


## Unique Infant Mortuary Ritual at Salango, Ecuador, 100 BC

Sara L. Juengst , Richard Lunniss, Abigail Bythell, and Juan José Ortiz Aguilu

*The human head was a potent symbol for many South American cultures. Isolated heads were often included in mortuary contexts, representing captured enemies, revered persons, and symbolic “seeds.” At Salango, a ritual complex on the central coast of Ecuador, excavations revealed two burial mounds dated to approximately 100 BC. Among the 11 identified burials, two infants were interred with “helmets” made from the cranial vaults of other juveniles. The additional crania were placed around the heads of the primary burials, likely at the time of burial. All crania exhibited lesions associated with bodily stress. In this report, we present the only known evidence of using juvenile crania as mortuary headgear, either in South America or globally.*

**Keywords:** mortuary ritual, Salango, Ecuador, crania

*La cabeza humana fue un símbolo importante para muchas de las antiguas culturas sudamericanas. A menudo, las cabezas aisladas se incluían en contextos funerarios, representando enemigos, personas importantes y “semillas” simbólicas. Las excavaciones realizadas en Salango, un sitio ritual ubicado en la costa central de Ecuador, durante 2014–2016, revelaron dos montículos funerarios en el perímetro norte del santuario, con una cronología de 100 aC. Entre los 11 entierros recuperados, dos infantes tenían cráneos adicionales, depositados alrededor de sus respectivas cabezas, probablemente durante el rito funerario. Todos los cráneos presentaron lesiones asociadas con malnutrición y enfermedades infecciosas. En este informe presentamos los únicos ejemplos de este rito funerario en el mundo. Sugerimos algunas explicaciones preliminares acerca de por qué la gente de Salango llevó a cabo esta práctica.*

**Palabras clave:** ritos funerarios, Salango, Ecuador, cráneos

Heads are biologically vital and individually recognizable, making them potent symbols of identity both in South America and globally (Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Blom 2005; Bonogofsky 2011; Sofaer 2006; Tiesler and Lozada 2018). Once removed from a human body, a head can be easily manipulated as a cultural artifact. Consequently, heads have been used to convey messages of belonging, status, fertility, dominance, and control. In South American mortuary contexts, isolated crania are usually identified as captured war victims or idolized ancestors, and they are often labeled “trophy heads” (Conlee 2007; Tung and Knudson 2010; Verano 2016; Weismantel 2015). These heads played many roles, from demonstrating military

and physical prowess to representing seeds and regeneration, and they were created from kin and enemies alike in regions of coastal and highland western South America (Conlee 2007; Di Capua 2002; Gutiérrez Usillos 2011:308–314; Tung and Knudson 2010).

The isolated heads of children are less common (Tung and Knudson 2010). Deceased children were often given special mortuary treatment to protect their presocial and wild souls (Baitzel 2018; Blom and Couture 2018; Toyne 2018). By treating deceased children in unusual or symbolic ways, people created and controlled their universes—given that children’s souls, in particular, acted as benefactors to the living (van Kessel 2001) and affected

Sara L. Juengst ([sjuengst@unc.edu](mailto:sjuengst@unc.edu), corresponding author) and Abigail Bythell ■ Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina–Charlotte, 9201 University City Boulevard, Charlotte, NC 28283, USA

Richard Lunniss and Juan José Ortiz Aguilu ■ Universidad Técnica de Manabí, Avenida José María Urbina, Portoviejo, Ecuador

*Latin American Antiquity* 30(4), 2019, pp. 851–856

Copyright © 2019 by the Society for American Archaeology

doi:10.1017/laq.2019.79

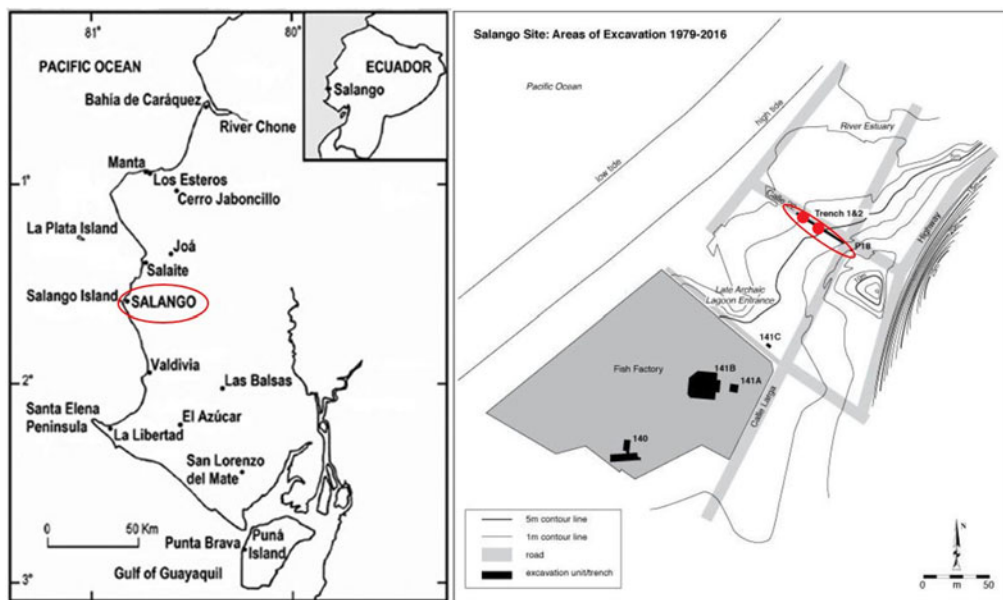


Figure 1. Map of the central Ecuadorian coast, showing the locations of Salango and 2014–2016 excavations (circled, mounds marked by dots). (Color online)

agricultural production, human fertility, and seasonal patterns of rain (Allen 1988). Ritual burials from the western coast of South America regularly included juveniles (Benson 2001; Klaus et al. 2016; Prieto et al. 2019; Toyne 2018; Turner et al. 2013; Verano 2001). Although most of these were complete skeletons, rather than isolated skulls, two juveniles at Huaca de la Luna were headless, suggesting their heads were retained elsewhere for continued use (Bourget 2001).

In all contexts, the regular use of head imagery and physical manipulation of real human crania shows that heads separated from bodies played important roles for past South American peoples (Arnold and Hastorf 2008). Here, we present a unique mortuary practice from Salango, Ecuador, where two infants were buried wearing the crania of other juveniles.

### Archaeological Context

Beginning around 100 BC, Guangala was a chiefdom culture from the Santa Elena Peninsula in Ecuador that reached north just beyond the multicomponent coastal site of Salango (Figure 1; Bushnell 1951; Lunniss 2019; Masucci 1992; Norton et al. 1983; Stothert 1993).

Following a volcanic ash fall (Lunniss 2001:86, 292), Early Guangala ritual practitioners at Salango buried people at a Late Engoroy (600–100 BC) funerary platform in Sector 141B (Lunniss 2001) and created two new small funerary mounds 150 m to the northeast in Calle 22 (Lunniss 2016).

Eleven individuals were recovered from these burial mounds during rescue excavations that took place from 2014 to 2016 (Lunniss 2016). All were buried in extended positions along intercardinal alignments: four infants from the west mound; two adults, one juvenile, and four infants from the east mound. Small artifacts and shells were set around, under, or over the infant and adult burials. Two infants had Late Engoroy stone ancestor figurines (Lunniss 2008) placed around their heads. Most notably, two infant burials (one from each mound) were found with their heads encased by the modified crania of other individuals (Supplemental Figure 1; Table 1).

### Methods

The heads and encasing crania of Burials 370 and 339 were removed from the mound in the

Table 1. Burials 370 and 339 and Associated Remains.

Burial	Bones Present	Age	Pathology	Trauma
370	Skull, thorax, arms	18 months	CO, PH	No
370a	Calotte	4–12 years	Circumscribed porosity	Cutmark, hinged fragment edges
339	Complete skeleton	6–9 months	CO, periostitis	No
339a	Calotte	2–12 years	PH	No

surrounding soil matrix to preserve all skeletal elements. In June 2018, Juengst and Bythell separated the cranial layers and assessed the burials for demography, pathology, and trauma. Age at death was determined by tooth eruption and root formation (Ubelaker 1989). Age for the extra crania was estimated based on cranial bone development (Cunningham et al. 2016:105). We did not estimate sex because of the juvenile nature of the remains.

We recorded cranial pathology by location, nature of the lesion (diffuse, circumscribed, etc.) and evidence for remodeling. Post-cranial pathology was recorded by skeletal element and evidence for remodeling. Differentiating between pathological bony deposition and normal juvenile bone development can be difficult. Pathology was assumed when lesions were irregularly distributed and/or appeared plaque-like (Lewis 2018:10–12).

Trauma was macroscopically observed and recorded by skeletal element. Cutmarks were observed microscopically using a Dino-Lite Pro AM413T Microscope Camera. Trauma timing was noted as antemortem (based on healing or bony remodeling), perimortem (with evidence of hinging of bone), or postmortem (no evidence of remodeling or hinging; Lewis 2018:92–98, 102).

## Results

Burial 370 included the thorax, arms, and head of an infant, found in anatomical position and undisturbed prior to excavation. Age at death was estimated at 18 months. Pathology included active cribra orbitalia and partially healed circumscribed porous lesions on the parietals (Supplemental Figure 2a). No trauma was recorded. The modified cranium of the second juvenile was placed in a helmet-like fashion

around the head of the first, such that the primary individual's face looked through and out of the cranial vault of the second. Very little space was between the two crania, suggesting that the additional cranium was in place at the time of burial. Between the two cranial layers, we recovered a small shell and a juvenile hand phalanx.

The modified cranial elements included fragments of both left and right parietals, the right greater wing of the sphenoid, and the occipital, in anatomical articulation with each other. No postcranial remains were identified. Age for the second cranium was estimated between 4 and 12 years of age. Pathology included severe and active circumscribed porous lesions on both parietals (Supplemental Figure 2b). Many of the cranial fragments had hinged straight edges, indicating perimortem cutting of the bones to create the “helmet”; nevertheless, cutmarks were only noted on two fragments (Supplemental Figure 2c). It seems likely that the modified cranium was still fleshed when it was processed, due to the fact that the extra fragments were positioned in anatomical position, and juvenile crania often do not hold together, depending on the timing of cranial sutural fusion.

Burial 339 was a primary infant burial with additional cranial bone surrounding the skull. The infant skeleton was complete and in anatomical position, estimated to be six to nine months old at the time of death. Pathology included woven periosteal reactions on both tibial shafts, active pitting on the right parietal, and endocranial pitting on both temporals (Supplemental Figure 2d). No trauma was recorded. The two layers of cranial bone had very little substrate between them, suggesting the simultaneous burial of the primary individual and the additional cranium.

Extra cranial bones included 22 fragments of parietal, temporal squama, and occipital,

oriented in anatomical position. No postcranial remains were identified. Age was estimated between 2 and 12 years. Pathology included circumscribed porous lesions on four parietal fragments. No cutmarks or trauma were recorded on these fragments, but it seems likely this cranium was processed while the skull retained flesh to hold these cranial bones intact.

### Discussion

These two infants from Salango were primary burials with no evidence of either secondary opening of the tombs or later manipulation of elements. The anatomical positioning and articulation of the additional crania and close association with the primary skulls suggest they were included at the time of initial burial. Although we cannot yet say to whom these additional crania belonged, nor do we yet fully understand the extended funerary program at Salango (including the deposition of other infants without extra crania, stone figurines, and mortuary goods reflecting influence from multiple regions), it is clear that people manipulated heads and juvenile burials in important ways during this time. Isolated heads in South America were and are symbolically important (Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Weismantel 2015), and deceased children were often given special mortuary treatment (Baitzel 2018; Blom and Couture 2018). The extra crania included with infant burials at Salango may represent an attempt to ensure the protection of these “presocial and wild” souls. The surrounding of infant heads by stone ancestor figurines underscores this, indicating a concern with protecting and further empowering the heads.

These burials also presented significant pathological lesions for the region and period (Bythell 2019; Jastremski 2006; van Voorhis 2015; cf. Ubelaker 1983). A tantalizing hypothesis is that this bodily stress is related to the volcanic ash fall that preceded these burials (Isaacson and Zeidler 1998), and that the treatment of the two infants was part of a larger, complex ritual response to environmental consequences of the eruption. More evidence is needed to confirm this.

In this report, we present a mortuary tradition without known parallels. Heads in South America have long been linked with ritual, symbolic, and

real power (Arnold and Hastorf 2008), but these data from Salango present a highly specific mortuary practice in which the infant dead were interred wearing a “helmet” made from crania of other children. Ongoing analyses of DNA and strontium isotopes will help us understand the relationships between the primary individuals and the children whose heads they wore, and radiocarbon dates will secure our chronological understanding of the practice. We hope that by reporting these burials, similar patterns may be identified in other contexts.

*Acknowledgments.* Funding and logistical support provided by Faculty Research Grant #111134 from UNC Charlotte and the Universidad Técnica de Manabí. We thank the UTM undergraduates for lab help and colleagues for their input. We report no conflicts of interest.

*Data Availability Statement.* Please contact the authors for original data.

*Supplemental Material.* For supplementary material accompanying this article, visit <https://doi.org/10.1017/laq.2019.79>.

Supplemental Figure 1. Burials 370 and 339 in situ.

Supplemental Figure 2. (a) Pathology of burial 370; (b) extra cranium; (c) straight hinged edges of the extra cranium; (d) pathology of burial 339.

### References Cited

- Allen, Catherine J.  
1988 *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Arnold, Denise, and Christine A. Hastorf  
2008 *Heads of State: Icons, Power, and Politics in the Ancient and Modern Andes*. Left Coast Press, Berkeley, California.
- Baitzel, Sarah  
2018 Parental Grief and Mourning in the Ancient Andes. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 25:178–201.
- Benson, Elizabeth P.  
2001 Why Sacrifice? In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 1–20. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Blom, Deborah E.  
2005 Embodying Borders: Human Body Modification and Diversity in Tiwanaku Society. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24:1–24.
- Blom, Deborah E., and Nicole C. Couture  
2018 From Wawa to “Trophy Head”: Meaning, Representation, and Bioarchaeology of Human Heads from Ancient Tiwanaku. In *Social Skins of the Head: Body Beliefs and Ritual in Ancient Mesoamerica and the Andes*, edited by Vera Tiesler and María Cecilia Lozada, pp. 205–221. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

- Bonogofsky, Michelle  
2011 *The Bioarchaeology of the Human Head: Decapitation, Decoration, and Deformation*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Bourget, Steve  
2001 Children and Ancestors: Ritual Practices at the Moche Site of Huaca de la Luna, North Coast of Peru. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 93–118. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Bushnell, Geoffrey H. S.  
1951 *The Archaeology of the Santa Elena Peninsula, Southwest Ecuador*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bythell, Abigail  
2019 A Paleopathological and Mortuary Analysis of Guangala Burials from Salango, Ecuador (100 BCE–800 CE). Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Charlotte.
- Conlee, Christina A.  
2007 Decapitation and Rebirth: A Headless Burial from Nasca, Peru. *Current Anthropology* 48:438–445.
- Cunningham, Craig, Louise Scheuer, and Sue Black  
2016 *Developmental Juvenile Osteology*. 2nd ed. Academic Press, San Diego, California.
- Di Capua, Constanza  
2002 Las cabezas trofeo: Un rasgo cultural en la cerámica de La Tolita y de Jama-Coaque y un breve análisis del mismo rasgo en las demás culturas del Ecuador precolumbino. In *De la imagen al icono: Estudios de arqueología e historia del Ecuador*, edited by Constanza Di Capua, pp. 23–93. Abya-Yala, Quito.
- Gutiérrez Usillos, Andres  
2011 *El eje del universo: Chamanes, sacerdotes y religiosidad en la cultura Jama Coaque del Ecuador prehispánico*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Madrid.
- Isaacson, John S., and James A. Zeidler  
1998 Accidental History: Volcanic Activity and the End of the Formative in Northwestern Ecuador. In *Actividad volcánica y pueblos precolombinos en el Ecuador*, edited by Patricia Mothes, pp. 41–72. Abya-Yala, Quito.
- Jastremski, Nicole. A.  
2006 Analysis of Osteological Remains from Salango, Ecuador, with Comparisons to Four Other Coastal Ecuador Sites. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton.
- Klaus, Haagen D., Bethany L. Turner, Fausto Saldana, Samuel Castillo, and Carlos Wester  
2016 Human Sacrifice at the Chotuna-Chormancap Archaeological Complex: Traditions and Transformations of Ritual Violence under Chimu and Inka Rule. In *Ritual Violence in the Ancient Andes: Reconstructing Sacrifice on the North Coast of Peru*, edited by Haagen D. Klaus and J. Marla Toyne, pp. 178–210. University of Texas, Austin.
- Lewis, Mary E.  
2018 *The Paleopathology of Children: Identification of Pathological Conditions in the Human Skeletal Remains of Non-Adults*. Academic Press, San Diego, California.
- Lunniss, Richard M.  
2001 Archaeology at Salango, Ecuador: An Engoroy Ceremonial Site on the South Coast of Manabí, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London.  
2008 Where the Land and the Ocean Meet: the Engoroy Phase Ceremonial Site at Salango, Ecuador, 600–100BC. In *Pre-Columbian Landscapes of Creation and Origin*, edited by John Edward Staller, pp. 203–248. Springer, New York.
- 2016 Investigaciones arqueológicas en Salango: Nuevos aportes al estudio de un antiguo sitio sagrado. *ReHuSo* 1(2):1–38.
- 2019 *Huaca Salango: A Sacred Center on the Coast of Ecuador*. In *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by María Cecilia Lozada and Henry Tantaleán, pp. 49–78. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Masucci, Maria A.  
1992 Ceramic Change in the Guangala Phase. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, University Park, Texas.
- Norton, Presley, Richard Lunniss, and Nigel Nayling  
1983 Excavaciones en Salango, provincia de Manabí, Ecuador. *Miscelánea Antropológica Ecuatoriana* 3:9–72.
- Prieto, Gabriel, John W. Verano, Nicolas Goepfert, Douglas Kennett, Jeffrey Quilter, Steven LeBlanc, Lars Fehren-Schmitz, Jannine Forst, Mellisa Lund, Brittany Dement, Brittany Dufour, Olivier Tombret, Melina Calmon, Davette Gadison, and Khrystyne Tschinkel  
2019 A Mass Sacrifice of Children and Camelids at the Huanchaquito-Las Llamas Site, Moche Valley, Peru. *PLoS ONE* 14(3). DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0211691.
- Sofaer, Joanna R.  
2006 *The Body as Material Culture: A Theoretical Osteoarchaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stothert, Karen E.  
1993 *Un sitio de Guangala temprano en el suroeste del Ecuador*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- Tiesler, Vera, and María Cecilia Lozada  
2018 Introducing the Social Skins of the Head in Ancient Mesoamerica and the Andes. In *Social Skins of the Head: Body Beliefs and Ritual in Ancient Mesoamerica and the Andes*, edited by Vera Tiesler and María Cecilia Lozada, pp. 1–18. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Toyne, J. Marla  
2018 A Childhood of Violence: A Bioarchaeological Comparison of Mass Death Assemblages from Ancient Peru. In *Children and Childhood in Bioarchaeology*, edited by Patrick Beauchesne and Sabrina C. Agarwal, pp. 171–206. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Tung, Tiffany A., and Kelly J. Knudson  
2010 Childhood Lost: Abductions, Sacrifice, and Trophy Heads of Children in the Wari Empire of the Ancient Andes. *Latin American Antiquity* 21:44–66.
- Turner, Bethany L., Haagen D. Klaus, Sarah V. Livengood, Leslie E. Brown, Fausto Saldaña, and Carlos Wester  
2013 The Variable Roads to Sacrifice: Isotopic Investigations of Human Remains from Chotuna-Huaca de los Sacrificios, Lambayeque, Peru. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 151:22–37.
- Ubelaker, Douglas H.  
1983 Human Skeletal Remains from OGSE-MA-172: An Early Guangala Cemetery Site on the Coast of Ecuador. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 73 (1):16–26.
- 1989 The Estimation of Age at Death from Immature Human Bone. In *Age Markers in the Human Skeleton*, edited by Mehmet Yaşar Işcan, pp. 55–70. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois.

van Kessel, Juan

2001 El ritual mortuario de los aymara de Tarapacá como vivencia y crianza de la vida. *Chungara* 33:221–234.

Van Voorhis, Laura

2015 Land of Contrast: Osteological Analysis of Human Remains from Salango, Ecuador, and a Comparison of Paleopathologies between Coastal and Highland Sites in Ecuador. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton.

Verano, John W.

2001 The Physical Evidence of Human Sacrifice in Ancient Peru. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook, pp. 165–184. University of Texas Press, Austin.

2016 *Holes in the Head: The Art and Archaeology of Trepanation in Ancient Peru*. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.

Weismantel, Mary

2015 Many Heads Are Better Than One: Mortuary Practice and Ceramic Art in Moche Society. In *Living with the Dead in the Andes*, edited by Izumi Shimada and James L. Fitzsimmons, pp. 76–100. University of Arizona Press, Tempe.

---

*Submitted February 22, 2019; Revised June 14, 2019;  
Accepted July 16, 2019*