pit or shaft that was 1-4.5 m deep. Some of the graves had roofs of branches or small poles, while some had logs overlain with mud and stones. Sometimes the graves were adobe- or stone-lined. Some individuals were placed in urns within the pit or shaft. In such cases, usually expended cooking ollas were used for children and serviceable storage jars were used for adults. The burials included a range of ages, including infants under the age of two years, but no mention was made whether fetuses or neonates received burial as well. Of the 65 individuals that could be classified into biological age groups, 13 were classified as infants (under 2 years), 20 were children (2-6 years), 6 were juveniles (6-12 years), 5 were adolescents (12-18 years), and 21 were adults (18+years)(Carmichael 1988:Table 20).

While all the above tomb forms were used for both sexes and all ages, not all groups participated equally in each type of form. Using Tainter's (1978) work as a guide, Carmichael divided the tomb types into different categories based on the amount of energy expended upon them, using such variables as grave depth, tomb construction, and the number of ceramics included (Figure 14). Then he examined which groups of the Nasca population were associated with each type of burial (Table 2). Burial Category 1

represented a low amount of energy expenditure (i.e., shallow, simple tombs with fewer vessels). There were 74 individuals in this category. He found that most of the subadults (36 out of 46 subadults or 78%) had this type of burial. There were 38 adults in this burial category, too. Burial Categories 2 and 3 represented a medium amount of energy expenditure, with more substantial roofs, deeper shafts, and more vessels. There were 37 and 33 individuals respectively in these burial categories. Only six subadults (13%) were represented in Burial Category 2 and four subadults (9%) in Burial Category 3. The majority of the subadults that were represented in Categories 2 and 3 were under the age of six years. No subadults were found in the high energy expenditure burial Category 4, which had the most substantial roofs, the greatest tomb depths and most ceramics but there were 24 adults in this category (Carmichael 1988, 1995).

The great majority of burials were single but six per cent were multiple interments. Some were multiple burials of adults. On two occasions a child (one was two to six years of age, the other was eight to ten years of age) was placed with the body of an old adult. These burials were classified as medium status. In another case, four adults and a child were interred together. An additional situation featured a child buried at the head level of an adult female and the body of a headless adult male above them. There did not seem to be a general pattern to the multiple burials (Carmichael 1988:361).

The Nasca also had an unusual ritual treatment which involved disembodied skulls known in the literature as "trophy heads." The occipital bone was removed from the skull and a hole was made into the frontal bone so a carrying cord could be attached. Based on a sample of eight skulls, one of which was a child and three others apparently adult females, the Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello interpreted the heads as belonging to revered ancestors (in Verano 1995). However, the physical anthropologist Verano (1995:214) carried out an analysis of a larger sample of 84 "trophy heads" and found only rarely did trophy heads come from women and children. His results showed

that children under 12 years constituted less than 3% of the sample and adolescents represented less than 4%. Most of the trophy heads belonged to young adult males, interpreted as having been the losers of a combat.

Moche (Early Intermediate Period on the North Coast)

During the Early Intermediate Period, the Moche people occupied several valleys on the North Coast of Peru. Subsistence was based primarily upon irrigation agriculture which was extensively supplemented by marine resources. Metallurgy, weaving and ceramic techniques were highly developed, indicating craft specialization. There was a significant population increase, with people clustered into extensive settlements. In the Moche Valley there were two large settlements and numerous other settlements dispersed throughout the valley. The largest settlement in the Moche Valley was located at Cerro Blanco where the Pyramids of Moche are located (Figure 15). Huaca del Sol (Pyramid of the Sun) is the largest mound of the valley and one of the largest human constructions in South America. Even though Huaca de la Luna (Pyramid of the Moon) is smaller than the Huaca del Sol, it also a substantial architectural complex. On the plain between the pyramids are structures apparently built by corporate labour. Burials were encountered in the pyramids, in a platform between the pyramids and in the plain. Burial data for the Moche period is also available from other sites such as Huanchaco and Pacatnamu, the latter site located in the Jequetepeque Valley (Donnan and Mackey 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1997).

The largest number of burials excavated from a single Moche cemetery came from the site of Pacatnamu, located at the mouth of the Jequetepeque Valley. This cemetery was believed to belong to the common people since the quantity and quality of the grave goods were not like those of élite Moche burials (Donnan 1997:12). Sixty-seven Moche burials, representing males and females, as well as individuals of all ages

were found. In addition, three infant burials were found in a separate area of the site (Verano 1997b). Fourteen other burials (adults and children) were found during excavation of seven other parts of the site. In total, the remains of 84 individuals, 27 of whom were children (i.e., around 30% of the buried individuals) were excavated at Pacatnamu between 1983 and 1987. Only one of the subadults was an older child of around 11-13 years of age, the rest were five years and younger. Of these, there was only one fetus and only one individual who was 0-6 months of age. Most of the children were between about six months to five years (Donnan and McClelland 1997:Table 1). Verano (1997b:191) points out that the number of individuals in the 0-0.9 year group is lower than expected.

While all the burials lay in an extended position on their backs within simple oval or rectangular pits, the summary of the burial data by Donnan and McClelland (1997:20-36) demonstrates that infants and children received differential treatment from the adults. There were five procedures used at Pacatnamu to encase the body: shroud wrap, splint reinforced, cane frame, cane tube, and cane coffin. Infants and young children usually received the first two treatments, which represented fewer raw materials and less effort than the other procedures. Infants and children also had fewer objects included in their graves. The splint reinforced method was used exclusively with infants and young children (Figure 16). At other sites, children could also be buried with a ceramic casing procedure. Adults who were buried with the shroud wrap method also received fewer, poorer quality objects. The cane frame and cane tube encasement procedures were normally used for individuals over 15 years of age and in association with more abundant grave goods. Cane coffins were reserved for adults and were accompanied by many objects, usually of better quality than those in the simpler burials.

An exception to the pattern was Burial 17 which belonged to a child about two years of age. The child was placed on a cane frame, shroud wrapped, then enclosed in a

cane tube. Donnan and McClelland (1997:28) point out that this was an unusually elaborate treatment of a child and a unique combination of encasement procedures.

Child burials tended to have fewer objects, of poorer quality than those found in adult burials. For instance, they received fewer ceramic vessels, though there was no clear distinction in the vessel forms they received. Animal remains, such as llama bones, were seldom found in the child burials but they were found in many adult graves. Most children had fewer textiles than the adults but this may be because they were wrapped in a simpler manner. Although headcloths seem to be restricted to adult male graves, in one instance a four- to five-year-old child had a possible headcloth. While ear ornaments were found with only adult females, and are common in the graves of male and female adults at other sites, they were not found with infants or children. At Pacatnamu, spindle whorls were only found with adult females but spindle whorls have been reported in one case involving an infant and in another, a juvenile burial, at other sites (Donnan and McClelland 1997:36).

Some items were commonly found in child burials. Gourds were found in the graves of all age groups. Copper was found in child, as well as adult burials. Even the fetus and the child under six months received a copper item. The most common artifact found with infants and children was a string of beads that was tied around their wrists and neck. Possibly its function had been to entertain the living child (Donnan and McClelland 1997:35).

Some instances of multiple burials occurred at Pacatnamu. Burials 60-62 represented an adult male and adult female buried with an infant (approximately six months old). In another two cases (Burials 76, 77 and Burials 44, 45), a woman was buried with an infant. In one instance (Burials 58, 59), the bones of a young child of approximately two years of age were intermingled with the bones of an adult male. The authors state that there was no evidence that sacrificed humans were included in the burials that they had excavated (Donnan and McClelland 1997:36).

At Pacatnamu, most of the infant and child burials were single burials but according to Donnan (1995:152) most other Moche infants that have been excavated from various sites were buried in multiple burials rather than alone. There were several instances where an adult was buried with either a child, an infant, or one or more fetuses. Examples include a burial on the plain between the Pyramids at Moche of a 30-40 year female with a four- to six-year-old child below her but who had been apparently interred at the same time (Donnan and Mackey 1978:168-170). At Cerro Blanco an adult male was buried adjacent to an infant that was less than one year of age. A ceramic vessel was placed next to the infant. The adult's grave goods included one vessel, two copper objects in the mouth, a copper object in the left hand, a textile and gourd fragments (Donnan and Mackey 1978:184). A multiple burial at Huanchaco contained body of an adult male(?)(Burial 25) along with two fetus burials (Burials 26 and 27) (Donnan and Mackey 1978:200-205) (see Figure 17).

One example of a double burial (Burials M-IV 23 and M-IV 24) containing a child and infant was excavated at Huanchaco as well. The tomb was a rectangular pit cut through at least one mud-brick floor into sterile soil below. The body of a young child was wrapped in reeds. Objects in the tomb included a ceramic vessel, three copper objects (one in the mouth, and one in each hand). There were textile fragments surrounding the skeleton. The young infant was buried close by, probably at the same time, in an oval pit cut through the brick floor. Grave goods included three pieces of copper (one near the top of the pit, one near the skull, and one near the bottom of the pit) as well as textile fragments around the body (Donnan and Mackey 1978:223).

Only one rich child burial has been reported and it was from San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley (Donnan 1995:154). Five chamber tombs were excavated at San José de Moro and a child was the principal individual in one of them (Castillo 1993:70, Figures 4-6). Two adults were buried at the child's feet. Numerous offerings of metal, *spondylus* shell, lapis lázuli, bone, stone, ceramics and architectural scale models were

placed alongside the child or in niches. Four small children were found in the fill of the tomb (Castillo and Donnan 1994:Figure 3.23). Even though the child's tomb was smaller and less deep than the other chamber tombs, it had equal or more objects than in the tombs where adult were the principal individuals (Castillo and Donnan 1994:144).

The remains of Moche children and infants have been found in non-cemetery contexts. Examples include burials at Huaca del Sol, Huaca de la Luna, and Sipán.

A tomb containing the body of a twelve-year-old was built into the Huaca del Sol during its construction. Two ceramic vessels, two large mats, two large textiles, dozens of polished stone beads, a lump of lime, quartz crystals, plant remains, and a small animal mandible were also found in the tomb (Donnan and Mackey 1978:66).

Infant burials have also been found in ritual contexts at the Pyramids of Moche, in a plaza of the Huaca de la Luna. During excavations in 1996 and 1997 Bourget (in Scott 1999:84-86) and his team unearthed the bodies of three infants, aged one to three years, who had been placed beneath the remains of a series of adult men who had evidence of trauma and mutilation (i.e. decapitation). Two of the infants were headless but their cervical vertebrae did not have the same sort of cut marks as did the decapitated adults. It is thus difficult to determine if the infants had died naturally or if they had been sacrificed by some different means (Bourget, in Scott 1999:85).

Children also were interred as secondary individuals in élite Moche tombs. At Sipán, located in the central part of the Lambayeque Valley, very rich, elaborate tombs were found in a pyramid complex. Walter Alva and his colleagues excavated these tombs (Alva and Donnan 1993). The primary individuals in the Sipán tombs were adult males buried with the type of regalia that characters depicted in Moche iconography wore when carrying out a sacrifice ceremony involving war captives. The individual known by archaeologists as the Lord of Sipán or the Warrior-Priest was encased in a plank coffin within a rectangular chamber built into a pyramid. Abundant burial goods of high quality material and artistic merit were placed in the tomb, as were llama sacrifices. Eight

burials of secondary individuals, including a child of about 9 to 10 years of age, accompanied the Lord of Sipán (Verano 1997a). The child was located near the head of the coffin and was seated with his or her back leaning against the wall of the chamber, legs extended forward along the floor. The adult males were in their thirties or forties whereas the adult females were 15-20 years old. While the adult males may have been sacrificed to accompany the Moche lord around the time of his interment, the adult females apparently had been dead for some time before being moved to the tomb, judging by the disarticulated state of their remains. The child had suffered several episodes of illness or dietary deficiency during life as evidenced by the development of the tooth crowns.

Another élite burial at Sipán was also accompanied by the remains of secondary individuals (Alva and Donnan 1993:159). A male youth 14-17 years of age, a child of 8-10 years, and two young women were interred alongside the individual that had items used by the Bird Priest character in iconography. The primary figure had many ornaments and high quality items, but his burial was not as rich as the Warrior Priest's tomb. The child wore a copper headdress with a human face in front and was associated with 16 gourd bowls, a stirrup spout bottle, a dog and a snake. One of the women had a copper headdress and the youth had copper discs on his chest.

Moche iconography was rich and varied, depicting many aspects of life and beliefs. Infant and child representations do occur and may be an additional source of information about how the young were perceived. An analysis of the iconography by Arsenault (1991), which intended to examine how women were represented by the Moche, also mentioned infants and children. Infants and children were portrayed in association with women in both naturalistic and mythical scenes. There are effigy vessels of women giving birth and others where infants are being breast-fed. Parturition is not a common theme, however. There is also a depiction of a woman with a child on her back, battling with a supernatural creature (Arsenault 1991:322). Children or infants

also appear in scenes apparently depicting the world of the dead (Arsenault 1991:321, 1993:Fig.1-4). A skeletal child is carried in a blanket on the back of a skeletal woman who are dancing with a group of other skeletons. The woman and child are dressed plainly and appear to be marginal to the activities involving male figures with elaborate costumes.

Recently the iconography has also been examined with the specific purpose of understanding how infants were perceived by the Moche. Bourget (in Scott 1999:85-86), who excavated the infant burials at Huaca de la Luna, has noted that infants are depicted on vessels being held by whistling women. The gesture of whistling is also presented in scenes involving the hunt and in scenes of sea creatures and he concluded that this gesture and the pose of carrying an infant were part of a dialogue with ancestors and deities with regard to cataclysmic events such as caused by El Niño. Bourget's article is still in press but is cited in Scott (1999).

Middle Horizon in the Central Highlands

The recent excavation of a Huari burial chamber in the Ayacucho region indicates that not all age groups were included in collective burials during the Middle Horizon. The skeletal remains of a minimum of fourteen adults and at least two subadults were found together within the below-ground chamber. However, the remains of two tetuses or infants were discovered in the soil immediately above the roof of the chamber (Bettcher et al. 1999).

Late Intermediate Period on the North Coast

Data for child burials during the Late Intermediate Period (around A.D. 1100 to 1400) come from excavations carried out in cemeteries and non-cemetery contexts. Cemetery information comes from the Pyramids at Moche which became part of the

Chimú sphere. Other burials were found in architectural contexts at Pacatnamu and in an unusual context at Huanchaco.

An example of non-cemetery subadult interments pertains to the Lambayeque occupation of the site of Pacatnamu (Bruce 1986). The Lambayeque occupation at Pacatnamu, which began approximately A.D. 1100-1150, represented a second major florescence of the site that lasted about two centuries. The site underwent a great episode of building, many of the structures being of a ceremonial nature. Constructions included high city walls, mud-brick pyramids, complexes of spacious courts, corridors, and élite quarters. The largest and most impressive pyramid structure at Pacatnamu is known as Huaca 1. A large rectangular enclosure with massive perimeter walls, referred to as the Major Quadrangle, is located on the south side of Huaca 1 (Figure 18). Room Complex A is one of five room complexes in the Major Quadrangle and features an *audiencia* or U-shaped structure at one end of a courtyard. Three looted burial chambers were found, one beneath the *audiencia* and the other two under the courtyard (Figure 19). The human remains in the chambers came from at least four individuals that were 11-14 years of age and a minimum of another four individuals who were 15-20 years old. Artifacts included ceramic vessels, animal bones, plant remains, textile fragments, string, gourd fragments, implements for spinning, copper items and shells, including *Spondylus* and *Strombus*, which show up in ritual contexts in the Andes.

The Late Intermediate Period occupation of the Moche Valley by the Chimú reflects direct continuity with the Moche occupation especially with respect to irrigation agriculture, settlement patterns, and corporate architecture. Chan Chan, a site with monumental construction covering a vast area, was established as the capital of the Chimor Kingdom. The rulers lived in vast rectangular enclosures with high walls and spacious open courts, each enclosure featuring an interior burial mound with a large T-shaped cell that must have contained the body of the ruler as well as additional graves which contained the remains of numerous young women. The lesser nobility lived in

smaller compounds with lower walls. The lower classes lived in densely packed neighbourhoods of cane constructions with irregular rooms and small patios. There is evidence that metalworking and weaving were important activities in these neighbourhoods (Moseley 1992; Topic 1990). On the basis of ceramic analysis, the Chimú occupation was divided into Early Chimú, Middle Chimú, Late Chimú and Chimú Inca phases (Donnan and Mackey 1978).

Twenty-two Early Chimú burials were excavated at the Pyramids at Moche, on the plain between Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna (Donnan and Mackey 1978). The graves were cut into a mud-brick platform previously used by the Moche people as a cemetery. The bodies were flexed and placed in a sitting position. Ceramic vessels, copper objects, llama and guinea pig remains were the common grave offerings. When vessels were present in the graves, at least one was a plain cooking olla and additional ones tended to be decorated. Out of the 22 Early Chimú burials excavated at the Pyramids of Moche, 12 of them belonged to children. Three quarters of these children were under the age of six years, including four infants (under 3 years of age). Apparently there were no fetus burials in this sample (Donnan and Mackey 1978).

The following two paragraphs summarize the Early Chimú burial data in Donnan and Mackey (1978:241-287). The child burials were single burials except for one instance where a very young infant and a child of three to six years of age were interred together in the same pit. All the child burials had accompanying grave goods (except perhaps for the very young infant in the double burial). Of the burials with accompanying objects, all but one (an infant under one year of age) had one to three ceramic vessels and one to three figurines. Two children had a spindle whorl each and three children had the remains of llamas or guinea pigs accompanying them.

The adult burials were all single burials. There was variation in the amounts and types of goods that were placed in the graves. One adult had no goods at all, another had just one plain bowl, and two adults had just some copper items. The remaining six adult

burials had 1-6 ceramic vessels. Six of the adults had copper and two adults had three or four spindle whorls each. Fabric, beads, animal bones, and pieces of lime were also found.

Only eight Middle Chimú burials were excavated at the Pyramids of Moche, on the plain between the pyramids. Two of the interments belonged to subadults(Donnan and Mackey 1978:312,326). One of the individuals may have been an adolescent, the other was a four- to six-year-old. The child had two ceramic vessels, a copper spindle whorl, two shells and bone and shell beads whereas the adolescent had only one ceramic vessel and one copper bead. The adults tended to have more ceramic vessels.

There were no burials pertaining to the Late Chimú phase mentioned for the Moche Valley (Donnan and Mackey 1978:326).

Late Intermediate Period child burials occurred in another unusual context at Huanchaco on the North Coast of Peru near the modern city of Trujillo. The following information was described by Donnan and Foote (1978). Seventeen children were each associated with the remains or one or more immature llamas (Figure 20). The radiocarbon date for the burials is A.D. 1405. The children were buried in poorly defined grave pits, most of which were associated with stone features which appeared to be fragments of previously abandoned domestic structures. The individuals ranged in age from five to twelve years, with the majority in the six- to nine-year-old range (10 individuals). The authors note that there was some tentative evidence for premortem cranial injury, with possible basal skull fractures observed in four instances and punctate depression of the temporal and frontal bones noted in two other instances. The damage appeared to have occurred in living bone, but they noted the possibility, that the damage could have occurred postmortem when earth-moving equipment had gone over the site.

One to three llamas were positioned directly over or beside the human skeletons. The llamas had probably been tethered or hobbled or tightly bound at the time of their interment because the remains of cordage was discovered around their necks and

forelegs. All the llamas were the same approximate age at the time of death, according to their developmental similarities. This information allowed the investigators to conclude that the llama and human burials must have been made in the late fall or winter months which is June to September in the Southern Hemisphere. They could not tell, however, if the burials were made in a single year or successive years. Fractures on the llamas showed that they had been bludgeoned to death.

Little cultural material was associated with the burials. Two of the pits had been lined with animal skins, probably llama, and one of these pits had also a textile between the animal skin and the human body. In another case, a textile was wrapped around the feet and over the head of another child. Three individuals had red ocher on the skull and one skeleton had green stain on the hands, suggesting that the individual had held a small copper object.

Donnan and Foote (1978:407-408) outlined their reasons for believing the burials represented child and llama sacrifices, not simply a child cemetery, based on the fact that the children were of a similar age and the associated llamas were all sacrificed at the same time of year. If it had been a child cemetery, then one would expect the llamas to be killed at various times of year, whenever a child died and was buried. They also argue against the possibility that the children died in an epidemic episode and were buried within a short period of time because one would expect that there would have also been some children under the age of five years. They conclude that there had been a deliberate sacrifice of children and llamas which "may well have been part of a religious ceremony" (Donnan and Foote 1978: 408).

Inca (Late Horizon)

The Late Horizon (A.D. 1470-1532) was dominated by the Inca people who spread from their territory in the Cuzco area of the Andean highlands to forge an empire

stretching over 5500 kilometres long which included the south of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, upland Argentina, and northern Chile (Figure 21). Because of the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire, historic documents exist for this time period. The head of the royal family or Inca was the head of state. Numerous tribal, ethnic and linguistic units were incorporated into the empire. Often local leaders were left in place with a certain amount of autonomy. When a newly conquered province was added, a census was made of the number of inhabitants, their age, sex, and marital status. This was for the purpose of levying a labour tax. The Inca subjects had to work lands dedicated to the official religion and to the state as well as provide labour for such projects as the building of irrigation canals or roads. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the population was sorted into *calles* or age grades and individuals were expected to carry out the tasks appropriate to their *calle*. Girls of the *Sétima Calle* (around 9-12 years old) were classified by Inca officials according to their physical appearance and skills. Those that were exceptionally beautiful (without a blemish or mole on their entire body) and skilled were taken away from their families and educated by the government. Some were dedicated to serve the Sun deity, others were destined to become wives of noblemen or secondary wives of the Inca, and some of the girls were set aside to be sacrificed (Cobo 1990[1653]; Guamán Poma 1980[1615]; Moseley 1992; Murra 1956; Rostworowski 1988; Rowe 1946).

The Capacocha

According to historic sources and to archaeological evidence, the Incas carried out human sacrifice. An overview of the historic evidence for sacrifice has been provided by Rowe (1946), much of it based on the writings of Father Bernabé Cobo [1653] who wrote during the colonial period about Inca religion and customs. The Incas considered the most valuable sacrifice to be human beings. They were offered to the most important deities and *huacas* only on solemn occasions such as the coronation of a new Inca emperor, or when he went to war in person, or was sick or at times of crisis

when there were epidemics, famine or war reverses. Sometimes the sacrificial victims were the inhabitants of a newly conquered province who were killed to celebrate a victory. In other instances they were adult male war captives. However, the usual victims were children who had been collected from the provinces as part of regular taxation. Usually beautiful girls were chosen, but attractive young boys, with no mark or blemish, were also sacrificed. The boys were around 10 years of age. While some of the girls were about the same age, others were maidens of about 15 or 16 years of age. These child sacrifices are known as *capacocha*.

The native writer Guamán Poma (1980[1615]) mentioned that girls and boys of around 10 years of age, who were attractive and without a blemish, were buried alive as part of Inca religious ceremonies. He also mentioned various parts of the empire where child sacrifices took place, such as at Pachacamac where five-year-old children were sacrificed or Collasuyos where one-year-old and two-year-old children were killed as offerings.

An account of a *capacocha* ceremony as related by the inhabitants of an Andean community was recorded during Spanish colonial times by Hernández Principe (1986a [1621]:471-474) who had been sent by the Church to eliminate idolatrous practices in the Department of Ancash. The people of the community of Urcon told the story of a girl, Tanta Carhua, who had been given by her father to the Inca to be sacrificed to the Sun. They said that the children of nobility from all parts of Peru who were chosen to be sacrificed to the Sun travelled to Cuzco where they took part in festivities. In the plaza the Inca received the children and other sacrificial offerings. He was seated on his golden throne alongside the mummified bodies of the dead Incas and the statues of the Sun and Lightning deities. The children took part in a procession twice around the principal plaza. The Inca spoke to the Sun, asking that the chosen ones be received into his service. Some children were sacrificed in Cuzco at the shrine of Huanacauri or at the Temple of the Sun, others were returned to their communities where they were buried

alive. The Inca ordered that the *capacocha* be adored as part of a cult. Tanta Carhua was buried on a high hill within royal lands next to her community where the storehouses holding corn were located. She had fine clothing, jewelry in the shape of tiny vessels, *tupus* (shawl pins), and silver amulets that she had been given as gifts by the Inca. Afterwards the place where she was buried was considered a shrine where people came to adore her and ask her advice via the shamans. Fields were set aside for her cult festivities. Offerings of guinea pigs were made and her name was invoked as well as the name of her father. Tanta Carhua's father was given the privilege of becoming a governor, as were his descendants, and her brother became a priest at her shrine that people came to consult.

Archaeological evidence exists for child sacrifice during Inca times. The remains of young sacrificed individuals have been found at several high altitude shrines in Peru, Chile and Argentina. At Cerro El Plomo in the highlands of central Chile, the remains of an eight- to nine-year-old boy were found accompanied by figurines of *Spondylus* shell, silver and gold, as well as leather bags containing coca leaves, hair, fingernail clippings, and the deciduous teeth of a child (Mostny 1957 in Verano 1995:190; in Rowe 1995; in Besom 1991). On the boy's head was a headdress of black llama hair decorated with condor feathers. His face was painted red with yellow lines. He wore a silver pendant and a silver bracelet. The garments and accompanying objects identified the boy as a subject of the Inca empire. The necklace, bracelet, and hair style suggested he was from the empire's southeastern quarter. An examination of the body showed evidence of frostbite on his fingers so he must have been alive when he arrived at the site. He may have been given *chicha* (corn beer) to intoxicate him before he was buried alive since the base of an Inca vessel commonly used to contain *chicha* was found at the site.

The Cerro El Plomo find was very similar to another one found in Argentina. In 1985, the Argentine archaeologist Juan Schobinger (1991) recovered the frozen remains of a seven-year-old boy from a high altitude Inca sanctuary located on a ridge of Cerro

Aconcagua, the highest mountain in the Western Hemisphere. The child's skin had been coated with red pigment, interpreted as being a symbol of life. He wore a tunic and sandals and was wrapped in several blankets of wool and cotton, two of which had embroidered designs. The outermost textile was layered with the yellow feathers of an Amazonian parrot. A stone bead necklace hung around his neck. Two bags were on the outside of the bundle: one was empty, the other had some cooked beans. Six Inca-style statuettes (two of gold, three of *Spondylus* and one of silver) were found near the bundle. Some were male human figures and some were stylized llamas. At another site, on Cerro El Toro at the Chile-Argentina border the body of a youth was found.

Johan Reinhard (1992;1996;1998;1999), an explorer-in-residence at *National Geographic*, has found the remains of several *capacocha* at high altitude Inca sites in Peru and Argentina. They were buried within ceremonial platforms. Some of the individuals were boys around eight years old. One boy wore a tunic big enough to grow into. The finds also included female victims, some of whom were around eight years old at death while others were teenagers around 14 years. Some of the clothes accompanying the remains were too big for the girls. There was also one young woman of eighteen years. Medical examination indicated that several of the individuals may have been killed by a blow to the head. The accompanying offerings were very similar to those described above but the girls had silver *tupus* holding their garments together and small female figurines of gold, silver, a gold and copper alloy and *Spondylus* shell. The figurines wore miniature garments and headdresses. In one case, a 14-year-old girl wore a headdress of white feathers, a larger version of a headdress on a statuette. The same girl had a man's tunic draped over the right side of her body. The interlocked tapestry tunic featured a repetitive design known as an Inca key, indicative of high status, and only worn by the nobility. On a few occasions, a boy and girl pair were buried together.

Infants and fetuses

Historic documents also specifically refer to the way in which the bodies of fetuses or infants born under particular circumstances were treated. During the 1600s, the priest Arriaga, who represented the Archbishopric of Lima, was sent on a mission to report on indigenous Andean rites so they could be eliminated and replaced by Christian beliefs. He noted in *Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú* (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:203-205, 215) that the bodies of infants who had died shortly after an unusual birth such as twins (*chuchus*) or children born feet first (*chacpas*) were considered sacred objects and were placed in ollas which were kept in the house. One of the pair of twins was thought to be the son of the Lightning deity. These children were considered as *conopas*, sacred objects relating to the household, and they were taken care of by the household heads. They received the same veneration as the *malquis* or bodies of the ancient ancestors, but these latter individuals were considered as pertaining to the community or *ayllu*. The adult ancestors' bodies, which were adorned with fine clothing and feathers, were kept apart from the community in caves. The *malquis* had priests and ministers attending to them, offering sacrifices and performing ceremonies.

Hernández Príncipe (1986b[1622]:487, 490, 497), who also reported on indigenous practices during colonial times stated that in Recuay *chuchus* and *chacpas* as well as aborted fetuses (presumably spontaneous) were considered minor idols and were placed in rows by each male head of the family in a select spot above the settlement as offerings to the Lightning or Sun or the Evening Star (Venus) deities.

Irene Silverblatt (1987) noted references in colonial documents where miscarried fetuses and infants who had died shortly after birth were given as offerings to fertility shrines. The women of the village of Coscaya, in the Department of Arequipa, performed a ceremony to the *Mamayutas* (also known as *Zaramamas* or Corn Mothers), who were considered to be founding ancestors. A shrine in the village attended by a woman priestess was dedicated to the *Mamayutas*. In a trough containing clay figurines

of the *Mamayutas*, the women offered coca, feathers, double ears of corn, and balls of coloured wool. In another trough they offered dead guinea pigs, as well as the bodies of their newborns that had died. These were for the *Mamayutas* to consume. Silverblatt (1987:34) explains that "Andean women felt close to the goddesses of the cosmos for the ability they shared to reproduce life ".

As for archaeological evidence, Rowe (1946:287) mentions that urn burials of infants did occur occasionally in the Cuzco area and that these were probably located in houses. However, the mortuary treatment of infants may not have been the same across the empire and the provinces may have had different practices from those found in the imperial heartland. For example, at Quebrada de la Vaca, a settlement that may have functioned as one of the Inca state storage facilities on the far south coast of Peru, many infants were included in the collective burials found in some mortuary houses. Out of 120 individuals buried at the site, 56 of these were adults and 50 were infants (Riddell and Menzel in Isbell 1997).

Summary of the Mortuary Treatment

The more complex Peruvian societies, characterized by large, dense settlements, reliance upon agriculture, occupational specialization and the existence of inequalities between socio-economic groups, no longer regularly included all age groups in their community burial grounds. The rarity of fetuses and infants in Moche burials was notable. Possibly infants received burial in a separate cemetery since at Pacatnamu some infants were buried in an area isolated from other interments. On some occasions they were found in multiple burials with an adult. Presumably fetuses did not commonly receive burial in Nasca society either since they are not remarked upon in the study carried out by Carmichael. Unfortunately the data given for the Nasca only gives a category for infants under two years of age and there is no distinction made between

fetuses/neonates and older infants. At Seqllas, a Middle Horizon site, fetuses/infants were excluded from the communal burial chamber and only two subadults were included. The Chimú cemetery data did not mention fetuses but some infants were present. The Incas of the Cuzco area kept the remains of infants in urns within the house, not in the collective burial area.

The children that were present in cemetery contexts in general did not have the same amount of effort spent on their burials as did the adults. In the small Salinar sample the children did seem to have a burial similar to the adult, but this was not the case in the other complex societies that were examined for this thesis. Most of the Nasca child burials were in the burial category representing the least amount of effort, a few were represented in the category representing a medium amount of effort, and none had an elaborate burial. On some occasions children were found in multiple burials. The Moche children were interred with only simple body encasement procedures and they tended to have fewer, poor quality objects than the adults. Only one rich Moche child burial has been found. In general the adult Chimú burials received more goods than did the child burials. The mortuary treatment of infants varied across the Inca empire: in the imperial heartland, infants were differentially buried from the rest of the population but in the provinces, at least in one example, infants were included in a collective burial.

The remains of children appear in a variety of ceremonial or non-cemetery contexts. A very few of the Nasca trophy heads were those of children. The Moche placed some infant bodies under the mass burial of mutilated adults at Huaca de la Luna. Older children were interred within monumental architecture or were included as retainer burials in the élite tombs of individuals who have been identified with characters in Moche iconography. During the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon, the numbers of children and adolescents in ceremonial burials greatly increased. Because these subadults were of the age group where death does not normally occur, there is little doubt that they were sacrifices. Several sacrificed children were interred with llamas at

Huanchaco. Other sacrificed children and adolescents were buried within architecture at Pacatnamu and Chan Chan. In addition, some were placed as retainer burials within élite tombs. Historical and archaeological evidence exists for child sacrifice during the Late Horizon. Older children were the most common human sacrifice chosen by the Incas. The very young, on the other hand, were found in different ceremonial contexts during Inca times. Aborted fetuses and infants who died shortly after being born under unusual circumstances were given as offerings at fertility shrines.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

> "It appears that initially they gave more emphasis to those who never achieved their potential, like seeds that never germinated. When a fisher catches a small fish, it is customary to return it to the ocean for a second chance at life" Arriaza [1995:60].

The perceptions of children held by different societies vary and this is reflected in mortuary practices. This chapter will examine what child burials may have meant within the social, economic, and ideological spheres of different ancient Peruvian societies and how this changed over time. Attention will be focused upon the issues of the social identity and social status of children as well as upon symbolic characteristics that the young were believed to have embodied. During the course of the discussion the assumptions of archaeological mortuary theory will be challenged.

Some authors have made comments about Preceramic mortuary practices that seem to have been influenced by the assumptions of archaeological mortuary theory but, upon examination of the Preceramic data, these assumptions do not seem to hold. Edward Lanning's (1967:65) assertion that children during the Preceramic were not considered full members of society and were placed randomly, disrespectfully in middens, and Michael Moseley's (1975:75; 1992:107) argument that the newborn and the very young had not achieved social recognition and incorporation into Preceramic society, are not persuasive when considering the archaeological data closely. Yes, infants and children were buried in refuse, but so were adolescents and adults. When burials were in domestic structures and in cemeteries, subadults were included. Nor does

burial in midden material necessarily imply disrespect or casual disposal. As Engel (1988: footnote 20 on p.17) argues, we have to be careful about imposing our prejudices of what is 'clean' and 'dirty' on other peoples. He gives as an example the Indian pilgrims who bathe in the Ganges River to purify themselves (spiritually) even though in a physical sense the river is extremely polluted.

Paleodemographic work carried out at various Preceramic sites indicates that infant mortality was high. But this did not mean that the very young did not have a social identity or that less care was given to their interment as has been assumed. During the Preceramic, the very young did indeed already have a social identity at birth and were considered to be persons, as witnessed by the careful mortuary treatment even of fetuses. Fetus and infant burials were commonly included in the collective burial grounds of Preceramic societies and were present in significant numbers. Fetuses, infants, and children received much the same type of mortuary treatment as the adults at various sites, not only in Peru but in Ecuador, Chile, and Colombia. The burials seem to have been carefully placed and in some instances are associated with goods of a more special nature than those of the adults (e.g., at Paloma and at Lauricocha). Fetuses and infants even had tools as grave goods, indicating that they were indeed recognized as fully human and that they would have been expected to contribute to their society if they had lived. It should be noted that not all of the adults at Paloma and Chilca had artifacts (other than mats), so some of the fetuses and infants were receiving greater amounts of goods than some of the adults. If the reason why bodies at Chilca were pegged to the ground was because of fear that the dead would return (Engel 1988a:17-18), then the fact that an infant as well as adults received this type of treatment seems to indicate that infants had a 'spirit', too. The infant burial in Las Vegas, Ecuador, with stones placed on top could perhaps have represented a similar idea, though Stothert (1985:625) suggests this practice was to protect the dead from evil (a practice carried out by some tropical forest people).

The very young did not seem to have had a social status that was lower than the adults. In fact, on some occasions the burials of infants and children were treated like those of special people, as some of their grave offerings and their mortuary treatment were more unusual than those of the adults.

What did the special treatment mean? Rivera (1995:67), with regards to the Chinchorro Tradition, and Robert Feldman (1980:196, 1985:81), for the elaborate infant burial at Aspero, have interpreted the special treatment of infants in terms of the mortuary theory of Arthur Saxe (1970) and of Joseph Tainter (1978). Such burials, they believe, must be evidence for a ranking system based on birth (i.e., a hierarchical system where status is ascribed). This is because they assumed that infants in an egalitarian society (where status is achieved by personal effort and experience) would have less effort spent on their burials than do the adults. Let us examine whether this is a reasonable interpretation for the Chinchorro and Aspero data, and for the Preceramic in general.

For the Chinchorro, Bernardo Arriaza (1995:134-135) lists convincing reasons for why he believes that artificial mummification was an egalitarian practice, not a sign of a ranked society. These reasons are: (1) a conspicuous absence of contemporaneous low rank natural burials (which in ranked society one would expect to be in the majority); (2) most mummies had few artifacts; (3) no significant sex and age differences for grave goods; (4) there is no evidence of monumental architecture, accumulation of material wealth, or exotic grave goods with the complex mummies; and (5) there is no high and low status residences (i.e., data external to burial practices). Without these other characteristics of ranked society being present, it does not seem likely that the child burials were indicative of ranking amongst the Chinchorro.

At Aspero, only the one infant burial was elaborate, whereas the six other burials were rather simple. There was evidence of large public architecture and some exotic goods such as *Spondylus* shell, so it is possible that there had been a ranked society with

élite officials responsible for directing the projects. But the absence of elaborate adult burials is puzzling, and there was no mention of differences in domestic structures. Huaca de los Sacrificios appears to have been built in accretive stages, as evidenced by numerous superimposed floors. Officials may not have been required to direct the building. Thus, the elaborate infant burial may not have been a reflection of a particular type of sociopolitical organization. Perhaps it was a dedicatory burial to the public architecture (Burger 1995:36). Unfortunately, little information was given about the burial's relationship to the different floors. All that was noted was that it was found on a clay floor but near the mound's eroded surface. There is no information about whether floors were below it or above it, or whether it had been dug down through floors or sealed in by later floors. If it had been sealed in by later floors, then this could suggest a dedicatory burial. But it is also possible that the burial was made after the mound had been built (but still during the Preceramic), the location chosen because of the ceremonial nature of the construction. Thus, a dedicatory burial explanation needs more information to confirm or reject it.

The other Preceramic sites such as Lauricocha, Paloma, and Chilca had special child burials but it is very doubtful that these signified ranked societies with a hierarchy of statuses. The archaeological evidence points to these societies as being simple and egalitarian. These small-scale societies subsisted upon natural, undomesticated food. All the domestic structures at Chilca and Paloma are simple huts. The grave goods are items such as tools or adornments of shells and stones that would be readily accessible to all individuals. The adult burials do not show much variation. The differential mortuary treatment occurred between, not within age categories. Thus, there must be an explanation other than ranking for the more elaborate child burials in these societies and perhaps it may apply to the Aspero and Chinchorro burials as well. Perhaps the infants and children received special mortuary treatment not because they were privileged

individuals in a ranked society but because of their age. The special mortuary treatment may have occurred because of their early death.

Factors other than socio-political organization must be considered when interpreting burials. Philosophical or religious factors also play an important role (Hodder 1986:2-3; Carr 1995). The possible symbolic meaning of the Chinchorro burials has been commented upon by Rivera (1995) who sees common patterns at Paloma and Las Vegas. He suggests that there was an emphasis on fertility with the infant burials possibly representing potential life. The high frequency of elaborated mummies of children perhaps was related to ancestor veneration and the "differential burial treatment of the young could indicate a more direct relation to the ancestors" (Rivera 1995:67).

These are intriguing ideas, but they need to be explored more fully because there are several concepts involved. One needs to discuss what the associations are between death, the ancestors, and fertility and how ideas about infants and children may be related to these. Also, one needs to place these concepts within the social, political, and economic context of their particular societies. While Andean cultures of different time periods have held ideas about fertility, death and the ancestors and also have used the burials of children to express their beliefs, one must realize that the ideology must also have been transformed through time.

There are ethnographic examples from around the world that link death and fertility but, as pointed out by Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry (1982) in *Death and the Regeneration of Life*, different cultures will emphasize different resources that they wish to have renewed. What they wish to have increased may be the fecundity of people, or animals or crops or all of these. It is important to consider which resource a culture may conceive to be most essential to the reproduction of the social order.

Andean ethnographic and ethnohistoric accounts have illustrated a symbolic association between the bodies of the dead and life-force. Catherine Allen's (1988) research in the Quechua community of Sonqo, near Cuzco, found that the ancestors'

bodies were not only revered for belonging to the progenitors of the community but were considered a source of fertility for the crops.[1] Two important points to note here are that the bodies are of adults and the resource that is believed to be made more abundant is the agricultural produce.

Fernando Fuenzalida's research (in Isbell 1997:82), using colonial documents and information from Andean highlanders, further highlights the connection between ancestors and the life-force. An Andean myth recognizes a reciprocal relationship between the people of the highlands and the earth as provider of sustenance. According to the myth, humans originally were immortal but this led to overpopulation and a scarcity of food. Then a covenant was made. Humans became mortal in exchange for fecundity and well-being. Thus, death was necessary to ensure the food supply and the dead ancestors literally embodied the fulfillment of the reciprocal contract with the earth. The descendants felt this sanctioned their claims to land, resources, and products.

Could the bodies of the dead children have embodied these concepts? Father Bernabé Cobo (1990[1653]), who was in Peru during the colonial period, wrote about the religion and customs of the Inca. He pointed out that not all individuals would worship all the mummified remains of the deceased. They only worshipped those that they thought were their direct ancestors. They were not concerned with anyone who had died without leaving descendants. The people of the Preceramic may not have worshipped the dead children as ancestors, either, since they had died before producing offspring and may not have sanctioned claims to land, resources, and products as would have the adult ancestors.

Even if the children were not worshipped as ancestors, ideas about death and fertility may still have been expressed by the burials. At Chilca I, fetuses and neonates were buried with care. The common pattern at this site was to inter the very young in gourds (one infant at Paloma was also placed in a gourd). The gourds may have fertility connotations. Lathrap (1977), considering the symbolic and ceremonial associations of

the bottle gourd in various parts of the world (e.g., Guyana, Colombia, New Guinea, and Africa), concluded that the gourd is a metaphor for the womb.

It is interesting that at Chilca and Paloma, the fetuses and infants received more grave goods than did older children. At Asia, infants were more likely to be buried with tools than were children. The focus was on the youngest members of the society.

Regarding the meaning of the fetus/infant burials at Paloma, the fact that they were buried in a separate structure may indicate that they had social roles beyond the household (Quilter 1989:62). They may have been considered to pertain to the community and it has been suggested that the separate structure was a fertility shrine, the fetuses embodying concepts of fertility, as in Inca times (Quilter 1989:67).[2] However, there seems to be a difference in how the Incas considered dead fetuses and infants and how societies during the Preceramic considered them. When carrying out fertility rituals, it seems the Incas considered infant and fetus bodies more like objects, since they were placed in offering troughs in the same manner as other unusual objects such as double ears of corn, coloured balls of wool, feathers, coca, etc. Their bodies were kept in shrines as offerings *to* founding ancestors. In other cases, the dead fetuses or infants were kept in *ollas* (possibly the same womb metaphor as gourds?) in the home as sacred objects pertaining to the household. For the Incas, the bodies of dead adult (often male) ancestors were considered a regenerative force as well and were considered to pertain to the community. Their finely attired bodies were kept apart from the community in caves and they had priests attending to them, offering sacrifices. On the other hand, at Paloma the adult male authority probably was identified with the home and the family rather than the community as a whole, since the common burial pattern was with an adult male at the centre of the hut with other burials around. They were not associated with items of symbolic value as were the fetuses. Thus, the regenerative role may have been held by the very young at Paloma.[3]

If the fetuses symbolized a desire for abundance, what did the people of Paloma wish to be revitalized? Could they have been expressing anxiety about the abundance of their maritime and other food resources? The high infant mortality, especially during the earlier occupation levels of Paloma, could indicate a population that had not yet adapted to the coastal food resources (Benfer 1984:536). But was there a wish to increase natural fertility or were they concerned with human fertility and ensuring the continuity of their population?

According to Benfer (1984), the higher number of deceased females versus males under the age of one year, combined with a higher number of adult males versus females in their twenties indicated that the Palomans were controlling their population by practicing female infanticide. He attributes the higher mortality rate of females in their thirties as the result of more women dying in childbirth at this age, having delayed childbearing until they were older, a pattern that occurs in societies practicing female infanticide. If this were indeed true, then the Palomans may not have been expressing a desire for increased human fertility as represented by the dead fetuses. Perhaps they were hoping that the human deaths would result in greater life force and abundance in the natural realm so that their food supply would increase. On the other hand, while apparently contradictory, infanticide and an ideology of (human) fertility can co-exist in societies as has been pointed out by Scott (1999:76) who gives as examples the ancient Romans and Phoenicians who practiced infanticide yet also built monuments expressing concepts of fertility. In such societies, she notes that the ideology of fertility is expressing a hope for the future.

However, the interpretation of female infanticide at Paloma may be questionable. First of all, Weaver's (1980) technique for sexing the ilia of fetuses and infants is not without its problems. The technique apparently has a high accuracy rate for diagnosing males who were at the fetal stage or were six months old at death but is much less reliable when applied to newborn males and when sexing the female ilia whether at the

fetal, newborn, or six month stage. Mittler and Sheridan (1992) tested Weaver's technique on a sample of ilia from subadults of known sex ranging in age from birth through 18 years of age. They found that the relationship between auricular surface morphology (the non-metric trait upon which Weaver's technique was based) and sex was random for individuals under nine years of age, therefore it could not be used to effectively diagnose sex. Second, when looking at Benfer's table which lists the burials by sex, age, and stratigraphic level, several of the very young remains had not been sexed, so if they could have been sexed, the disparity between the sexes may have been less. Third, apparently the analysis of the number of individuals under one year included fetuses, two of which were male and five of which were female. How could the Palomans have been preferentially killing female fetuses if they did not have diagnostic tests for the sex of an unborn child?

The suggestion of delayed childbirth and its connection to female infanticide also seems questionable. If female infanticide were indeed being practiced and there were fewer adult females, I doubt that the Paloman men were waiting until the available women were in their thirties before having intimate relations with them. I also doubt that there were safe, effective contraceptives or abortions that would not have harmed the mothers. In addition, the skewed sex ratios only occurred in the 25-29 category and the 30-34 category. The total number of males and the total number of females over the age of 15 years were not very different (48 males and 46 females). Possibly infanticide was practiced during the Preceramic but the evidence is ambiguous.[4]

As infant mortality would have been so high in ancient Peru, it may not be necessary to postulate infanticide. Preceramic societies may have been very concerned about renewing their population and may have carried out mortuary practices they believed would help achieve this goal. Many authors have noted that there are ethnographic groups that believe that the life-force of dead children is reincarnated within other children (see Arriaza 1995:60; Quilter 1989:83; Hertz 1960:84; Scott

1999:76). Perhaps having died shortly after birth, the very young were symbolic of fertility and the life-force, a paradoxical embodiment of life and death. Maybe what needed to be renewed, according to the people of the Preceramic, were human beings.

According to Scott (1999), the careful mortuary treatment of infants also may be a form of negotiation with the ancestors. As she states:

> The burial of the young dead, perhaps in expectation of the movement and return of that infant's spirit, speaks to the ancestors in a number of ways: it says, this is our family home; this is our land; we belong here; we intend to have future here; *we are here* [Scott 1999:126-emphasis in original].

The Late Preceramic was a time showing possible signs that the special consideration that children received with mortuary treatment was changing. The unequal distribution of cloth pieces at Asia was interpreted by Moseley (1992:108) as a reflection of social bias, the burials with the largest variety of fabrics belonging to adults. If one examines the total effort spent on each bundle, as well as the variety of artifacts, the difference in the elaborateness of child and adult burials may not be as great as if one focuses on just one artifact type (fabrics) which had variable preservation. There was, for example, Grave 45 which had an infant with an elaborate mat bundle, a decorated cloak, and which was the only burial found in its own stone structure. In general, however, the adult bundles had a greater number and variety of objects than did the child ones. However, the assertions by Lanning (1967:65) and Moseley (1975:75, 1992:107) that the very young did not have social recognition and were casually buried clearly do not seem to hold.

The meaning of the skull and incomplete burials at Asia is difficult to interpret. These remains were interred in the same locations as the complete burials and seem to have been treated with care. Infants, children and adults received such treatment. Engel (1963:79-80) has interpreted the flayed adult head and other incomplete remains as possible evidence for violent conflicts over shellfish colonies. Moseley (1992: 107-108)

views them as signs of social discrimination or a trophy head cult like that practiced by the Jivaro who shrank the heads of adversaries. However, Verano (1995:203) has pointed out that the published descriptions do not have enough detail to determine whether the skulls had cut marks or damage at their bases. More information could determine whether these skulls were the result of individuals having been deliberately killed or whether they were secondary interments of individuals who had died a natural death. In some cases, bodies are defleshed as part of secondary burial rites, and that could explain the cut marks on the head (for examples, see Bloch and Parry 1982).

A comment about the involvement of the infants and children in this type of mortuary treatment at Asia seems to be necessary. If there had been violence over resources, why were three infants involved and why were they associated with one adult? This particular burial does not seem to represent a specific aggressive incident over resources. However, the ritual treatment of the four individuals may have signified anxiety over resources. Possibly they were killed in the hopes that their deaths would mean more abundance in the natural world. Or the individuals may have died natural deaths and their bodies received secondary burials. In the Andes there are other examples of infants being included in graves, apparently as offerings, perhaps because of the symbolic meaning they held. Their heads may have been retained out of reverence. At various pre-Hispanic Andean sites there is evidence that skulls have been removed from tombs, apparently for the purpose of placing parts of the ancestors in places where they could be honoured (Verano 1995:202).

Another Late Preceramic site indicates that the mortuary treatment of children was changing. At Culebras apparently adults received many burial cloths and were accompanied by elaborate burial goods while children (and some adults, too) received a limited number of cloths, few, if any, grave goods and were excluded from the cemeteries. Not everyone was equal in death and perhaps this reflected life as well.

A comparison with the Old World is interesting. Up to the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition, there are examples of neonates and young infants being carefully buried and also included in communal burial places (Scott 1999:107). There are even examples of Neanderthal burials of infants (Hovers et al. 1996). Over 50,000 years ago at Amud, Israel, a ten-month-old infant was buried in a small niche in a cave. The jaw of a red deer was placed on its hip and the grave was sealed. Another Neanderthal infant, a two-year-old, was buried with a piece of flint in Dederiyeh Cave in Syria. The Natufians carefully buried their dead, including the very young, under house floors and the Shukbah Cave may have been a special group burial place for infants and children (Boyd in Scott 1999:95). At Mesolithic Ertebolle sites in southern Scandinavia, neonates and young infants are present in communal burial places, often with grave goods but not at all sites. It seems that some infants and children were being excluded or diverted away from communal burial places as the percentage of subadults represented in the burial population does not match the likely mortality pattern (Thorpe 1996:78).

The absence of infants, especially very young infants, in community burial places seems to have become the trend from the Neolithic throughout European prehistory. As noted by Scott (1990:107), the pattern in Europe is contra Binford's (1971) ideas, who assumed that in societies where social position was not inherited, burials of infants and children would be differentially located away from the cemeteries. Infants start being excluded from cemeteries beginning from the time when social differentiation in Europe is emerging and social position is passed on.

A similar pattern occurred in Peru and other Andean areas during the Preceramic when infants and children were more likely to be located within communal burial grounds or alongside older individuals in sub-floor burials and would even receive preferential treatment at times. This pattern changed after the Andean societies became more complex and when infants were not so common in cemeteries or else if present, had

less care paid to their burials than did adults. Older children, too, would have less attention to paid to their burials.

The burial of a newborn at the top of the Huaca de los Sacrificios at Aspero represents a critical turning point in how infants were perceived. The infant's elaborate burial indicates that the very young could embody certain ideas but only one infant at the site received this type of burial. The infant was chosen as a symbol, but infants in general did not receive this treatment. The symbolic power of that particular infant was being manipulated to serve certain purposes, perhaps by the society as a whole, or perhaps by an élite, but the young child was not being viewed as an individual in his or her own right.

The information from the Early Intermediate Period demonstrates that children, or at least child burials, decreased in importance relative to the adults. For instance, the Nasca children commonly received much less care when they were interred than the adults. Most children belonged in the simplest burial category. Some children had more effort spent on their interments than some adults, however, and this probably indicated a society where social position was ascribed at birth since the adult burials also varied in the energy spent on them. No children were represented in the most elaborate burials so the highest status positions were apparently not open to children. Members of Nasca society must have been differentiated by age and rank as indicated by their burials, though the ranking was not formalized by sharp distinctions between the groups and represented a continuum (Carmichael 1995:174-175). This is a different situation from that in the Preceramic where elaborate child burials apparently expressed cosmological views and were not a reflection of ranking principle.

The bodies of the Nasca children did not seem to be used often in apparently ritual contexts. Only a small percentage of the trophy heads belonged to children. As for multiple burials containing children, Carmichael (1988:355, 359) notes that it is difficult to determine whether these were situations where children were included as retainer

burials or were placed in a family sepulcher since the contexts varied and the burials in which they were included were not highly elaborate.

On the North Coast, too, the status and social identity of infants and children of the Moche culture were not the same as during earlier periods. While the evidence from San José de Moro indicates that some children could receive élite burials, the Moche child burials in general did not receive as much effort nor as many goods relative to the adults. Infants and fetuses were rarely found in cemeteries containing the adults. They may have had their own separate cemeteries. The context in which the infants and fetuses were usually found was in multiple burials. Some of these may have represented a mother buried with her child, perhaps because both died as a result of a difficult delivery. However, this did not seem to be the only circumstance under which this type of multiple burial occurred. There were cases where adult males were buried with one or more infants or fetuses. Apparently the bodies of the young individuals were included in the adult graves because of their symbolic value. As Donnan and McClelland (1997:36) suggest, however, these young individuals may not be sacrifices and may have been kept as sacred objects after they had died naturally, as were aborted fetuses and dead neonates in Inca times. Unlike at Paloma, where the symbolism of the very young seemed to have belonged to the community, the symbolic fertility or life-force of the Moche fetuses and infants apparently could be appropriated by adult individuals by including these bodies in their graves.

Could the fetuses and adults have been buried together because it was believed that those who died young need an adult to guide them to the "afterlife", as suggested by John Topic (personal communication 1999)? If the adults were being so considerate of the very young, one would expect that all the fetuses and infants would have this treatment, but only a few have been found in the cemeteries, the majority having been excluded. Besides, the adult mortality rate probably would not produce enough dead adults to accompany all the deceased infants. It is more likely that certain adults had the

privilege of having the very young guide them to the "afterlife" since those who died just after being born could have been considered to be closer to the "other world".

There are ethnographic examples of societies that believed that dead children are closer to the spirits. The Laymi of Bolivia bury unnamed infants far from habitation to be 'eaten' by the mountain spirits because they are considered to belong to them (Harris 1980:75; Sillar 1984:55). According to Hertz (1960:84[1907]), the Dayak of Borneo thought that dead children go directly to the world of spirits because they have not really been separated from there.

Subadults also appeared in non-cemetery contexts, but the kind of contexts in which they were found varied with the individuals' age, probably indicating that different symbolic meaning was attached to infants versus older children. At Sipán, for example, the remains of older children (as well as adults) were included in the elaborate tombs of élite individuals. They have been interpreted as retainer burials (Alva and Donnan 1993:104) so the children may have been in the employ of the high status individuals. Individual children were also entombed in monumental architecture (at the Pyramids of Moche). On the other hand, infants were included in the highly ritualized context at Huaca de la Luna underneath the remains of a mass sacrifice of young men. In this case the infants were interpreted as being very important in dialogue with the ancestors in regard to El Niño events (Bourget, in Scott 1999:85). Since Bourget's article is still in press, and I am using second-hand information, I have not been able to examine his argument more closely. However, the connection between infant imagery and El Niño events does seem to require more explanation. Moche infants may have symbolized dialogue with the ancestors but associating the iconography with particular events needs much stronger supportive evidence.

The infants' symbolic association with the mass sacrifice of young men should be explored more closely. First, what could the mass sacrifice have meant? Moche iconographic depictions of ritual combats between apparently high status individuals and

the subsequent sacrifice of the defeated warriors have been interpreted as being analogous to *tinku*, a type of ceremonial combat described in Peruvian and Bolivian ethnographic accounts. A primary motive of *tinku* is to make opponents bleed, since it is believed that the spilled blood feeds the earth and encourages the productivity of agricultural lands (Topic and Topic 1997:11). Perhaps the Moche felt that in addition to the blood of the defeated warriors, the infants' bodies were additional potent symbols of fertility and life-force, ensuring the success of the ceremony.

The Late Intermediate Period is notable for the sacrifice of large numbers of individuals, especially children and young adults, but under apparently different circumstances than the Moche mass sacrifice. Unlike in the Moche rituals, where individuals of the same social status were the participants, the sacrifice of children and youths meant that a more dominant group was exerting its power over less dominant individuals in society. During the Lambayeque occupation at Pacatnamu, there were several burials of an age class that does not under normal circumstances commonly show up in cemeteries. Because there were several young teenagers buried in association with administrative architecture, this suggests that they were sacrificed and did not die a natural death. At Huanchaco, there were the sacrifices of children and llamas.

The belief that life is a limited resource and that death is necessary for life to be attained is not uncommon around the world (Bloch and Parry 1982:8). This idea is illustrated by the Andean myth recounted earlier by Fuenzalida (in Isbell 1997:82) where death was necessary to ensure abundance. This belief may have led to sacrifice to force an increase in the food supply. This is a more aggressive association between fertility and death. The life-force of some individuals was taken so that others (the élite or perhaps the social group as a whole) may acquire the benefits, perhaps of greater agricultural production. An Andean ethnographic example concerning animal sacrifice may provide some insight (Gose 1994:215, 220-221). The pastoralists of Huaquirca in the southern highlands of Peru present offerings of camelid fetuses as well as the blood

and hearts of sacrificed alpacas to the mountain spirits in the hope that these spirits will increase their herds. The ritual which involves killing the alpacas is considered to be more efficacious than that involving the aborted fetuses.

Why were older children and youths sacrificed? Perhaps it was because they belonged to the age category where death did not normally occur. If death was manipulated by killing individuals who under normal circumstances had a lower chance of dying, perhaps natural fertility could be manipulated, too, according to the assumption that death is a source of life.

The *capacocha* sacrifices of the Late Horizon do have symbolic aspects of fertility about them. The powers of the shrine dedicated to Tanta Carhua, a sacrificed girl, were related to corn production, irrigation, and health (Silverblatt 1987). The fact that girls were sacrificed around ten to fifteen years old, about the beginning of reproductive age, must have had strong fertility symbolism. In addition, offerings found with the high altitude sacrifices consistently include objects made of *Spondylus* shell, a ceremonial item of primary importance. It was brought to the sierra in large amounts to be used in rituals thought to encourage abundant rainfall and springwater, so vital for agricultural success. Since the shells came from the sea, they were strongly associated with water (Murra 1983:200).

Another possible reason why older children were sacrificed is that they were old enough for reasoned speech while still retaining the essential characteristics associated with being young such as being closer to the deities than older individuals (Scott 1999:84). They may have been thought of as acting as intermediaries between the world of the living and the dead. Tanta Carhua's shrine was a place where members of her community came to consult her in times of need (Hernández Príncipe 1986a:473-474[1621]).

Ethnographic work in the Cuzco region has found a symbolic association between childhood, work, play and the supernatural that Sillar (1994) suggests may be

associations that the Incas also held and may explain why children were believed to be appropriate sacrifices. In the Andean group that was studied, children were not formally taught labour tasks; they learned through play. It was thought that they received their skills from the mountain deities, therefore they were considered to be closer to the gods than other members of society.

Apparently the *capacocha* were considered to be fortunate and it was believed that they would have a life of ease and happiness in the other world (Rowe 1946:269). They may have been expected to continue growing in the afterlife. The sacrificed individuals were sometimes buried with clothes that were too big and it is possible that the boy-girl pairs were meant to be symbolic marriage partners (Reinhard 1996).

The ideology of fertility apparently was also manipulated by the élite to serve their own purposes. Ethnographic examples from around the world demonstrate that some groups believe that individuals may appropriate the life essence of others by killing them (Bloch and Parry 1982:8). The *capacocha* apparently represented an effort by the Inca emperor to acquire the life essence of the young, as children were killed at the coronation of a new emperor, when he went to war in person, or when he was sick (Rowe 1946:305).

The *capacocha* were also a means for the emperor to exert political domination over conquered provinces. The state was exerting ultimate control by having noble families give up children for sacrifice. Scott (1999:84) notes that older children would be chosen for sacrifice because the parents would have formed an even stronger attachment than with an infant. Being at an age when death did not normally occur also made their sacrifices more valuable. The Carthaginians (contemporaries of the Romans), who sacrificed their children as part of a pledge to their gods Tanit and Ba'al Hammon, apparently did not consider premature infants or neonates to be valuable enough sacrifices either (Lee 1994:68). Most Carthaginian burial urns contained individual children from one to four years. Double interments were also made, often with a

premature infant or neonate with a child aged two to four years. It seems that if a pledged child died too young, then the next youngest child in the family (the older sibling of the pledged child) had to be sacrificed as well.

While the provincial nobility was complying with requests from the Inca state, they also made political gains by offering their children for the *capacocha* ceremony. Silverblatt (1987:100) suggests Tanta Carhua may have embodied the forces of fertility to her followers since her powers were related to corn production and health but "the basis of Tanta Carhua's cult lay in her exemplification of the new relations that had been formed between her homeland and Cuzco. She was the means by which her father, and by extension the other local headmen of the region-her most ardent adorers- were linked to the center of imperial power". She ritually symbolized Cuzco's conquest of the provinces and validated her father's new elevated status in imperial politics (Silverblatt 1987:94). Perhaps the case where a man's tunic, indicative of high status, was found with a sacrificed girl, was symbolic of a nobleman trying to validate his status in the empire through the death of his daughter.

Some infants did have symbolic value during Inca times, those that were born prematurely or who died shortly after a breech or twin birth. The bodies of such infants had strong fertility connotations but did not receive the same elaborate attention as those of the adult ancestors who were also associated with fertility. Apparently most infants were not included in cemeteries in the Cuzco region but were differentially buried within the home. However, the provinces may have held different attitudes towards infants since at Quebrada de la Vaca a large number of the individuals buried in mortuary houses were infants. Perhaps away from the imperial heartland, the social hierarchy was not so strongly biased against the very young.

Conclusion

Throughout the prehistory of Peru, the burials of infants and children had symbolic value, but must have had diverse meanings as the different social, political, economic and ideological contexts changed over time. Whereas Andean cultures of different time periods expressed ideas about fertility, death, and the ancestors through child burials, the context and significance of the child burials changed as societies became more complex. It is suggested here that initially during the Preceramic all children (especially the infants) in a society would probably have related to fertility and would have belonged to the community. They had a role as mediators with the "other world". As societies became more complex, children lost this status. Only a few infants were chosen to symbolize fertility; infants and fetuses generally were no longer accorded a social identity. They were directed to different cemeteries. Adult ancestors gained more significance and an association with fertility. Older children started to take on greater symbolic value but only within ritual contexts that must have been controlled by the élite and for the élite's benefit. Child sacrifice became more prominent in the complex Peruvian societies, reaching its extreme when two hundred children were sacrificed for the benefit of one high status individual, the Inca emperor on his coronation (Rowe 1946:305).

Perhaps these changes may be related in part to the changes in subsistence over time. Within the simpler, egalitarian societies children apparently were valued more as individuals, whether or not they were economically productive. Their future potential was what was considered to be important. In contrast, within the highly complex, stratified Inca empire, the very young were considered to be of low value. Recall the age grades listed by Guamán Poma which labelled infants as having no worth. In the Inca empire individual value was measured in capacity to do work. Even though children in an agricultural society start work as young as three years of age, the amount they produce

compared to adults is low. Infants lost the status they had in pre-agricultural societies and did not achieve a social identity until they were older. The focus had switched to the adult ancestors. In agricultural societies, land ownership and inheritance are very important. Claiming descent from particular ancestors, especially from specific adult males in the patriarchal Inca society, would sanction claims to land, products, and resources.

Archaeologists need to examine their own expectations and assumptions about children and child burials to achieve a better understanding of how peoples of the past treated their youngest members and integrated them into society. The mortuary treatment of children has to be viewed as more than an indicator of whether social ranking was present or not. Child burials have the potential for conveying more information than just the vertical structure of a past society. Archaeologists are beginning to realize that age, as one of the important structuring principles of society, may be studied with burial data to explore such issues as the nature and duration of childhood in different societies. Questions considering the passage through age grades, engenderization, and the adoption of economic roles have the potential for investigation.

Moreover, the assumptions of mortuary theory have been challenged by the Peruvian archaeological data. Infant burials in the simpler societies of the Preceramic received careful mortuary treatment, contrary to the expectation that infants in a society in which status is achieved would not have a social identity at birth and would receive little attention to their burials. Nor does high infant mortality correlate with careless burials as the effort spent on fetal and infant burials during the Preceramic demonstrates. On the other hand, elaborate child burials do not necessarily mark ranked societies. An elaborate infant interment may not symbolize the social status of the deceased but may express cosmological beliefs instead. The symbolic roles that children assumed in death must be addressed in archaeological interpretation. This is not to say that social factors do not affect the mortuary treatment of children or that elaborate child burials are never a

sign of ranking. However, archaeologists need additional supporting evidence before stating that a rich child burial indicates ascribed status.

Children are a very important component of societies and if they are left out of the archaeological narrative, in Peru or elsewhere, then we will have an incomplete picture of prehistory.

Notes:

(1): She was known as Catherine Allen Wagner when she wrote her PhD dissertation but had dropped the second surname when she wrote this book.

(2): Burger (1995:74) has offered an alternative reason why the fetuses and infants were buried in a separate structure. He suggests that they were buried apart symbolically from the other individuals because they were considered a threat to the larger community of unborn children. However, other fetuses and infants from the same level 400/500 as the special structure were buried in the homes. The care given to Preceramic fetus and infant burials in general suggests that there was a special purpose to the separate burials other than fear.

(3): In an ethnographic study of a Bolivian community, Joseph Bastien (1978) describes rituals where llama fetuses have fertility connotations and are also associated with the dead ancestors. In the Rite of the Chosen Field, which announces the decision that a field is ready to cultivate, an aborted llama fetus is placed in the field's earth shrine so as to bring new life to the soil. In other rituals, llama fetuses symbolically carry gifts to the dead ancestors or to the mountain, considered as a being which feeds the community.

The llama fetuses may have ritual significance as much for their being llamas as for their young age at death. Mature llamas were (and still are in some communities) common sacrifices because Andeans have envisioned llamas as having a social life similar to that of humans (Abercrombie 1998:183).

(4): Bernardino Ojeda (in Engel 1988:85) suggested that the three-year-old child buried in Tres Ventanas Cave 1 had been strangled since there was a cord around the child's neck.

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Table 1. Chronology

Period/Horizon	Dates	Culture(s)	Sites referred to in text
Late Horizon	A.D. 1470 - 1532	Inca	Cerro El Plomo Cerro Aconcagua Quebrada de la Vaca Cerro Llullaillaco
Late Intermediate Period	A.D. 1000 - 1470	Chimú	Chan Chan Huanchaco
		Lambayeque	Pacatnamu
Middle Horizon	A.D. 600 - 1000	Huari	Seqllas
Early Intermediate Period	200 B.C. - A.D. 600	Moche	Moche Pyramids Sipán Pacatnamu
		Nasca	Cahuachi
		Salinar	
Early Horizon	800 - 200 B.C.	Chavín Paracas	
Initial Period	1800 - 800 B.C.		La Galgada
Late Preceramic	3000 - 1800 B.C.		Asia Culebras Aspero
Middle Preceramic	6000 - 3000 B.C.		Chilca Paloma
Early Preceramic	10,000? - 6000 B.C.		TresVentanas Quirihuac Shelter Lauricocha Cave

Figure 1. Inca Age Grades: Sexta Calle
A twelve-year-old boy whose work was to hunt birds.
(after Guamán Poma 1615).

Figure 2. Inca Age Grades: Sétima Calle
A nine-year-old girl whose work was to gather flowers to be used as dyes. (after Guamán Poma 1615).

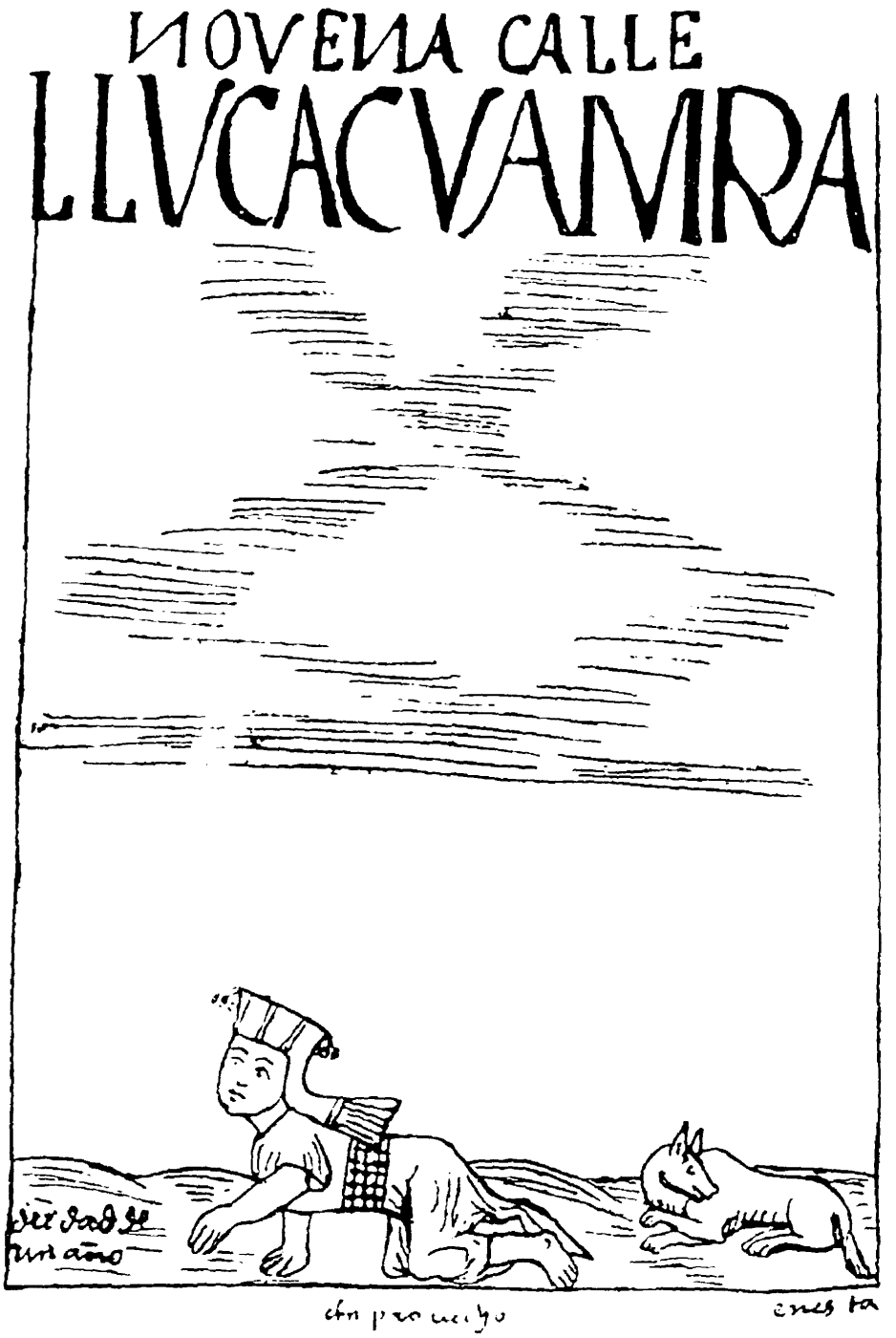


Figure 3. Inca Age Grades: Novena Calle
A baby, considered to be useless.
(after Guamán Poma 1615).

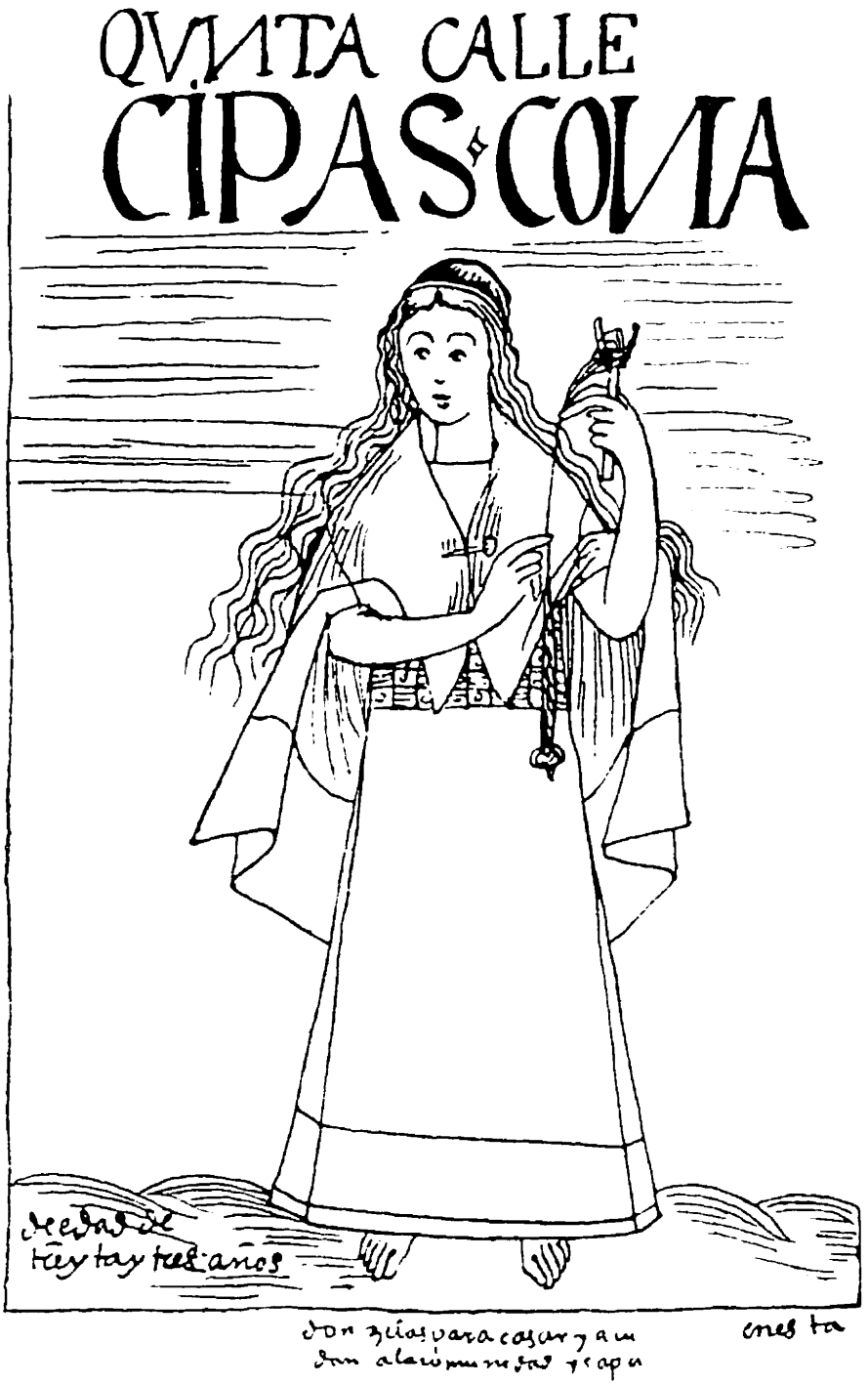


Figure 4. Inca Age Grades: Quinta Calle
A young unmarried woman.
(after Guamán Poma 1615).

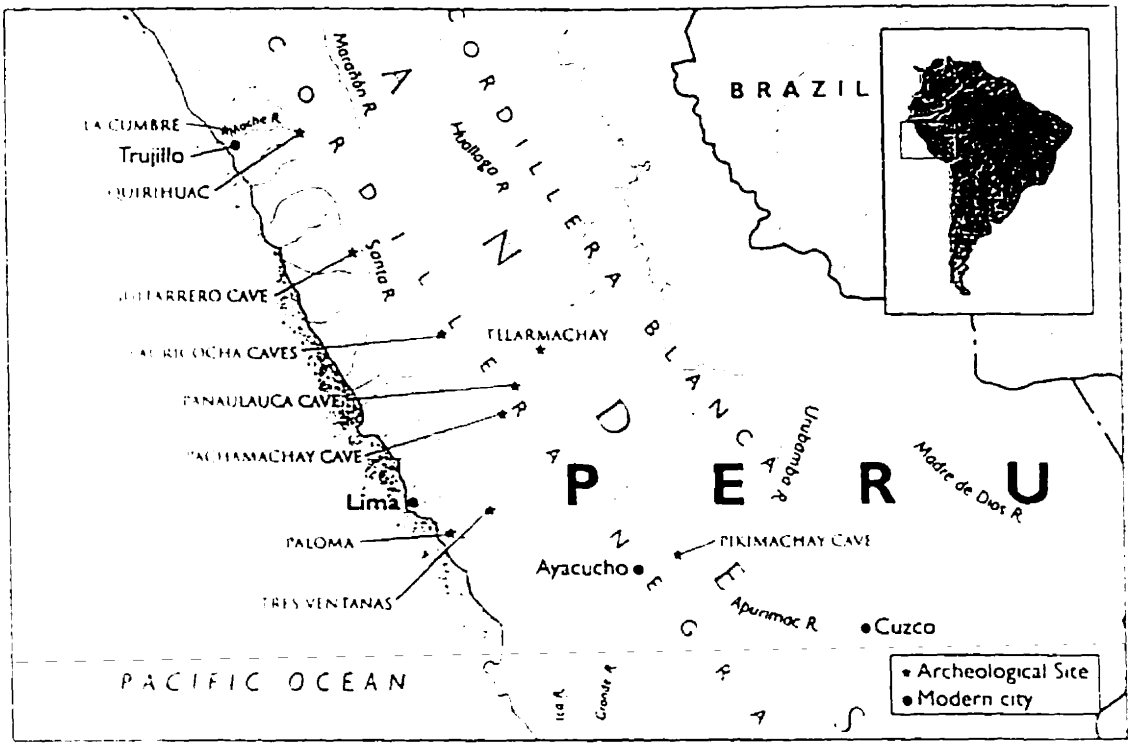


Figure 5. Preceramic Sites. (after Richardson 1994:30).

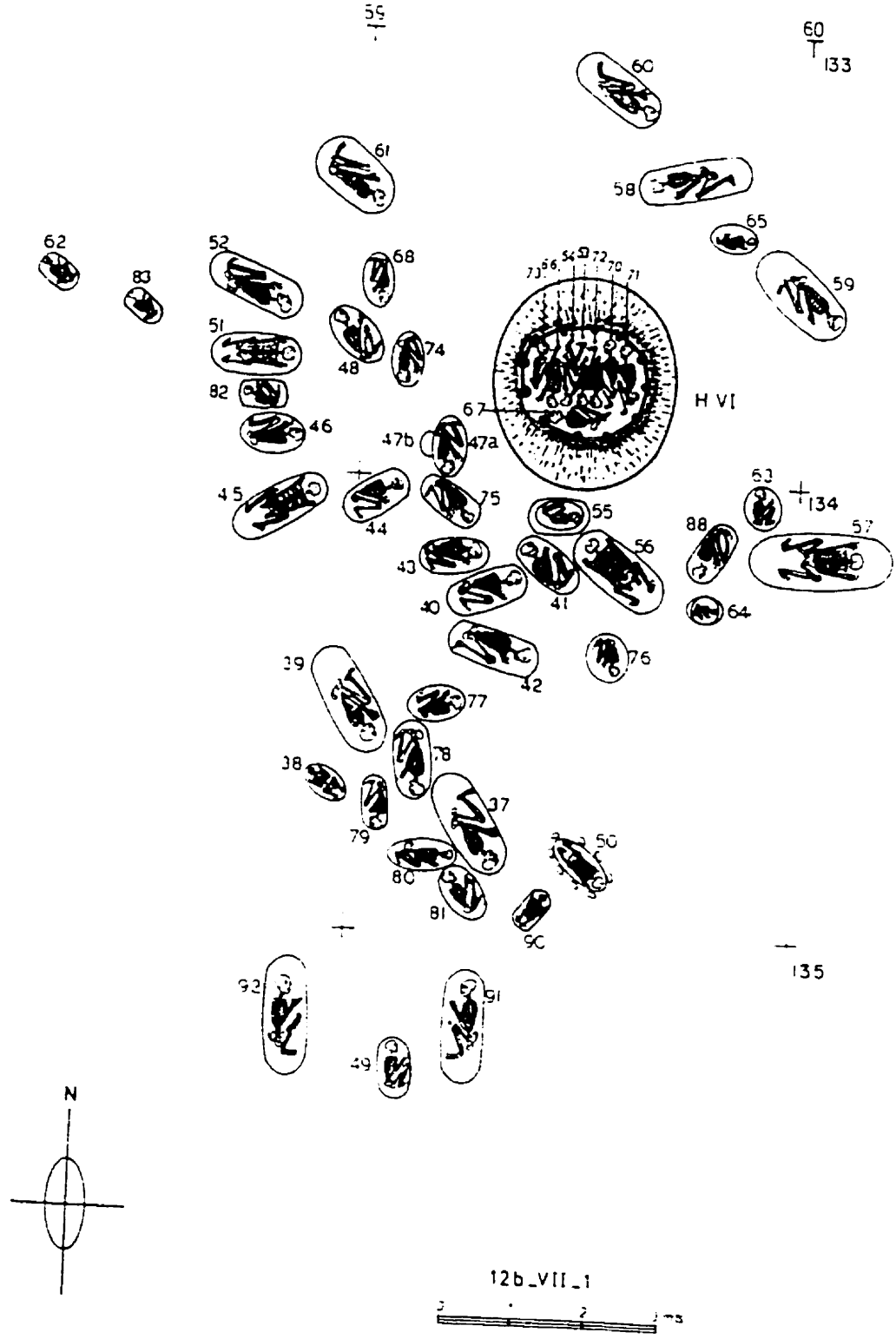


Figure 6. Plan of the Chilca Cemetery.
(after Engel 1988a: Fig.13a).

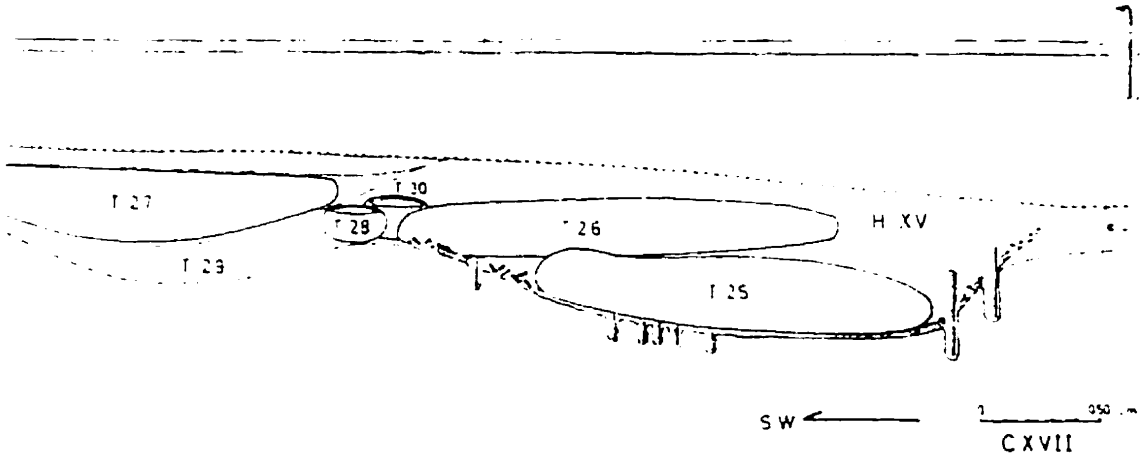
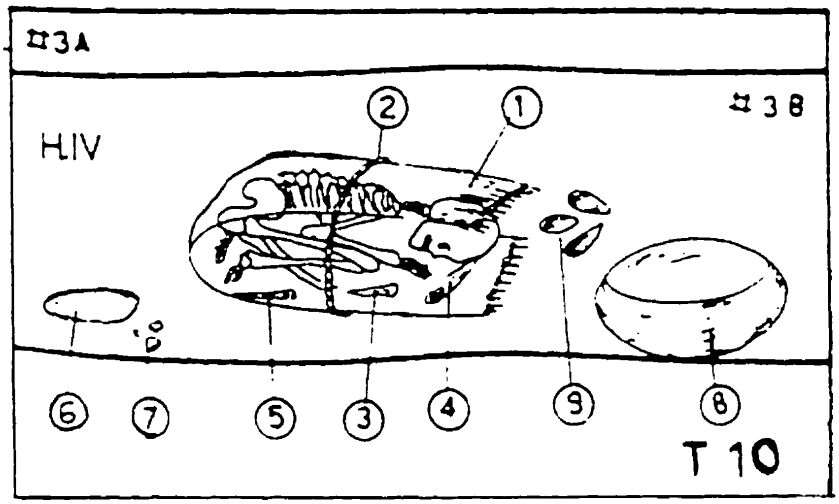


Figure 7. Stratigraphic Cut Showing Chilca Grave Pits.
T.28 and T.30 are fetus burials in gourds.
(after Engel 1988a: Fig.5).



(1) mat
(2) cord
(3) bone bodkin
(4) needle with eye
(5) bone tool
(6) grinding stone
(7) hematite
(8) gourd
(9) shellfish and achiote (*Bixa orellana*)

Figure 8. Fetus Burial at Chilca. (after Engel 1988a: Fig.22).

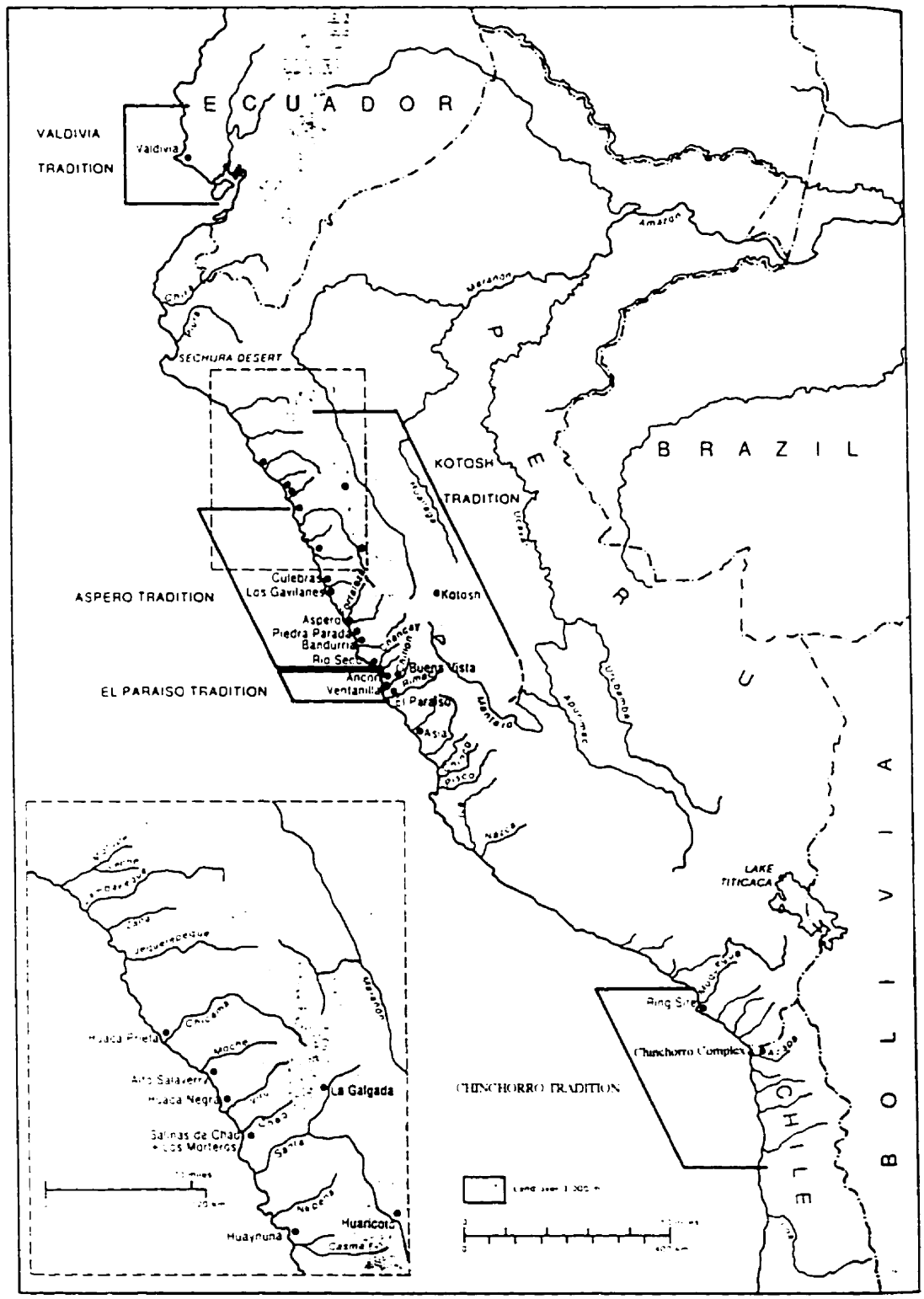


Figure 9. Other Preceramic Sites. (after Moseley 1992: Fig. 42).

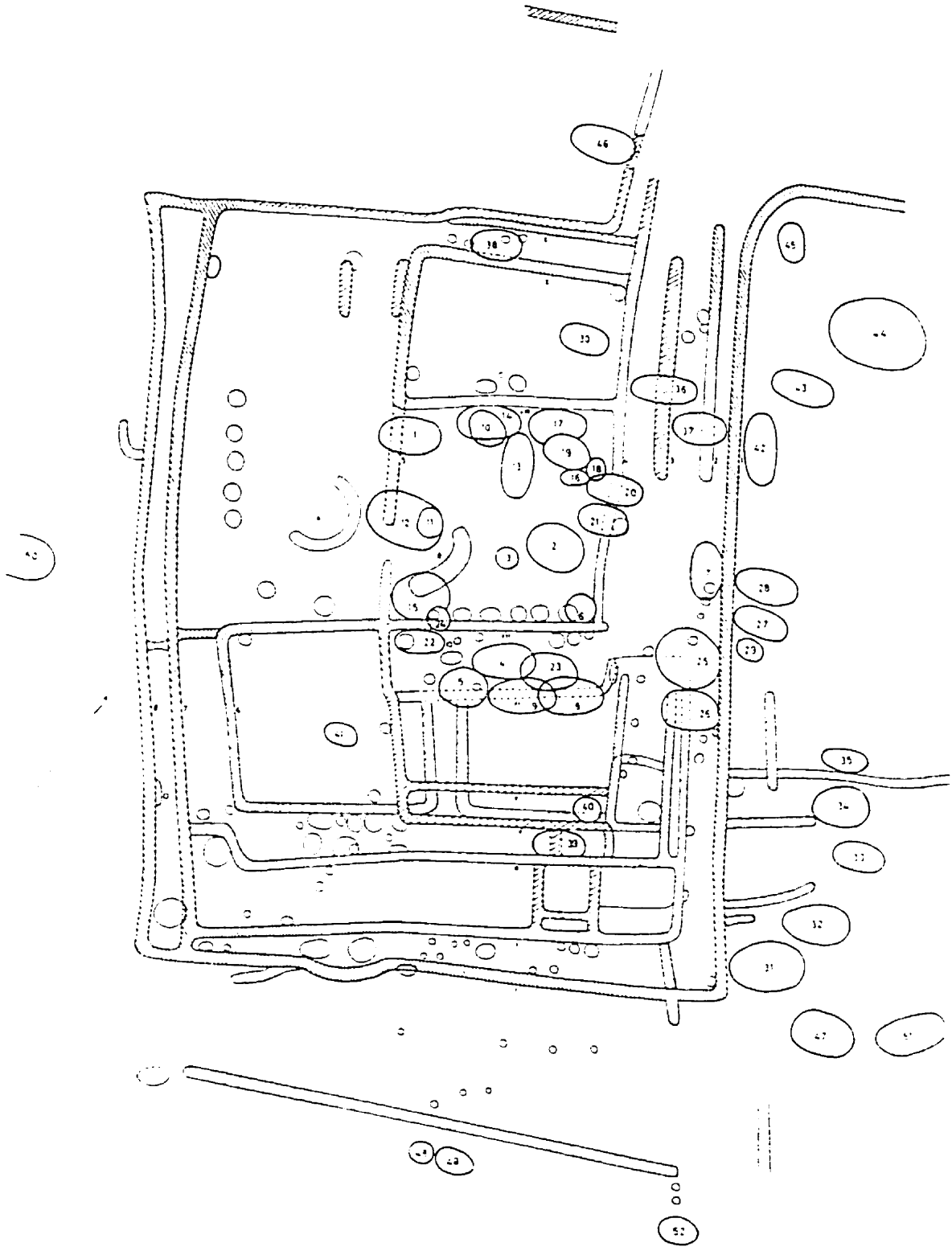
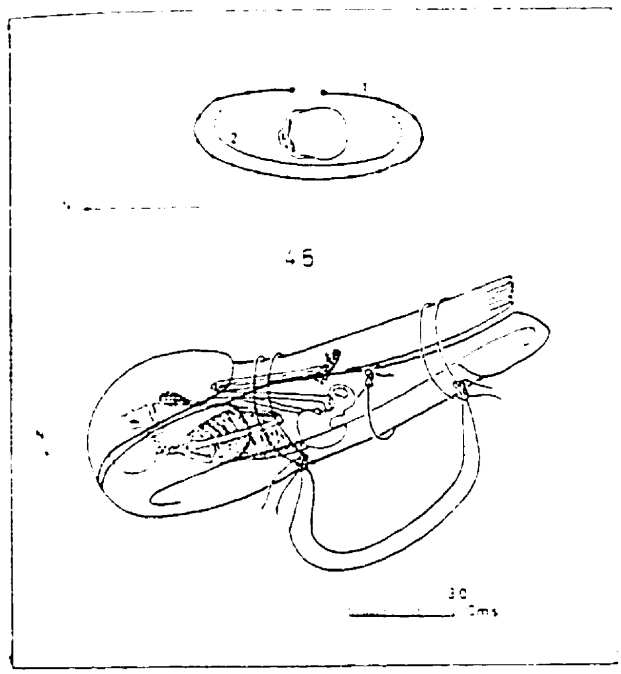
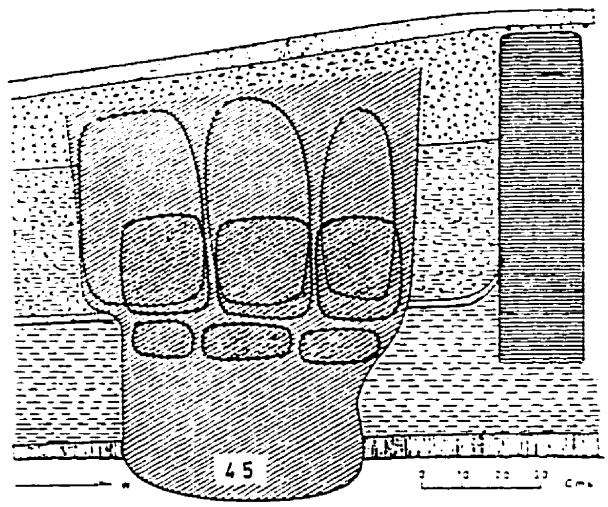


Figure 10. Plan of the Walled Compound at Asia: Architecture, Graves, and Pits. (after Engel 1963: Fig.4).



Grave 45.



Profile of Grave 45.

Figure 11. Infant Grave at Asia.
(after Engel 1963: Figs.251 and 252).

Figure 12. Chinchorro Infant Mummy
(after drawing by R. Rocha in Arriaza 1995)

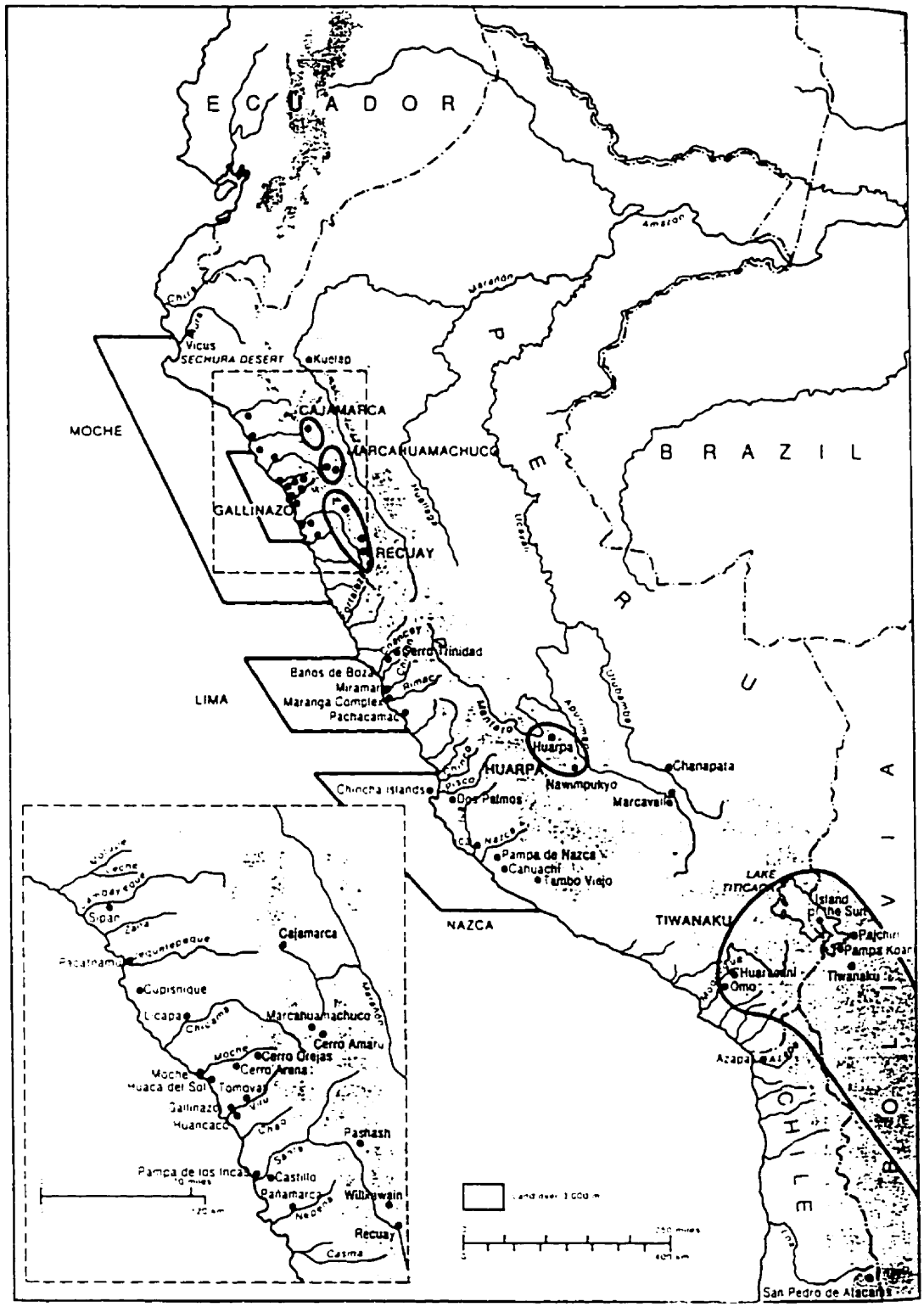


Figure 13. Early Intermediate Period Sites. (after Moseley 1992: Fig. 71).

Table 2. Nasca Mortuary Study: Age and Sex Distributions by Burial Categories (after Carmichael 1995: Table 3).

Burial Category	Indeterminate Sex and Age	Male	Female	Adults Unsexed	Subadults	Totals
1	5	5	9	19	36	74
2	4	9	8	10	6	37
3	8	6	5	10	4	33
4	10	5	2	7	0	24
TOTALS	27	25	24	46	46	168

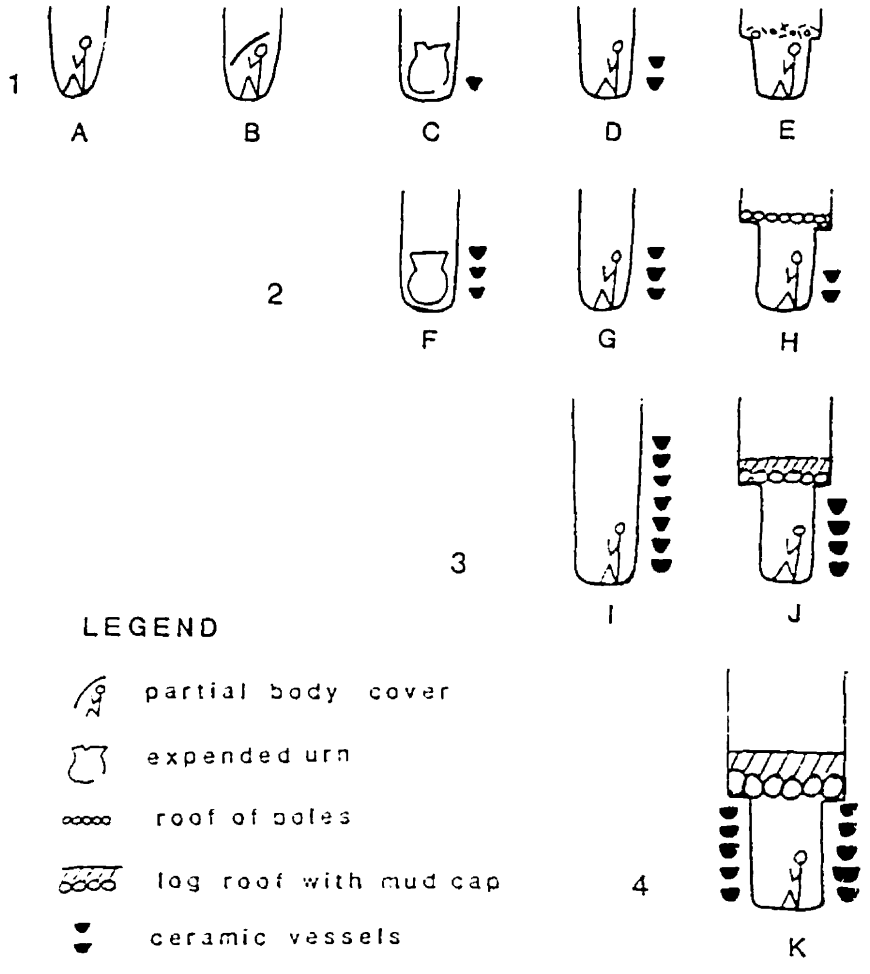


Figure 14. Nasca Grave Forms and Burial Categories (after Carmichael 1995: Fig.2).

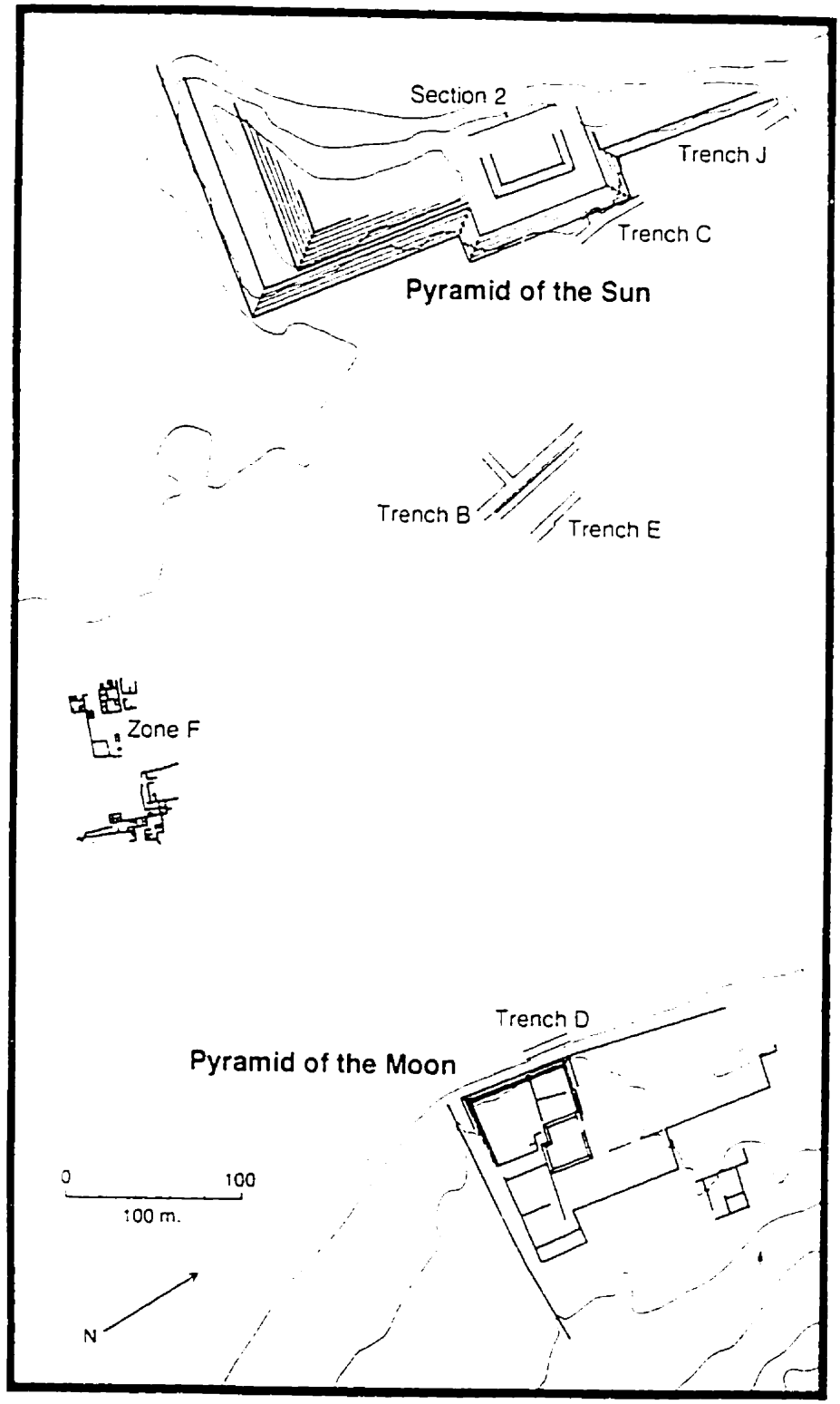


Figure 15. Pyramids at Moche
(after Donnan and Mackey 1978: Map 5).

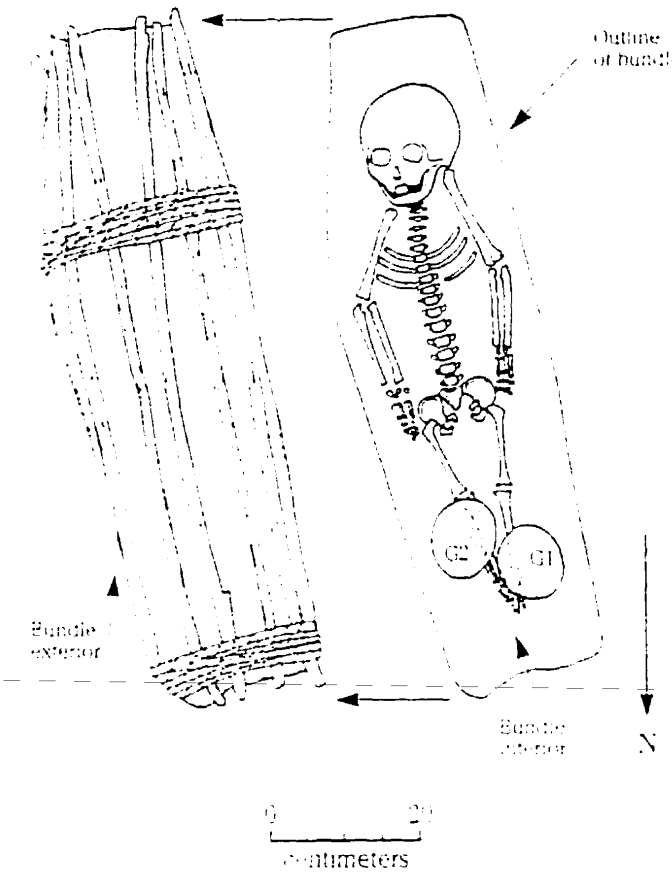


Figure 16. A Splint Reinforced Moche Infant Burial at Pacatnamu. A copper object is in the mouth and two gourds are by the feet. (after Donnan and McClelland 1997: Burial 151).

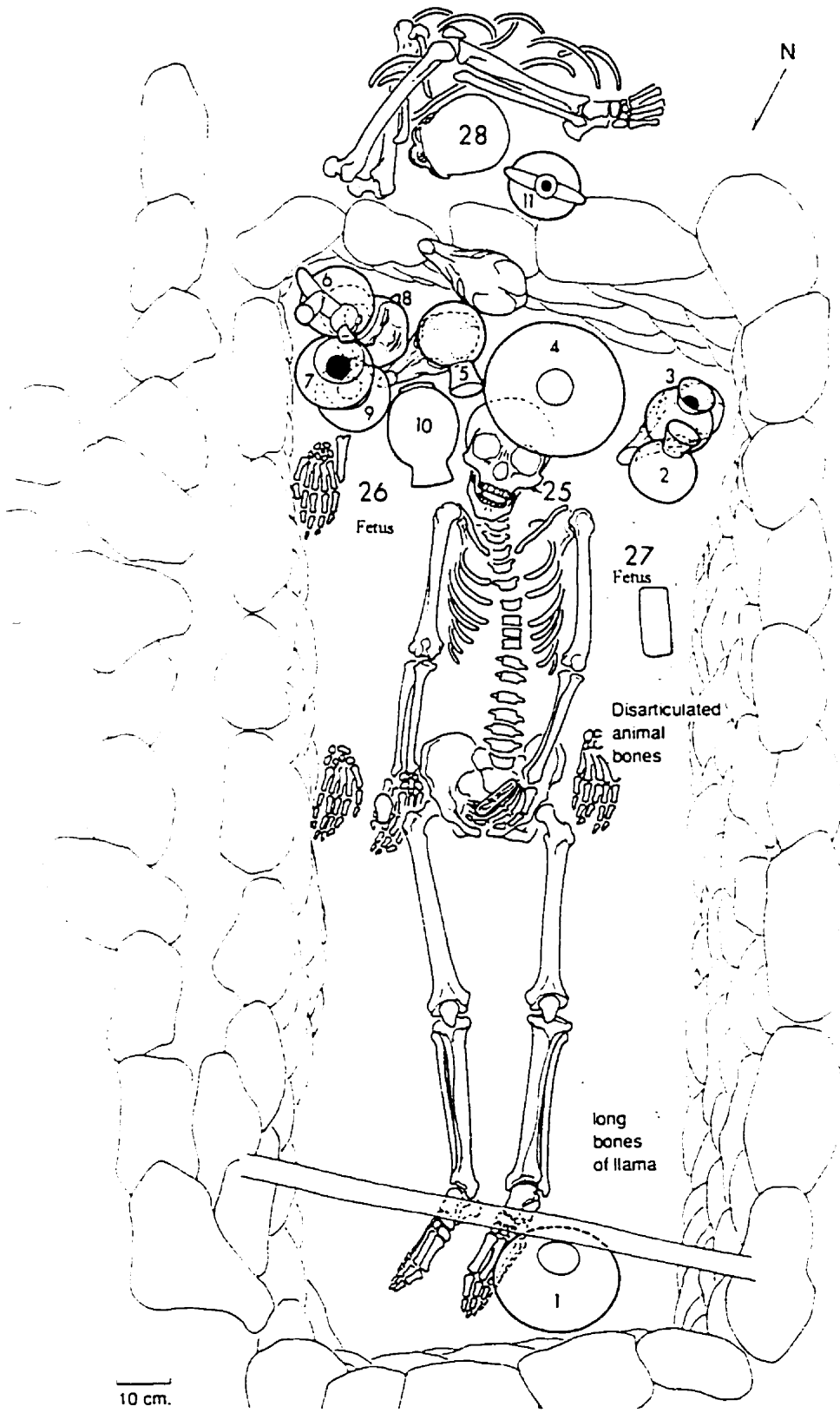


Figure 17. Multiple Moche Burial at Huanchaco: Adult (No.25) with two fetus burials (Nos. 26 and 27). Two of the extra hands in the grave are probably from No.28, who is missing hands.(after Donnan and Mackey 1978:201).

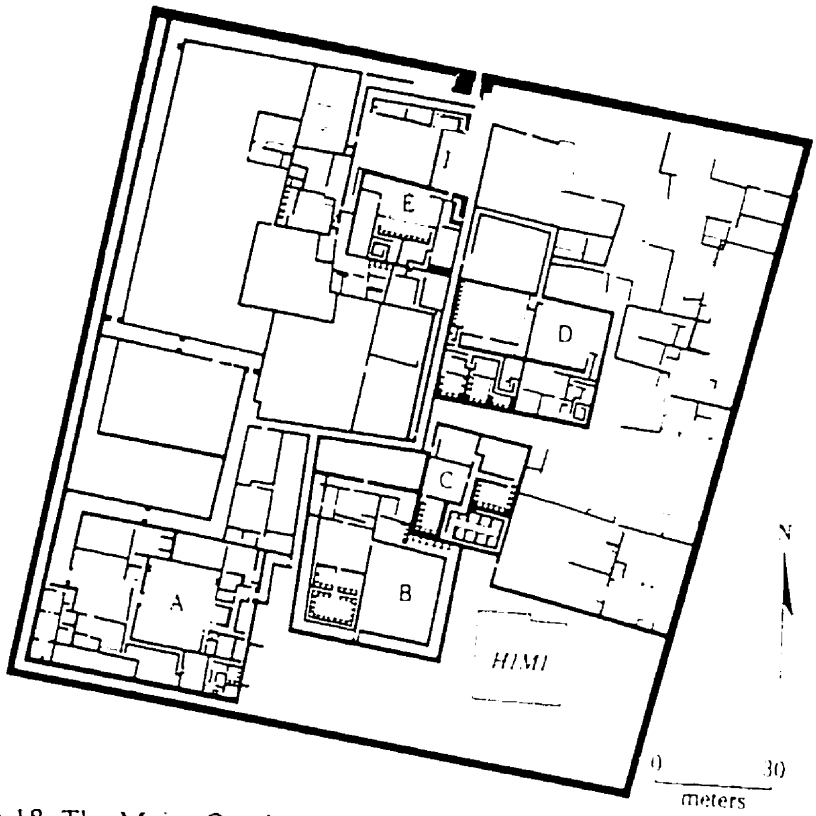


Figure 18. The Major Quadrangle of the Huaca 1 Complex at Pacatnamu (after Bruce 1986: Fig. 1).

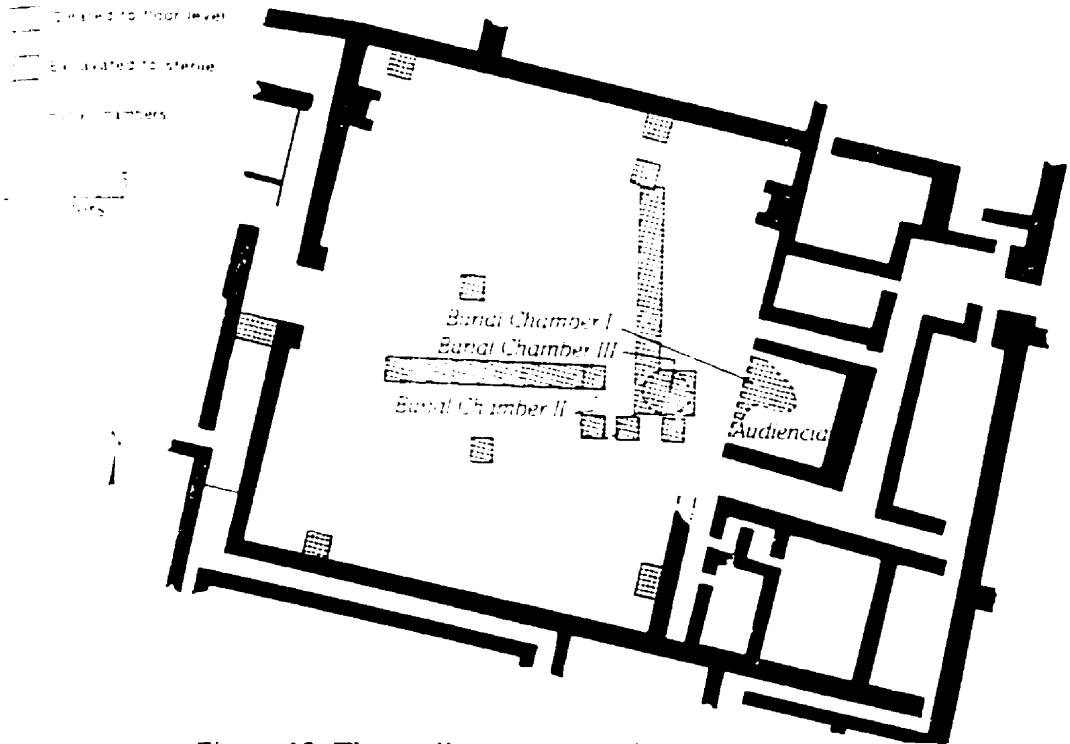


Figure 19. The Audiencia Room of the Huaca 1 Complex at Pacatnamu (after Bruce 1986: Fig. 2).

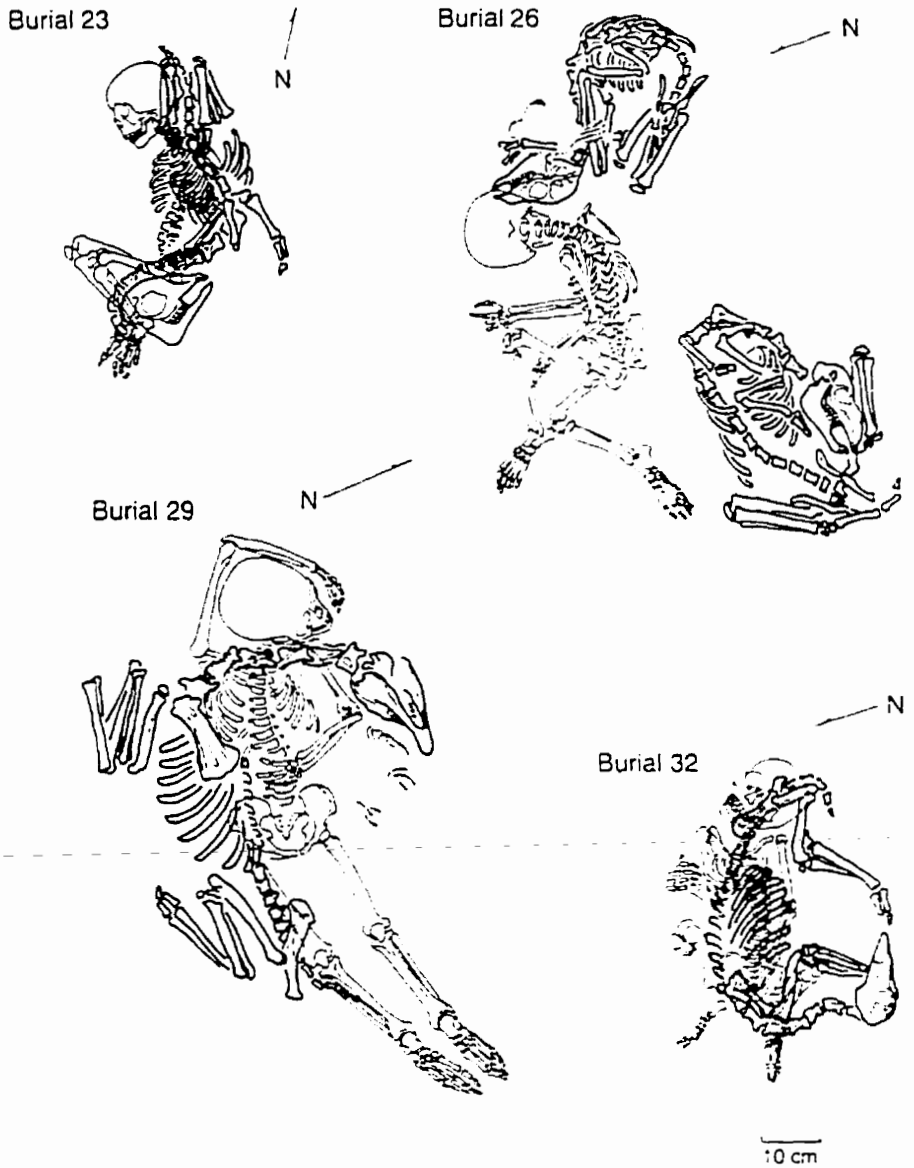


Figure 20. Late Intermediate Period Child and Llama Burials at Huanchaco (after Donnan and Foote 1978: Fig. 2).

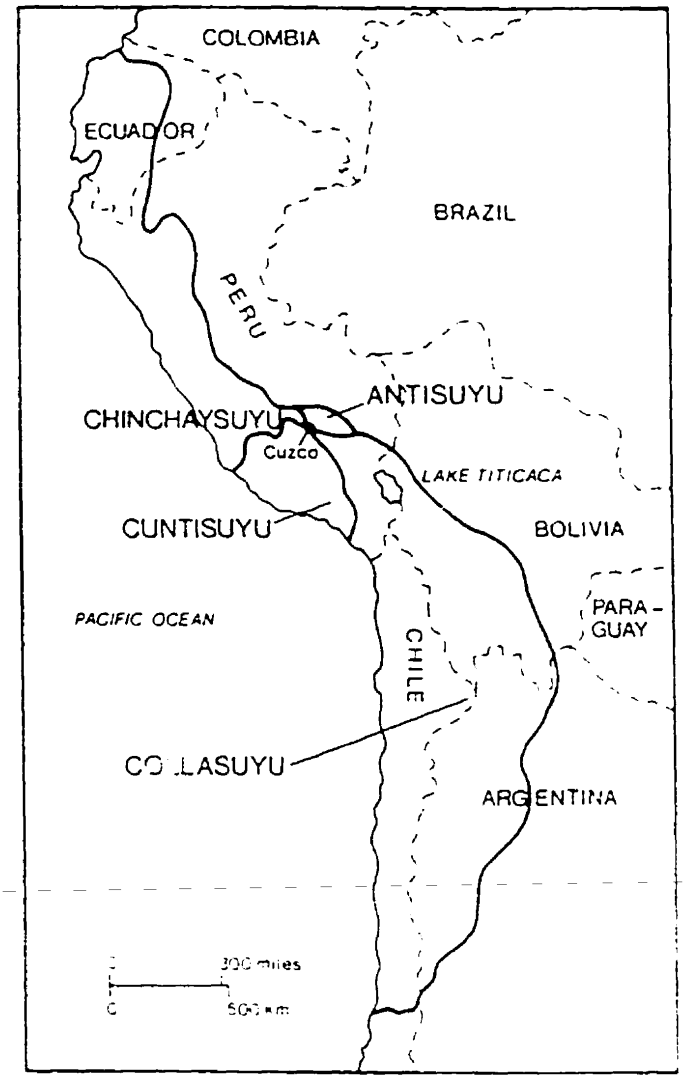


Figure 21. The Four Quarters of the Inca Empire Emanating from Cuzco, the Imperial Capital. (after Moseley 1992: Fig.10).