Chachapoyas tombs and the cult of the dead

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Despite its unquestionable grandeur, until a few decades ago Chachapoyas culture remained consigned to oblivion. This society's greatness is expressed in admirable cultural vestiges, particularly in the field of architecture, of which Kuelap is the greatest expression[1]. Chachapoyas culture is also characterized by the two types of tomb they built with such special care, as a manifestation of the deeply-rooted cult of the dead the Chachapoyas professed. These burial practices are represented by the mausoleum and the sarcophagus, with the latter endowed with human features and positioned vertically in the manner of a statue (Kauffmann Doig, 1980a, 1981, 1984a, 1984b, 1989a, 2017a, 2017b: 129-233).

The form of these tombs reflects a universal belief in the afterlife, which may have been present as early as the Paleolithic. This belief formed the basis of a complex funerary system among the ancient Peruvians who settled in the highlands, as well as on the coastal belt, where the western slopes of the Andes mountains meet the Pacific, as evidenced by the rituals they employed to honor their dead, the care taken to preserve mortal remains through mummification, and the resources devoted to the building of structures in which the deceased could be laid to rest. All this was done to ensure the existence that, it was believed, awaited the deceased in the next world, an existence that would be lost to them should the cadaver be allowed to decay; a sad fate, certainly, if we remember that these peoples believed that activities pursued in the world of the living would continue in the world of the dead, including the work in the fields through which food was produced, revelry expressed through dance and accompanied by music and the

[1] This monumental site is still described as a *fortress,* by virtue of its sheer scale, even by archaeologists engaged in work at Kuelap in recent years. Scholars from beyond Peru who were among the first to visit the site tended to describe it as a citadel, ascribing to Kuelap the same function seen among certain massive structures common to medieval Europe. The author does not share these interpretations (Kauffmann Doig 2009a: 71-72). Rather, he proposes a hypothesis which sees Kuelap as an enormous complex for the storage of foodstuffs, paid in tribute by the peasant class on the orders of a ruling elite, and at the same time a center for rituals designed to ensure abundant harvests: that is, to prevent damage to food production resulting from severe weather events. These stored foodstuffs would have been redistributed among the population during periods of drought or torrential rains, weather events provoked by the recurrent El Niño phenomenon. Meanwhile, in the Amazon lowlands, such measures would have been unnecessary, given the low population density of such areas and the ease with which sufficient food could be gathered or hunted (Kauffmann Doig 1996a).

drinking of corn beer, and even sexual activity, with the exception of actual intercourse [2] (Kauffmann Doig, 1998).

As we have already mentioned, among the Chachapoyas two principal funerary patterns were employed: a method involving burial chambers or mausoleums arranged in rows; and sarcophagi, which were displayed in an upright position, usually in groups. In both cases, the burial sites selected were shallow caves excavated for the purpose in the upper sections of cliff faces. The construction of these sites would have required the cutting of narrow horizontal pathways into the cliff faces, reaching as far as the location selected for the excavation of the tomb. In this way, groups of mausoleums or sarcophagi could be constructed *in situ*, and once the project had been completed, the pathways would be destroyed, to prevent further access.

Of course, the presence of conspicuous burial sites should be seen as one of the ways in which the Chachapoyas expressed the religious structure that governed their lives. The author maintains that the first "Chachapoyas" migrants arrived from the Andes, and that they settled around 1000 BC in sectors of the northern Amazonian Andes; that is, during the Tiahuanaco-Huari, or Wari, phase of Andean civilization, in what archaeologists call the Late Middle Horizon. As people of the Andes, they limited themselves to occupying, in these new lands, areas at altitudes of between 2000 and 3000 meters. The author also believes that these future "Chachapoyas", migrants from the Andes, would have embarked upon their journey as part of a state-led project, the goal of which was to expand the agricultural frontier[3].

This cultural process of Andean origin explains why the burial practices which concern us here – the Chachapoyas mausoleum and sarcophagus- certainly exhibit unique characteristics, meaning that they should be considered *sui generis*, while at the same time –as we will see later in greater detail- they are clearly derived from burial practices that were widespread in the coastal-highland region. Therefore, Chachapoyas funerary practices ought to be considered as immersed in the complex and ancient religious structure that first developed in the Inca Area (Kauffmann Doig, 2017a, 2017b).

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[2] Belief in an afterlife was illustrated by Moche culture artists (Kauffmann Doig, 1998).

[3] The author has also written about other processes of Andean displacement: during the Inca period. The colonization of the territory known as Vilcabamba, where Machu Picchu, Wiñaywayna, Intipata and other major sites were built, would have served the same function: the expansion of the agricultural frontier. The elaborate structures erected at such sites, with stonework of the highest quality, indicates that these were more than administrative centers: they served as ceremonial complexes, where the gods who governed food production -the Water God and the earth goddess Pachamama- were worshipped. The people of the Andes believed that no harvest could be produced without first ensuring the successful union of these two deities (Kauffmann Doig, 2001-02).

Regrettably, the chroniclers of the 16th and 17th centuries had very little to say about the religious practices of the Chachapoyas. As a result, in our own time, as historians we must rely upon the rich magical-religious iconography with which the Chachapoyas adorned the walls of their buildings, structures devoted almost entirely to worship and ritual, in addition to serving as storerooms for foodstuffs, as insurance against adverse atmospheric phenomena which could affect food production and threaten society as a whole with starvation. In the case of *Curichacuya*, which has been interpreted as the representation of a divine being unique to the Chachapoyas, the author has his doubts, having analyzed the earliest references that we have concerning Andean religious practices. It would seem that the so-called *Curichacuya* was nothing more than an idol introduced into the region after incorporation of the Chachapoyas into the Inca state. Its etymology is clearly derived from Quechua, or *Runasimi* (Kauffmann Doig, 2017a, 2017b: 40-41). The observation offered by the archaeologist Alfredo Narváez (2014: 112) is interesting: that a lake exists in the Kuelap area, the name of which is essentially that of the idol *Curichacaya.* Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that the name itself was imported into the Chachapoyas region.

Only members of the ruling Chachapoyas elite were interred in mausoleums or sarcophagi. Had this practice been more widespread, we would now have at our disposal evidence of thousands of funerary bundles or their remains, interred in countless mausoleums and sarcophagi, given that the Chachapoyas developed their culture over a period of around five centuries; that is, as many as fifteen generations. In this context, it should be remembered that the chronicler Fray Martín de Murúa had this to say on the subject: "*burials of ordinary people were mostly made in open countryside* […]" (Murúa, c.1600, Book Two. Chapter XXV).

INTRODUCTION

The ancient Peruvian concept of the afterlife

Among ancient Peruvians, the existence that awaited humans in the hereafter was imagined in a way that differed greatly from the notions prevalent in other cultures. In contrast with the Christian faith, in Pre-Columbian Peru the dead could not expect to be consigned either to heaven or to hell.

While it was believed that the deceased would pass into a new existence, this second life was conceived in a very particular way. It was thought that in their new life the dead would continue

to fulfill the same role they had occupied in this world, and that as a consequence they would continue to be defined by the same socioeconomic status. Even the ways in which the dead had enjoyed their personal life were said to continue into the next world, including certain sexual practices for which abundant evidence has survived in the form of iconographic depictions, particularly those reproduced in Moche pottery (Kauffmann Doig, 1979, 1998, 2015a, 2015b). Peter Kaulicke (2001) has published an extremely thorough, detailed study on the theme of "memory and death" in ancient Peru. Also of importance is the work of Régulo Franco Jordan and César Gálvez Mora (2010), based upon the Moche culture remains at Huaca Cao Viejo / El Brujo.

The mummy and the funerary bundle

Only one factor could ensure that such an imagined life in the hereafter would continue *ad infinitum*: the cadaver had to be protected, at all costs, from corruption or oblivion through decomposition, fire or any other destructive process. It was this quest for eternal life that led to the development of techniques for the preservation of the human body through mummification. As we will see, once a cadaver had been mummified, it would be wrapped in several layers of textiles, and in this way the bulky agglomeration would be formed which archaeologists refer to as a funerary bundle.

Mummification: introductory comments

Mummification was practiced in many parts of ancient Peru from time immemorial, as evidenced by Paracas culture funerary traditions (Tello, 1949).

The central role conferred upon mummification emerged from the abovementioned belief that existence in the afterlife would come to an end once the cadaver of the deceased had been lost through some destructive process or event. And so it was that once an individual had died, their mortal remains would be mummified immediately, through the employing of a range of complex technologies. This practice would vary in accordance with environmental factors, such as those on the Peruvian coast, which were particularly suited to the preservation of organic material, or the less favorable conditions of other latitudes, including the Amazonian Andes region occupied by the Chachapoyas, with its high atmospheric humidity and perpetually moist soils.

The mummification practices of Andean origin observed among the Chachapoyas played an extremely important role; in common with other Peruvian cultures that emerged in the Inca Area, for the Chachapoyas it was essential that the cadaver of an individual be preserved, so that they would remain present always and –as we have already noted- ensure that eternal life in the hereafter would not be brought to an end by the loss of the deceased's mortal remains.

Because they occupied a mist-shrouded region dominated by extreme humidity, the Chachapoyas found it necessary to develop and employ sophisticated preservation techniques. Remarkably, the mummified remains of Chachapoyas dead have been discovered in our own time at sites like the Lake of Mummies (or Lake of Condors) mausoleum complex; here, in some cases, the eyeballs and even the male genitalia of these carefully prepared bodies were still distinguishable when we conducted our first archaeological expedition to the lake (Kauffmann Doig, 1997, 1999c, 2001c). From studies of such remains, we know that the intestines of the deceased were extracted via the anal passage, and that other major internal organs were also removed (Guillén, 2002; Lombardi, 2013; Nystrom, 2005; Verano, 2001; Vreeland, 1998)[4].

[4] Although the anthropological study of skull trepanning and the paleopathological study of skeletal remains in general are not directly related to the mummification practices that concern us here, it is worth remembering that several publications focus on this field. In addition to the pioneering studies produced by Pedro Weiss (1949) and the valuable contribution of Arthur C. Aufderheide (1985) on trepanning practices within Peru in general, we also have the meticulous study produced by John W. Verano (Verano, 2001, 2003, 2016). In collaboration with other experts, Verano has also directed his attention to trepanning practices among the Chachapoyas, through analysis of the collection of skeletal remains amassed by the Reichlens (Verano *et al*, 2016: 162-174).

We are also indebted to other professionals for contributions to the analysis of trepanned crania discovered within Chachapoyas territory, including those which display evidence of injuries sustained in combat, and others which appear to have been the victims of ritual punishment or even sacrifice. Other scholars who have worked in the field of Chachapoyas paleopathology include Epstein and Toyne (2016); Crandall (2012); Nystrom (2007); Toyne (2015a; 2015b); Toyne and Narváez (2014); and Ruiz Estrada (2013c).

It is also important to remember that the study of Chachapoyas skeletal remains is not an exclusively modern phenomenon. In the 19th century, pioneers in this field included Eduardo de Rivero and Juan Diego de Tschudi (1951), as well as Pierre Vidal-Senèze and Juan Noetzli (1877), who studied material recovered from Piedra Grande, on the left bank of the Utcubamba. For his part, Rudolf Ludwig Karl Virchow (1885) also specialized in the study of skeletal remains, including samples taken from the Utcubamba valley; his work has been republished recently, with a detailed introduction by the editor, Dr. Alfredo Alberdi Vallejo (2016).

Of course, the mummification techniques employed by the Chachapoyas cannot be compared to those developed by coastal dwelling peoples. This is due to the fact that, with the exception of parts of the far north of the coastal Andes region, rainfall on the coast is either non-existent or extremely rare. This means that moisture almost never penetrates the ground to levels beyond one or two centimeters, thus facilitating the preservation of many coastal funerary bundles containing mummified remains. This explains why the cultures of the coast tended not to build mausoleums, with the exception of isolated cases such as the so-called "citadels" of Chan Chan, which, once the resident ruler had died, were transformed into shrines to his everlasting memory, meaning that his successor would have to build his own palatial residence (Kauffmann Doig, 2005a). This custom was also adopted by the Inca state, as evidenced by the palaces in Cusco built by a succession of Inca sovereigns (Kauffmann Doig, 1990a: 234).

In the case of the Chachapoyas and the inhabitants of the High Andes in general, an additional concern with regard to the mummification process was the requirement to bury the remains of the deceased in a large funerary bundle, to protect the body from moisture. The Chachapoyas constructed burial chambers to house these bundles, as well as excavating the rock of high cliff faces to create protective caves for their tombs. These areas of exposed rock offered the advantage of being devoid of vegetation, which by retaining moisture will hasten the deterioration of organic matter.

As Elmer Torrejón (2007) and James M. Crandall have pointed out, it was due to the fact that the living maintained the sarcophagi, or *purunmachus*, and mausoleums of their dead forebears within their sight at all times that they were able to continue to identify so strongly with their ancestors. And, as the author has noted previously, tombs were built in prominent locations at the tops of cliff faces for the very practical reason that the mummified remains they contained needed to be protected from the general humidity and heavy rains common to the region settled by the Chachapoyas.

The funerary bundle

After the cadaver had been placed in a sitting position, often with the head resting in the hands, and once the mummification process had been completed, the mortal remains were clothed and wrapped in several layers of textiles to form the structure commonly known as a funerary bundle. Finally, this large bundle was placed in a mausoleum, together with several other similar bundles; alternatively, it might also be placed in a sarcophagus designed for an individual burial.

The funerary bundle was interred with a range of grave goods, including plates and pitchers filled with the food and drink it was believed the deceased would require during their journey into the afterlife, where they would take up once more the position they had occupied in their earthly existence. Within the Inca state and also during the Moche period, the mummy and/or funerary bundle of an especially important individual would be interred with the ritual jewelry worn by the dignitary in life. One example of this practice is the tomb of the Lord of Sipán, which was found heaped with silver and gold ceremonial objects when it was opened by Walter Alva (Alva and Donnan, 1993).

What follows below is a description of the mummification practices employed within Chachapoyas territory, produced by the distinguished physician Guido Lombardi and first published in 2014.

Mummification in Chachapoyas territory

In Chachapoyas culture, most people were buried beneath the floors of their houses or at the base of certain cliff faces. After some time, these dead were gathered in ossuaries, which were considered sacred. This practice involved the wrapping in cloth of some long bones, together with the skull. Only members of the elite and their families were interred in specially built funerary structures, sheltered by steep rock outcrops or remote caves.

It should be noted that the mausoleums found at the so-called Lake of Mummies were of *Inca manufacture*, although they do display the local influence of Chachapoyas culture. The Incas introduced their own mummification techniques after their conquest of the territory, in around 1470. Along with political control, they stamped their authority upon the spiritual realm by removing the dead and making use of the sacred mausoleums of the people they had vanquished.

In preparation for mummification, the mortal remains of Chachapoyas-Inca culture dead were eviscerated via the anal passage. This would have been a complex process, performed exclusively by specialists at sites far removed from the mausoleums surrounding the remote lake.

The mummification process itself involved the desiccation of the corpse at a cold, dry and well-ventilated location, as well as the cleaning of the abdominal cavity (the thorax and skull were

not submitted to this process). The cadaver was then tied into position (including the fingers) and anointed with the organic substances employed to cure or embalm the flesh. Cotton was introduced into the nose and mouth so that they would retain their shape, and finally a cloth plug was inserted into the anal passage. It seems likely that these plugs were changed, together with the textiles used to wrap the deceased, during the regular visits made by mourning relatives.

Chachapoyas burial forms

As we will see later in greater detail, in Chachapoyas culture, high ranking individuals tended to be buried in two types of tomb: sarcophagi and mausoleums, with some tombs being more elaborate than others. For their part, ordinary people appear to have been buried in their homes -a practice also seen in other territories within the Inca Area- or in pits dug at common gravesites. To the two main forms of burial reserved for the elite, we must also add the practice of interment in caves or caverns, a funerary pattern studied in detail by Oliver Fabre (Fabre, 2008, 2009; Fabre *et al*., 2008; Ruiz Barcellos and Fabre, 2004).

Members of the Chachapoyas elite were mummified and wrapped in layers of textiles to form a funerary bundle, before being interred in mausoleums designed to accommodate several such bundles, or in sarcophagi fashioned to contain the funerary bundle of a single individual.

Were all the dead interred in mausoleums and sarcophagi?

In the context of our description of Chachapoyas burial practices, it is important to mention how ordinary people laid their dead to rest. In some cases, they were buried beneath the floors of their own simple homes, in other cases at designated resting places. Clearly, the number of dead interred in sarcophagi and mausoleums –even if we add those of which no trace remains because the cadaver would have disintegrated over time, been destroyed, burned by the Catholic priests charged with extirpating every vestige of idolatry during the 16th and 17th centuries, or desecrated and removed by tomb raiders- falls far below the numbers of people who would have lived and died over the five hundred year history of Chachapoyas culture (perhaps as many as fifteen generations). Certainly, we have no way of estimating the population at the time, but the architectural remains discovered to date, and the fact that internecine conflict occurred among Chachapoyas factions, tell us that the Chachapoyas constituted one of the populous “nations” of the Inca (or Andean) Area.

With regard to the question of whether or not the entire population was mummified and interred in mausoleums, sarcophagi or caves, it is worth recalling once more that the chronicler Martín de Murúa wrote of how the "*burials of ordinary people were mostly made in open countryside* […]" (Murúa, c.1600, 402). However, this assertion is contradicted by scenes painted on Moche pottery, depicting celebrations held in the afterlife in which ordinary people appear to participate. Women are seen playing drums and serving corn beer to encourage the dancers. Clearly, for these individuals to be present in the afterlife, they must have been embalmed as the elite were, in order to ensure that their bodies would not be corrupted, thereby curtailing their existence in the next world. This notion is corroborated in the work of Francisco de Ávila, who wrote of how the dead were transported "*to the ravine or valley* [in the afterlife] *where they would live, work, drink and eat*" (Ávila, 1648). And in addition, we have the writings of Francisco de Arriaga: "[…] *they say that they worked their farms and crops there…*" Clearly, as far as these authors were concerned, humble peasants also went to the afterlife, together with high status individuals, as long as their mortal remains were not exposed to putrefaction or some other destructive process.

The "*purunmachu*" or sarcophagus

In its typical form, this pattern of funerary architecture was composed of an elongated capsule to which a false head was added. As we will see, the size of these sarcophagi and the degree of care employed in their manufacture appears to have reflected the social status of the deceased.

Chachapoyas *purunmachus* were fashioned from clay, reed, sticks and stones. The coarse highland grass known as *ichu* (*Calamagrostis* spp.) was employed in the molding of heads for the most elaborate sarcophagi.

While the main section of the *purunmachus,* upon which the head rested, was intended to represent the human body, it did not possess arms or legs. Particularly high status sarcophagi were decorated with red painted motifs over a whitish background, on the section of the statue which represented the torso of the human body and formed the chamber in which the mummy was interred. These painted motifs appear to represent a kind of feathered robe. The faces were adorned with paint, while the heads were crowned with a cap, colored with dark red paint.

These *purunmachus* can be classified as sarcophagi because they represent the human form. As is well-known, sarcophagi are coffins made from stone or some other material, incorporating representations of the human body and intended to rest above the ground. In the Old World, such depictions were featured on the lids of sarcophagi. While Chachapoyas sarcophagi did not have lids, the most striking difference between the caskets of the Old World and Chachapoyas *purunmachus* is the fact that the latter were positioned vertically.

The author believes that the overall form of the *purunmachu* was the result of a process in which the contours of the funerary bundle were essentially repeated in clay, specifically the type of funerary bundle that was employed throughout highland and coastal Peru during the Tiahuanaco-Huari or Middle Horizon period.

The name *purunmachu* (*purun* = wild, *matshu* = adult individual), still employed among the descendants of the Chachapoyas, is expressed in Spanish as "*gentil*" (meaning "pagan" or "heathen"), a term still used throughout Peru, particularly in the highlands, to refer to any mortal remains dating from before the introduction of Christianity, as well as any material associated with such remains. It is important to note that the word *purunmachu* has only survived among the descendants of the Chachapoyas, and that in other parts of Peru it was replaced after the invasion by the Spanish word "*gentil*". The word itself dates from the early, or "pagan" period of Peruvian history; among the Incas, the term *purunruna* (*purun* = wild, remote; *runa* = people) was used in reference to a distant period, before the emergence of the Inca state (Guaman Poma, c. 1600: Folio 57).

The *pucullo*, or mausoleum

Mausoleums were conceived in the form of a dwelling, and unlike sarcophagi they were intended to house more than one deceased person. Their location in caves helped protect them from rain. Examples have been discovered, at Revash for example, of mausoleums with high gable roofs, as well as with single pitch roofs. The author believes that these sheltered chambers, equipped with roofs that served no practical function, may have been based upon the design of ancient peasant housing, built close to the fields their occupants worked and undoubtedly fitted with pitched roofs.

After the incorporation of Chachapoyas territory into the Inca state, the Cusco-born officials who died in those conquered lands were interred in existing local mausoleums, meaning that their

remains were laid to rest alongside those of deceased Chachapoyas nobles. Given this pattern of use, some experts, including Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950), believe that at some point mausoleum burials supplanted the use of sarcophagi; however, there is evidence to suggest that the two funerary practices coexisted, at least during the late Chachapoyas phase, following incorporation into the Inca state.

It should be noted that use of *pucullos*, or mausoleums, was widespread throughout Chachapoyas territory. In contrast, use of the *purunmachu*, or sarcophagus, was limited to areas on the left bank of the Utcubamba. It is also interesting to note that the sarcophagus type funerary pattern is not found in the rest of the Inca Area.

Cavern burials

In addition to discussing the two principal burial practices employed by the Chachapoyas (sarcophagi and mausoleums), we must also touch upon the third form apparently employed by this culture: the placing of mummies and cadavers in caverns or caves. Oliver Fabre has discussed this practice in his own work.

In Fabre's first expedition, the archaeologists were accompanied by a team of speleologists (Fabre *et al*., 2008). The team studied a cave known as El Tragadero, situated in the area occupied by the Chaquil architectural complex, which is composed of two hundred and fifty structures in an extremely poor state of preservation. The Chaquil site is located close to the major Purunllacta de Soloco archaeological site, at 3000 meters above sea level.

Judging from the human remains identified at Chaquil and their disorderly state, this site was not used as a cemetery, *per se*; in fact, as Fabre himself has conjectured, it appears to have served as a place for the disposal of both human and animal bones. The possibility that this site may have served as a resting place for those killed in battle, or for victims offered in sacrifice, cannot be ruled out[5].

[5](*) The practice of human sacrifice was known throughout the territory of the Inca Area from the dawn of Andean civilization, as evidenced by the many images sculpted in stone and surrounding the Cerro Sechín temple (Kauffmann Doig, 2012b), the early and detailed account of the *capac-cocha* ritual left to us by Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe (1621), as well as the discoveries of sacrificed and buried individuals at Mount Ampato, in the high Andean region of Chile and particularly in northern Argentina (Ceruti, 2013; Reinhard, 1996; Reinhard and Ceruti, 2006,

The last of these possibilities would explain the reports documented by Fabre of having observed evidence of wounds on the skulls of several victims who, he claimed, appeared to have been killed where they lay.

Fabre's contention (2009) that this practice of burial in caverns constituted a distinct funerary method employed by the Chachapoyas is supported by his discovery in 2003 of a cave known as Carpona, situated some 10 or 15 kilometers from the village of Montevideo, in the province of Chachapoyas. Fabre returned to the site in 2006 and again in 2009, when he studied the contents of the cave in greater detail.

On those occasions, he studied three mummies he had photographed in 2003 (Fabre, 2008; 50-57): one was perfectly preserved and wrapped in textiles to form a funerary bundle secured on the outside with rope; the second was damaged, while the third contained a mummy which, while well-preserved, no longer possessed its textile wrappings.

After returning once more to the site in 2016, Fabre reported to the author how he had been appalled to discover that those same funerary bundles had been totally destroyed in what appeared to be "a willful act of gratuitous destruction, rather than the product of tomb raiding". It should also be noted that, surrounding these mummified bodies, Fabre also found skeletal remains in what can only be described as a kind of ossuary (Fabre, 2008: 56).

Fabre has also identified several other such burial caves, including those known as "Shatuca and El Dorado (in the province of Bongará), Vaquín and Quiocta (in the province of Luya), the Yacyejuc caves near La Jalca Grande, and Corpona, near Montevideo, in the province of Chachapoyas". Such evidence appears to place beyond doubt Fabre's contention that, in

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2010). For his part, the Frenchman Francis Devigne adopts a contrary position, maintaining that human sacrifice did not take place in the Americas and was merely a European invention (Devigne, 2016).

The need to resort to human sacrifice in Peru is explained by the presence of the El Niño phenomenon, which by destroying crops could lead to major food crises. It was believed that such events were unleashed by a kind of demoniacal Water God (Kauffmann Doig, 1996a, 2001). Martín de Murúa (c.1600: 412) refers to this deity, describing it as "*a sky-dwelling man who controlled thunder, rain, hail and all else that belonged to the region of the air*". This same deity is seen in Moche pottery, reclining against a mountain, baring his threatening fangs and carrying decapitated trophy heads (Kauffmann Doig, 2014: 8). Jan Jakobsen, J. Balslev Jorgensen, L. Kempfner Jorgensen and Inge Schjellerup (1986-87) have written on the subject of human sacrifice among the Chachapoyas.

addition to the sarcophagus and mausoleum forms, burial in caves constituted a third Chachapoyas funerary practice.

THE *PURUNMACHU*, OR CHACHAPOYAS SARCOPHAGUS

Earliest references

The earliest reference to the use of sarcophagi appears to date from the 16th century. It is found in a document unearthed by Waldemar Espinoza Soriano (1967, 320). The document in question mentions Apu Chuquimis, an individual who in spite of having enjoyed the protection of Huayna Capac (who had named him governor of an enormous area within Chachapoyas territory) hatched a plot to poison the Inca ruler. Once the plan had been discovered, one of Huayna Capac's captains, Colla Topa, set off in pursuit of Apu Chuquimis. The fugitive, however, died before he could be captured, reportedly of "fright" after learning that he was being hunted by Colla Topa. Apprised of his quarry's death, Colla Topa located his tomb and removed the mummy, determined to punish the traitor *post mortem* by having him buried in the ground (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 62, 103, 205-206).

The earliest direct references to funerary statues or sarcophagi date from the late 18th century. These emerged from the pen of Hipólito Unanue (Alarco, 1971-83, 1: 421-422), although we do not know which group of Chachapoyas sarcophagi they refer to precisely (Aristio, pseudonym of Unanue, 1791). It would appear that in order to produce his account, Unanue sourced the official documentation compiled by the provincial authorities and submitted regularly to the City of Kings (Lima). Notwithstanding the brevity of Unanue's account, there is enough information to enable us to conclude that he does indeed refer to this unique form of burial.

The observations published by Pierre Vidal-Senéze and Jean Noetzli (1877) concerning Chachapoyas funerary statues date from the final third of the 19th century. For their part, Louis Langlois (1939) and Napoleón Gil (1936) focused their attention upon this type of funerary practice during the first half of the 20th century. Langlois, in particular, devoted considerable energy to the study of Chachapoyas sarcophagi.

Following on from the work of the aforementioned authors, we have the observations documented by the archaeologists Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950), based upon their study of the sarcophagi situated at the cliffs of Chipurik. Judging from the photographs they published,

some of these structures were originally decorated with painted motifs which had survived remarkably well.

In spite of their unique characteristics, Chachapoyas sarcophagi remained largely unstudied after 1950. Because succeeding generations of archaeologists failed to produce studies of such burial practices, or even of the ruins at Kuelap, history books contained no accounts of Chachapoyas culture or the sarcophagi they employed, with the exception of the brief overview offered by Hans Horkheimer (1959). It was only from around 1984 that these remarkable vestiges of Pre-Hispanic culture began to garner greater attention, following the discovery of an outstanding group of sarcophagi at Karajía (Kauffmann Doig, 1984b, 1986b).

Following his work on the *purunmachus* of Karajía, the author transferred his attention to other caves containing sarcophagi, at sites such as Tingorbamba and Peña de Tuente. In this context, it is also important to mention the archaeological surveys completed over a period of several years by Klaus Koschmieder in the northern part of the province of Luya, where he studied a number of sarcophagi groups, including those of Pullia, the cliff at Yosumal, and those found in the vicinity of Corralpampa (Koschmieder, 2012), all of which were located at sites that were difficult to access, although not spectacularly so.

Structure of the Chachapoyas *purunmachus*

Chachapoyas *purunmachus*, or sarcophagi, were conceived in the form of large capsules, roughly human in shape and providing sufficient interior space to accommodate a funerary bundle composed of a squatting mummy wrapped in several layers of textiles. The walls of the sarcophagus were fashioned from clay mixed with small stones, sticks and thatch (*Calamagrostis* spp.). The head was topped with a pointed cap, and neither the head nor chest was hollow.

Chachapoyas sarcophagi were produced in a variety of forms, defined by the type of finish employed or their relative size. While some sarcophagi, such as those in Group 1 at Karajía, could be up to 2.50 meters tall, others measured no more than 0.60 to 0.80 meters in height.

While some sarcophagi were modeled on the human form, others exhibit a more “shield-like” structure, employed to seal off a funerary chamber carved from the living rock. Another sarcophagus variant incorporated a head-mask at chest height, or in some cases at the height of the abdomen. The most elaborate of these sarcophagi were crowned with a head-mask modeled

from clay, ending in a point apparently intended to evoke a conical cap, like the one found among the archaeological remains at the Lake of Mummies (Kauffmann Doig, 1997: 103). The table published to accompany this text includes drawings and brief descriptions produced by the author of six designs (A, B, C, D, E, F) employed by the Chachapoyas in the fashioning of their *purunmachus*, or sarcophagi (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue 2003, p. 209; Kauffmann Doig 2009, p. 111).

Originally, as seen among those in Group 1 at Karajía, the heads that crowned the sarcophagi of high-ranking individuals were mummified. Over time, this practice was modified and only the skull was conserved, as can be seen in the heads of other Group 1 sarcophagi. In one case, we discovered that the lower jaw remained in its original position, having been tied to the upper jaw. This discovery caused us to doubt whether or not skull mummification had been used in the context of the sarcophagi of Group 1. However, we became convinced that the heads of the sarcophagi in question had been subjected to treatment -that is, they had been mummified- after finding vestiges of a type of embalming fluid in the eye sockets. In some cases, ceremonial skulls crowning the tops of the most distinguished sarcophagi, such as those within Group 1 at Karajía, were modeled in miniature and placed on the head of the sarcophagus. This way of alluding to the skull by placing a small clay model on the head might be seen as a separate category.

Another characteristic of these sarcophagi is the fact that they were given shoulders. Although these were only roughly modeled, nevertheless they served to accentuate the human appearance of the finest sarcophagi. The variety of forms found among Chachapoyas sarcophagi may be associated with a desire to distinguish between individuals of different social status. And, of course, they may also be associated with chronological or geographical factors.

While Chachapoyas sarcophagi were undoubtedly intended to evoke the human form, in some cases their position slightly inclined from the vertical also lends them a somewhat phallic appearance. This peculiarity is apparent in the sarcophagi at Karajía. In this context, the overly large and jutting lower jaw may have been intended as an allusion to the glans. Their shape recalls the glans-like jawbones found among the monoliths of Recuay (Aija and La Merced) and, although less obviously, the *cuchimilcos* of Chancay (Kauffmann Doig, 1989). However, it is also possible that the wooden masks placed over funerary bundles, particularly during the Tiahuanaco-Huari period (Middle Horizon), may have constituted an early influence upon this way of representing heads with exaggeratedly prominent lower jaws.

As far as gender is concerned, judging from the painted decoration found on the outer walls of the Karajía funerary capsules, it appears that the sarcophagi were intended to evoke the male form. It would seem that the idea was to give the appearance of a cape made from feathers, expressed in the painted decoration covering the figures, which in some cases also features the male genitalia, with the penis erect. Future analysis of the mortal remains of the individuals interred in such sarcophagi will enable investigators to establish whether or not the deceased where exclusively male.

As our table shows, Chachapoyas sarcophagi can be divided into five, or even six, morphological categories. The author believes that some of the sarcophagi feature a head positioned at the level of the chest or abdomen because the caves in which they were placed had not been excavated to the height required to accommodate them; perhaps these *purunmachus* were the burial chambers of the lowest ranked members of the elite.

Contents of the *purunmachus*

Each Chachapoyas sarcophagus contains the remains of a single individual, wrapped in textiles and surrounded by grave goods. Examination of Sarcophagus 4 of Group 1 at Karajía was facilitated by the hole produced in its wall by the historical collapse of a neighboring sarcophagus. The body had been mummified in the fetal position and subsequently dressed and wrapped in a hide.

The textiles used to wrap the mummy were made principally from wool. Both elaborate and quite simple textiles were employed. The squatting mummy was entirely covered in these textiles to form a bundle resembling the curled, sleeping form a living person. The body was interred with a number of grave goods, including gourds, weaving tools and pottery.

Their location on cliff faces

Chachapoyas sarcophagi were fashioned *in situ*, in caves carved into the tops of the calcareous cliffs that rise almost vertically along the entire length of the Utcubamba river valley. Although some of these caves were created to accommodate a single sarcophagus, the normal practice involved the placing of between 4 and 10 capsules in each cave.

The sarcophagi at Tingorbamba constitute an exception to this rule. They were placed in a kind of spacious natural gallery or cave, in which dozens of them were crowded together. Sadly, almost all these sarcophagi were seriously damaged by the cattle which for many years used the cave to shelter from the rain. And, inevitably, the hand of man also contributed to their partial destruction. Additional sarcophagi occupy other, nearby sections of these same cliff faces.

The Karajía sarcophagi were built over a mud brick pedestal. It seems likely that only the mummy and its grave goods were transported to the site. This operation would have required the scaling of the rock wall, using pegs and ropes, or possibly narrow paths, the vestiges of which have disappeared over the centuries through erosion. As already mentioned, the sarcophagi themselves would have been fashioned *in situ*, using part of the material excavated to create the cave.

At first sight, it would appear that the tradition of placing sarcophagi on cliff tops was calculated to ensure that they would not be desecrated. But this appears a somewhat simplistic interpretation, when we remember that the deceased and their tombs would have inspired deep respect among the people of ancient Peru. Also, under the economic system of the time, notions associated with the accumulation of wealth and inheritance were unknown, while theft was abhorred and constituted an affront to society as a whole. This was the case far beyond Chachapoyas and Inca cultures, whose moral precepts had been inherited from a system of socioeconomic organization established at the dawn of Andean civilization. Such continuity was apparent across a range of cultural expressions, with very little change occurring over a period measurable in millennia. Clear evidence of the fact that the notion of inheritance was unknown has come down to us in the form of the Lord of Sipán, who was buried with everything he had owned during his lifetime (Kauffmann Doig, 1993c, 1996a).

As we have already mentioned, Chachapoyas sarcophagi were protected from the rain by the roofs of the caves excavated to serve as funerary chambers. Their conservation was also aided by their well-ventilated location on cliffs where no vegetation grows, while the walls of the sarcophagi themselves protected the funerary bundles from attack by birds or rodents.

Distribution and chronology of Chachapoyas *purunmachus*

In ancient Peru, funerary practices involving sarcophagi occurred only among the Chachapoyas, and even they did not employ this method throughout their territory. Sarcophagi were only used

in the lands on the left bank of the Utcubamba River, particularly in the territory of the Chillaos, in the present-day province of Luya.

The archaeologists Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950) concluded that the sarcophagus pattern pre-dated use of the mausoleum. However, the author believes that during the late stages of Chachapoyas culture both forms of burial were employed, although as we have already mentioned the use of the *purunmachu* was confined to the area known today as Luya (Kauffmann Doig, 1984b, 1987a, 1988).

In order to determine the antiquity of the *purunmachus* of Karajía, we collected a sample in the form of a piece of wood associated with one of the damaged sarcophagi. The sample was divided in two, and one half was sent to Tokyo for analysis, under the supervision of Kazuo Terada. This sample was dated to 1680 AD, indicating that the sarcophagi of Karajía were contemporaneous with the viceroyalty of the Count of Monclova. We therefore dismissed this dating as invalid. A second carbon dating process, performed on the other piece of wood, dated the Karajía sarcophagi to 1460 ± 60 AD. This date was obtained at our request from the laboratory of the Universita degli Studi di Roma / Centro Interdisciplinare per la Datazioni, using the Carbon-14 method. The author believes this date to be accurate, and it certainly supports the antiquity attributed by the Reichlens (1950) to the Chipurik sarcophagi, as well as matching the average age recorded in the radio carbon dating tables produced by Koschmieder (2012: 42-43, 2013: Figure 11).

In conclusion, sarcophagi or *purunmachus* were a pre-Inca innovation, dating from the period before the Chachapoyas were incorporated into the Inca state, with studies showing that they continued to be used during the final third of the 15th century, and even during the earliest years of the European presence in Peru.

The sarcophagus: evocation of the Andean funerary bundle?

Given that the sarcophagus was an atypical cultural element of Pre-Hispanic Peru, and that its distribution was strictly limited to those areas beyond the left bank of the Utcubamba River, the author elected to explore the possibility that the practice may have emerged from Amazonian culture. To his surprise, he found that there existed remarkable similarities between the Karajía sarcophagi and certain anthropomorphic urns found within the Amazonian tradition, particularly those of the distant Beni region (in Bolivia). However, eventually the author

concluded that such similarities were in fact the result of mere coincidence. He has also dismissed the possibility that the statues of Easter Island, or Rapa Nui, might have served as a template for the sarcophagi of the Chachapoyas. He believes that any apparent formal similarities between the two are merely coincidental; clearly, both artistic traditions were intended to evoke individuals wearing a kind of mask.

Having ruled out the possibility that apparent similarities might have been the result of cultural diffusion, finally the author concluded that the design of the sarcophagi was a response to efforts by their makers to imitate the form of Tiahuanaco-Huari or Middle Horizon funerary bundles, many examples of which have survived on the central-southern coast of Peru. The Tiahuanaco-Huari funerary bundle was composed of a seated mummy wrapped in many layers of textiles to form an overall shape recalling that of a curled, sleeping individual. The finishing touch to this illusion was furnished by the addition of a false head or a mask, made from a wooden board carved to broadly represent the features of a human face, viewed head on. In order to lend these masks greater realism, particular attention was paid to the nose, eyes and mouth; however, perhaps the most interesting feature was the jaw, which was expressed as disproportionately large. As we have already mentioned, the clay faces of the Karajía sarcophagi share many of the characteristics of the Tiahuanaco-Huari Middle Horizon wooden masks which appear to have been their inspiration. In both the sarcophagi and the wooden funerary masks, the lower jaw is depicted as unusually prominent (Kauffmann Doig, 1986b, 1989, 2001a; Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003). Arms, legs and other anatomical details of the human form were not clearly defined, with the exception of the shoulders, which themselves were merely inferred, probably as a result of being copied from the design of the Tiahuanaco-Huari funerary bundle and their human mask accessories.

Continuing on the theme that the faces seen on the sarcophagi may have been inspired by the funerary masks created during the late Tiahuanaco-Huari or Middle Horizon period, the author believes that Chachapoyas artisans took advantage of the possibilities offered by the clay medium they chose, in order to give slightly more emphasis to the nose (seemingly intended to recall the shape of a bird's beak), as well as the roundness associated with the human face. It should also be remembered that the heads of these sarcophagi ended in a point, apparently intended to evoke a conical cap, like the one discovered at the Lake of Mummies (Kauffmann Doig, 1997, 1999b, 2001c, 2009: 61).

It is in light of all the above that the author maintains that the Chachapoyas drew inspiration for their sarcophagi from the archetypal form of the Tiahuanaco-Huari funerary bundle.

THE *PURUNMACHUS* OF KARAJÍA

In the preceding sections of this text we have presented an overview of the Chachapoyas *purunmachu*, or sarcophagus-type tomb. Although we have already focused upon the sarcophagi of Karajía, what follows is a more in-depth look at those present in the cavity known as Group 1. Readers should also be aware that other magnificent groups of sarcophagi exist in proximity to the *purunmachus* of Group 1, and that these are known to scholars as Group 2, Group 3 and Group 4.

During the expeditions led by the author to the cliffs of Karajía and those nearby at Solmal and Yampata, the archaeologists Daniel Morales and Iain Mackay completed a survey of the Karajía cliffs and managed to identify a total of fifteen caves containing sarcophagi.

Background

It was the brief account published by Napoleón Gil (1936) concerning a now lost group of sarcophagi at Conila which first led the author to embark upon a study of the Chachapoyas sarcophagus-type burial practice. He had received vague references to them since childhood, when he lived with his parents at Camporredondo (Cocochillo), a locality in the vicinity of Karajía and other archaeological sites, such as Congón and Kuélap.

Following an exploratory journey that took him from Uchucmarca to Chachapoyas, the author traveled to the cliffs at Tingorbamba in order to study the sarcophagi situated there. The site had already been renamed by Gene Savoy (1970) as “Pueblo de los Muertos”, the name by which the archaeological complex of Purunllacta was also known at the time.

Before he set off, Carlos Torres Más advised the author to head for Trita as soon as his expedition reached Luya, in order to explore a group of sarcophagi located nearby, at Karajía, which were said to be in a much better state of preservation than those at Tingorbamba. In Luya, the local schoolteacher, Marino Torrejón, confirmed the importance of the Karajía site.

The expedition duly adjusted its itinerary and headed for Trita, from where its members began the hike to the cliff at Karajía. During this section of the expedition we were ably assisted by Fidel Hidalgo, a resident of Trita, who kindly provided accommodation in his own home. We were also joined by another enthusiastic companion, Fidel's gifted son, Boni. It was with the help of these two local men that we reached the cliffs of Karajía.

It was on June 23rd 1984 that our eyes feasted for the first time upon an extraordinary sight, one that we could scarcely have imagined, and which struck us as almost unreal. From a distance of around fifty meters, halfway up an imposing cliff face, we spied a cave sheltering a group of sarcophagi which, as was immediately clear to us, were the most magnificent of all the sarcophagi known to have been produced by the Chachapoyas. We named this cave Group 1, to distinguish it from the other groups of sarcophagi situated on the near vertical cliffs of Karajía.

Because it was only possible to access the cave containing the sarcophagi using ropes, on that occasion we limited ourselves to studying the structures from a distance, using binoculars and stationed as closely as possible to the cave, some fifty meters away as the crow flies.

A year later, we returned to the site accompanied by professional climbers from Peru's *Club Andino*, in order to devise a strategy that would enable us to access the sarcophagi and study them more closely. Having defined the methods that we would employ, we returned the following year, 1986. Only then, supported by sturdy ropes, were we, as archaeologists, able to climb the 24-meter vertical cliff face and gain access to Group 1, where the most magnificent of the Karajía sarcophagi were located. This was the only way for us to achieve our objective of studying *in situ* these superb sarcophagi, or *purunmachus*. To facilitate our work, a wooden platform was assembled by the climbers at the cave mouth; this structure was essential, for the sarcophagi, while sheltered by the roof of the cave, had been built on the very edge of the precipice. Without the platform it would have been impossible for archaeologists to study the structures (Kauffmann Doig, 1984, 1986, 2003, 2009: 105-124). Our expedition included the archaeologists Daniel Morales, Iain Mackay and Miriam Salazar; the group of topographers was led by Óscar Sacay, while Gustavo Siles was in charge of logistics. The expedition was funded by Peru's National Council for Science and Technology (CONCYTEC), headed at the time by Dr. Carlos del Río Cabrera.

Our bibliographical research confirmed that the Karajía sarcophagi had not been formally studied. The small photograph taken in 1936 and published by Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950)

in their catalogue of Amazonian archaeological sites did not show the Karajía cave, but rather a group of sarcophagi situated in the vicinity of Conila (Luya), known to local residents by the name Aispachaca, which had been explored by Napoleón Gil (1936), as we have already mentioned. This photograph was republished by Carlos Gates Chávez, who failed to notice that the sarcophagi featured were not those at Karajía, but rather those present in the Aispachaca cave (Gates, 1997: 265). His confusion was understandable, given the superficial resemblance between both groups of sarcophagi; however, the two groups are essentially quite different. A careful comparison of the Aispachaca photograph published by the author (Kauffmann Doig, 1979: 472, Figure 772), before the sarcophagi were destroyed, with the image from Karajía (Kauffmann Doig, 1984b; 2009: 116) reveals quite clearly that the heads of the Aispachaca sarcophagi are broader, almost rectangular, and that the two groups are not the same size: there are six *purunmachus* at Aispachaca, and eight at Karajía. However, at the time of writing the author was not able to access the Henry and Paule Reichlen publication, which would have enabled him to arrive at a definitive statement on the issue that concerns us here.

Karajía Group 1

The sarcophagi of Karajía's Group 1 are the most splendid known to have been created by the Chachapoyas. They remain in an excellent state of preservation, thanks to their sheltered location and also due to the fact that the virtual inaccessibility of the site protected them over the centuries from desecration. Although they were known to local people for countless generations, particularly among the residents of Trita, they remained entirely unstudied until 1984, when the author's expedition accessed the site and published news of their existence. In order to continue our studies, in subsequent years we organized two more expeditions to the site.

Introductory comments

The sarcophagi are located in a cave high up on a rock wall that plunges vertically more than 300 meters into the depths of the Aispachaca gorge. It is possible to admire the splendor of the sarcophagi from afar when arriving from Trita, shortly after crossing the Aispachaca bridge. It is also possible to gain a side view of the sarcophagi, from the vicinity of Coechán.

The funerary chamber was excavated from the upper section of a rock wall. By climbing the vertical cliff from one side, the site can be accessed via a narrow, natural ledge. It is possible to

edge one's way along this ledge as far as the cave, which is situated some 24 meters above ground level, although the final section can only be completed by climbing the rock face using ropes.

Two years after analyzing –with the help of professional climbers- the best way to access the cave and study the Karajía sarcophagi, we finally managed to overcome every obstacle and enter the cavity, where we used a wooden platform hauled up to the site in order to position ourselves opposite the sarcophagi and begin our study. We realized immediately that for the past five hundred years nobody had entered the cave. According to the geologist José Sánchez Izquierdo, in geological terms the imposing Karajía cliff is composed of layers of sandstone, siltstone and silt loam.

Seen from a distance, the Karajía sarcophagi resemble statues. However, as already mentioned, the author believes that their form was inspired by the shape of Andean funerary bundles, which bore in their upper part a wooden board carved to represent a face and head. Also, as we have previously stated, in addition to representing the human form, the main bodies of the sarcophagi appear to evoke the contours of a phallus, with the head representing the glans.

Group 1 contains the most outstanding sarcophagi found at the Karajía cliffs, and they are also the finest examples by far of the genre known to have been produced anywhere by the Chachapoyas. The average height of the sarcophagi is around 2.50 meters.

Other groups exist in the vicinity of Group 1: Group 2, Group 3 and Group 4. A number of lone sarcophagi have also been discovered, scattered across the Karajía cliffs in the direction of Solmal. In the upper sections of the Karajía cliffs, our expedition discovered the vestiges of round buildings.

According to local people, the site originally formed part of the territory of powerful Ocsaplín, the mythical chieftain of Conila. It is also said that the first bridge across the Aispachaca gorge, situated at the base of the Karajía cliff, was built by one of the old Luya chieftains, who went by the name of Huaquishión (as recounted by Fidel Hidalgo, in June 1985).

Description of the sarcophagi

A cursory study of the Karajía sarcophagi (of Group 1) reveals that their human appearance is the result of the mask-like heads they possess, a sculptural component designed to represent the faces of men. The main bodies of the sarcophagi take the form of an elongated cylinder, topped by the merest hint of the shape of the human shoulder. These structures are positioned vertically, lending them the appearance of phantasmagoric standing figures. As previously mentioned, these sarcophagi also recall the form of the human penis, with the mask-like head representing the glans.

Carved for the purpose from the living rock, the cave protects the sarcophagi from the elements. As we have said, the fact that the location of this cave is practically inaccessible should not necessarily be interpreted as a method of protecting the site from intruders.

Karajía's Group 1 was originally composed of eight *purunmachus*, arranged together within their cave. When we accessed the site for the first time, we found that at some time in the distant past one of these funerary capsules (Sarcophagus 3) had collapsed and fallen into the abyss. This may have occurred in 1928, when a major earthquake remembered still by local people struck the area. The loss of this sarcophagus has left a gap in the group, which is otherwise composed of units arranged in a tight row, with their sides just touching.

While the upper half of Sarcophagus 8 has collapsed, the other members of the group display a remarkable state of preservation, with the exception of a few minor cracks. The walls are covered in scratches made by birds that have attempted to nest at the site. In the case of Sarcophagus 4, these birds have caused more serious damage, having pecked away at the mask/head, destroying the ritual skull it had originally been crowned with. All the sarcophagi of this group would have been topped by these decorative elements, but only two of these have survived in their original position (on Sarcophagi 2 and 5). The ritual skull was fitted over a point that emerged from the mask/head, designed to evoke a kind of cap. It would appear that human heads were mummified before being used to crown the sarcophagi.

All the sarcophagi of Group 1 were decorated with lines traced in two shades of red. These were painted over a white base which covered the yellowish clay used to fashion the sarcophagi themselves. The decoration employed appears intended to evoke the feather work used in certain garments and decorative textiles.

The *purunmachus* of Group 1 are notable for possessing more clearly defined human features than the sarcophagi of other groups, with the exception of the anthropomorphic sarcophagi of the Tingorbamba cliff sector, about which we will have more to say later.

Details of the Karajía Group 1 sarcophagi

What follows is a brief description of the eight Group 1 sarcophagi.

- *Sarcophagus Nº 1:* This capsule has quite a large crack at the rear, via which rodents were able to access the interior and devour the mummy and most of the textiles it had been wrapped in.
- *Sarcophagus Nº 2:* The contents of this sarcophagus had also been disturbed by rodents via the hole produced in one of its sides by the collapse into the abyss of Sarcophagus Nº 3. It would appear that the specimen of black pottery found at the site would originally have been placed next to this sarcophagus.
- *Sarcophagus Nº 3:* This sarcophagus appears to have collapsed in 1928, during a powerful earthquake that hit the region and continues to loom large in the local collective memory. The eight sarcophagi would originally have been aligned so that their sides touched, but the sudden absence of this capsule facilitated access by rodents and birds, which disturbed the contents of the neighboring sarcophagi. Also, the resulting empty space allowed us to study the thickness of the capsules' walls and their conformation.
- *Sarcophagus Nº 4:* This sarcophagus had a hole knocked in its side when Sarcophagus Nº 3 collapsed into the ravine, and subsequently its mummy and grave goods were attacked by rodents. However, we were able to confirm that considerable quantities of textiles from the funerary bundle had survived. These vestiges were removed and sent to Peru's National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology and History for further study. This task was entrusted to the archaeologist Myriam Salazar, one of the members of the expedition.

While removing the remains of the funerary bundle from Sarcophagus Nº 4, we were struck by the possibility that the cadaver had not been mummified. However, we were then able to confirm that mummification had taken place, after identifying the embalmed remains of a foot. The mummified soft tissue of this foot had survived the invasion of rodents because it had been particularly tightly bound.

- *Sarcophagus Nº 5:* Because this sarcophagus had not been damaged, no effort was made to open it. Therefore, we can only assume that its funerary bundle remains fully intact in its interior. It was decided that there was no justification for opening this sarcophagus, given the

fact that we had already obtained an adequate sample of the contents from the disturbed items contained in Sarcophagus N° 4.

- *Sarcophagus Nº 6:* From this sarcophagus we removed the ritual skull, because it was no longer located in its original position, having slipped off the pointed cap to which it had been affixed. The cap had been reduced to two wooden pegs, from which the clay had flaked away. The skull lay next to the sarcophagus, and was found to have been subjected to a skillfully executed trepanning procedure, as well as another uncompleted procedure, apparently associated with the trepanning practice known as "baptismal scraping" (Weiss, 1958-1961). Alberto Ruiz Estrada (1994) analyzed a trepanned Chachapoyas skull taken as a sample from Kuelap.
- *Sarcophagus Nº 7:* This capsule was also found intact. In fact, it was particularly well preserved, including the paint decorating the main body of the sarcophagus, which appears to represent a cloak of some kind. This motif covers the entire front of the sarcophagus, painted in white over a dark red background. The author's studies have enabled him to establish that the motif employed here is repeated throughout Chachapoyas iconography, and that in its various forms it was intended to represent falling raindrops. In accordance with the criterion we had applied to Sarcophagus N° 5, we did not desecrate this tomb. Ethical considerations led us to the decision not to force open those tombs which had remained intact, particularly given the fact that we had collected enough samples from the damaged capsules to ascertain what lay within those we left untouched (see the description of Sarcophagus N° 4).
- *Sarcophagus Nº 8:* Only the lower half of this sarcophagus had survived. We could see that only part of the mummy remained, specifically skeletal material, and that the soft tissue had been devoured by rodents. We left these vestiges untouched, in the hope that future archaeological expeditions, equipped with new technologies, will be able to learn more from them.

Other groups in the vicinity of Karajía

Other burial sites have been identified in the vicinity of the major sarcophagi group located on the cliffs of Karajía. These include single sarcophagi and groups of these capsules, which vary in size and complexity and are dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the ravine. Not all of these sarcophagi have survived in a good state of preservation. In fact, the author received a report from Rogelio Cachay Rojas (1985, Cruzpata) concerning a group of seven quite elaborate funerary capsules, situated in a cave on the route to Solmal, "just past the waterfall", which had

been completely destroyed decades earlier. Our expedition inspected the site and could find no trace of sarcophagi.

Karajía Group 2: We were unable to access this site, composed of a group of Category A sarcophagi, somewhat less elaborate in form than those of Karajía's Group 1. It appeared that the cave which sheltered these sarcophagi had partially collapsed as a result of seismic activity, leaving three of the funerary capsules undamaged in their original position, standing against the rock wall. One of the sarcophagi had even retained its head-mask. Observing the site from a distance, we were able to identify traces of paint which had survived rain damage, indicating that originally the sarcophagi would have been decorated.

Karajía Group 3: This group is composed of a set of four sarcophagi with head-masks fitted to their chests, painted in purplish-red tones. Our expedition's survey of this site was facilitated by the mountain climber Hugo Mühlig, who descended using ropes and communicated details of the cave and its contents via walkie-talkie.

Karajía Group 4: The author was able to access this group following a descent of more than fifteen meters, using a rope and harness. The sarcophagus, still intact, was identified as belonging to Categories B and F. Originally, there had been two sarcophagi at the site. Of the second capsule all that remained was the base; a careful study revealed that the cave had been preyed upon by birds and rodents, rather than the hand of man.

The head-mask found at this site contained an interesting, although not unique, detail: a second, diminutive painted head-mask had been attached to the first.

More information concerning these sarcophagi is contained in the field notes and reports produced by that year's expedition (Kauffmann Doig, 1989; 2001a). In addition, Daniel Morales and Iain Mackay produced a detailed survey of the Ucaso ravine, describing the location and characteristics of the sarcophagi found there.

OTHER CHACHAPOYAS *PURUNMACHU* GROUPS

What follows is an overview of the other groups of *purunmachus* visited by our expeditions. We will begin with those of Solmal and Yambata, situated relatively close to the sarcophagi of Karajía, after which we will discuss other groups of Chachapoyas *purunmachus*. Finally, we will

comment upon the El Tigre sarcophagi. While these were well-known to local people, their existence was revealed to the outside world by the tour guide and explorer Martín Chumbe, who has taken excellent photographs of the sarcophagi.

As we will see, the sarcophagi or *purunmachus* of the Solmal and Yambata groups, along with the others mentioned below, belong to one of the four categories into which we have grouped sarcophagi according to their form. Interestingly, in some cases the head is topped by a second, miniature head, apparently intended to mimic the skulls with which the sarcophagi of Karajía's Group 1 were originally crowned.

The Solmal sarcophagi

The Solmal zone extends to the northwest beyond the Karajía cliffs. The site itself is composed of a horizontal cave set into the upper part of a rock wall, some 16 meters in length, shallow and with a low roof. To create the cave, its builders took advantage of a natural fissure in the cliff face. The sarcophagi were arranged in a row within this space. These sarcophagi are comparatively small, measuring between 60 and 80 centimeters in height, and have survived in varying states of preservation. It would appear that their size was adapted to fit the space available in the cave, in terms of both height and depth.

We first saw the Solmal gallery in 1984; however, during 1985 and 1986 we were fully engaged in our study of Karajía's Group 1, and were therefore unable to devote ourselves to a meticulous exploration of the Solmal cave.

There are sixteen standing sarcophagi at the Solmal site, although they are in a poor state of preservation, with only the bases remaining of some of them. We believe that originally there were twenty-five funerary capsules at this site, extrapolating from the empty spaces which exist there today.

The *purunmachus* of Solmal are identical in form; conical and fully finished and decorated in the round. It would appear that, in essence, they originally conformed to what we have termed Category E; namely, conical sarcophagi not fitted with a head-mask (see the accompanying table of sarcophagi categories).

However, it should be noted that all the sarcophagi in this cave were at some point in their history desecrated at the level of the chest and abdomen. It is entirely possible, therefore, that they were once adorned with a head-mask fitted over the chest or abdomen, when they were first erected at the site.

The walls of these sarcophagi are thinner than those of the Karajía Group 1 capsules. For this reason, they proved less resistant to the pecking of birds, which shattered the clay when searching for nesting sites. They have also been desecrated by tomb raiders. During our visits, the expedition members witnessed the presence of birds nesting inside the sarcophagi. In 1984, as we made our first attempt to study the Solmal sarcophagi, we found that one of the capsules had been adopted as a nest by a kestrel, which because it was incubating its eggs refused to allow our presence to drive it from the site.

The Yambata sarcophagi

In 1986, the archaeologists Daniel Morales (1988a, 1988b) and Iain Mackay (Morales and Mackay, 1988a, 1988b) were tasked with the mission of identifying groups of *purunmachus* in the surrounding area. During their reconnoitering, they headed south from Karajía and discovered the Yambata site (or Ramaspata, according to Daniel Morales). As we will see, this cliff was home to a considerable number of sarcophagi.

The Yambata archaeological site is located in a narrow ravine with vertical rock walls. The sarcophagi found here exhibit different forms; some belong to Category C, others to Category F. The former have conical bodies and are adorned at the level of the abdomen with a sculptural head. The Category F sarcophagi are composed of a single concave wall, shaped like a shield and protecting the cave carved into the rock wall.

At Yambata we found six caves containing sarcophagi. Our reconnoitering of Yambata's Group 1 produced particularly interesting results. This group is composed of a row of six sarcophagi, joined together at the sides. They were found intact, and we did nothing to disturb them. Three of these capsules were adorned with head-masks; we were unable to determine whether or not the others had once been decorated with similar devices.

Yambata's Group 3 was composed of a single tomb, walled in by a concave, shield-like structure which had been decorated across its entire surface area with dark and light red pigments.

As we have already mentioned, the decorative heads of some of the Yambata sarcophagi were themselves adorned with a second, miniature, sculptural head. These closely resembled the clay skulls that crowned the magnificent sarcophagi of Karajía's Group 1. Use of these miniature skulls fashioned from clay was not limited to Yambata.

The Chipurik sarcophagi

The first exploration of the Chipurik ravine was carried out by the archaeologists Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950). At that time, some of the site's sarcophagi remained in a good state of preservation and retained their painted decoration. However, during our 1986 expedition, after comparing them to the photographs published by the Reichlens in their monograph almost four decades earlier (as well as the photographs published later by Roberto Arce), we found that these sarcophagi had suffered considerable damage over the intervening years.

The Reichlens gave the name Chipurik to a phase of cultural development that occurred in the territory of the Chachapoyas, characterized by the burial practice involving the use of sarcophagi. They used this term to denote an intermediate phase of Chachapoyas culture, between the older phase they called Kuelap and the late phase, which they named Revash, characterized by the construction of tombs in the form of mausoleums.

Before we descended by rope to the sites containing the sarcophagi, during our 1986 Chipurik expedition we were able to identify the existence of a series of round structures located in the upper part of the cliff. Our work was abruptly curtailed, however, when the members of the expedition were attacked by a swarm of wild bees, which necessitated the immediate evacuation of one of our number to Lima. We returned a few days later in order to complete our survey of the sarcophagi located throughout the length of this ravine. We found it to contain a total of eight caves with sarcophagi, which we identified as belonging to Category B and Category C (Kauffmann Doig, 1989).

The Lic sarcophagi

This site was mentioned by Louis Langlois (1939), the great explorer of Chachapoyas territory. Lic, situated in the vicinity of Luya, is the name of the ravine in which caves containing a series of sarcophagi are situated. Our expedition did not scale the entire site, electing instead to study

the sarcophagi using binoculars, after which we placed the Lic capsules in Category B and Category E.

At the base of the cliff we found the remains of circular walls, built to surround the entrances to caves in order to form chambers, which we found empty. We believe that rather than serving as tombs, these structures would have functioned as storehouses, resembling as they do those constructions discovered as Guanglic, of which we will have more to say later.

The San Antonio sarcophagi

The San Antonio archaeological site is composed of two zones. Zone A is situated on a slope and consists of a series of round buildings. For its part, Zone B is located on a cliff facing Zone A, where several caves contain groups of sarcophagi. Both archaeological zones lie in the district of Lamud, and are separated by the gorge created by the Jucusbamba River, which flows into the Utcubamba.

The imposing cliff which is home to Zone B, on the left bank of the Jucusbamba, is known to local people by the name Huanshe. Louis Langlois (1939) examined the site, probably from afar, and mentioned that its sarcophagi were of enormous size. However, it would have been impossible to place large sarcophagi in these caves, the low roofs of which can only accommodate capsules measuring up to one meter in height. Luis Mendoza Pizarro (1998, 119-123) also mentions the sarcophagi of Huanshe.

Our initial survey of San Antonio's Zone B led to the identification of eleven caves containing sarcophagi; however, one more cave was subsequently discovered, where only the bases of its *purunmachus* had survived.

The sarcophagi located in the upper part of the Huanshe cliff cannot be accessed from the top of the rock wall. To reach them, it is necessary to scale the cliff. Although most of the capsules are severely damaged, at least eleven of them have retained their head-mask (Kauffmann Doig, 1989: Plan 6-C). Most of these sarcophagi belong to Category B and Category C.

Because our work at the site was focused upon San Antonio's Zone A, composed of a series of round structures, we limited ourselves to studying the caves and their contents from afar, from a position on the opposite bank of the Jucusbamba. The archaeologist Daniel Morales (1988c)

was responsible for producing a sketch of the caves and sarcophagi of this zone. For his part, the engineer Oscar Sakay, another member of our 1986 expedition, assumed the task of drafting a plan of the site, employing a theodolite for the purpose (Kauffmann Doig, 1989).

The Tingorbamba sarcophagi

The archaeological zone known traditionally by the name Tingorbamba is located on a cliff overlooking the left bank of the Utcubamba. The site was visited by Gene Savoy, who called Tingorbamba the "City of the Dead".

Tingorbamba can be divided into two sectors, each composed of a different type of burial. Zone T-A is composed of several groups of sarcophagi, while the tombs found at Zone T-B are of the mausoleum type, although there exists the possibility that they may have been intended as storehouses.

The sarcophagi of Zone T-A can be subdivided further into Groups 1, 2, 3, etc., situated on rock walls, sometimes at a considerable distance from each other. In some cases, the sarcophagi stand alone, while in other cases they are arranged in pairs. They were decorated in bright colors, including blue.

In the largest cave, known as Group 1, we found around two dozen sarcophagi (Kauffmann Doig, 1989), which unfortunately had been desecrated by local people, particularly schoolchildren. The damage here was so severe that many of the sarcophagi had been truncated, and their heads had ended up atop funerary capsules to which they had not originally belonged. The livestock accustomed to sheltering from the rain in these caves had also contributed to the destruction.

In spite of all this vandalism, twenty-three of the sarcophagi remained standing. Of these, by 1986 five still retained their head-mask, although in some cases the original location of certain sarcophagi had been altered. A head which had been removed from one of these *purunmachus* was found quite by chance during our return, seemingly discarded at the side of the trail. We took it with us, and it now forms part of the collection of Peru's National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology and History.

The large cave (Group 1) is 30 meters long and oriented on a north-south axis. Given the extra space afforded by this chamber, the sarcophagi were arranged in a somewhat unusual way: they are set widely apart to form fully independent funerary capsules, rather than being set into the rear wall of the cave. These sarcophagi belong to a number of categories: most of them correspond to Category B, with some slight variations. There is a single Category E sarcophagus, as well as an example of Category A, adorned with a head attached to the torso.

Several sarcophagi in this group were decorated with light red and violet paint. Shades of gray can be seen on other capsules, where areas of color were covered with dust that was subsequently dampened by the rainwater blown into the caves.

Some 20 meters above the large cave (Group 1), we found what we called Group 2 (Kauffmann Doig, 1989: Plan 7-A), composed of ten sarcophagi, mostly belonging to Category B, although some corresponded to Category A. Unusually, this group contained sarcophagi placed one on top of another. In some cases, the heads of the lower sarcophagi were covered by those above. However, we concluded that these superimposed sarcophagi could not be said to constitute a new phase, and that they were contemporaries of their neighbors. These sarcophagi have gray surfaces, having being covered in dust which was subsequently dampened by rainfall blown into the chamber by strong winds. All the sarcophagi in this group had been desecrated via holes punched into them at the level of the chest or abdomen, through which their contents had been removed.

To the north, following the defile we took on our way to Group 1, stand two pairs of sarcophagi or *purunmachus* which have been decapitated by tomb raiders. These form Tingorbamba's Group 3, and were carefully decorated with blue pigment.

Other remains of sarcophagi are scattered across the cliff face; while we did not study these in detail, we were able to record them through photographs and video. We followed the same procedure with Group 4, where the main bodies of the sarcophagi all had small holes in them, caused by the slingshots of the schoolchildren who had used them for target practice.

The precarious refuge we chose to shelter in after arriving at the site towards nightfall turned out to be a cave containing sarcophagi. As dawn broke, we were astonished to find ourselves contemplating the remains of sarcophagi standing next to our sleeping bags. These sarcophagi belonged to Category E and were mostly in a good state of preservation. It was also interesting

to note how the ravine that sheltered this cave of sarcophagi resembled an enormous human head seen in profile, thanks to a natural protuberance which appeared to have been accentuated to some degree by the hand of man. For our team, it recalled the profiles seen on certain sculptural pottery from the Tiahuanaco-Huari (Middle Horizon) period.

In the vicinity of the Tingorbamba complex we also visited the cave of *purunmachus* known as *Ayachaqui.* Most of these sarcophagi had already been disturbed by local people, who, we discovered, had even fashioned new structures or added heads to some of the capsules, in an attempt to transform the site into a tourist attraction. In response to this interference, Klaus Koschmieder has dubbed the *purunmachus* of the group the "fake sarcophagi" (Koschmieder, 2013: Figure 1).

The Tosán or Langache sarcophagi

The sarcophagi group at Tosán was discovered by Luis Mendoza Pizarro (1998: Photos 46, 147), an enthusiastic scholar and native of Peru's Amazonas region, who was the first to record and photograph this important group of Chachapoyas funerary capsules located in the vicinity of Tingorbamba. The old local hacienda was known as Tosán after the lake situated not far from the archaeological site.

The Tosán cave lies in the district of Lamud. Located on the upper part of a rock wall above the left bank of the Utcubamba River, in the triangle formed by the confluence of the Jucusbamba and Utcubamba, it contains a group of sarcophagi. Such locations, where two valleys or rivers meet, are known by local people as *tingos* or *tinkus* ("meeting places"), and are said to possess mystical properties.

The sarcophagi of this group look out towards the San Antonio or Huanshe cliff face, on the opposite bank of the Jucusbamba.

Unusually, this group is composed of different types of funerary capsules. Here we find sarcophagi from Category A, crowned with a head-mask, alongside other sarcophagi with heads adorning their neck, chest or abdomen.

The Peña de Tuente sarcophagi

Peña de Tuente is an archaeological site in the vicinity of Colcamar. It is of particular interest because one of its mausoleums is decorated with a mural painting, and we will have more to say about this feature when we discuss Chachapoyas mausoleums.

Not far from the mausoleums, there stands a pair of sarcophagi, set into the rock wall. While they are in a reasonable state of preservation, they do display evidence of having been desecrated by individuals in search of objects of value in their interior.

The Aispachaca / Conila sarcophagi

A group of high status sarcophagi, similar to those at Karajía, was discovered by Napoleón Gil (1936), the director of a prestigious high school in the town of Chachapoyas. The sarcophagi had been placed in a cave at the Aispachaca cliff face, in the vicinity of the village of Conila (Luya). The Jucusbamba River runs past the foot of this cliff, before joining the Utcubamba.

During the mid-1930s, Napoleón Gil and a group of companions used ropes to access the cave, where they found six exquisite sarcophagi. They were practically intact, judging from the photographs published by Gil, who wrote of his exploits in the following terms: “We were able to remove four statue heads, of different sizes, and three cadavers were removed from the interiors [of the sarcophagi]; these were taken to the school in order to contribute to the Kuelap museum” (Gil, 1936: 237). This was a truly sad fate for one of the most splendid groups of Chachapoyas sarcophagi ever discovered.

The El Tigre sarcophagi

This group of sarcophagi was identified in recent years by local people, anxious to announce to the world an archaeological site located within their jurisdiction. Very often, the incentive for such revelations is the prestige that can be gained from being acknowledged as the “discoverer(s)” of a previously unstudied archaeological site, as well as the wish to attract tourists to an area.

Such was the case of the El Tigre sarcophagi groups, which are located on the steep sides of the hill of the same name, in the district of San Jerónimo (in the province of Bongará). After receiving news of the site from Mr. Willy Helmbrecht (WH Tours & Producciones E.I.R.L.), who had accessed the site and explored it with great enthusiasm, the author and his team resolved to

conduct the first official archaeological survey of these virtually unstudied Chachapoyas remains. In fact, before our own visit, the only specialist to have seen the ruins was the archaeologist Manuel Malaver Pizarro, the head of the Archaeological Heritage Department of the Amazonas Regional Board of Culture. Following the visit made by Mr. Malaver to the sarcophagi at the El Tigre site, the expedition led by the author in July 2016 found that these Chachapoyas funerary capsules had survived in an excellent state of repair, compared for example to the Aispachaca sarcophagi, which we visited after spending time at El Tigre.

Before continuing with our description of our findings at the El Tigre site, and before concluding our chapter on Chachapoyas *purunmachus,*[6] let us pause for a moment to recall some general facts concerning the sarcophagus burial form employed by this culture. Firstly, it should be remembered that this practice was limited to the area occupied by the Chilcos, the Chachapoyas nation group who settled in what is now the province of Luya, and parts of the surrounding region, including areas of the province of Bongará, where several groups of *purunmachus* have been identified and studied at the site that concerns us here: the hill known as El Tigre.

To recap, *purunmachus* are funerary statues, conceived to represent the human form and produced from clay. In their hollow interior, mummified remains were laid to rest after being wrapped in funerary textiles. These capsules varied in form and size, as the table produced by the author some thirty years ago shows (Kauffmann Doig, 1987a; 2009, 111).[7] It is also important to remember that the sarcophagus, or *purunmachu*, funerary pattern was limited to the burials of high status individuals. In this regard, the author of this publication contests the conclusions arrived at by Klaus Koschmieder (2002), who maintains that the relative abundance of

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6 The term *purunmachu*, the name by which Chachapoyas sarcophagi are now known, is still used among the people who occupy what was once the northern sector of Chachapoyas culture territory. Among these people, it is a blanket term for any archaeological remains dating from before the arrival of Europeans in Peru (including mummified human cadavers, skeletal remains and their associated grave goods).

It is a Quechua word and can be translated as *purun* = remote or wild, and *machu* =old people, person. This term has only survived in some sectors of the area once occupied by the Chachapoyas, while the Spanish word "*gentil*" ("pagan" or "pre-Christian") has replaced it in the rest of the so-called Inca Area.

While it is true that local people respect these vestiges of the past far less than they used to, signs of reverence for their ancestors can still be observed, particularly in the highland areas of Peru. During the Pre-Hispanic period, members of the priest caste spread the belief that illness or even paralysis would be visited upon those who desecrated the remains of ancestors, from which harmful gases were said to emanate. As a child, the author of this publication heard many such tales when he lived with his parents at Camporredondo (in Luya), which at the time was known as Cocochillo.

7 The illustration created by the author to demonstrate how *purunmachus* were produced in a range of shapes and sizes was reproduced by the editor of a publication by the archaeologist Inge Schjellerup (2014, 93, Figure 6), while making no mention of the author's contribution to the study of these sarcophagi.

sarcophagi indicates that this was a common practice among the general population. However, if this had been the case, we would surely be dealing today with the remnants of hundreds or perhaps thousands of such burial sites, when in fact -even allowing for the destruction of some sites during the campaigns against idolatry waged during the 16th and 17th centuries, as well as those destroyed by tomb raiders- only between ten and twenty groups of *purunmachus* are known to exist, which between them contain no more than one hundred funerary capsules. Given the relatively large population size of the Chilcos and the fact that their society prospered for at least three hundred years, the conclusions published by Koschmieder clearly invite many questions. Once again, we are reminded of the chronicle left to us by Martín de Murúa (c.1600, 402), who wrote of how it was usual within what we now call the Inca Area for ordinary people to be buried in the fields.

The crag known as El Tigre is composed of two tall and rugged peaks covered with the cloud forest vegetation typical of the territory of the Chachapoyas. Areas of these rock walls do not support such vegetation; however, where rock faces shelter groups of sarcophagi contained in caves, these groups are covered nevertheless by the growth of liana-like plant matter.

While the village of San Jerónimo is situated at an altitude of 2200 meters, the caves in the cliffs of El Tigre, where the *purunmachus* are found, are located at around 3000 meters above sea level.

Leaving by road from the modern town of Chachapoyas and passing through the village of Pedro Ruiz, on the route to Churuja, a 12-kilometer long track suitable for vehicles leads to the village of San Jerónimo. This final section of the journey can be completed in around one hour. From San Jerónimo, a dirt trail leads to El Tigre mountain. This trail can be ridden on horseback in around two hours, crossing a ravine also known as El Tigre. From here, the steepness of the slope makes further progress on horseback impossible, and the rest of the difficult route to the site of the sarcophagi must be completed on foot (this can be done in around thirty minutes by a reasonably fit walker).

The author was accompanied on this trip by a group of villagers from San Jerónimo, who generously shared their coca leaves with him. In addition, on our journey from Chachapoyas to San Jerónimo, and from there to one of the three groups of sarcophagi, our expedition was

expertly guided by Carlos Chávez Muñoz[8]. It was largely thanks to the efforts of this guide that we were able to complete our work at one of the sarcophagi groups at the El Tigre cliff face. This was the first full study of the site by professional archaeologists. On our way to the site, we spotted the remains of mausoleums, or *chullpas*, along the trail edge; however, because our objective was the study of one of the sarcophagi groups at El Tigre, we only paused long enough to make a general assessment of those mausoleums, and to produce a plan of one of the best preserved structures. We also found a small sarcophagus adjacent to one of these mausoleums, which we concluded must have been moved there from its original location.

The groups of sarcophagi at El Tigre are composed of more than thirty *purunmachus*. The group we subjected to an initial analysis (one of the three groups found at El Tigre), contained a row of fourteen sarcophagi. A gap on the far right of the row may have originally been occupied by a fifteenth sarcophagus, removed or destroyed at some point in the history of the site.

The first group was identified in 1998 by local residents Newman Aguilar and Miuler Villar Sánchez. Years later, in 2011, the Regional Office for Culture (now known as the Decentralized Office for Culture), headed at the time by José Santos Trauco, authorized the first inspection of this group, overseen by the archaeologist Manuel Enrique Malaver (2011). In its Bongará Province Tourism Guide, published in 2014, the Amazonas Regional Tourist Board reported that this group was composed of twenty-one sarcophagi; however, Malaver reported finding just eighteen *purunmachus*. This discrepancy may be attributable to the fact that not all the sarcophagi belonging to this group are located on the same rock shelf.

In common with other sites, the sarcophagi of this group are protected by the roof of a cave, indisputably the essential factor in their preservation, given their clay and reed structure. We found these sarcophagi to be decorated with red, white and yellow paint. The photograph

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8 The author is grateful for the hospitality he was afforded by individuals from among the San Jerónimo village elders, presided over by Mr. Ángel Cupioc Zuta. He is particularly grateful to Chachapoyas Travel, the travel agency run so efficiently by Mr. Carlos Chávez Muñoz and his wife Mrs. Janet Tejada Chuquipiondo. Not only did they carefully organize the itinerary for our entire trip, they also offered their assistance –as did Mr. Enrique Lucero Cachay and Mr. Julio César Sagazeta Lápiz- to the author during the ascent and descent of the steep trail that took the members of the expedition to a group of fourteen sarcophagi on the hill known as El Tigre. Without the help provided by these individuals, the author would not have achieved his objective. And I also thank Mr. Luis Inga Vilca, who by generously sharing his coca leaves helped me overcome my fatigue.
And so it was that the author, at almost ninety years of age, was able to visit this site. The upper section of the trail was particularly difficult, and remarkably Mr. Chávez and Mr. Lucero Cachay carried the author on their shoulders over that final stretch. I confess all this with pride, having achieved my goal of examining the El Tigre sarcophagi group and being the first professional archaeologist to do so, after a lifetime of exploration which has included some seventeen expeditions conducted since 1980 throughout the high Andes and the forests of the Amazon.

published here with the authorization of Manuel Enrique Malaver shows how several of the sarcophagi are in a poor state of preservation. Clearly, some of these capsules have been deliberately decapitated, and the possibility that this may have occurred in the 17th century during the campaign to eradicate indigenous belief systems cannot be ruled out. One trusts that an act of such vandalism was not committed during our own time, with the intention of selling the heads on the illegal antiquities market. Such acts have been committed before. In 1986, while in the town of Lamud, I was able to witness how a local schoolmaster offered the severed head of a sarcophagus to the Italian academic who accompanied me on the research trip that led us to Tingorbamba, presenting it as his own "property". To ensure that it would not fall into other hands, that Italian academic purchased the head and took it to Lima, where he presented it to Peru's National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology and History, which exhibits it to this day (Kauffmann Doig, 2009: 117; Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 218).

A second group of sarcophagi on the cliff faces at El Tigre was identified by Miuler Villar Sánchez in 2013, using the zoom lens on his camera[9]. After spotting the group from the neighboring district of Cuimal, Villar accessed the site. This group is composed of five sarcophagi of different shapes and sizes, all of them quite small compared to the other groups of *purunmachus* at El Tigre.

The third cave at El Tigre, containing fourteen sarcophagi, was identified in 2013 by Gruver Chang Torres and other local people. Impressed by the references and photographs passed on to him by Willi Helmbrecht, the author organized an expedition to the sarcophagi, with support from the Fondazione Ligabue in Venice, of which he is a Scientific Member.

The expedition was conducted in July 2016. The author was joined by a small group of experts, including Gustavo Siles, from the Institute of Amazonian Archaeology, and Manuel Salinas Huapaya, who was responsible for producing our topographical maps of the site. Also with us

9 In April 2014, the National Museums Office of the Ministry of Culture, in coordination with the Mallqui Center, organized the flight of a Phantom I type drone over El Tigre hill, with the objective of taking photographs that would have been impossible to achieve using any other method, given the rugged terrain surrounding these funerary caves. Luis Jaime Castillo believes that the use of drones should be regulated, while acknowledging the undeniable usefulness of this technology in the field of archaeological research. Through drone technology, it is now possible to gain a complete overview of archaeological sites. Drones have been employed at Chan Chan, and at a number of ongoing archaeological digs, where they have been used to produce a permanent record of the strata being removed. However, widespread drone use also has a potential downside; they may be employed to identify new sites in remote territories, and the Peruvian state does not possess the resources required to police the nation's vast cultural heritage. And, it has to be said, while an astonishing number of known sites remain unexcavated by qualified professionals, it might seem reasonable to question the wisdom of identifying still more archaeological remains for which research funding would certainly be unavailable. One can only hope that in the future increased awareness, together with improved funding and technology, will lead to improved custodianship of Peru's shared national heritage.

were Carlos Chávez Muñoz and Janet Tejada Chuquipiondo, owners of the well-known travel agency Chachapoyas Travel.

In addition to drafting topographical plans of the cave containing fourteen *purunmachus* and assessing their state of preservation (which while not optimal might be considered satisfactory), this expedition also produced a record of their individual characteristics. The illustrations produced to accompany this text offer a detailed visual account of the *purunmachus* we studied during our time at the cave.

The task of mapping the site was completed using a platform built by the villagers of San Jerónimo in the top of an enormous old tree. From that vantage point, we had a perfect view of the sarcophagi. In this way, we were able to complete our study without disturbing the sarcophagi group, which had been positioned on a narrow, precipitous ledge. Any attempt to access the ledge would have led inevitably to some degree of damage to the *purunmachus* we wished to study. At Karajía, we managed to overcome a similar obstacle by positioning a platform directly opposite the floor of the cave containing the sarcophagi.

All the *purunmachus* we studied at this site belonged to Category B of the table of variations in Chachapoyas sarcophagus design produced by the author (Kauffmann Doig, 2009: 110-112; Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 229). In the illustrations produced to accompany this text, we have included additional details of the fourteen *purunmachus* of this group from the hill known as El Tigre.

CHACHAPOYAS MAUSOLEUMS

In addition to employing sarcophagi or *purunmachus*, the Chachapoyas also interred their more illustrious dead in mausoleums, or *pucullos*. After describing this burial practice and offering an introductory overview of the forms employed, we will describe the most significant *pucullo* or mausoleum sites, including Revash, Los Pinchudos, Lake of Mummies, Tingorbamba and Ochín.

In Quechua, or *Runasimi*, mausoleums are known as *aiawasi,* or “houses of the dead”. In the Inca state, they were known as *pucullo*, and their Aymara name is *tshuilpa* (or “*chullpa”*). Given that practically all mausoleums were arranged together in groups, it would seem appropriate to select the word *aiamarca* to describe them (“villages of the dead”).

Introductory comments

The Chachapoyas mausoleum takes the form of a communal funerary chamber. Unlike the sarcophagus, which is a funerary casket designed to hold the mortal remains of a single individual, the mausoleum was built to accommodate several bodies. In common with sarcophagi, mausoleums were created exclusively to house the remains of rulers and members of the nobility.

Their construction in specially excavated caves in the upper reaches of rock faces was not intended as a protective measure designed to discourage intruders, but rather as a method of preservation. The preference for rock walls where no vegetation grows emerged from the need to inter mummified human remains where they would not be exposed to humidity.

Several mummies were placed in each mausoleum. They were arranged in a crouching position and wrapped in many layers of textiles to form a voluminous funerary bundle. The mummification process employed by the Chachapoyas involved sophisticated techniques designed to combat environmental humidity (Guillén, 2002; Lombardi, 2013).

Seen from a distance, Chachapoyas mausoleums resemble small houses, grouped together to give the appearance of a tiny village.

With their location in caves, high up on cliff faces, Chachapoyas mausoleums resemble the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings found in Colorado, in the United States. However, their purpose was quite distinct; while the hamlets of Colorado were built as homes set into high cliffs as a defensive measure, the Chachapoyas structures were intended to house the remains of the dead.

The author believes that the terms *pucullo (*or *phukuilio,* a word of Quechua origin) or *chullpa* (*tshuilpa*, of Aymara origin), as well as the English word mausoleum, are equally appropriate when referring to the funerary practice we are discussing here. The term *pucullo* is used to this day in certain parts of the Peruvian highlands, including Ancash, to refer to small stone constructions in which the pre-Christian indigenous population interred their dead before the arrival of Europeans. In the highlands of Ancash, the word "*pucullo*" is also be translated as "small oven".

Distribution and antiquity of the Chachapoyas mausoleum

According to the cultural sequence established by the Reichlens (1950), Chachapoyas mausoleums date from a phase preceding the use of sarcophagi. However, as mentioned previously, it is important to note that the mausoleum pattern has been found to have existed throughout Chachapoyas territory, whereas the use of sarcophagi was limited to areas on the left bank of the Utcubamba, in the present-day province of Luya.

It is possible that Chachapoyas mausoleums were based upon the widespread *chullpa* or *pucullo* pattern. Versions of the *chullpa* were used throughout much of the ancient Peruvian territory we now call the Inca Area from the second half of the first millennium AD; that is, from the Tiahuanaco-Huari period. Certainly, Chachapoyas mausoleums are essentially similar in form to the Tiahuanaco-Huari *chullpa*; except for the fact that Chachapoyas mausoleums were not situated in open countryside, but instead in caves carved out of high cliffs.

The two types of mausoleum

Generally speaking, Chachapoyas mausoleums were composed of rectangular cubicles, and while examples certainly exist of isolated single structures, they tended to be grouped in a row, one next to the other. They measure between 4 and 6 meters in length, and are around 4 meters wide and no more than 2 meters high. Many of them had roofs, in spite of the fact that they needed no covering, because they were protected by the roofs of the caves in which they were erected.

It is possible to divide these mausoleums, or *pucullos*, into two different types of construction:

1) Those built from roughly cut stone, with walls plastered with clay that was often overlaid with a yellowish-white layer and decorated with symbolic motifs, usually painted in red.

2) Those with faced stonework made from essentially uniform blocks. These tend to bear symbolic wall decoration produced by highlighting certain stones within the wall itself to create the desired motif. Occasionally, these motifs were plastered roughly with different colored clays, as was the case at the Los Pinchudos and Lake of Mummies mausoleums.

Their relative antiquity compared to sarcophagi

According to Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950), among the Chachapoyas the use of mausoleums dates from a period they placed after the so-called Chipurik phase, during which sarcophagi were employed. They called this new phase Revash. However, the timeline they proposed raises many questions.

The author believes that the mausoleum is a funerary practice unique to Chachapoyas culture, regardless of whether or not it was inspired initially by the *chullpa*. The practice of placing such structures in caves is a typically Chachapoyas feature, as is the wall decoration commonly employed.

Mausoleums continued to be used after the incorporation of the Chachapoyas into the Inca state. In fact, in the case of the mausoleums at the Lake of Mummies, the funerary bundles of Inca administrators who died in the conquered territory have been discovered next to those of Chachapoyas dignitaries.

Early references to mausoleums and later research

Charles Wiener (1884: 390) was the first to record the existence of Chachapoyas *chullpas* or mausoleums, after visiting Revash, at Santo Tomás. In the 1930s, Louis Langlois (1939: 69-73) visited the Utcubamba valley and explored the mausoleums at Puente Utcubamba, of which only a few remnants have survived into our own time. A few years later, Bertrand Flornoy (1943-1944) surveyed the mausoleums present in the Angulo area.

Subsequently, the archaeologists Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950) studied the contents of one of the Revash mausoleums, the roof and one of the walls of which had collapsed, covering and protecting the contents from rodents and tomb raiders. It was this research which led the Reichlens to establish what they coined the Revash period, and to date the mausoleums to a period following the use of sarcophagi. When considering such timelines, it is important to remember that individual mausoleums were used to inter the dead over relatively extensive periods.

Peter Lerche (2000) and Keith Muscutt (1987, 1998) have spent many years exploring the Chachapoyas mausoleums that have survived intact at the Huabayacu cliff site in the vicinity of Lake Huayabamba. The expeditions led by the author of this publication with the aim of studying Chachapoyas mausoleums were conducted in 1984, 1985 and 1986, when the mausoleums of

Los Pinchudos, Pumache, Revash, Ochín, Tingorbamba, Peña de Tuente and La Petaca, among others, were explored (Kauffmann Doig, 1989, 2001b, 2001c).

THE LOS PINCHUDOS MAUSOLEUMS

One of the most elaborate Chachapoyas mausoleum groups is known by the name Los Pinchudos. It is situated in the vicinity of Pajatén and is remarkable for the fact that one of the walls of the funerary chambers is hung with anthropomorphic woodcarvings. The Los Pinchudos mausoleums remained unexplored until 1980, when the author led an expedition to this unique group of *pucullos* (Kauffmann Doig, 1980a, 1984a).

Background

On the route to Pajatén, our guide Manuel Villalobos (better known as *Manuelasho* and a native of Los Alisos, a village near Pataz) mentioned how in 1974 a peasant named Santos Escobedo wandered off from the group of Pataz residents who had embarked on a treasure-hunting adventure in the vicinity of the ruins of Pajatén, and stumbled upon a group of mausoleums. Allegedly, he then suffered some sort of breakdown, eventually dying at the site a few days later. Other Pataz residents may have visited the site earlier, according to rumors that reached the ears of Duccio Bonavia (1968: 33), via Víctor Pimentel, while exploring the Pajatén ruins in 1966. These two men heard stories of the existence of a "necropolis" in the area, but never managed to visit the site. Eighteen years after identifying and studying the Los Pinchudos mausoleum group, Bonavia (1998: 95-97) wrote of having received reports in 1975 from Axel Cabrol, supported by photographs, concerning this burial site[10]. However, in 1973, before Cabrol communicated his findings to Bonavia, the archaeologist Jaime Deza Rivasplata (1975-1976) received reports of the group of mausoleums that concerns us here, while he was engaged upon a study of the structures in the vicinity of Pajatén. Busy with his project, he was unable to follow up on the lead he had been given.

It was Manuelasho Villalobos, having accompanied the peasant Santos Escobedo on his wanderings, who in August 1980, in Pataz, informed the author that some six years earlier he

10 The information concerning the arrival of Cabrol at the Los Pinchudos site in 1975 is confirmed by Luis Hurtado (2005 :171), the author of an excellent account of the journey he made to the site (2005: pp. 115-160).

had seen a necropolis with carvings hung from the outer wall of one of the mausoleums, when he was guiding a group of tourists to the Pajatén ruins. Villalobos stated that the group was being led by Giovanni Ellena and Mr. and Mrs. Deze. This news served to confirm the reports received by the author in 1979 from Gustavo Siles, who in his turn had received the information from his friend Alberto Guevara Zamalloa (who even furnished him with a photograph of the "wooden idols", which the backpacker Pierre Abricat had given to Guevara).

With the aim of preventing the removal of one of the monoliths from the complex at Pajatén the author (then the Director for Conservation of the Architectural and Cultural Heritage of the Nation) traveled to the site in 1980. Taking advantage of his presence in the region, he decided to visit the mysterious site where the woodcarvings had been photographed by Abricat. Together with other locals, Manuelasho agreed to guide the author on the trek to the Pajatén archaeological complex and the site known to those local people as Los Pinchudos (a reference, inspired by common slang, to the genitalia of the nude statues hung from one of the mausoleum walls). It was to honor Manuelasho that we named this new archaeological site Los Pinchudos, in addition to dedicating one of the first books on the site to our guide (Kauffmann Doig, 1984a). In fact, the sculptures are not particularly phallic in nature, although the nakedness of the figures does cause the eye to be drawn to their partially erect penises.

Following that first archaeological reconnaissance in 1980 (Kauffmann Doig, 1980a, 1984a, 2000, 2001d), the author led two more expeditions to the Los Pinchudos site, with the aim of studying this remarkable archaeological complex in greater depth. During these two expeditions, we also visited other minor mausoleum groups in the area which we had identified during our initial exploration. The main objective of the third expedition was to produce plans of the Los Pinchudos complex, a task overseen by the renowned architect Roberto Samanez Argumedo, with the support of the experienced Cusco-born topographer Rafael Morales and the architecture students Jorge Morales and René Barreto. The resulting plans were intended to serve as the basis for a subsequent restoration project for this major site (Kauffmann Doig and Samanez Argumedo, 1992).

Years later, the World Monuments Watch included Los Pinchudos among the 101 most endangered sites in their list of 2000 vulnerable monuments around the world. In 2000, the renowned curator of archaeological sites Ricardo Morales Gamarra (2002) was finally able to oversee conservation work at the Los Pinchudos archaeological site, particularly at the entrance to Chamber 5, where the jambs had partially collapsed.

The Los Pinchudos mausoleums or burial chambers

The Los Pinchudos mausoleums are situated on a narrow strip of sloping ground within a cave excavated for the purpose in a cliff side, where a natural cavity was enlarged by the hand of man.

The Los Pinchudos group is composed of five mausoleums, as well as two poorly preserved structures located to the west of the main site. The mausoleums are up to 4 meters high, with diameters ranging from 2 to 3 meters. From the outside, they resemble two-story structures, and some of them appear to have been so designed. Their roofs are slightly domed, through the employment of a false arch, and were built from stone slabs positioned to overlap the outer wall and form a cornice.

In its interior, the mausoleum associated with the carvings has retained two wooden boards, stretching from one side to the other above the level of the floor. These appear to have served as a platform erected to accommodate funerary bundles and thereby avoid contact with the damp ground. This mausoleum is known as *Burial Chamber 5*.

Quarried slate slabs were used as building material for the smooth surfaces of the walls, which were decorated with friezes we will describe later. These slabs were set into clay mortar.

The inner walls were plastered with yellowish clay, while the outer walls were left with their slate surfaces exposed, with the exception of certain areas that were covered with yellow and red clays. This colored paste was applied over a whitish clay base mixed with fine straw.

The outer walls of the mausoleums (with one exception) were decorated with friezes. The technique employed involved the use of projecting stones to produce the outlines of the required designs.

The motifs employed are highly symbolic and similar to those at Pajatén. While their form is essentially geometric, it has been speculated that their design was derived from abstract versions of real world objects. Some of these motifs incorporate two simple components; an L-shaped design and a step motif. In common with the designs seen at Pajatén, these two shapes have been combined to produce a figure recalling a bird seen in profile. Interestingly, the motifs

we refer to here are the two most frequently repeated emblems in the iconography of the cultures that developed in the Inca Area throughout history. The author interprets the L-shaped motif as being a variation on the "crest of a wave" water motif, while the step motif was intended to evoke fertile land through a design inspired by agricultural terracing (Kauffmann Doig, 2001-2002c).

The repeating V-shaped motif used to create horizontal decorative bands can be interpreted as representing a flock of birds -creatures that inhabit the celestial realm from which rain falls- as well as the waters of the region's meandering rivers. It can also be seen as depicting lightning, that harbinger of the life-giving water brought by rainfall. In the shared context of these three interpretations, these motifs should be seen as evidence of the worship of fertility, an essential component in an agricultural food production process requiring good, well-watered soils.

Also, given that the wall of Los Pinchudos Burial Chamber 5, the most significant of the group's structures, is plastered with colored clays, it seems reasonable to assume that the walls decorated with friezes at Pajatén were also adorned originally with colored clays. In the case of Los Pinchudos, these clays have been preserved because the mausoleums are protected by the natural overhang formed by the cliff face, which acts as a sheltering eave.

During initial exploration of the Los Pinchudos mausoleums, a sculptural stone head with anthropomorphic features was found out of its original context. Its presence has been interpreted as testifying to the fact that, in addition to geometric motifs, the site was also decorated with sculptures; however, the author believes that this stone may have been transferred to Los Pinchudos from some other neighboring archaeological site. We left the head where we had found it, and later instructed the Pataz local authorities to recover it.

As part of the campaign to evangelize native peoples, the mummies and their grave goods may have been removed from the mausoleums as early as the 16th or 17th centuries. Our first expedition found very few skeletal remains, and these were scattered across the ground. In addition, we came across clumps of cotton which would have been used originally as filler in funerary bundles. In the mausoleum adorned with woodcarvings, we discovered two stone mortars. A small area outside was covered with pottery shards, mostly in the Inca style. After being photographed and documented, these objects were left in place so that they could be studied by future archaeological expeditions. Today, material gathered from the Los Pinchudos

site is held by the local authorities of Pataz. Our first expedition to the site (1980) produced a careful inventory of these items, a task overseen by the archaeologist Francisco Merino (1989).

A meticulous description of each of the seven burial chambers of which the Los Pinchudos mausoleum group is composed was produced by the architect Roberto Samanez Argumedo (1989; Samanez Argumedo and Kauffmann Doig, 1992), with the assistance of Francisco Merino (1989), both of whom were members of the author's Los Pinchudos expedition. This description has been published elsewhere (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 260-270).

Interestingly, in terms of form and location, the mausoleums of Gantumarca (Rapayán) bear a marked similarity to the Los Pinchudos mausoleums, in spite of the fact that they are situated on the left bank of the Marañón, in the province of Huari, Ancash (that is, on the very edge of the territory once occupied by the Chachapoyas) (Kauffmann Doig, 1986: 524).

The anthropomorphic carvings associated with Burial Chamber 5

At the mausoleum known as Burial Chamber 5, hooks were embedded in the upper part of the semicircular wall, from which five anthropomorphic carvings were hung in a row, following the curve of the structure. These statues had never been studied before by archaeologists when in July 1980 they were examined by the expedition to Pajatén led by the author.

The mausoleums in the vicinity of the Los Pinchudos group

Our expeditions discovered other mausoleums on a natural ledge in the lower part of the cliff face where the Los Pinchudos group is situated. A member of our expedition, Roberto Samanez Argumedo, has classified these structures as Burial Chambers 8 and 9. Due to their relatively accessible location, they are in a poor state of preservation and almost nothing remains of the objects they would once have contained. They may have been sacked as early as the 16th or 17th centuries by Christian missionaries charged with destroying idolatrous images.

"Burial Chamber 8", writes Samanez, "is rectangular and its entrance faces east. Two round buildings are located in this sector, set into the rock wall. They are smaller and their dilapidated condition makes it impossible to identify the original entrance. They probably served the same function as the main Los Pinchudos group's Chamber 6. In such a scenario, the funerary bundles would have been introduced into the mausoleum from above".

Burial Chamber 9 is located on the same rocky ledge as the aforementioned chamber. It, too, is rectangular, and its entrance faces east.

In common with those of the Los Pinchudos group, these structures were built from slate slabs and clay mortar. They are very simple compared to the mausoleums of the Los Pinchudos group, and bear no decorative elements.

The Lake of Mummies mausoleums

At a lonely spot dominated by an oblong lake, surrounded by the dense forest and rugged terrain of the Amazonian Andes, more than two hundred ancient Chachapoyas mummies were discovered, sheltered in mausoleums that had remained intact for more than five hundred years.

The Lake of Mummies burial site was spotted by chance, in late 1996, by workers from the Ullilén ranch, located in Leymebamba, in Peru's Amazonas region. When he heard of the discovery, the author immediately organized the archaeological expedition which was the first to arrive at the site (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 1998). This expedition was supported by the National Institute of Culture and PromPerú, and it set off for the complex in May 1997 (Kauffmann Doig, 1997, 2001c).

The expedition's initial reconnoitering of the site established that most of the funerary bundles –which contained mummies wrapped in several layers of textiles, like a seedpod containing a seed- had survived intact. They were found in their original positions within their mausoleum walls, making this an almost unprecedented archaeological discovery. The funerary bundles could be seen through a window-shaped opening in the outer wall. This cavity provided the burial chamber with ventilation and had clearly contributed to the remarkable state of preservation in which the contents were found. These included many offerings, mostly pottery, but also featuring the occasional decorated gourd, which were meticulously studied by Enrique Vergara (Vergara 2003b).

Background

When in late 1996 workers from the Leymebamba-based Ullilén ranch stumbled across what the author would name the following year Group 1 of the Lake of Mummies mausoleums, they found more than two hundred funerary bundles inside structures that had remained intact (Kauffmann Doig, 1997).

Almost as soon as these men began to pillage the site, they realized that the funerary bundles they were desecrating contained no treasures of gold or silver. They therefore lost all interest in their discovery and no further damage was inflicted upon the site. Returning to Leymebamba, they took with them some textiles, pottery and some of the smaller, infant funerary bundles. They planned to sell their finds in Chachapoyas or Lima; however, the local police became aware of their activities and confiscated their booty, placing the objects in a storage facility in the town. This series of events left the majority of the funerary bundles intact and completely undisturbed within the walls of their mausoleums.

A few months later, the NGO Mallqui removed all the funerary bundles from the mausoleums, in order to transfer them to Leymebamba. This operation was completed over just a few days, under the provisions of Directorial Resolution INC-260, when it was well-known that this resolution had been annulled on August 5th of that same year (1997) by National Institute of Culture auditors, who had identified inconsistencies in the wording of the document. And so it was that the mausoleums were stripped of some two hundred funerary bundles, which are housed today in the Leymebamba Museum and have still not been studied under the professional conditions they merit (Kauffmann Doig, 1999b; Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 296-311)[11].

[11] The Lake of Mummies funerary bundles were removed from their mausoleums unprofessionally and hurriedly. Only a physical anthropologist -now director of the Mallqui Center NGO- and a journalist and archaeology student oversaw the removal. The person charged with packing and transporting the archaeological material to the town of Leymebamba used sacks and old cardboard boxes.
The removal of around 200 funerary bundles from their mausoleums for transfer to Leymebamba was conducted using false National Institute of Culture (INC) authorization, as the auditors subsequently verified, an action which subsequently cost Luis Arista his job as INC director (Audit Report N° 019-97-OAIUCF, composed of 51 pages, Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 296-311). The removal of the funerary bundles was accomplished in just two weeks, in response to demands from a US television channel, which refused to reschedule its filming. Less than 20% of the funerary bundles from the Lake of Mummies had been looted previously. Photographs taken by the author in May-June 1997 show around 150 intact mummies. Because the mausoleums were protected by a cave, the author proposed that the mummies remain in their mausoleums, protected by a metal railing that would have been donated by the Augusto Wiese Foundation. In this way, visitors to the site would have been able to admire the mummies where they had been laid to rest more than five hundred years earlier. This would have been possible thanks to the "windows" built into the mausoleums, which functioned originally to ventilate the chambers. For research purposes, the material confiscated from the original tomb raiders would have been sufficient, and in this way future generations of archaeologists would have benefited from the opportunity to study pristine material, rather than the mummies as they ended up: piled together in display cases in the Leymebamba museum. Upon his return to Lima, the author submitted the aforementioned project to the INC and Promperú. The stated aim of the project was to "maintain the intangible condition of the funerary bundles in their original location…", as the article published in the *El Comercio* newspaper

The first archaeological expedition to the site was led by the author in May and June 1997, and was able to confirm that most of the funerary bundles had not been harmed by the sacking of the site perpetrated by the Ullilén ranch hands. In fact, almost 200 funerary bundles remained intact, representing a treasure trove for scholars of the burial practices of the ancient Chachapoyas. In his report at the time, the author stated plainly that the discovery was indeed exceptional (Kauffmann Doig, 1997).

The circumstances of this discovery led the author to formulate (in June 1997) a draft proposal that would ensure the conservation of the dozens of intact funerary bundles that had been housed in the mausoleums at the Lake of Mummies more than five hundred years earlier. The proposal called upon the National Institute of Culture to ban access to the Lake of Mummies until a plan could be devised for the site's protection. As part of this effort, the author petitioned for and received the support of Francisco Wiese, a renowned patron of Peruvian archaeology, for the construction of metal railings to control all access to the site and transform it into a tourist attraction, allowing people to admire the funerary bundles in their original mausoleums. The windows set into the mausoleums by the builders in order to provide ventilation would have served to enable viewing of the funerary bundles without entering the burial chambers.

Under the terms of the proposed project, the mummies and material already removed and subsequently confiscated by the police would have been sufficient for the fitting out of the site museum which the author had undertaken to implement with the support of Leymebamba's residents. The portion of the find that had been sacked contained more than one thousand items. In addition, between two and four intact funerary bundles would also have been removed.

The abovementioned draft proposal maintained that the mummies which would have remained in their mausoleums would have constituted an invaluable resource for future generations of archaeologists, equipped with new technologies unavailable at the time for the study of pristine archaeological sites.

states (July 5th 1997). Six weeks later, the Mallqui Center NGO removed the funerary bundles from their original location, in an action that defied professional ethics, as we have already stated.

Regrettably, this proposal was dashed when over just a few days the funerary bundles were removed from their mausoleums and transferred to Leymebamba, where they remained for several years, stored in an old house, before finally being incorporated into the collection of Leymebamba's new museum.

The mausoleums

The Lake of Mummies is situated on the boundary between the province of Huallaga and the San Martín region. The journey to Leymebamba takes between eight and twelve hours, half of it on foot, over rugged terrain studded with wetlands and covered in Amazonian forests that become more impenetrable as one nears the lake.

There are no condors at this site, making the name chosen for it by Gene Savoy (1970), "Lake of Condors", seem somewhat arbitrary. Savoy explored the lake with divers, in search of submerged offerings of gold, but he did not find the mausoleums located nearby. In 1997, Leymebamba's local authorities and residents, in a meeting held at the town hall, agreed to officially rename it the Lake of Mummies, in recognition of the fact that so many preserved human remains had been found there.

The Lake of Mummies mausoleums housed the mortal remains of elite members of Chachapoyas society. These included children who had died in infancy, wrapped in their own miniature funerary bundles (might they have been *capacochas?*). After the territory of the Chachapoyas had been incorporated into the Inca state, around 1470, the Lake of Mummies mausoleums were used to shelter the remains of Cusco-born administrators who had lived in the area around the lake, possibly at the major Inca administrative center of Cochabamba. The author believes that they did not reside at Llaqtacocha, the name given to the series of structures situated on a crag, not far from where the Lake of Mummies mausoleums are protected from the region's rains by overhanging rock.

The Lake of Mummies Group 1 is composed of five mausoleums, consisting of a series of chambers, arranged side by side. The walls were fashioned from quarried stone and covered with a clay paste, which in its turn was coated white, to serve as a background for painted motifs essentially composed of horizontal red bands. The walls of the mausoleums were also decorated with emblematic designs created by arranging some of the stones from which the structure was built to produce the desired form; namely, the horizontal motif based upon a repeated V-shape

often seen in Chachapoyas architecture. The author has discussed this symbol at length in other publications, and touched upon the possibility that it may have been intended to depict a flock of birds, meandering rivers or zigzagging water channels. Certainly, the zigzag symbol or repeating V-shaped motif is associated with the water that brought life to crops, and the author now believes this was achieved by depicting lightning.

The rock walls of the cave that shelters the mausoleums were also decorated with symbolic figures, painted using a range of colors.

The mausoleums are rectangular and were built with just three walls, with the living rock of the cliff acting as the rear wall of each structure. The burial chambers are around five meters high and composed of two levels. The second level is separated from the first by a platform, upon which the funerary bundles rested. In this way, contact was avoided with the damp earth that would have been so prejudicial to the organic material they contained. The subtly trapezoidal windows of the chambers provided good ventilation, thereby ensuring that their contents would not succumb to damp.

Funerary bundles and mummies

Funerary bundles are composed of a single mummy, usually in a seated position, wrapped in several layers of both plain cloth and decorated textiles. The Lake of Mummies Group 1 also exhibits other methods employed to conserve the remains of the dead. In some cases, the funerary bundle was placed inside a coffin-like structure, made from wooden boards and strips of wood bound together with ropes. In other cases, the bundle was covered in a white cloth, sewn at the edges and secured with cord. Some of the funerary bundles were adorned with a human face, the features of which were traced using embroidered lines. The smallest funerary bundles contained infants who had succumbed to an early death or perhaps been the victims of sacrifice.

The excellent results achieved clearly demonstrate that the mummification process involved highly specialized techniques. These results appear particularly impressive when it is remembered that this is a territory blanketed almost permanently in mist and subject to high humidity. Cases have been discovered in which the eyeballs and genitalia of the dead have remained preserved by the mummification process (Kauffmann Doig, 1997, 2001c). We know that the intestines and other organs were removed via the anal passage.

This care invested in conserving the remains of the dead is a universally-practiced tradition among ancient cultures, probably dating from before the Neolithic period. It would have developed from the wish of the bereaved to keep their dead close by them. Among ancient Peruvians, the mummification process emerged as a response to the belief that the mortal remains of the dead had to be preserved in order to ensure their continued existence in the afterlife. We are informed of this fact by accounts that have come down to us through the chronicles of the 16th and 17th centuries (Kauffmann Doig, 1998).

The archaeological material housed in the mausoleums at the Lake of Mummies was not limited to mummified remains and the textiles in which they were wrapped to form a funerary bundle. Grave goods were also found alongside the dead. These included pottery vessels, decorated gourds, textiles, woodcarvings, *pacchas* and other ceremonial objects used in rituals associated with rainfall and the worship of water, as well as clothing, silver brooches (*tupus*) personal jewelry and utensils, *quipus*, mortars, nets used for carrying goods (*solpes*), and other items.

The archaeological evidence found at the Lake of Mummies indicates that the mausoleums contained the remains of high-ranking individuals, interred during two historical stages. They include regional leaders and those who governed during the period of Inca rule. The *quipus* studied by the expert Gary Urton (2013) have survived as unequivocal indicators of the presence of administrators appointed by the central government in Cusco.

Evidence has also been found to indicate that the dead were still being interred in these mausoleums, in accordance with ancestral traditions, during the early colonial period; a small glazed pitcher, decorated using a technique introduced by the Spanish, was found at the site, apparently left as an offering by family members several years after the arrival in Peru of European settlers. However, it should be remembered that the sign of the cross was also employed in their own cultural context by the Chachapoyas (Kauffmann Doig 2017: p. 64).

The Revash mausoleums

In the 19th century, Charles Wiener (1884) visited the Chachapoyas mausoleums of Revash. Subsequently, they were studied by the archaeologists Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950), whose work benefited from the fact that the roof of one of the funerary chambers had collapsed, covering and protecting the cultural objects it had contained. The expeditions led by the author

from 1983 to 1986, in addition to adding to our knowledge of Revash's mausoleums, led to the identification of previously unknown burial sites in the surrounding area. Initially, in order to prevent looting, we referred to Revash using the acronym USATOR, devised to include the names Utcubamba, Santo Tomás and Revash (Kauffmann Doig, 1986a).

The Revash mausoleums do not exhibit the cultural influence of the Incas; however, they are related to the funerary architecture known as the *chullpa*, a form widely dispersed throughout the territory of ancient Peru in the wake of the expansion of Tiahuanaco-Huari culture from the 7th and 8th centuries AD.

Brief description

The funerary mansions of Revash are arranged in a row, along the narrow platform formed by a cavity carved into the rock wall of an imposing cliff. They have survived virtually intact, but the textiles the mummies were wrapped in, along with their grave goods, were destroyed by the activities of rodents and desecrated by the hand of man at some point in their history. Nevertheless, some objects were recovered by the Reichlens (1950), after they had been protected from destruction by the fallen roof of one of the structures.

The mausoleums of Revash, in common with other similar Chachapoyas sites, were not designed to house individual burials. These were communal tombs, intended as the final resting places of leading figures from Chachapoyas society. They were built to resemble small houses and grouped together in "hamlets" at the tops of cliffs. As already mentioned, their location on rock faces recalls the cliff dwellings of Colorado in the United States, although of course this resemblance is coincidental and their function was quite distinct.

While these mausoleums appear to have been built with the intention of evoking the rural architecture that would have once surrounded the fields worked by the peasant class, the pitched roofs of these structures were entirely symbolic, for the caves in which these burial chambers were located protected them from exposure to rainfall and sunlight. The roofs were made from mud, spread over a frame of sticks and reeds.

The walls of the mausoleums were constructed from stones set into clay mortar. These one- or two-story structures were rectangular and had no front doors; access was provided by side entrances. They could be joined to each other at the sides or separated by a dividing wall. In

common with other similar sites, the living rock of the cliff served as the rear wall of each mausoleum.

Decorative-symbolic motifs

The walls of these mausoleums were painted with colorful designs, or in some cases with excised motifs. Red was the most commonly employed color, used to trace the figures of felines, American camelids, humans, two-toned circles, concentric circles and other designs.

The rock walls of the cave itself were also painted with figures. Their evident association with the mausoleums serves to remind us that not all rock art dates from the pre-agricultural phases of ancient societies.

The mausoleum walls are also decorated with a series of excised patterns, the symbolic content of which has not been deciphered. These designs are composed of T-shaped motifs, crosses and rectangles. In both form and execution, the cruciform symbols employed recall those seen in the architecture of the coastal Virú culture.

These cruciform motifs are identical to those found on the walls of the La Jalca church, which according to local tradition was built by one Juan Oso, also known as *El Osito* ("Little Bear") and said to have been the product of the union between a bear and the peasant girl he abducted. The remarkable similarities between the cruciform symbol seen at Revash and those in the church at La Jalca point to the possibility that the church's historical builders used sections of ancient wall; this would certainly have been sanctioned by Christian missionaries, given that the cross employed by the Chachapoyas was identical in form to the central emblem of their own faith.

The Ochín mausoleums

Ochín is the name given to a group of Chachapoyas mausoleums at Michúl, on the left bank of the Utcubamba River, at around 1800 meters above sea level.

These mausoleums remained unknown to the outside world until, in 1986, they were studied by members of our expedition after we had officially completed our official labors and most of the

team was visiting Kuelap. The task of surveying and describing these structures was undertaken by the author and the topographer Herbert Ascasíbar (Kauffmann Doig, 1989).

The Ochín site was found during exploration of the Mishacorsa and Michúl cliffs and is composed of two rectangular mausoleums. The site is associated with the remains of a collapsed wall which may have formed part of a long-lost third burial chamber.

While the site's northernmost structure (Mausoleum B) remains virtually intact, the walls of the other (Mausoleum A) have partially collapsed and a modern *pirca*-style wall has been erected in the interior. Enough of the original structure remains to indicate that both chambers would have been roofed.

Today, because they are situated not far from the fields they work, peasant farmers occasionally make use of these structures to store the squash they produce, as well as using them as sheds for farming tools. The small curved wall adjoining the interior wall of Mausoleum A is a modern construction. It is 80 centimeters high and was built in rustic style, with a diameter of 65 centimeters. It is used as a kiln for burning lime. The stones used in its manufacture were taken from the ancient mausoleums.

In spite of the presence of the kiln and the reoccupation of both chambers, these mausoleums have survived largely intact, retaining their windows and mural decoration. The overhanging rock, which extends some 30 centimeters over the mausoleums, has clearly contributed to their preservation, although changes in wind direction can lead to rainfall being blown over the structures.

Ancient skeletal remains lie scattered across the ground. Other archaeological vestiges may be present amid the modern-era detritus littering the interior of the mausoleums, which is mixed with the accumulated material that once formed a roof that collapsed long ago.

From information volunteered by the young peasant Antonio who accompanied us on the expedition to the Ochín mausoleums, we know that schoolchildren from a nearby village removed "very large shells" (*Spondylus*) from the site, having been instructed by their teacher to gather objects for the school's museum.

Ochín Mausoleum A

Aside from a few minor details, the two Ochín mausoleums are practically identical. For the purposes of our description, we have named the southernmost structure Mausoleum A, and the northernmost building Mausoleum B.

Mausoleum A is rectangular and composed of three walls, with the fourth wall formed by the living rock. The structure was built from stones selected for their size and roughly uniform in shape, which were set in clay mortar and wedged into place using smaller stones (*pachillas*). In places, particularly in the front wall, these stones were arranged in regular courses.

Judging from the surviving evidence, the walls were plastered with a thick layer of clay, which was then whitewashed. In some sectors, evidence can still be seen of how gray stucco was covered by a layer of pink clay, which was then painted white. Close inspection reveals that the pink color was obtained by mixing red and grayish clays. The red has not faded over time. We will discuss the mural decoration of the two mausoleums together, given that there are few differences in the decoration of both chambers.

The façade of Mausoleum A measures 2.95 meters across. The interior space of the structure is 1.95 meters deep. The walls are of a roughly uniform thickness (around 35 centimeters). The structure was erected on a slope, so that, seen head on, the height of the walls follows the lie of the land. While the highest part of the wall currently reaches around 2.20 meters, it should be remembered that it would originally have been somewhat higher.

Judging from some of the stones contained in a course about one meter above current ground level, which were set into the wall and extend out from it, originally this mausoleum would have been composed of two levels, with these stones supporting the upper floor.

Access to the upper and lower levels was facilitated by two separate doorways. The surviving entrance, located on the northern side, provided access to the lower floor; this analysis is supported by the surviving evidence in the neighboring chamber (Mausoleum B), which is better conserved and still has two doorways.

While no part of such a structure has survived, it can be assumed that this mausoleum was roofed.

Ochín Mausoleum B

This chamber is an irregularly shaped, although essentially cube-like structure with the rear wall formed by the living rock. The façade measures 2.50 meters from end to end, and the chamber is 2 meters deep. The front wall is 2 meters high, but would originally have been slightly higher, given the evidence indicating that its upper section has collapsed.

In the case of this mausoleum also, the stones used in its construction were selected for their size and roughly uniform shape, and they were set into a mortar made from gray clay. The walls were plastered and painted white, judging from the vestiges of pigment that remain.

The structure was composed of two levels, each accessed via separate window-like entrances located at both ends. The monolithic lintel over the southern opening has survived in a good state of preservation. Both of the entrances are narrow, measuring 50 x 30 centimeters and 1-meter x 30 centimeters. One of the cornices, in the interior of the structure, served to support the platform that would have divided one level from the other. This cornice was reinforced by wooden beams, judging from a surviving hole that would have originally supported one such beam. The structure would have been topped by a pitched or flat roof.

At the time of our inspection, the structure still contained a peg, set into the wall of the second level to serve as a hook.

Wall decoration at the two Ochín mausoleums

In both Mausoleum A and Mausoleum B, decorative motifs have survived on the walls of their façades. The designs on the two chambers are similar.

Each mausoleum was decorated originally with at least three horizontal rows of symbolic and ornamental motifs. In the case of Mausoleum A, only vestiges remain of the third row, which adorned the upper part of the wall.

Essentially, the decoration is composed of two motifs; a T-shaped design and a repeating V-shape. The T-shape is positioned between two bands of the repeated V-shaped motif.

The technique employed in this mural decoration consisted of a horizontal band approximately 20 centimeters high and 50 centimeters deep. This low relief band runs from one corner to the other. The repeating V-shaped pattern was produced by positioning stones diagonally.

To create the T-shaped design, an excised band was filled with stones set into mortar, with the desired pattern picked out by the elevated fields that were left exposed. In spite of the deterioration endured by the mausoleums, vestiges remain of what appear to have been symbolic figures that were originally plastered with light-colored clay.

The decorative motifs present at the Ochín mausoleums are seen throughout Chachapoyas architecture. As we have already mentioned, the repeating V-shape may have been intended to evoke a flock of birds, rivers and river valleys, or a bolt of lightning (Kauffmann Doig, 1986c, 1996a).

Other Chachapoyas mausoleums

In addition to the mausoleum groups already mentioned, several other groups have been identified throughout the territory once occupied by the Chachapoyas. Below we present an overview of a selection of these sites.

The Tingorbamba mausoleums

The Tingorbamba site, in the province of Luya, renamed the “City of the Dead” by Gene Savoy (1970), is composed of several groups of sarcophagi, as well as a mausoleum group. These structures are located on a high cliff known by the same name (Kauffmann Doig, 1989).

These mausoleums had not been explored before we arrived in 1986, although they had been photographed from a distance in a panoramic shot of the cliff they were built on (Savoy, 1970). In total, our expedition studied some twenty structures, and two members of our team, Herbert Ascasíbar and Daniel Morales, produced a preliminary survey of the entire complex (Kauffmann Doig, 1989).

The structures were built over stone terraces and arranged in a long row, along the entire length of a natural rock ledge. They were clearly not intended to serve as dwellings. The presence of mortars, one of which has a diameter of 1.06 meters, should not be interpreted as a sign that

these structures were once occupied; such cooking utensils would have been left as funerary offerings, intended for use in the afterlife, or employed to produce ceremonial meals in honor of the dead.

The burial chambers are U-shaped, with the living rock of the cliff forming their rear walls. They are all roughly the same size, particularly in terms of their depth, measured from the section formed by the living rock, although some of the structures are deeper than others; the average size of the chambers is 4.50 x 4.50 meters, and they are around 3 meters or more in height.

Entrance was gained to the structures via side doorways. Although they have not survived, the structures were clearly originally topped by roofs, given that the cliff face does not offer enough protection from rain or wind. These roofs would have been fashioned from wood and thatch.

The chambers were built from stone blocks, arranged in essentially regular courses. The walls were plastered with clay and decorated with low relief designs. These are composed of cruciform motifs and biomorphic designs; serpents and what look like a bird and feline. The walls were plastered with clay mixed with straw, and the aforementioned low relief decorative and symbolic elements were created while this plaster was still wet. The natural rock face which forms the rear wall of the burial chambers was also decorated with painted designs (Kauffmann Doig, 1987a: 12, 1989).

While it is assumed that these structures were built to serve as mausoleums, it is also possible that they may have been intended to function as storehouses. Further study will be required in order to establish beyond doubt their original function.

The Lic mausoleums

Another of the mausoleum groups explored by the author is situated at the Lic cliff face, in the province of Luya. This site, named after the geographical feature, is composed of a series of small round structures, approximately 1.20 meters in diameter, with stone walls originally covered in plaster. They resemble the so-called "*tinajones*" ["vats"] of Guanglic, leading the author to speculate initially that they may have been used as storehouses, before the expedition discovered human skeletal remains in the vicinity of these modest structures. The human remains found may be those of individuals sacrificed in order to win the favor of the supreme

deity which ruled over meteorological phenomena, that divinity we refer to today as the Water God (Kauffmann Doig, 1991b, 1996a, 2001-2002a, 2001-2002b, 2001-2002c).

Also worthy of note at this site is the series of sarcophagi groups situated in the upper part of the Lic cliff face, all of which are quite small and severely damaged.

The Peña de Tuente mausoleums

Another group of mausoleums is situated at Peña de Tuente. These are stone structures, originally plastered with clay, arranged in a row along a sloping natural rock shelf in the Colcamar area. This group of mausoleums was visited before us by the explorer Morgan Davis (1985: 147-149).

Interestingly, one of the walls is decorated with a painting depicting two beings that appear to be swinging on a rope. They were painted using red pigment over a cream plaster background (Kauffmann Doig, 1992c: 15).

Mausoleums and sarcophagi coexist at Peña de Tuente, and not far from the site there stands a group of cylindrical structures. There is a large cave nearby, which we did not manage to access.

The Guanglic mausoleum and storehouses

Guanglic, in the province of Luya, is an archaeological site composed of a group of round storehouses, with plastered walls, located close to a waterfall. At first, we took these storehouses to be mausoleums, particularly given the fact that one of them is set into a rock wall. After being plastered, their walls were decorated with two identical, converging symbols, produced in low relief; a highly stylized design which essentially reproduces that symbol for water seen throughout the Inca Area, namely the “crest of a wave” motif (Kauffmann Doig, 1996a).

The so-called “*tinajones*” [“vats”] measure up to 6.5 meters in diameter. Their walls are decorated with small drawings produced using red pigment. These schematic patterns appear intended to evoke the rock art produced during the pre-agricultural period.

The Guanglic site is difficult to reach, which is why Roberto Arce Tuesta took his photographs from halfway up the slope situated opposite the ruins.

The La Petaca-Diablohuasi mausoleums

The mausoleums of La Petaca are located at an imposing site accessed from Leymebamba. The site was revealed to the outside world by Gene Savoy (1970), who photographed the ruins; however, the first full study of the remains was completed by Keith Muscutt (1987, 1998).

The La Petaca mausoleums are not easy to get to. These stone structures were built in small chambers set into the rock. They appear superimposed upon the walls of the cliffs. Some of the walls of these mausoleums were coated in a clay plaster. The wall decoration was achieved by adapting the material from which the walls themselves were built. These are typical Chachapoyas motifs, composed of a repeating V-shaped pattern, recalling a bolt of lightning.

Just a few kilometers from La Petaca is the Diablohuasi crag, adorned with red painted figures.

The El Dorado mausoleums

Acting under the instructions of Carlos Torres Más, the director of the National Institute of Culture's Amazonas regional office, a multidisciplinary team arrived at the El Dorado archaeological complex, in the Chilchos area of the district of Leymebamba, Amazonas, in April 2001.

The report they produced on this archaeological site contained a meticulous survey of the remains that were found there, produced by the archaeologist Nelly Martell (2001: 11-18). The plans included in the report were drafted by Ahyrton Alva Domínguez.

The El Dorado site is accessed from Leymebamba, from where it is a ten-hour journey by mule as far as Chilchos; from there, the seven-hour route to Zárate crosses extremely rugged terrain covered in thick tropical montane forest. From Zárate, it is around 2.5 kilometers to the archaeological site, a distance covered in some three hours, due to the difficulty of the terrain. El Dorado is located at an altitude of 1775 meters, below the altitudinal range (2000 to 3000 meters) within which the vast majority of Chachapoyas archaeological remains have been discovered.

In a previous publication, the author reproduced much of the report drafted by the archaeologist Nelly Martell for the National Institute of Culture's regional Amazonas office in 2001 (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue 2003, p. 341-348).

"Gran Saposoa": mausoleums in the Huabayacu river basin

As Keith Muscutt, a distinguished scholar of Chachapoyas culture, has explained, Gene Savoy's career ended with him being credited with the discovery of an extensive archaeological complex that he named Gran Saposoa (Muscutt, in personal conversation, 2004 and June 2008). Muscutt describes the site as an area located in the upper reaches of the Huabayacu-Huallabamba river valley, in the province of San Martín, actually quite far from Saposoa (Muscutt 2013; Muscutt *et al.,* 1993). As Muscutt has pointed out, a glance at the map of the upper Huabayacu presented by Savoy is enough to see that it is practically identical to the map published by Muscutt in his own book, *Warriors of the Clouds* (Muscutt 1998). And he goes on to state that it is also similar to other maps that Víctor Zubieta Zubarburu gave to Savoy, adding that the Huabayacu area was first explored by Inge Schjellerup, Peter Lerche and himself (1998), several years before Savoy appeared on the scene.

In his overriding desire to be acknowledged as the discoverer of archaeological remains left by the people of ancient Peru, Savoy indulged in the practice of renaming sites that were already known. This is what happened in the case of the Congón ruins, which Savoy renamed Gran Vilaya; Purunllacta, which he re-baptized Monte Peruvia; the Tingorbamba ruins, which he publicized under the name "City of the Dead"; and finally the remains in the Huabayacu-Huallabamba area, which he called Gran Saposoa. In this same vein, Savoy failed to mention the existence of the Vira Vira complex, in order to draw attention away from the fact that the area had been explored before his arrival. He did this in order to boost the public profile of what he presented as a new archaeological discovery, while giving the impression that he had been the first to explore the area (Muscutt *et al.,* 1993).

It was certainly the resulting confusion which led, in a map of archaeological sites produced by the author of this publication, to Savoy's Gran Saposoa not being featured in the upper reaches of the Huabayacu, but instead – and quite erroneously- in a section of the upper reaches of the Saposoa (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 23). It was also as a result of the ambiguous information released by Savoy concerning the location of his Gran Saposoa, which circulated

from 2001 to 2003 and contained new names for ruins that had already been studied, that the author referred in his 2003 publication to archaeological sites which had actually been explored sometime before, describing them as if they had just been discovered. Accurate information concerning the location of these sites can be found in publications authored by those archaeologists who explored them (Bueno, 2008; Bueno *et al*, 2006; Cornejo, 2002; Lozano, 2002).

The area where the archaeological remains which became known as Gran Saposoa are situated certainly lies within the territory of the district of Saposoa, but this area is located in a zone sandwiched between the Huabayacu River and the upper reaches of the Huallabamba, containing the great Cerro Las Cruces complex and other archaeological sites, at around 2650 meters above sea level. This puts the site far from the capital of the district of Saposoa, which is situated at an altitude of 380 meters among the foothills of the Amazonian Andes, where they transition into the Amazon basin.

The initial confusion that resulted was eventually cleared up in the writings published by the Peruvian archaeologists who accompanied Savoy on the expedition he led in 2001 (Bueno, 2008; Bueno *et al.,* 2006; Cornejo, 2002; Lozano, 2002).

Alberto Bueno (2008: 387) has written of how during the Huabayacu-Huallabamba ("Gran Saposoa") expedition the following mausoleums were recorded in the area around the Cerro Las Cruces complex: "Guabayacu Mausoleums, Puente Oroya A Mausoleums, Puente Oroya B Mausoleums, Las Grecas Mausoleums, Los Monos Mausoleums, Naranjo A Mausoleums, Naranjo B Mausoleums, Casa Blanca A Mausoleums, Casa Blanca B Mausoleums, Cerro Las Cruces, Las Torres Sector (composed of 3 levels and 5.6 meters in height)". For his part, Alberto Bueno (2008: 392) has added that in the Huabayacu river valley "we found evidence of the early development of Chacha culture (700 AD – 800 AD) […]".

The Lake Huallabamba or Casa de Oro mausoleum

The information we have on Lake Huallabamba comes from the preliminary report drafted by Keith Muscutt, based upon the exploratory work he conducted in the area, in June 1999, during which he identified a Chachapoyas mausoleum. Muscutt has written of the importance of this site, which had remained undisturbed and presented the unusual characteristic of having been used exclusively to inter members of the Chachapoyas elite (unlike other mausoleums such as

those at Los Pinchudos and the Lake of Mummies, which had also been used to bury Cusco-born administrators after the Chachapoyas region's incorporation into the Inca state). This mausoleum has been studied subsequently by Jesús Briceño and the restoration expert Ronald Salas.

The mausoleum identified by Keith Muscutt in the Huabayacu zone is set into one side of a crag which overlooks the Yonán River. Above this mausoleum an emblem can be seen, composed of a painted red circle with a red dot in the middle.

The Casa Blanca mausoleum

In 1998, Peter Lerche (2000) explored the valley of the Huabayacu, a tributary of the Huallabamba, which in turn flows into the Huallaga. His goal was to produce a photographic record of Chachapoyas mausoleums located in areas that were difficult to access. Lerche identified a total of fifty-four tombs in the area, all of which had been desecrated, apart from one, upon which he focused his studies during a second expedition the following year (1999), together with the climber and photographer Gordon Wiltsie. The author is grateful to Mr. Wiltsie for having allowed him to publish some of his extraordinary photographs (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 354-355). The other members of the expedition were John Catto, a cameraman, and three assistants. The expedition was financed by the National Geographic Society. What follows is a summary of what Peter Lerche (2000) had to say about his discovery:

At the top of a cliff between 150 and 200 meters high, Peter Lerche and his companions identified a small mausoleum. Its white surface made it easy to spot against the darker rock wall. In order to access the ledge upon which the mausoleum was situated, the team was obliged to overcome considerable difficulties. When they reached the site, the expedition's members realized immediately that the mausoleum had not been desecrated, and they were able to confirm that at least one of the funerary bundles had survived intact.

The mausoleum is situated on a crag at the confluence of the Yonán and Huabayacu rivers. It was given the name Casa Blanca because its outer wall had been painted white. The members of the team limited themselves to a visual inspection of the site, because they did not have official authorization to conduct archaeological work.

The Casa Blanca mausoleum is approximately 4.5 meters long, around 2 meters wide and 1.5 meters high. It was built in a cavity, protected from the rain. Its roof was composed of three trunks. Calcareous stone set into clay mortar was used in its construction. The upper section of the walls is decorated with bright red painted bands. The team members were also able to confirm that the natural rock wall at the rear of the mausoleum had been decorated with red circles.

In the mausoleum they found five caskets in a good state of preservation, placed upon a bed of leaves. It is understood that the caskets contain funerary bundles composed of mummies wrapped in several layers of textiles. The caskets themselves were fashioned from wooden boards, tied together with ropes. The team reported that the mausoleum only contained Chachapoyas remains, with no evidence of Inca period influence, indicating that the tomb dated from before the territory's incorporation into the Inca state. Also, one of the caskets at the Casa Blanca site was identical to others found at the Lake of Mummies (Kauffmann Doig, 2009: 179).

The Pisuncho mausoleum

James Vreeland, Jr. / Dr. Federico Kauffmann Doig

The mummies currently housed in Piás came from a site adjacent to the river known to local people as the Pisuncho or Apisuncho, which appears to be a tributary of the Abiseo, named as such on some old maps, and on others as the Unamizo. The names Pisuncho and Apisuncho appear related to the name Abiseo, by which the river that flows past the ruins of Pajatén is known.

The Pisuncho archaeological site was discovered by the rural inhabitants of Piás. The site is composed of the type of shallow cave commonly selected as a burial chamber, although in common with the Tingorbamba site it contains no buildings; the funerary bundles were housed directly in the cave.

One of the funerary bundles moved from Pisuncho to Piás by the same local people who had accessed the Apisuncho cave some years earlier exhibits certain structural peculiarities; it was fitted with four stakes, like the legs of a stool, which were fastened to the textile wrappings of the mummy using ropes. Clearly, this device was employed in order to ensure that the funerary bundle would not rest directly on the damp ground. Thanks to this technique, the textiles used in this funerary bundle have survived in excellent condition. One of these large textiles is

decorated with depictions of supernatural beings. This piece was studied in detail by James Vreeland (Kauffmann Doig, 1987b, 1989; Vreeland, 1989; Vreeland and Kauffmann Doig, 1989).

Upon receiving news of the remarkable archaeological artifacts being held in Piás, the author made his way to the village in order to study them and learn more about their place of origin. Arriving in Piás in 1980, the author obtained detailed and apparently accurate information concerning the origin of the objects being held in the village. He was assisted in this process by Ricardo Rosales and local-born Alejo Loyola. Subsequently, in 1988, in an expedition joined by James Vreeland (1989) and Francisco Merino (1989), the author continued his investigation into the origins of the mummies held in Piás. The version of events he had received in 1980 was corroborated in its essential details by what he was able to learn in 1988. The information gathered in 1980, together with additional details contributed by Francisco Merino and James Vreeland, who produced a number of plans and drawings, serves to provide a reasonable picture of what the site looked like before local people removed the mummies from the Pisuncho cave and took them to Piás (Kauffmann Doig and Ligabue, 2003: 356-360; Vreeland, 1989).

Other Chachapoyas mausoleums

Other sites containing mausoleums are known to us through references made to them in the writings of scholars such as Louis Langlois (1939), the archaeologists Henry and Paule Reichlen (1950), Morgan Davis (1985, 1988) and Víctor M. Zubiate (1984). These sites include Gomal, not far from Duraznopampa, on the western bank of the Utcubamba River. Although it contains somewhat atypical mausoleums, we must also include the Torre Pucro site (Zubiate, 1984), where the structures resemble to a degree the highland *chullpa* found at Chocta (Celendín). We must also mention the mausoleums of Pumanche (Pumacancha), not far from the ruins of Chivane or Pirca Pirca, in Uchucmarca, as well as the many other examples which feature in the work of the accomplished Canadian explorer Morgan Davis (1985).

Finally, we must mention the extraordinary resemblance between Chachapoyas mausoleums and those of Gantumarca, situated on the cliffs overlooking the left bank of the Marañón River (in the province of Rapayán, Ancash). The form seen in the Gantumarca mausoleums is also repeated in those burial chambers located at the Incapunco cliff, in the province of Huamalíes. Continuing on this theme of possible links, we must also touch upon the apparent similarities between the walls of Chachapoyas mausoleums and those of some of the groups at Tantamayo (Huánuco), Huacrachuco (in the highlands of La Libertad) and even at Yayno (Pomabamba,

Ancash). To the aforementioned sites, it is also necessary to add others located much farther from the territory occupied by the Chachapoyas: for example, in parts of the Cusco region. It would seem that the similarities apparent in these structures date, at least in part, from the period generally known as Wari (Middle Horizon), which the author prefers to call Tiahuanaco-Huari, given the Tiahuanaco cultural components clearly distinguishable within the iconography of the period.

Chachapoyas *purunmachu* sarcophagus forms

Category A:
Royal *purunmachu*
Characterized by its considerable size and anthropomorphic body, complete with shoulders and a head-mask positioned over the body; crowned with a ceremonial skull. Painted face and painted ceremonial attire on the body.

Category B:
Anthropomorphic *purunmachu*
Characterized by its seated form, the insinuated shape of the shoulders, and by having no neck or ceremonial skull. Usually possessed of a painted face and ritual attire.

Category C:
Purunmachu with head at chest level
Characterized by the head-mask, sometimes painted, positioned at chest level, with no neck. Found in low-roofed shallow caves.

Category D:
Purunmachu with head at level of abdomen
Characterized by the head-mask positioned at the level of the abdomen, its small stature and relatively rudimentary design. In some cases, a second head crowns sarcophagi from this category, as well as categories B and C, in a detail symbolizing the skull present in category A.

Category E:
Conical *purunmachu*
Characterized by its considerable size and anthropomorphic body, including shoulders and a head-mask placed on top of the body; crowned with a ceremonial skull. Painted face and ritual attire.

Category F:
Shield *purunmachu*, or pseudo-sarcophagus
Characterized by the absence of a body. The mummy was placed in a rock cavity, behind a crescent-shaped wall, usually undecorated. This burial form is not, strictly speaking, a sarcophagus; it might be described more accurately as a niche carved from the rock and then covered.