**Introduction**

This thesis will look at the Recuay culture in the Peru north-central highlands. The Recuay are a group from the Early Intermediate Period of the first millennia AD. The Recuay mortuary treatment was diverse and represented the increasingly interconnected world they inhabited. The main heartland in the Callejon de Huaylas grew wealthy through trade with their neighbors, leading to more visible acts of social differentiation. Most importantly elite individuals became associated with the tradition of Andean Ancestor Veneration. These Recuay elites were offered gifts and sacrifices through generations of descendants. Their elite lives, deaths, and continued veneration leaves visible traces on the Recuay landscape.

This thesis constructs a landscape of death for a set of sites across the hinterland. These sites range from larger multi-component habitation and mortuary sites to single component burials. These sites are reused from four primary sources. There are three big trends this thesis aims to assess in the hinterlands: Social Differentiation, archaeological heterogeneity, and changes over time.

The Recuay were a society where some individuals could differentiate themselves through displays of wealth. Their mark was left on the architecture and sculpture of the cities they inhabited. Some of these became venerated ancestors after death and were buried with higher quality ceramics and metalwork. But these elites were not spread evenly across the Callejón. Some sites like Pashash exhibit incredible social differentiation of the “Señor” buried there. Some Recuay cities were small and the relative elites were less able to make ostentatious displays of wealth, but these too are visible by watching trends similar to those in the heartland. One key way the mortuary treatment changed over time was the arrival of the chullpa. These semi-subterranean burials fit well into the Recuay mortuary tradition because their ancestors were accessible for proper veneration. Earlier the Recuay would have to remove the ancestor and display them on a stone platform. Chullpas had defined entrances which facilitated easier access and proper veneration. The chullpas actually indicate the beginning of the end for the Recuay. Chullpas spread as the Wari influence spread. After AD 800, there no longer is anything identifiable as ‘Recuay’ left in the highlands. The people adopted the Wari Cultural Bundle and their mortuary customs.

**[Regional Florescence] introduce the cultures and peoples to be discussed**

The first millennia AD is a period of regional fluorescence in the central Andes. Following the decline of the Chavín pan-Andean sequence the whole region fractured into a wealth of local styles distinct but related to one another. This long period showed growth and experimentation of technological, agricultural, ceramic, metallurgical, and carved statuary (Bennett and Bird 1964: 113). This fluorescence represents a time when the Andes “flourished to achieve its maximum” within the local styles (Mason 1957: 66). For the first half of the millennia these groups developed their styles unique to their respective biomes with comparatively little interaction or cultural exchange with one another. The second half of the first millennia saw these groups expand their interaction with one another first through trade and then through the expansion of the Wari phase.

The Recuay were agriculturalists and herders inhabiting intermontane valleys in the mountains. As the Recuay fluoresced and grew, other contemporary preHispanic Andean societies lived adjacent one another in the central region of Peru for several centuries during the first millennium AD. To the west were the Moche inhabiting coastal plains and the bottoms of river valleys nearby. The Moche were remarkable ceramicists from the coastal Moche Valley. Their culture expanded up river valley floors while their ceramics have been found across the Andes. Both groups are distinct by ceramic style, motif, architectural styles, cosmology, and social organisation. In some regions such as the Nepeña Valley these two cultures were face to face. More often the interactions were less direct involving long distance trade in a massive interaction sphere. These two partners followed distinct yet related cultural trajectories, each partner growing throughout the first millennia AD. South were the Lima and Nasca who were only visible by longer distance trade and exchange. Finally there are the Wari, the great state whose influence eventually is visible across the Andes. Each of these cultures flourished and developed in closer proximity after AD 500 with clear evidence of cross-cultural influences. Each culture grew in scale and monumentality, as did their cultural manifestations found outside their lands.

**[Chavin]**

Chavín de Huantar is an anomalous temple complex in the highlands. The location is the confluence of the Río Monsa and Río Wacheqsa. It includes the temple with many subterranean galleries and a large sunken plaza near the main entrance capped in columns and covered in shallow relief. The temple was used and built throughout the first millennium BC in several successive building episodes. The site was abandoned sometime after 400 BC (Velasquez 2016: 8-9). There was no accompanying village nor a contemporary mortuary complex.

Chavín site is important because it stands as an early point in the central Andes where the innumerable local cultures came together. The massive distribution of material culture implies Chavín’s instrumental role in defining the succeeding cultural sequences. For example one artistic motif shows a “crested animal” a feline which appears in Chavín, Recuay, Moche, Gallanazo, and Salinar cultures (Lau 2011:247). Though the specific representation of the motif varies widely across time and culture, it shows a Chavín element distributed across many regional styles. Chavín Temple still has significant gaps in our understanding, but it is clearly a significant event in the cultural history of the region.

**[Recuay]**

The Recuay were an archaeological culture identified initially by ceramic production, and later by architecture, mortuary complexes, and artistic motif. They were the primary agriculturalists and pastoralists in the Ancash during the first millennia AD (Lau 2011: 4). In the highlands the Recuay were the prevailing culture between the collapse of the ritual center at Chavín de Huantar and the rise of the Wari (Lau 2011: 243-245). The region has been studied significantly by many researchers over the twentieth century (Uhle; Bennett; Bird; Tello; Grieder; Proulx; Lau; Ibarra; Ponte; Orsini).

Highland Ancash is defined by its mountains and river valleys. The Cordillera Negra is a first range of unglaciated peaks paralleling the coast of Peru. There are two river valleys the RíoSanta and Mariñón, on either side of the cordillera Blanca which contains sites in the Parque Huascaran. The Recuay occupied the highlands principally in the great Callejón de Huaylás, the ‘alleyway’ between the Cordilleras Negra and Blanca. The Callejón is a fairly large intermontane valley with vast areas for agriculture and herding. Here was a land ripe for cultural florescence during the first millennia AD.

Throughout the first eight centuries AD the Recuay farmers and herdsmen changed significantly. The traditional diet of the highlands in the first millennia AD has been documented including potatoes, maize, quinoa, squashes, pumpkins. The Cuy were domesticated some 500-3500 BC and became a delicacy in the highlands. Wild and domesticated camelids are commonly found in association with these cultures. Wild game such as the Anteojos (spectacled) Bear, mountainous deer, and numerous rodents are also found among them. Their diets fluctuated based on the seasonal wet and dry seasonal cycles common in the tropics (Ibarra, 2013: 9).

The general cultural history suggests that Chavín led directly into the Huarás culture, though architecturally and ceramically they represent distinct traditions (Velasco, 2016: 77). Chavín was once thought of as a “cradle of civilization” for the upper Andes, now it seems the post-Chavín Andes were more of a mosaic of local styles some related to and some rejective of Chavín era forms (Lau 2011: 244-245) Architecturally, the Huarás diverged from the monumentality and structure of the Chavín with more reserved and smaller sites even intruding on the great templo at Chavin de Huantar. Their new white-on-red ceramic tradition similarly represents a deliberate rejection of Chavín style (Lau 2011: 244).

Following the Huarás, the Recuay style emerged and proliferated throughout the highlands. Recuay tradition supplanted or absorbed the Huarás as material culture and architecture underwent a change. The Recuay exhibited significant variability in the relative monumentality of their settlements. Most Recuay settlements were small farming communities built along and above river valleys with some great monumental hilltop cities such as Chinchawas. Settlements became public gathering locations called Kanchas which were associated with tombs (Ibarra, 2013: 9).

Throughout the Early Intermediate Period, the highlands were a heterogeneous mix of cities and peoples. The exact relationships between these groups remains unclear and undefined in many respects, but nonetheless diverse in archaeological manifestation. By the time of the conquest, Ancash was a place of local chiefs with inherited power in the larger settlements. One chief would hold tribute from many villages and the Spanish administrators would use the pre-existing relationships in their initial colonial government (Lau 2011:14).

Though the Spanish Chronicles can be useful, they are unable to represent the changes which had taken root in the highlands since the Recuay height. The Wari would completely supplant the local styles in the highlands, though again the precise political arrangement remains unclear. Nonetheless, the system of chiefdom and tribute is able to describe the relationships between ancient Recuay polities well. Some scholars have described the Recuay Record using a World Systems Core-Periphery model, while more recently Peer-Polity Commonwealth models also can be used to represent the region (Lau 2011:13-17; Proulx 1982: 90-91).

Regionally variable cultural florescence around AD 300-600 generated significant expansions in the trade networks and relative power and control over such resources. New cities such as Yayno, Chinchawas, Pashash, Huintoc, Rayogaga, and Marcajirca emerged as core cities in the Callejón and across Ancash. Exchanges between the Moche of the north central coast, the peoples of the Casma River region, and Nasca culture along the south central coast increased as demonstrated in material culture, yet such trade was fairly sparse in physical imports. Visible material exchange came to include ceramic, motif, and occasionally style. The Recuay culture remained, however, thoroughly distinct from these other partners (Lau 2011: 249-255).

At the hilltop city of Chinchawas, which was occupied circa AD 500-900, remains of fine Kaolinite Kayán ceramics were found, Wari goods from the north, ceramics from the costal Nievería culture, and obsidian from several places in the Andes hint at a significant network for trade and cultural exchange (Lau 2005: 84-90). Chinchawas indicates a settlement built on trade between Recuay and foreign groups. In other localities these relationships seemed to border on the predatorial (Castillo-Butters, 2014). For example, the Moche were represented artistically with trophy heads of captives or conquered people. Archaeologically much of the practice appears to have been local between Moche groups, though conflict with outsiders is visible (Lau 2013: 95-100).

During the Late Recuay circa AD 600-700, the amount of foreign materials, primarily Wari ceramics and styles found in general and mortuary contexts, increases significantly. Trade categorized this period, and physical objects made abroad and brought into the Recuay sphere became common. There also is a change in this period as trade with the Wari groups increased dramatically. The desirability of the Wari materials was clear as even small settlements came to include Wari ceramics or styles (Lau 2011:256-259). As interaction with the Wari increased, it came to dominate highland exchange. After AD 700, the Recuay were in decline, material culture became even more similar to the Wari prestige goods. Cities like Pashash were abandoned all together, while cities like Yayno persisted at a less monumental scale. Others like Chinchawas were able to persist as regional trading centers, all the while becoming less distinct from the Wari material culture. This era corresponds to the reorganization of power and structures in the highlands as the Wari Phenomenon grew in scale (Lau 2011: 569-264).

**[Moche/Gallinazo]**

Gallinazo is a term for an early coastal people roughly contemporaneous with the Huarás. Throughout the first centuries BC, Gallinazo population, architecture, and material culture grew in range and scope. They would encompass the Viru and Moche Valleys. Their settlements tended to be hierarchical in relative size and monumentality containing platforms, canals, and temples with adobe bricks. Major sites include Cerro Orejas and Cerro Blanco. Great ‘Castillo’ architecture is present in the Gallinazo world (Moseley 1992:164-166). Late in the Gallinazo era is the much contested transition to the Moche, whose earliest central site was the rebuilt Cerro Blanco. Though much is poorly understood and otherwise debatable with regard to this transition, the Gallinazo became indistinguishable the Moche in the first centuries AD (Mosley 1992: 166).

The Moche emerged in the south, and theirs was a fragmented society divided by river valleys and the cordillera. They emerged along the coast as a primarily fishing and irrigation farming society. The Moche culture expanded along the coast, building monumental temples and cities. They settled adjacent the Andean rivers as they empty to the Pacific. Over time their influence would spread ever farther up rivers, coming directly into contact with Recuay villages (Proulx 1968,1982). Moche material culture spread far beyond the coastal regions. Moche fineware represents a zenith of ceramic tradition at the time and became valued as a trade good throughout the Andes.

This period of regional interdependency produced pronounced changes in ceramic materials in the highlands. Foreign finewares became valued as status goods. For the first few centuries AD, local Recuay ceramics made from Kaolinite and other local clays dominated the mortuary assemblage in the highlands. Recuay mortuary contexts presented a change from the Kaolinite and local ceramics to the foreign inspired ones. Occasionally this would manifest as local copies of foreign styles, but mainly vessels were non-locally produced (Lau 2005, Proulx 1982, Proulx 1968). Moche materials came to be prevalent in the assemblages, though we find materials in this era from Nasca, Lima, and the Casma Valley. This change happened at a different rate for different groups throughout the highlands (Burger et.al 2006, Chicoine 2011, Cordy-Collins 2001, Szpac et.al. 2015). Though there were introduction of newer ceramic materials and designs in the area, the mortuary contexts underwent a change too.

The Late Recuay era also saw the beginning of intensive exchange of cultural materials in the RíoSanta valley (Ponte 2015). The interaction started with exchange of ceramic materials. Early on, it was not uncommon to find Moche ceramics present in Recuay burials. As time went on, the cultures started to blend as well. Though the Moche and Recuay interacted for centuries, it is in mortuary custom that leaves an archaeological trace .

Moche burials tended to segregate infants from the adult and subadult remains. These tended to be mass burials, yet there are grave goods generally found in conjunction with the infants implying deliberate segregation (Ponte 2015). Early on the Recuay did intermix infants with adults, a few of which have shown to be genetically familial. In time the Recuay exhibited segregated chullpas that contained primarily infants and subadults. Significantly, these sites often contain offerings including status goods including Moche made ceramics. These two trends show an increased Moche influence in material culture and burial custom throughout the Late Recuay.

**[Nasca/Lima]**

To the south of the Moche along the coast Lima and Nasca cultures emerged. Intense aridity in the area created cultures reliant upon what water was present. The Lima culture built great canals throughout their lands to optimize agricultural possibilities. By the third century AD, the Lima Culture had begun building great monumental Huaca pyramids of mud bricks including the legendary Pachacamac Temple, home of the Pachacamac Oracle, south of Lima (Moseley 1992: 184).

South of Lima are the contemporaneous cultures of the Nasca region. From older traditions such as Paracas emerged the Nasca archaeological culture. Their ceramic style and motif proliferated throughout the region. Nasca finewares were locally produced and have been found in many contexts. It appears even the common Nasca household could possess some percentage of fineware (Moore 2014: 291-294). Textiles were highly refined and valued and featured heavily in mortuary and religious architecture. As with the other cultures, debate has raged over the nature of their political and economic structures. The Nasca produced many sites, the most monumental at Cahuachi, sometimes called the Nasca capital. Cahuachi started as a small agricultural village, but in time grew to the massive hundred and fifty hectare complex (Moseley 1992: 185-187). Cahuachi contained some forty mounds, platforms, plazas, and a great temple and yet contained no clear evidence for a large population nor a domestic sector (Moore 2014: 294-295).

**[Wari: Empire, Phenomenon, Bundle]**

Following the zenith reached around AD 700 the highland Recuay, coastal Moche, and southern peoples in Lima and Nasca began to decline. The exact impetus is hotly debated and seems regionally dependent. Discussions of mounting ecological stress are seemingly prevalent. From the dissolution of earlier social structures the Wari rose (Moseley 1992:218-219; Moore 2014: 341). Wari expansion is as heavily debatable as their inception. Aspects of their culture would spread outward from the Ayacucho Valley, while some regions kept more local material culture.

Early researchers designated Wari an empire, though contemporary researchers discuss a Wari Phenomenon whose statecraft remains poorly understood. Processual research identified the capital of the empire as the Huari site (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 286). This model indicates the Wari expanded out from these cores and in time conquered their empire. One example of a domineering Wari culture comes from the sites in Honcopampa and Wilkawain, both of which were Recuay cities with a distinct change as they became regional Wari centers. The Wari Castillo Huarmey is a similar example from formerly Moche lands (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 291). In a comparative study of cranial trauma across the highlands, the Middle Horizon was found to be a peak in rate of incidence. Increased rates of trauma were accompanied by increased rates of trophy heads (Arkush and Tung 2013: 27-28). This would certainly be expected as evidence of a militant or otherwise imperial expansion.

One reason the Wari Empire model was abandoned comes from their motif. Wari arts often became composites including local and distinctly Wari style. Their motifs across the Wari world indicate a wide variety of symbols and styles, evidence of holdover from earlier cultures (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 289). This idea is of a Wari Phenomenon of interrelated artistic and architectural styles which in some regions never fully supplanted the local. For instance the Recuay style of masonry, including subterranean galleries, persisted throughout the Wari era as architectural styles and urban plans followed Wari prototype (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 288). Additionally the same study of cranial trauma concluded that though the Middle Horizon did represent an increase in violent pathologies over the Early Intermediate Period, the greatest rates were found in other eras. In particular periods without great societies, bundles, empires or otherwise stabilizing social structures reflected greatest rate of incidence of violent pathologies (Arkush and Tung 2013: 36). This would imply that the eras of large empires produced less violent pathologies than eras of fractured sedentism.

In the highlands of Ancash, the Wari may be conceptualized as a series of cultural characteristics which represent a change in material culture. This understanding is of a Wari bundle of traits expanding with limited evidence of conflict (Lau 2012: 35). The earliest manifestation of the Wari in the highlands is their trademarked polychrome vessels imported from the Ayacucho Valley throughout highland and coastal Ancash (Lau 2012: 29). In time features such as zoomorphic figures and tapestries became mainstays in the highlands. There are even some late Recuay ceramics borrowing the zoomorphic motifs and using them on local ceramic forms (Lau 2012:39). Additionally the D-shaped structures and chullpas were absorbed into the late Recuay architectural styles (Lau 2012:41).

The Wari bundle model of expansion implies the set of cultural features affiliated with the Wari expanded organically as older regional structures fell apart. The bundle expanded or diffused as a result of a power vacuum. Social and material requirements were met by the bundle in ways that the earlier structures failed them. The Wari persisted through the end of the Middle Horizon, but then they themselves collapsed. The Wari cultural bundle was no longer the best adaptation for the highlands. Though the details are debatable, the Wari diminished and yet their influence was permanent. The Late Intermediate Period mortuary customs were shaped by the Wari in the Middle Horizon (Cadwallader et.al. 2018: 14).

Thus a basic history of the first millennia AD in the Central Andes follows a series of regionally distinct florescence in art, architecture, and material culture. The people adopted regionally appropriate adaptive strategies in regionally variable conditions. For a time these grew in tandem culturally entangled with one another. Trade proliferated and contemporary styles are found intermixed. From around AD 600-700 these regional strategies began to decline. For some reason or reasons the adaptive strategy was no longer sufficient and in time the Wari styles would prevail for a time. The Wari did not so much dominate highland cultures as had their own culture incorporated to local culture. This strategy was effective and for some centuries and the Wari persisted from the Nasca Valley through the formerly Moche sphere and throughout the highlands. In time the Wari too would fade leaving another mosaic of related local cultures until states would again form in the Andes.

**Definition of Recuay Culture**

The central Andes are a rich tapestry of regional artistic styles, but they were often less monumental than the famous Wari, Tihuanaco, and Inka phases which succeeded them. For this reason more emphasis was given to these than the Intermediate Periods. Much like research in Greece, the Levant, and Mesoamerica as early researchers focused on certain phases they neglected others. Through this oversight the Recuay, Moche, and their other regional styles were only studied within their own contexts, structures, and processes in the second half of the twentieth century. How these researchers defined the Recuay culture offers insight into how they were conceptualizing the entire region and the peoples who lived there.

The review emphasizes peer-reviewed English publications on changes to the construction of the Recuay as an Archaeological Culture throughout the various schools of thought in the twentieth century. Early work emphasized great pan-Andean sequences focused on the monumental Chavin, Wari-Tiahuanaco, and Inca. The Processual era saw a rise in the Recuay as dynamic actors in a regional trade network. They had territorial relations with the neighboring Moche. More recent research has highlighted the relationships as our datasets have expanded. Contemporary methodology allows far more grounded models of interaction. Our understanding of the Recuay has been inexorably linked with our understanding of the Moche and the Wari in particular. One of the goals is to provide an overview of how the research has defined the Recuay from the period of Uhle to the present and to outline the directions of contemporary and future research.

Throughout the twentieth century, Andean cultures have gained significant attention from scholars and seen remarkable advancements. Discussions of Andean cultures in the first half of the twentieth century were devoted to identifying monumental pan-Andean sequences. Giant figures in the early history of archaeological research in the Andes weighed in, including Max Uhle, Bennet, Tello, and Junius Bird were instrumental in defining cultural sequences especially for the cultures which led up to the Wari. In this vintage the Recuay are simply one of many regional styles of ceramic, intermediary cultural expressions between two great pan-Andean sequences Chavín and Wari. The great ritual center at Chavín de Huantar was a monumental pilgrimage center which they dated around 1200-400 BC. Wari-Tiahuanaco phase was conceptualized as a singular entity centered at the Wari site and Lake Titicaca dated to AD 900-1200.

Max Uhle (1902) argued there were two main pan-Andean sequences, moments where very similar material cultures were observed across vast portions of the Andes. The Incas were the most recent, monumental, as well as the culture the Spaniards encountered throughout the sixteenth century. The Inca’s immediate predecessors were understood as sequences of localized styles and general Andean disunity. There was a second far earlier pan-Andean sequence was, when a new style emerged from the Titicaca region: the Tiahuanaco (Uhle 1902: 757). Other early scholars conflated the Wari and Tiahuanaco into a single sequence throughout the Andes. For a time the Wari site itself was seen as the capital or center of the Tiahuanaco sequence (Bennett and Bird 1964: 142). Scholars placed this Wari-Tiahuanaco sequence AD 500-1000 and represented a time when the entire region was unified into a regionally variable culture or empire (Mason 1957:90-95).

This basic line of thought was expanded by the addition of Chavín as a similar widespread culture, another pan-Andean sequence far earlier than the others (Bennett 1943: 326). The Chavín Sequence was characterised as a juncture of the architectural symmetry, platforms, interior galleries and small rooms, and the prevalence of feline motif Tenon heads (Bennett 1943: 324). Chavín contained cultural material from across the Andes, so it stood to reason the temple represented a sacred space of some common religion.

The Chavín site was seen as a pilgrimage center, based on the large volume of materials foreign to the highlands including seafood and *spondylus* shells both of which were found in abundance at Chavín (Bennett and Bird 1964:101). Contemporary ceramics from as far away as Bolivia and Lima were found at Chavín (Bennett and Bird 1964: 101). From Chavín the Feline motif spread throughout the highlands, but was comparatively rare along the coast (Bennett and Bird 1964: 94). Critically, once the Chavín sequence ended, a wealth of local styles and regional developments followed until the Tiahuanaco Horizon, when these styles once again blended into a pan-Andean sequence (Bennett and Bird 1964: 102).

In these cultural histories the Chavín era ended around 400 BC and what followed was a period of experimentation. In the highlands the Chancay and Huarás styles were thought to have developed out of the Chavín sequence directly (Bennett and Bird 1964: 103-104). Ceramic styles proliferated into new forms and techniques including small ceramic figurines, which would be a mainstay in the highlands, first appeared in this era (Bennett and Bird 1964: 107-109). Trade in wool with the coast, especially Ica and Paracas, began during this time (Bennett Bird 2964: 109-110). There also was an apparent decline in the Chavín religion, evidenced by a decline of the feline motif following the rise in local and regional styles. According to Bennett and Bird (1964: 112) “Religion, too, seems to have been of no great importance.” Thus scholars viewed the decline of Chavín as the collapse of a great state or religion, leaving the people in a superstitious dark age.

Out of this dark age came what Bennett and Bird called a Mastercraftsman Period (Bennett and Bird, 1964:113-134). Public works with striking monumentality appeared in the highlands. Great complexes with galleries and chambers somewhat reminiscent of Chavín were constructed throughout the Callejón de Huaylas in association with the Recuay ceramic style (Bennett and Bird 1964: 116-118). The Recuay of the Mastercraftsman era were known for bichrome ceramics in a diversity of forms including bowls, goblets, and jars. Bennett and Bird thought they were inferior the ceramics made by Moche and other contemporary cultures, but the decoration and style represented a highly developed craft (Bennett and Bird 1964: 126). The Recuay ceramics were often accompanied by distinctive statues, made in ground stone and shallow relief that seemed to be a break from Chavín tradition. Recuay motifs were identified by human figures including warriors, women, and seated figures (Bennett and Bird 1964: 121-122).

Contemporary researchers followed Uhle’s sequences to slightly different ends. Mason (1957) labeled the period between Chavín and the expansion of Tiahuanaco as a Florescent Era. He saw limited uniformity in religion, architecture, and material culture. Andean groups were by this point experimenting with many types of arts, and this created diverse and distinct peoples throughout the region (Mason 1957: 66-68). In the highlands, Recuay A and B styles of negative painting emerged in this era. Copper and textiles were found in the highlands, but the generally wetter monsoon of the highlands made these more difficult to study than the drier conditions on the coast (Mason 1957: 84-85).

The above discussion illustrates in a general sense scholar’s understanding of Andean sequences and cultural history in the first half of the twentieth century. There was first a Chavín sequence sometime in the first millennia BC, followed by a period of regionally distinct craftsmen, and then Andean groups came together again in the Wari-Tiahuanaco phase. The Recuay was one of the regional styles, principally known for its ceramic style and shallow relief sculpture. One reason for this characterization was the lack of excavations focused on the intermediate phases. As Mason (1957: 87) noted “Relatively few scientific archaeological excavations have been made in Peru, and large parts of the country are practically unknown archaeologically because of the paucity of sellable objects that might be recovered has not tempted natives to dig.” While great sites like Wari and Tiahuanaco were studied, many of the sites now associated with the Mastercraftsman were not studied or even identified in the early twentieth century.

An example of how disjointed early research was in the region comes from the explorations of Cornelius Roosevelt in the 1930s. He went on an expedition to Chavín with Julio Tello as a photographer. They moved up the coast, passing the great coastal walls and hilltop settlements as they made their way to Huarmey. They associated most of what they saw either with the Chimu or the Inka (Roosevelt 1935: 21-23). Then the team moved up through the Casma Valley where they saw ruins from the Casma culture, which was viewed simply as pre-Chimu by Roosevelt and Tello. Thirteen structures with relative symmetry were identified as well as a fortress built on the desert floor with walls over twelve feet tall. This was interpreted as a village site, but there had been no excavation at the time of their voyage (Roosevelt 1935: 26).

Then the party left the coast and moved into the Santa Valley. They correctly identified these sites and cultures as pre-Chimu, but it was not possible to properly seriate them. They noted several “Great Walls” which crossed the valley; some of these were identified as irrigation ditches while others had cemeteries at one end of the wall. They also encountered petroglyphic arts. One piece carved on a granite slab included a man adjacent to a twining serpent (Roosevelt 1935: 27). Another stone carving they identified near Huaraz was called Copcha Wilka this was a nine by four feet at the base. This image of a God was striking but anomalous as it was the first large idol found in the Santa Valley (Roosevelt 1935:36).

They continued up the Santa and identified many sites as they went. There were large mounds with temples built on top. Some still had preserved adobe with crimson and yellow paints still visible. These were identified as temples because they contained the largest cemeteries found in the area (Roosevelt 1935: 32). Tello and Roosevelt also found more walls, mounds, and irrigation systems all along the Santa Valley as they moved towards Chavín.

The expedition also identified several settlements at the tops of the hills, which were interpreted as cities cleverly hidden so they would be all but invisible from the valley floor below. All were roughly rectangular and fortified settlements (Roosevelt 1935: 31). This is an early manifestation of archaeologists’ discussion of conflict in the highlands. It also shows how readily such hypotheses were accepted, even when their own research produced contradictions such as some of the defensive fortresses were actually temples and cemeteries built on hills.

Roosevelt and Tello’s expedition also visited the Temple of Chavín, where Tello had started excavating in 1919. The temple was still visible but in a poor state of repair as the researchers noted a few huts and pigsties upon the temple itself (Roosevelt 1935: 37). They marveled at the temple, but were drawn to the interior. Roosevelt described a roughly triangular idol over ten feet in height. Carvings encased the stone with a fanged monster with many snake heads. Tello said the idol once stood beneath an altar where the ancient peoples made sacrifices (Roosevelt 1935:37). This was clearly the Lanzón monolith, the most representative and distinctive object of the Chavín religion. The party thoroughly explored several galleries and shafts, conscripting assistance from small schoolchildren to access particularly tight areas. The party took over 700 photos of the Tenon heads, the first party ever to photograph the temple at Chavín (Roosevelt 1935:40-42).

During the Processual phase, researchers focused on the cultural processes at play in the Andes during this time. The Recuay were recast as a dynamic culture engaged with its neighbors and an integral part of a pan-Andean trade network. Central to this shift in theoretical discussion was research done in the Nepeña Valley. This valley contains many highland Recuay sites, and valley floor Moche sites. As such the Nepeña Valley is an interface between cultures, a place where such cultural processes are visible in the Record (Proulx 1982,1968). Processual work transformed the Recuay from a ceramic complex and a set of cultural traits usable to Cultural Historians, but a dynamic set of cultural processes. The Recuay morphed from a ceramic style to an actor in a system of territorial and trading relationships. Research into the Recuay grew in tandem with research of the Moche and Wari, though never at quite the same pace. Over time it became clear that the initial understanding of the Recuay as peripheral highlanders preyed on by the Moche until they were demolished by the Wari was no longer tenable. Recuay were at last viewed as an archaeological culture that traded widely, and at times had predatorial relationships with other local groups.

Starting in 1967, the Nepeña Valley became the focus of Processual research on the Recuay and Moche (Proulx 1982, 1968; Chicoine 2011). This dynamic Recuay Culture which lived along the hilltops of the valley and was in contact with the Moche below. The Nepeña Valley was divided territorially between Recuay and Moche sites who were connected by the exchange of cultural materials (Proulx 1982: 90-91). This valley was occupied by the Moche in the lowlands and towards the coast, but the Recuay in the highlands along the western periphery of the Callejón de Huaylas (Proulx 1982:83). The Nepeña Valley is the first intensely studied interface between the Recuay and Moche. The Moche tended to inhabit the valley floor and likely followed the Nepeña from the coast. They built a monumental pyramid in the Moche style at Pañamarca. This village contained trademark Moche walls with ornate murals, courtyards, and a burial complex nearby (Proulx 1982: 84). Pañamarca is the largest and most monumental Moche site in the Nepeña Valley, though there were other Moche agricultural sites throughout the valley floor (Proulx 1982: 83).

The relationships were not always so peaceable. Later research has indicated the Moche expansion into the Nepeña Valley likely represented a militant expansion initially. There is evidence of skeletal trauma and fortification found in the earliest Moche sites in the valley (Arkush and Tung 2013: 23-24). The Wari, Recuay, Gallinazo, and Moche alike produced a wealth of artistic representative combat. The Moche are particularly famous for combat imagery, ritual sacrifice, and trophy heads. Critically Moche combat was divided into a sacred ritualized type of combat and a profane expansion or defensive combat (Arkush and Tung 2013: 23). Initially researchers presumed the prevalence of combat in imagery was indicative of a warlike people. On the other hand, there is good reason to think the conflict worthy of memorialization on ceramics or murals was primarily a ritualized combat or ritualized execution of prisoners (Castillo Butters 2014: 262). This approach does not indicate that all or even most conflict was sacred or ritualized, merely that what gets represented consistently is not the profane act of conflict (Arkush and Stanish 2005: 15-16).

Along with the coast conflict appears to be primarily between Moche polities, potentially marking expansion or control over resources (Castillo Butters 2014: 268). Conflict between these groups was where the foreign prisoners would be collected. Conflict in the Nepeña Valley indicates the Moche were expanding into a region with Recuay sites already established along the crest (Arkush and Stanish 2005: 16) This could be interpreted as a continuous threat of conflict. Here the Recuay became combative to fight off Moche invasions at first, and then in short lived resistance to the Wari (Arkush and Tung 2013: 25). In any case, there was clearly conflict between the highlands and coast which appears to end in ritualized execution of any prisoners. They did not result in substantial long term incursions of the Moche into the highlands.

In the Nepeña Valley highlanders tend to be displayed in Moche arts. These are identifiable through feline motif, pendants on the otherwise naked warriors, and the coca bags at their waists. It is likely these motifs represent the Recuay neighbors in heights of the valley (Castillo Butters 2014:265). In addition to these images of ritual combat, the Moche were known to engage in profane conflict, claiming resources, trade routes, or captives. Exactly how often the Moche engaged in ritual representative combat versus profane combat remains unclear (Castillo Butters 2014: 270-271).

Their artistic motifs often display proud and noble warriors, great fortresses, and ruthless slaughters**.** As more research has expanded the knowledge base of the Moche, the interpretation emerged that the Moche battles depicted most prominently are primarily ritual violence (Castillo-Butters, 2014:259). It could be said that understanding of the motifs went from the profane act of combat to the art of ritual violence. The scenes depicted included what is called the combat sacrifice ceremony where warriors are displayed fighting near priests. There is a sub-motif where a human figure is presented with a goblet of blood, which was presumed to be a ritual sacrifice motif. These two motifs are often found adjacent or adorning in the same vessel. (Castillo-Butters, 2014: 262). Together these artistic designs are the Moche representing themselves as ritual warriors and possible human sacrifices. In other artistic representations, the Moche warriors engage in combat without priests, but with the aid of preternatural human-animal hybrid motifs. Typical anthropomorphic designs include puma, foxes, fish, fish, shark fins, and even lima beans (Castillo-Butters, 2014: 263).

How the artistic motifs compared to actual combat is unclear. Other Late Moche ceramics depict the act of knocking a headdress off another combatant. The battles depicted without priests tend to show masses of combatants engaged with seemingly no plan or strategy. Artistically, the Moche are shown to unclothe their defeated opponents and tie a rope around their necks. These defeated warriors were then walked through Moche society and up to the combat sacrifice ceremony (Castillo-Butter, 2013:264). The scenes depicting violence could well be among Moche groups as well as combat levied against surrounding groups, such as the Recuay. Whether the Moche combat was primarily secular or ritual is indeterminant, and for the sake of this project not all that important.

This change in understanding of the Recuay and Moche interaction corresponds to a larger change in how the Moche were understood. Initially the Moche were thought of as a warrior like, sexually explicit culture something like Spartans (Castillo Butters 2014: 257-259). Over time they have been tamed, and with them the nature of the predatorial relationship with the Recuay has been called into question. Most critically, the practice of trophy heads and ceremonial violence points towards a relationship of symbolic rivalry. Ritual subordination of foreigners enhanced the Moche themselves and likely produced social cohesion (Lau 2013: 125). The Moche produced combat imagery, but much of it seems to have been ceremonial in a deadly ritual. The ritual involved full combat paraphernalia for Moche warriors and generally naked foreigners or captives who were to be sacrificed at the end of the ritual (Castillo Butters 2014:263-265).

Another regional approach was taken at the Chinchawas site, but applying concepts from World Systems model on both the Moche and Wari’s relation to a Recuay hinterland site. Chinchawas was a late Recuay site which served as a key locality for trade though as a periphery. The first period of occupation (AD 300-600) saw Chinchawas as a periphery of the Callejón and the Recuay. Ceramics and stone sculpture were in the Recuay styles and Kaolin was used in finewares (Lau 2005: 84). Starting around AD 600 Chinchawas began importing goods especially from the Wari. After AD 700 the once prestigious Kaolin declined in favor of these foreign wares. Other styles which supplanted the Recuay were the coastal Nievería effigy vessels and locally produced Wari inspired Warmi Redwares (Lau 2005: 84-87). These phases also feature an increase in obsidian at Chinchawas, though far fewer pieces are known than in the Chavín era (Burger et.al. 2006: 109).

The final phase of occupation at Chinchawas site from AD850-950 recovered only imported costal styles, Wari wares, and the local Warmi style (Lau 2005: 89-90). This era shows a general shift in cultural expression throughout the Callejón. As the Recuay were declining, trade was redistricted to focus on the Wari. Chullpas proliferated, D-shaped patios are built in many Recuay sites (Lau 2011:256). There is a notable decline in the visible trade with the costal Moche and other groups and a rise in the trade in Wari vessels, motifs, and polychrome styles. Even the tradition of fine Kaolin vessels all but disappear from the record at the end of the Recuay culture (Lau 2011: 257-260). During the final phase, after AD 800, the patios got smaller at Chinchawas implying their function was no longer to host huge feasts for the whole population but for smaller gatherings. In the same era chullpas reorganized the entire mortuary complex at the site (Lau 2002: 299). Each of these developments indicate the arrival, albeit belated with respect to the rest of the highlands, of the Wari.

Discussions of Recuay decline focused on the regional expansion of glaciers and harsher winters associated with the Little Ice Age in the 7th and 8th centuries, as well as Wari expansion and predation (Lau 2011 262). Chinchawas seems to have persisted so long after the Recuay core because it managed to remain peripheral, but now from the Wari heartland. After AD 1000, there is no trade between Chinchawas and the outside, likely correlating to the decline of the Wari themselves (Lau 2005: 90). This World Systems approach firmly establishes the Recuay no longer as actors in Moche trade networks, but as drivers of their own.

Recent literature has augmented our understanding of the Wari, creating further questions for their interaction with the Recuay. Critically the Wari have changed from a culture which conquered the highlands and reduced the Recuay by storm (Ponte 2000:228) to a more diffusive process (Lau 2012: 24). The Processual view saw the Wari as an imperial force, commanding the highlands and the Recuay directly (Ponte 2000: 244)Though the Wari were present in the highlands and even supplanted some Recuay sites, the Wari seem to have left some local customs intact. Critically the Recuay style of masonry, semi-subterranean galleries, and mausoleums persisted in the highlands through the Wari era (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 288). On the other hand, ceramic style and motif were changed as the Wari grew (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 289). The Wari also established a new core in the Callejón at the Honcopampa site. Some scholars have even gone so far as to call this the Wari capital in the Callejón (Giersz and Makowski 2014: 291).

The Wari are no longer thought of in terms of simple militant expansion and material domination of some areas. The Wari can be thought of as an empire, or as a cultural bundle of religious, military, architecture, motif, and burial complex all slowly supplanting the Recuay and other cultures of the highlands (Lau 2012: 24). There is though a notable increase in cranial trauma from the era when the Wari were a power in the Andes, but less so in the Recuay highlands than other areas. Some Wari sites show a clear evidence of trophy heads, while others show none (Arkush and Tung 2013: 26-7). The nature of the Wari bundle’s expansion into the highlands remains elusive. Cultural traits like Wari finewares and the chullpa style burial treatment predated any encroachment into the Recuay highlands (Lau 2012: 41).

From around AD 600-800 the Wari bundle or empire proliferated alongside the Recuay in many areas. Chullpas and Wari burial goods are found with contemporary Recuay goods in burial contexts (Lau 2015: 215). It seems the chullpa fit well with the pre-existing Recuay mortuary customs. Early the Recuay would build a necropolis within or adjacent a hilltop village or city. These tended to be modest chambers modified from naturally occurring caves (Lau 2015:207). In time the chullpa phenomenon would become the primary burial type even in established Recuay sites. (Ibarra 2013: 20). The arrival of the chullpa merely changed the necropolis into semi-subterranean stone structures. The practices of familial burials and grave goods remained (Lau 2015: 224-225). The chullpa phenomena was present in other areas of Peru, but the Recuay adopted them early and intently (Ibarra 2013:8). With respect to their mortuary custom, the Recuay and Wari relationship was not one of domination, but rather an incorporation of new customs and materials with old customs (Lau 2013: 158).

When defining a culture, “our ideas concerning the degree of civilization in pre-Colombian times… are not yet entirely freed from the prejudiced notion of generally regarding the various types of ancient culture as merely local styles, each being ascribed in some way to a different geographic area and to a different tribe- we are still prone to see them in purely ethnical divisions and individual local types.” (Uhle 1902: 754). Thus, the Recuay and Wari can not be discussed adequately as distinct entities as the cultural bundle spread. If they are to be seen as distinct ethnic groups, why did the Recuay abandon older styles and practices for Wari styles?

Early researchers such as Uhle, Tello, and Bennett used available research to define the cultural sequence. They were somewhat limited by focusing primarily on the findings at large sites such as Chavín. The Cultural Historians worked to discuss cultural sequences, especially through material manifestations such as ceramics. The Processual researchers tended to look for dynamic cultural features such as conflict and trade. They tended to focus on large scale events such as warfare in the Nepeña Valley and the potential Moche colonial venture there. Since the 1980s, researchers have brough even more diverse theories to bear on the cultural sequences. World System’s Core-Periphery model and Renfrew’s Peer-Polity commonwealth model allow different theoretical representations of the highlands in the first millennia AD. Most importantly researchers approached Recuay as people with agency. The Recuay adopted the Wari way of life, not as docile actors but as adaptive strategy in a changing political and social landscape. Additionally more archaeological data was collected, more sites identified, and more research done. As research progresses and more is unearthed, we will know and represent better the Recuay and the world they inhabited during the Early Intermediate Period.

**A Contemporary Cultural Sequence for the Recuay**

The origins of the Recuay culture emerged in the declining Chavín. This represents a time when the highlands had a particularly unified type of material culture. The pull of the great temple produced many offshoots and variations over time. Chavín does not so much collapse or fall as it does break into a mosaic of succeeding cultures (Lau 2013: 33). The mosaic includes the Huarás and Recuay cultures. Following the breaking of Chavín, trade slowed and local styles flourished. These styles formed the basis of what would become cultural traditions, though interaction between these early mosaic members remains unclear (Lau 2013: 36-37).

Initially, the Recuay and coastal Gallinazo culture were trading partners, though at a far smaller scale of exchange than during the Chavín era or later in the Wari. These exchanges were mostly in ceramics and motif (Lau 2011: 246-247). As the Gallinazo developed into the and Moche grew in scope, so did their influence in Recuay culture. By AD 500 the Recuay expanded its relations with the Moche and other coastal groups. There was a rich exchange in ceramics, wool, and kaolin clay. This era also contains a stylistic emulation by each group. Moche would use Kaolin and eventually Recuay ceramic forms. The Recuay appropriated Moche style redwares and moulds. Each culture kept its traditional craft, but each affected the other (Lau 2011: 251).

Though there were likely predatorial relationships between the groups (Lau 2013:78-80) the symbolic representation of combat was predominantly sacrificial or ritualized (Lau 2013: 90-91). Trade and exchange with the Moche expanded after AD 500, and the Recuay highlands acquired Moche style ceramics and in time obsidian through their networks. We now have more evidence for direct engagements between the two cultures.

The Nepeña Valley represents a first attempt to research Recuay in context of local tradition, not with respect to great pan-Andean sequences. The Nepeña Valley provides the best interface for the two cultures, territory divided between highland Recuay and valley floor Moche. This valley allows us to see beyond predation and exchange and into cultures engaged with one another. The curious volume of Recuay styled and motif ceramics made in local Kaolin clays at Santa Rita B, and the unusual burial in the Recuay style with Recuay goods at Huambacho hint at the regional entanglements. Together, these show the Recuay and Moche had a relationship more complex by far than simple sequences, conquest, or inter-cultural trade. The Recuay were interacting with several cultures across vast distances of the Andes as evidenced by exchange of materials and artistic representation.

Starting around AD 600, trade between the Recuay and the Moche declined as trade with the Wari increased. This period saw incursions of the Wari material culture into otherwise Recuay peoples living in the Callejón. This early period was primarily one of Recuay incorporating foreign elements into its custom. The initial expansion of the chullpa fit well into the pre-existing Recuay mortuary complex. The Wari were another powerful group the Recuay traded with and brought into the regional context. Initially both cultures benefited as evidenced by the increase in prestige goods such as wool and Obsidian.

Though the Recuay material culture was supplanted by the Wari, the exact relationship remains unclear. Models of Wari domination and conquest by military clash with models of a largely diffusive model of cultural change throughout the highlands. At some point the Wari culture commanded the highlands and the last vestiges of Recuay culture ended. At the present more research is needed to fill in the gaps of Wari statecraft’s origin and proliferation.

This literature review tracked the changing definitions of the Recuay as a ceramic complex, a cultural expression, and as a fully formed archaeological culture. The twentieth century expanded the knowledge on the Andean sequences greatly. Emerging cultural manifestations grew in social complexity and scope. Intermediary ceramic sequences became fully constructed archaeological cultures, and more research flushes out dynamic processes which shaped life for the people living them. Interaction, trade, and conflict together formed and shaped our discussions of the Recuay, initially as one end of a coastal trade network and in time as actors in an entangled in massive interaction networks.

I have attempted to show the creation of the Recuay as an archaeological culture and the limitations each discussion placed on them. The Recuay Culture continues to be constructed in different ways. As more research and excavation are carried out and new theoretical perspectives brought to bear, discussions should change to match. Moving forward the critical piece will be study of the genesis of the Recuay following the Chavín, and their end as the Recuay became indistinct from the Wari. Ironically, this is not far from where Max Uhle left us more than a century ago: much is still to be done (Uhle 1902: 759). As we expand our knowledge, more questions emerge on the nature of their engagements and on their worlds.

**Survey of Landscape of Death**

Landscapes of Death theory assumes that there is a significant entanglement between the dead and the living. These relationships are diverse and often difficult to reconstruct through inference or interpretation (Ucko, 1969). Methodology for landscapes focuses on spatial and topographic relationships and entanglements between the living and dead. The dead tend to occupy a significant social function. The dead can be separate or bounded, or integrated as liminal members of society (Parker Pearson, 1993:204).

The highlands mortuary tradition evolved a significant interaction between the dead and the living in the form of easily accessible familial tombs where offerings could be made (Ibarra, 2013). Spatial relationships between the dead and the living are critical, though the researcher needs to be mindful of the possibility of other explanations such as a persistent place or connection to the landscape beyond simple dead and living dichotomy (Parker Pearson, 1993: 206). Accessibility to the tombs is understood to be possible in the cist, chamber, and chullpa type of burials. In the highlands it seems that not only is direct interaction between the living and the dead possible, it was a regular part of life.

The dead in the highlands are not segregated by great distances from the living. The villages and cities that exist generally had a portion of the city designated to the mortuary complex. In the larger cities, the mortuary sector rose to the level of a full Necropolis. In Recuay settlements, the dead are kept close for revisit, display, or as active participants in affairs of their descendants. This project looks at the spatial relation between mortuary monuments as a core focus.

Complicating the matter is the Montaña Magica tradition. There are mountains within the cordilleras which occupy a significant persistent places for the people living in the area. In a manner of speaking, the mountains are granted agency and become living active parts of the community. There is a mountain called Llamoc in the town of Huari which was used heavily throughout the cultural sequences. By the period when the Spanish arrived Llamoc was the mother of the local cacique noblemen. The Spanish documented the many sacrifices the people still made there. There were also several Mallqui of one Xullea and his wife Isabel Huanay (Principie 1923[1622]: 58-59). This Llamoc mountain also contains a Chavín habitation, an Inka shrine, a catholic shrine from the colonial era, and modern Quechua speakers still observe a procession at the December Solstice. There is a Recuay city called Coronajirca built directly across the valley from this mountain. It is clear that there is something special about this mountain for the local denizens across eras and cultures. This type of sacred landscape could lead to the dead being buried consciously in relationship to some special landmark in addition to their relation to their living descendants.

The second key piece of a Landscape of Death is inter-site comparison. No trend is meaningful if it is only true in one area. Comparisons in the placing of mortuary complexes and symbolic localities across many cities is the only way to truly understand the wider trends in death and burial in a society (Parker Pearson, 2013: 206). The focus of this paper is on the inter-site comparisons across hinterland sites and across river valleys. The primary focus is to create a regional understanding of the trends across many sites. Through analysis of the means, the similarity or dissimilarity should become clear.

Thirdly, an in depth analysis of the distribution of artefacts and deposits in other contexts is key. Researchers have to look to materials found generally in a mortuary context which could be distributed across the site (Parker Pearson, 1993:207). In the highlands, many sites have documented bodies within waste and various non-mortuary contexts. Sometimes these may be understood as later intrusive deposits or deposits of a lesser caste of society. This dataset contains a large volume of sites including residential and mortuary, but all human remains are documented in their appropriate localities making this type of comparison possible.

When studying Mortuary archaeology, Lew Binford and Arthur Saxe’s discussion of meaning has to be taken into account. Social personality is defined in an infinite number of ways around the world, but there are trends which are useful to explore in any given area. Differential burial treatment can be used to indicate symbolically the social status of the people. In general, age, sex and social affiliation are marked in mortuary treatment (Binford, 1971: 14). What that differential treatment means is only knowable as a function of the individual culture, place, and time. Additionally, burials can be a function of relative worth or value to a particular society. Relative volumes of burial goods or size of burial can be an indicator of importance of the deceased (Binford, 1971: 14). An example could be a Moche ceramic found in a burial context from a remote rural environment such as the highlands. The time and resources required to transport the vessel to this context could indicate the grave is of a significant individual.

**Research Questions**

1) Social Differentiation: How does social differentiation manifest in the Recuay Hinterland?

2) Archaeological heterogeneity: Does the Recuay hinterland follow similar dispersed cultural patterns observed in the heartland?

3) Changes over time: Did the Recuay culture change along the same lines throughout the hinterlands?

**Hypothesis**

1) If hinterlands Recuay are socially differentiated like the heartland, we would expect to see uneven distribution where some sites have a concentration of status goods and others none.

2) If the hinterlands follow the same patterns of heterogeneity, we would expect there to be many local core cities spread across the hinterlands similar to the heartlands but at a smaller scale.

3) If the major cultural changes impacted the whole Recuay world, it is expected to see principally coastal materials until the Late Recuay era and then an increase in Wari materials.

**Expectation**

1) Foreign influence in the hinterland should look somewhat similar to the heartland just at a different scale. These sites should contain similar materials from similar trading partners. Though it is expected that there will be fewer foreign finewares in these hinterland sites, they will still be present in the record.

Relatively early in the Recuay sequence, there is evidence of trade with the Gallinazo, Moche, and Salinar. In time there would be more materials from the Lima and Nasca Cultures and eventually in the Ayacucho valley. Naturally ceramic, metal, and lithic preserve the best in the Record, but there have been additional projects looking into more organic materials such as highlands camelid wool and Coca. Taken together the Recuay were enmeshed in a trading network which left a visible distinction of cultures on the landscape.

2) Social Differentiation The Recuay had no centralized government, so the cities developed locally to meet the needs of the population. It is expected that the hinterland shows similar local clusters in many localities across the study area. There should be significant autocorrelation especially at the local level.

Characteristic Recuay vessels made use of fine kaolinite rich clays to make their fineware. There is a differentiation between those red and white plainware vessels and the fineware vessels. Additionally there were Tupu pins which were generally made of copper and bronze in this era. Tupu pins were used to hold clothing during life and then hold the mummy bundle after death. Both of these are locally produced status markers. Making any claims on the social hierarchies or stratification is difficult, but these people were differentiated by wealth.

Together with foreign goods, these status markers allow an assessment of social differentiation. The wealth that they carried in life was visible record when it is buried after death. Though the details of stratification are outside the scope of this project, the presence of such goods is very visible in the Archaeological Record.

3) The general changes through time found in the Recuay heartland should be still visible in the hinterland. Before AD 500 there should be mostly locally made Kaolin fineware with Gallinazo and Moche wares intermixed. There should be more foreign status goods during the Late Recuay, and these start to include more Wari materials.

Significant to this argument is not merely presence of materials, but also changes in mortuary architecture. The higher status Recuay individuals needed to be accessible after death for their descendants to provide proper veneration. Before the Wari sequence, a new style of mortuary architecture called a chullpa begins to appear in the highlands. The Recuay adopted this style early because it facilitated their offerings and gifts to the dead. Not all the Recuay dead were venerated, and not all were entombed to be accessible. Thus presence of chullpas becomes a proxy for both the spread of the Wari’s influence and also the practices of ancestor veneration.

**Data**

This project makes use of published data from a variety of sources and then reuses them to construct a landscape for the hinterland. First there is a dissertation by Bria (2017) which analyzed points near the towns of Caraz and Santa Cruz. The main focus was the large habitation site at Hualcayán, a rich multiple component site with a mortuary sector. There were a number of smaller sites documented near Hualcayán which included isolated burials, smaller residential sites, mound sites, and some agricultural terracing. Another data source is Barbosa (2008) thesis. This dataset is an analysis of three sites on the Río Ancash. Each are mortuary sites containing chullpas, subterranean, and cave burials. This work focused primarily on the archaeology of the mortuary architecture, studying the directionality and volume of the monuments. Ponte (2015) studied a volume of sites adjacent the city of Huaraz. These are at the southern extremity of the Río Santa. These sites include some small habitations, agricultural terracing, and burial monuments. All of these sites are still within the Callejón, but are peripheral the main Recuay cities. Across the Cordillera are the sites by Ibarra who has worked around the town of Huari since 2006. There is a great diversity of sites including cities like Marcajirca, smaller villages, mounds, platforms, and mortuary monuments. These are the only sties in the project which are not within the Callejón directly.

Using four data sources allows this project to contain a greater number of Recuay sites and monuments than any of the other projects. The focus of this project is an assessment of how Recuay mortuary patterns are distributed around the hinterland. These many sites each contain pertinent attributes which when analysed and clustered demonstrate these trends beyond any individual project. In this way a landscape of death could shed light onto the Recuay hinterland.

**Chapter outline**

This thesis is laid out in a slightly modified standard format. Chapter one introduces the Recuay culture, the focus of the entire document. There is a general introduction to the regional fluorescence during the first millennia AD. The Recuay were never in true isolation, throughout their cultural sequence they were in contact with the coastal Moche, Gallinazo, Salinar, Lima, and Nasca cultures. After around AD 700 the Wari also became a dominant force in the highlands, leading to the Recuay adopting Wari custom and architecture. Then there is a discussion of the history and theory of archaeological investigations in Ancash.

Chapter two is a review of literature on mortuary customs in the highlands. Peoples of the Andes had many mortuary customs, but they developed outside the sphere of any western or eastern culture. As such a review of chronicles, mythology, and folklore relevant to the study of Andean death allows a proper understanding of ancestor veneration practices. Then there is a survey of mortuary customs starting in Chavín and Huarás cultures and continuing through the Recuay and Wari. The Recuay mortuary monuments are discussed in detail and then a survey of significant Recuay sites.

Chapter three is another literature review of the interactions and trade during the early intermediate period. Though the first half of the millennia was less prolific and mobile than the second half, there were significant trading partners throughout the Recuay sequence. As is often the case, the most visible evidence of exchange is in the ceramic record. The Recuay produced fineware in Kaolinite rich clays; both the ceramic and the clay were valued outside the highlands. There is significant evidence of obsidian trade, especially during the Chavín and Wari but steady throughout the Recuay era. Agricultural products such as camelid wool were valued across the Andes. Most significantly coca was a crop only grown in the highlands that nonetheless was prevalent in coastal cultures.

Chapter four lays out the materials and methods used for the analysis. It lists the data sources and the sites they contain. Data reuse requires a thorough discussion of the sites and materials used in the project. This chapter also enumerates the mortuary patterns and the variables used to test them.

Chapter five is the analysis and discussion. This chapter describes in detail the tests preformed on the sites, the results of these analyses, and then a discussion of their implications. There are a total of five real trials and a dummy trial, as well as a spatial assessment of attributes.

Chapter six is the conclusion. Has yet to be written

**Figure 1: Timeline of Relevant Regions**

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Map

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**Should have a basic map early on with political divisions and the basic localities, political?**

**Should have a basic map early with main sites**

**Yayno, Chinchawas, Pashash, Marcajirca, Nepeña, honcopampa.**