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Stratigraphy of the Pre-Columbian Chancay Funerary Bundle

Pieter D. van Dalen Luna
National University of San Marcos, Department of Archaeology, Lima, PERU

Lukasz Majchrzak
Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Institute of Archaeology, POLAND

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Abstract

During the excavations conducted on the Cerro Colorado site (Peruvian Central Coast), van Dalen Luna discovered that some 40% of 1,500 burials contained human remains wrapped in funerary bundles (fardos). The study of the associated material, along with radiocarbon dating, revealed that the cemetery was used by the society known today as the Chancay culture (ca. 1000 to 1572 AD). In this article we present the stratigraphy of one of the excavated funerary bundles. Its layout informs about the complexity of the funerary ritual during which it was made, as well as the general Chancay mortuary pattern.

Keywords: funerary bundle, Chancay culture, Peruvian archaeology, Andean archaeology, funerary archaeology.

1. Introduction

In the period from 2014 to 2017, van Dalen Luna conducted excavation in the settlement of the Cerro Colorado on the northern part of the Peruvian Central Coast. Among more than 1,500 burials he excavated, some 40% contained human remains wrapped in funerary bundles made of textiles and vegetal materials. Although the analysis of the material is still in the process, we have already obtained some important data on the layout of the bundles, and one of them is presented below.

The cemetery belonged to the Chancay culture (ca. 1000 to 1572 AD), and functioned probably from the middle of the Middle Horizon (ca. 700 to 1000 AD) (Bueno, 2012), through most of the Late Intermediate Period (ca. 1000 to 1470 AD), being abandoned just before the Late Horizon, the period when the Inca empire conquered and ruled that area (ca. 1470 to 1533). Studies conducted by Krzanowski (1991, 2008) and van Dalen Luna (2008, 2012, 2013, 2016a, 2016b, 2017) show that the Chancay people raised monumental public and religious structures that are still visible on enormous sites such as Pisquillo Chico in the Chancay Valley. They were also accomplished weavers, perhaps even the best in whole Central Andes (Makowski et al., 2006; Rowe, 2014). Unfortunately, early Spanish documents on that region reveal little data (Rostworowski, 2002: 269-373; van Dalen Luna, 2016a), and nearly all Chancay cemeteries have...
been severely looted. For that reason, the contexts excavated by van Dalen Luna, studied now with the application of modern chemical and biological methods, may contribute to the general knowledge on the pre-Hispanic customs of Andean people.

- The Chancay culture was developed in the north-central Peruvian coast between the year 1000 and 1532 AD.
- Cerro Colorado was one of its most important cemeteries, located in the valley of Huaura.
- The main form of burial was placing the body of the individual inside bundles or funerary packages.
- Inside these funerary packages a complex stratigraphy is observed, conforming by diverse archaeological materials.

2. The tradition of funerary bundles in the Central Andes

The tradition of bundle-type burials developed in the Paracas culture (ca. 800 to 200 AD) on the Peruvian South Coast and spread throughout the whole Central Andes (Tello, 2009), as the testimonies of early colonial chroniclers relate (Cieza, 1946 [1553]: 351-353; Poma, 1962 [1615]: 206-211; Cobo, 1964 [1635]: 163-165). One of these chroniclers, Bartolome de las Casas, the Spanish bishop who worked in Central America, left a description of bundle making. According to this author, the ritual was public and took place in a courtyard, in the center of which the cadaver was placed. During the ceremony, a choir recounted the deeds of the dead, accompanied by the “mournful” sound of flutes. Subsequent groups of mourners – some of them with stuffs in hands – approached the cadaver in turns, walking around it continuously, placing textiles on the body, crying and singing. Votive offerings of food and objects used by the person during life were made. The typical custom was to renew those offerings as the time from the burial progressed (van Dalen Luna, 2017). Some pieces of the baked meat were hung before the body, and the priests or sorcerers checked the way the color of the meat was changing, auguring the fate of the dead in the afterlife. The mourning could take from five to ten days, depending on the rank of the deceased in life, then the finished bundle was buried in the underground tomb. To facilitate further offerings after the funeral, the mourners sometimes raised constructions above the tomb, on the ground (de las Casas, 1892 [1550]: 118-124). The author had never been to the Central Andes, and this description was probably delivered to him by his friend, fray Domingo de Santo Tomas, who spent more than 30 years in the Viceroyalty of Peru, especially in the towns of the Chancay Valley (the antique territory of the Chancay culture). Pablo Jose de Arriaga (1968 [1621]), the famous extirpator of idolatry, testified that ancestors’ bodies, called “mallqui”, were revered by their descendants and relatives as divine beings. This ancestor cult included physical interaction with the dead, changing their clothes, cleaning the body and making offerings of food. In the early Colonial period, the term “mallqui” meant “a young plant to put in a soil” or “every fruit tree”, and generally referred to the activity of sowing and seeds (Holquin, 2007 [1608]: 41). According to archaeologists, bundle-making was perceived as the transformation of the dead into a powerful ancestor who possessed generative power called camaquen (Fung, 1960; Morales, 1998; Kaulicke, 2001; Makowski, 2005; van Dalen Luna, 2017). However, we don’t know if every funerary bundle was perceived and treated as mallqui. The interaction with the dead should be documented in the bundle stratigraphy, with the episodes of reopening and rewrapping well visible (Shimada et al. 2015, van Dalen Luna, 2017).

3. Making the bundle in the Chancay culture

Each funerary bundle (in Spanish: fardo) is composed of different units that create its unique stratigraphy. Instead of soil or construction elements which would be expected in a traditional excavation, these are subsequent layers of textiles, vegetal materials, metal objects, animal skin or fur and different artifacts. The very first, “the lowest”, unit in this sequence is the
mummified or skeletonized human body, the “core” of each bundle. The typical Chancay bundle resembles a rectangular box with its faces slightly curved, which sometimes confers the general appearance of a flattened cylinder. The dimensions rarely exceed 120 cm in length, 70 cm in width and 50 cm in depth. Every bundle is composed of a different number of miscellaneous layers that envelop the body creating the stratigraphic sequence.

3.1 The stratigraphy of the CF C1 bundle

In this article we present the stratigraphic record of the bundle located in the burial CF C1 (Spanish: contexto funerario or funerary context), found in Matrix (feature) 66 of Unit 28, Sub-unit 1. Matrix 66 measured 140 cm in length, 100 cm in width, and the 50 cm in height. The burial was located 171 cm beneath the modern surface level. The bundle was accompanied by three pottery vessels (including anthropomorphic figurine), all executed in the Chancay style. The sample taken from the third cotton layer (level 10B) yielded a radiocarbon date of 580 +/- 30 BP or 1316 to 1439 AD at 95.4% modelled in OxCal v. 4.2.3. using mixed (50:50) IntCal13 and SHCal13 calibration curves (Hogg et al., 2013; Reimer et al., 2013) which means the downturn of the Late Intermediate Period. The unwrapping of the bundle is always a complicated task because of its internal complexity, as well as the poor condition of many elements, especially textiles. We used the stratigraphic method, following the subsequent layers of the bundle, registering every individual element. The work was divided in line with the levels marked by the appearance of the major textiles or vegetal layers that covered or wrapped the bundle. The CF C1 bundle’s external layers had been partially destroyed, and in its middle part there was a hole (approx. 15 x 7 cm) made by robbers, who commonly insert long metal bars into the earth to probe for graves. However, the general stratigraphy remained undisturbed and is presented below. Most of the textiles were woven warp-faced, with a 1x1 interlacing pattern. For those that were not, the difference is specified in the description.

Figure 1. The funerary context analyzed

Level 1. Refers to the external layers, severely damaged (Fig. 1, top). The elements:

- Textile 1: preserved only in fragments, this is a mantle of the white-beige color. One fragment, possibly one of the ends, is attached to the other part of the textile with a cord.
- Cotton layer, thickness from 3 to 5 cm, placed all around the bundle.
- Textile 2: poorly preserved fragment of a bigger mantle. The basic color is dark blue with bands created by brown thread warps. This textile was placed on the upper anterior side of the bundle.
- Textile 3: small mantle, base color brown with bands of geometric figures created with complementary beige and blue thread warps. Placed beneath textile 2.
- Textile 4: created from at least four smaller mantles sewn together. The original color was the white, with the surface slightly opened. Wrapped the whole bundle.

Level 2. Refers to textile 6, with a slightly opened surface, composed of two mantles sewn horizontally and wrapped around the bundle (Fig. 1, bottom). The original color was beige.

![Figure 2. Level 1 (top); level 2 (bottom)](image)

In the upper anterior part there were five copper sheets, laid in the place corresponding to the head of the individual. Three of them were on the surface of textile 6, and the last two directly beneath. Their deposition was apparently simultaneous with that of the textile.

Level 3. Refers to the main element – textile 7 – and the group of elements placed on top of the bundle:
- Layer of cotton.
- Textile 5: small mantle, with cords attached to its corners, original color beige or white.
- Textile 8: small mantle, woven 2x1, warp-faced, original color white or beige.

Figure 3. Level 3, textile 7 (top); level 3 textile 9 (bottom)

Textile 7 (Fig. 2, top) was the mantle that originally wrapped the whole bundle. At the time of the study only 40% of it remained, and the original color was lost. There was a small copper sheet that was attached with a cord to this textile, in a lower part of the bundle. Further below was textile 9 (fig. 2, bottom), a mantle with the surface divided into brown and white bands of different widths, made from alternate threads of these colors used as warps. This textile wrapped the fardo, except for its top.

Level 4. On this level, textile 10 was registered (Fig. 3, top). This textile was not stretched and had many wrinkles, and was preserved in fragments, although it was possible to
determine that it originally wrapped the whole bundle. There was a rectangular copper sheet in one of the wrinkles, on the top of the fardo.

![Image of the fardo](image)

Figure 4. Level 4 (top); level 5 (bottom)

Level 5. Textile 11 occupied another position in the stratigraphic sequence (Fig. 3, bottom). Its surface was decorated with two different colors of warp, with double brown bands (divided by a thin beige line) separated at regular intervals by beige ones. This textile wrapped the whole bundle in an “envelope” manner, with its corners tied in a knot on the central anterior side of the fardo. There were three copper sheets in an upper fold on the mantle. All of them were rectangular, with the edges slightly concave. The edge of the textile in that place had a small copper bead attached with a cord. A major part of textile 11 was in a state of decomposition, with the beige warps frayed.
Level 6. Beneath textile 11 there was a layer of the cotton 3-6 cm thick (Fig. 4, top). It wrapped the bundle except for its upper extreme, where another element, textile 12, was already visible.

![Image of Level 6 and 7A](image)

**Figure 5. Level 6 (top), level 7A (bottom)**

Level 7A. On this level there were two layers – textiles 12 and 13, both in physical contact with the layer of cotton of level 6 (Fig. 4, bottom). Textile 12 wrapped only the upper part of the bundle. It was a mantle sewn of at least eight horizontal bands, each one made of camelid wool in the weft-faced manner, with thick yellow warps and thin rose-red wefts, and with compacted surface (warps invisible). Apart from one case in which two undecorated bands were sown together, every second band had been decorated (Fig. 9). It was in the form of a meander-type figure (probably representing ocean weaves) that continues from one edge to another, and in every flexure there is a figure that represents a fish-like creature bent halfway through the body. Both the meander-type ornament and animal figures had been executed using tapestry and eccentric tapestry, and in some parts also in slit tapestry. In the latter case, the floating parts had been sown to the main part of the textile (the red one). Together, there were four decorated bands and five undecorated ones. Although the textile was not preserved in its entirety, its position on the bundle suggests the original dimensions did not differ remarkably from the present ones.
Level 7B. On this level, textile 13 was registered in its entirety (Fig. 5, top). It had decoration in form of brown and beige vertical bands (warps) placed alternately. This textile was in bad condition, torn and decomposed in many places; however, it was possible to state that it had originally been wrapped around the bundle. Beneath textile 13 there was another one, textile 14, of brown color with an opened surface. This textile originally wrapped the bundle, but only small fragments remained at the time of the examination. Below textile 14 there was a small mantle placed on the top of the bundle. This, textile 16, was decorated with double brown bands (divided by a thin beige line), separated at regular intervals by beige bands. Beneath that small mantle was textile 15, a large mantle decorated with alternate light and dark brown bands (original color unknown). The dark bands had white rectangles as additional decoration. This textile had been sewn from at least three pieces, with vertical seams, and had probably been wrapped around the whole bundle.

Figure 6. Level 7B (top), level 8, textile 18 (bottom)

Level 8. After the removal of textile 15, another two pieces were visible. Textile 17 was a doubled mantle with open surface, of brown color (original color unknown). This element had been placed on the bundle in a shawl-like manner, with both ends laid more below, on the
“thoracic” area. The second textile – 18 – lay beneath textile 17 and was wrapped around the bundle (Fig. 5, bottom). This one lacked any decoration and was badly preserved, although the original beige color was still visible in some places.

Level 9. On this level we registered few different textiles. The first, textile 19, was a mantle decorated in typical style with alternative light and dark bands (the original color had not been preserved) and wrapped horizontally around the bundle, except its top (Fig. 6, top).

Figure 7. Level 9 (top), level 10A (bottom)

Level 10 A. Refers to the level beneath textile 19, where a group of small mantles wrapped around the top was visible, as was a layer of cotton covering the other part of the fardo (Fig. 6, bottom). This level included:

- Textile 20: a beige gauze.
- Textile 21: a beige-brownish mantle, with the edges decorated with a row of marine birds represented in profile, executed using the brocade technique with rose-red supplementary threads; as in the other cases, this piece was fragmented.

Beneath textile 21 there were three copper sheets (Fig. 7, top). Two of them were rectangular with concave edges and were lying alongside each other. The third one had clear rectangular form and was below. The metal pieces were on textile 22, the small mantle that wrapped the top of the bundle in the manner of a headscarf. This textile was executed in a warp-faced manner, with mixed 1/2 and 2/2 interlacing patterns. Originally, this textile had been two-
colored, with beige as the basic color and blue horizontal bands created with dyed wefts. Due to decomposition, the majority of textile 22 had lost its original colors, so it was impossible to determine exactly how it had been decorated.

Level 10 B. On this level, a layer of 5 cm thick cotton was registered (Fig. 7, bottom). This layer was placed beneath textile 19 and textile 22, and was wrapped around whole bundle. The exception was the top, where the amount of the vegetal material was notably less. Textile 22 was in physical contact with textiles 23 and 24, and with the head of the cadaver.

Figure 8. Level 10A, copper sheets (top), level 10B (bottom)

Level 11A. On this level, the skeletonized body appeared (Fig. 8, top). On the rear side of the skull there was textile 24, a small brown piece (original color unknown) between the cotton and textile 22 on one side, and textile 23 and the skull on the other. The head itself was wrapped with a dark blue band or llautu knotted on the forehead (textile 23). The rest of the body was covered with fragments of textile 25, preserved so badly that it was impossible to specify whether it had been the clothing of the cadaver or the mantle that wrapped the body.
Level 11B. This level refers to the skeleton exposed to the highest possible degree (Fig. 8, bottom) without disturbing its anatomic position (for that reason, textile 23 was still present, as it was impossible to remove it without also disturbing the skull). One can notice that there are many small textile fragments and cotton pieces between the bones. This was due to hole made by grave robbers, in which different fragments from upper layers had fallen. There are also elements of each layer visible beneath the skeleton. As in most of the cases, their state of preservation was far worse than in the anterior part of the bundle, and many of them were found in powder form.

The cadaver was lying on its back and partially on the left side, in a tight flexed position with the thighs adducted to the abdomen. The upper extremities were flexed and the hands were placed on the thorax. The skull was turned to the right and angled down – which could have been an intentional act or might have happened accidentally after the bundle had been made. The soft tissues were mostly decomposed, although some pieces of skin were still attached to the bones. The mandible was lowered, and there was a piece of cotton placed inside the oral cavity. Cotton had been used to cover the face of the dead, and after the decomposition of the soft tissue it fell inside the orbits too. There were also green stains on the bones of the face, indicating the original presence of some metal ornament placed directly on the skin. The ribs and the scapulas were displaced towards the pelvis, which probably happened after the burial, perhaps during the excavation of the bundle.

3.2 The cadaver

The cadaver was that of a male aged 50 to 60 (the age at death was established according to Buskistra and Ubelaker (1994) with a typical coastal-type tabular-erect cranial deformation. On the orbital roof was observed cribra orbitalia (second degree). The presence of
these changes suggest iron-deficiency anemia, a vitamin B12-deficient diet or parasitic infections (Hengen, 1971; Walker et al., 2009). All maxillary teeth had been lost during life. The mandibular dentition was partially preserved. From the left part of the dental arch the second incisor, canine and second premolar were still present. On the right side we noted the presence of the first and second premolars, and the first molar. On the crown of the first molar were gross dental caries, and on the contact surfaces of the premolars there were smaller carious lesions. It is most likely that the remaining examples which were examined had survived some serious inflammations that ended with severe fistulas in the alveolus of the upper left incisive and lower left canine. Like most adults buried in the Cerro Colorado necropolis, he suffered from periodontal diseases. In addition, his crown of the left second incisor had been broken during life. The frequency of ante-mortem tooth fractures in this population is very high. We observed, that modern traditional fishermen open mollusk shells directly with their teeth, which could influence the general dental condition and could be one explanation for the dramatic state of dentition in the remains of former fishermen.

Numerous changes were observed in the vertebral column. On the lower thoracic and entire lumbar part of the vertebra, there were well-developed osteophytes on the anterior part of the vertebral bodies. The fifth lumbar vertebra and the sacral bone were fused on both sides but the bodies were unconnected, which means the partial sacralisation of the L5. The segment from the Th11 to L1, on its anterior side, was connected by massive ossification of the longitudinal anterior ligament (ALL). The initial stages of the ossification of the ligaments were observed in the other vertebrae as well. Ossification of the yellow ligaments (YL) was observed along the entire length of the thoracic part of the vertebral column. The presence of the ossified ALL may indicate the occurrence of a disease known as DISH (Ortner 2003). The joints of the upper and lower extremities, especially the shoulder and the knee joints, presented joint deformations typical of degenerative joint disease.

3.3 The making of the CF C1 bundle

As the skin had not been preserved, we don’t know exactly how the body was treated between death and the bundle-making ceremony. The mourners could have smeared the body with some balm. In four other cases where the mummified skin was still present, we discovered traces of some mineral and organic substances that had been applied to the bodies. Although most of the fardos contained mummified or semi-mummified remains, the body of the CF C1 individual had skeletonized. This may mean that no preservatives were used, or that external taphonomic factors enhanced the decomposition of the mummified tissues. Although the Central Coast is arid desert, some sudden rains may happen during the El Nino period, as in 2016. The chemical properties of dyes applied to some textiles could also prove significant.

What we know is that the mourners covered the face (perhaps also the rest of the body) with a layer of cotton, and placed above this some copper objects – as the green stains on the facial bones suggest. Then they filled the oral cavity with small copper sheets and cotton, and tied the llau tu or textile 23 around the head. All these activities could have happened immediately after death, or when the final bundle was being prepared.

During the bundle-making the body was still in one piece, as indicated by the discovery of nearly all bones in their correct anatomical positions. Thus, the individual was arranged (probably naked) in the fetal position and wrapped in the first layer – textile 25, with textile 24 beneath the back of the head. Then the bundle-makers placed a layer of cotton all around the bundle, and wrapped textile 22 around the top, placing on its surface three copper sheets, and above these textiles 21 and 20. Then the subsequent textiles were added. Some of them served as shrouds and were used to wrap the entire bundle, or its bigger part – textiles 19, 18, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 6, 4, 2 and 1. It seems probable that the ceremony participants first placed the textile on
the ground, then put the bundle on it. While wrapping the fardo with the major textiles, they also put groups of small mantles around its top (22, 21 and 20, 17, 16, then 8 and 5, then 3 and 2). This activity could be connected with the placing “false heads” on the top of the fardos, a custom known from many Andean cemeteries. There were also four layers of cotton between the groups of two, four or five large shroud-type textiles, and also just beneath textile 1. The very special textile 12 – the tapestry – was placed on the anterior upper part of the bundle. During bundle-making, the participants placed small copper sheets cut from some larger pieces into the folds of the mantles or between them. We can only hypothesize that the ceremony of bundle-making resembled in some way the one described by Bartolome de las Casas. Thus the team of bundle-makers would be composed of different groups of mourners, who each placed a layer (or layers) as they performed their part of the ritual. The whole process would last from five to ten days, perhaps even longer.

Figure 10. Textile 12 (top), and a detail of its decoration (bottom)

4. Discussion

The bundle from the CF C1 was one of the most significant found on the Cerro Colorado site, due to the number of all textiles used, and the presence of textile 12. Although we found cotton or wool-based tapestries in some other cases, there had previously been no single piece bearing similar decoration, which seems to present serpent-like beings, each one bent in half, with three bands protruding from the end of the body. That could possibly represent the tail of some bird, fish or lizard. The meander-type ornament that divides the beings from each other could be interpreted as the surface of the ocean. There is no doubt that this textile may be studied in many ways and will provide some important data in the future.
The individual from CF C1 died at his 50s or 60s. This life span was quite typical for the fishermen whose remains were buried on the Cerro Colorado site, whereas the other people, including craftsmen, usually died in the fourth or, less often, fifth decade of life. The osteobiography of the cadaver fits into the general condition of the Cerro Colorado population, especially in the matter of dentition, as inflammation resulting in severe fistulas was extremely common. The same can be said about the degenerative joint disease (DJD), as well as the spine malformations. Such severe osteophytosis and ossification of the ligaments were common problems in that area, and the DISH disease occurred sporadically. In our opinion, degenerative changes such DJD, severe osteophytosis and ossification of ligaments are evidence that the individual performed hard physical work, as the traditional modern fishermen still do. As new bone kept forming in his auditory canals, he was losing his hearing, and was probably deaf in the last years of his life. The fistulas in the alveolus of the upper left incisor and lower left canine indicate prolonged inflammation, perhaps even gangrene. This means that the man was in constant pain during the last months or even years of his life. In traditional Andean traditional, illness is, in many cases, the result of a distortion in the natural balance of the forces that drive the universe. This distortion can occur because of sin (including against non-material beings). The activity of natural powers such as the sun or the wind, supernatural forces, contact with the dead and witchcraft may in this tradition cause sickness as well (Marsteller et al., 2011; Altamirano, 2018). It is unknown, however, how exactly the Cerro Colorado people perceived the health problems that affected the CF C1 man. Malformations of the teeth and spine were common among them. In case of the fishermen, exostosis was too. The question of how they explained the presence of these conditions remains unanswered.

The cadaver, that was to be buried inside the bundle, was probably that of a member of the fishing community. This assumption is based on the presence of the new bone formation (exostosis) in both auditory canals. Clinical studies have shown that such tumors grow as a result of frequent diving in cold waters (Reimers et al., 2008). According to Rostworowski, the coastal society of the Central Andes was, during Inca times, divided into farmers, merchant specialists, craftsmen and fishermen, who lived in separate districts or settlements. The fishermen, of the littoral zone, spoke their own language and worshipped deities and natural phenomena associated with marine resources (Rostworowski, 2005: 117-152). It is still unclear, however, whether the division described by Rostworowski didn’t exist in the 13th and 14th centuries, or that these groups lived separately but used the same burial ground.

To sum up, we know that the remains are those of a fisherman who performed hard physical work. He suffered from painful dental and spine symptoms, as well as the presence of parasites, anemia or a vitamin B12 deficiency. Each one of these conditions might have caused physical weakness, and perhaps some psychiatric problems (in case of vitamin B12 deficiency). Nevertheless, his relatives treated the body with great respect, using a significant number of textiles to create the bundle, including the very unique tapestry of textile 12. The latter could simply refer to his fishing skills (if we accept that its iconography represents the sea and marine beings), or perhaps was intended to help him in his afterlife journey. The significant amount of work put in the creation of his bundle suggests he was a special person, for some reason. He might have had outstanding fishing skills, and perhaps eventually became the leader of the fishermen he worked with, fulfilling some political function too. Could it be possible that after death he was worshipped as a divine ancestor or mallqui? We discovered two cases in which new textiles may have been placed on an already closed bundle; the stratigraphy suggests that this could happen some time after the original deposition of the fardo, and this will be verified with the radiocarbon dating. The CF C1 bundle, however, does not present any signs of rewrapping, and seems to be the product of a one-time event. There were no visible traces of the grave having been re-opened, except for those left by modern robbers. Thus there are no signs of interaction between the dead
and his living relatives. That would mean that the individual described in this article was not meant to become mallqui, yet he was buried inside a funerary bundle. The perceived prospects for the dead among society of the Late Intermediate Period was probably more complicated than simple division to ancestors and non-ancestors. Perhaps the coastal version of the ancestor cult did not require interaction with the dead, as Isbell suggests (Isbell, 1997: 144. See, however, Shimada et al., 2016).

5. Conclusion
The stratigraphic study of the Chancay funerary bundles reveals the complexity of the funerary pattern among the late Pre-Hispanic coastal societies. In this paper we have presented the case of the remains of a 50 to 60-year-old fisherman, who towards the end of his life suffered from painful teeth and spine conditions, and was also deaf. During the funeral ceremony, his body was wrapped in 25 different textiles, as well as some additional cotton layers, then he was buried on the Cerro Colorado site. All textiles were warp-faced mantles of different dimensions, made of cotton-based fibers. The only exception was textile 12, the tapestry decorated with the meander-type ornament and with the serpent-like beings. This mantle was made of camelid wool. The general layout of the bundle might be conditioned by the biography of the man before death, including the social position he occupied. Colonial documents suggest that this type of treatment was reserved only for some important people, perceived as powerful ancestors who possessed generative power. However, the stratigraphy of the CF C1 bundle presents no traces of interaction with the dead. We are dealing then with a somehow distinct funerary tradition, which will, hopefully, be understood in the future.

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Ancient Festivals and Their Cultural Contribution to Society

Ioanna-Soultana Kotsori

University of Peloponnese, Kalamata, GREECE
Faculty of Humanities and Cultural Studies

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Abstract

Festivals are cultural and social events involving a multitude of events and are usually held by a crowd of people in a community. We have written testimonies of the existence of holidays in the ancient Egyptian, the Ancient Greece, and the Ancient Rome. These celebrations were mostly religious in nature, and were rural or devoted to the patron gods, or local heroes. In Ancient Athens, each celebration consists of the procession, the sacrifice, the hymns, the sacrificial meal and the races that can be athletic (nude), equestrian and musician. In addition to the festivities that exclusively concerned citizens of a particular city excluding any other Greeks, there were also Pan-Hellenic cults and races, common and open to the entire Greek community. Organizing local festivals enhances local artistic development. In particular, it contributes to the production and promotion of various forms of artistic expression but also to the exploitation of cultural potential.

Keywords: festival, celebrations, PanHellenic games, cultural management.

1. Introduction

Since antiquity, in every society, regardless of place and time, there have been festivals centered on religious faith, peculiar local culture, and everyday life. The celebration of exceptional events, or of worship and honor, to deity, hero, and prominent persons are ancient. In ancient Greece mainly and later in Rome the festivals were widely celebrated and associated with the organization of processions, sports or artistic competitions, theatrical performances, etc.

These festivals were the beginning of the festivals. Festivals are cultural and social events involving a multitude of events and are usually held by a crowd of people in a community. Festivals are a great source of income and tourism locally and internationally. Many organizers are trying to demonstrate the contribution of festivals to local development using mainly economic analysis and various impact assessment methods.

What is the special relationship between the festival and the society that organizes or hosts such an event? Is it just a simple record of participant and sponsorship or earnings data? As Getz says, this process requires further analysis and commentary (Getz, 1991: 5).

Consequences should be sought at the individual and social level, as the event was not always addressed to the local residents themselves. Its most important role is to promote art and culture as a public good that is accessible to all. The attractive cultural environment creates
activated citizens and develops communication between them. In conclusion, a city without culture cannot exist, and cultural institutions concern all citizens as they constitute its cultural present and future. In modern Greece, the first official festival organization was the Athens Festival, with the Epidaurus opening in 1954 at the ancient theater of Epidaurus.

2. Ancient Egypt

As early as 2500 BC, we have written testimonies of the existence of holidays in the ancient Egyptian calendar. Opeth’s celebration in ancient Egypt, or “Opeth’s beautiful feast”, was one of the most important annual festivals in the greater Thebes. The word “opeth” means “secret chamber” and refers to the private and secret rooms adjoining the sacred sanctuary of the god Amon of Luxor (Wilkinson, 2000: 171). In the inner chamber of the temple of Amenhotep III, Opeth’s celebration was essentially a celebration of the royal birthday and through special rituals, during this time, the divine kingdom is rejuvenated and the royal right to power is reaffirmed as the power and authority of the god Amon (who in the New Kingdom was the official state god) transferred to his living son on earth, Pharaoh (Bell, 1997: 174).

Twenty-seven days were celebrated during the twenty-first dynasty, the boat of the god being carried on the shoulders by the priests of the temple throughout the voyage. The procession was accompanied by priests, officials, soldiers, anecdotes, acrobat dancers, drummers, musicians, the king’s chariots and the king himself. Benches with food, drinks and offerings spread across the street leading from the river procession to the temple.

But most of all those who enjoyed the celebration were ordinary citizens. It is recorded that in an Opeth’s celebration of the twelfth century BC temple officials distributed 11,341 loaves of bread and 385 jars of beer to the people (Brier, 1999: 75, 112). Paradoxically, this procession still continues today, on a different religious background. Every year at the “Feast of the Saints” a boat is transported from the Abu-el-Haggag mosque through the streets of Luxor.

3. Hellas

The celebrations of our ancient ancestors were mostly religious in nature, and were rural (Dionysian, Lenaean, Antistiria), or devoted to the patron gods, or local heroes, and our ancestors were considered by them scholars as one of the most revered people in the world. These celebrations were not unique, but they are considered to be the largest and most important of the year, during which almost the entire state took part, and there have been reports of temporary cessation of war operations for warriors to attend celebrations.

During large gatherings called “festivals”, activities of all kinds were held around the sanctuary – real bargains set up because of the overcrowding of people. It is also not unusual, in spite of the inviolability of the sacred site, to become a battlefield. A famous scene, reported by Xenophon, describes a battle between the Illyrians and the Arcadians at the Sanctuary of Olympia: they fly arrows from the propylons, even from the great temple, erect barricades and climb the roof of the temple waiting for the opponent. Therefore, the sanctuaries are, as we see, living spaces (Orrieux, 1995: 300).

3.1 Ancient Sparta

Hyacinthia was a famous three-day Laconic celebration that coincided with the last days of May, or the first of June in honor of Hyacinth at first, and after Apollo, at Amycles, five kilometers south of Sparta near Eurotia. Their participation in the celebration of the Yakinthians was considered by the Spartans and the Amyclians a fundamental religious duty. Xenophon, in
the *Hellenics* (IV, 5, 11), reports that the Spartans interrupted their campaigns in order to be able to return to Laconia so as to participate.¹

*Clea* was the second major Laconic holiday that lasted nine days in Sparta, the local month of Carnegie in August and probably sometime in the first days of September, depending on the Full Moon. In the beginning the feast was dedicated to a local god named Karnos, it was a ram and was considered a patron of fertility and fruit harvesting. The great importance attached to the festival and its month is shown in several instances. It was responsible for the delay which prevented the Spartans from assisting the Athenians at the battle of Marathon (Herodotus, VI. 106), and for the dispatch of a small advance guard under Leonidas to hold Thermopylae instead of the main army (Herodotus, VII. 206).

*Gymnopaedia* in ancient Sparta was a yearly celebration during which naked youths displayed their athletic and martial skills through the medium of war dancing. The custom was introduced in 668 BC, (Cartledge, 2003: 102) concurrently with the introduction of naked athletics. The festival, dedicated to Apollo, was celebrated every year in the summertime with gymnastic contests (Pausanias, *Description of Ancient Greece*, 3.11.7). The festival lasted for several, perhaps for ten days. The Gymnopaedia was a polis event and religious festival, which involved the entire society, including girls and women.

### 3.2 Ancient Athens

Most celebrations were dedicated to Athena. Each celebration consists of the procession, the sacrifice, the hymns, the sacrificial meal, and the races that can be athletic (nude), equestrian and musician. *Panathenaia* was celebrated on 28 July every four years and lasted for twelve days. The competitions for which this festival came to be known were only part of a much larger religious occasion – the Great Panathenaia itself. These ritual observances consisted of numerous sacrifices to Athena (the name-sake of the event and patron deity to the hosts of the event – Athens), as well as Poseidon and others.

The Panathenaic festival was formed in order to honor the goddess Athena who had become the patron of Athens after having a competition with the god Poseidon where they were to win the favor of the Athenian people by offering the people gifts. The festival would also bring unity among the people of Athens. A sister-event to the Great Panathenaia was held every year – the Lesser Panathenaia, which was 3–4 days shorter in celebration. The competitions were the most prestigious games for the citizens of Athens, but not as important as the Olympic Games or the other PanHellenic Games. The Panathenaic Games held contests in a number of musical, athletic, and equestrian events. Due to the fact that there were so many contests held, the games usually lasted a little over a week (Pausanias, *Description of Ancient Greece*, 1, 27, 3).

A number of festivals were dedicated to the god Dionysus. The Dionysian celebration cycle was most likely linked to the ceremonies of the vegetation and life cycle. For the Greeks of classical times, Dionysus was not only the god of wine. The main feasts were the *Dionysians*, the *Lenaia*, and finally the *Antestiria*, and some other great feasts are mediated.

*Lenaia* was an annual Athenian festival with a dramatic competition. It was one of the lesser festivals of Athens and Ionia in ancient Greece. The Lenaia took place in Athens in January. The festival was in honor of Dionysus. The audiences for the Lenaia were usually limited to the local population, since travel by sea at that time of year was considered unsafe. At first, the festival held dramatic competitions only for comedy, but in 432 BCE a tragic contest was introduced. Many of Aristophanes’ plays were first performed there, such as *Knights* (Brockett, 2003: 20).

¹ For further information: [http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/WS/en/Hyacinthia.html](http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/WS/en/Hyacinthia.html).
Thesmophoria took place over three days, from the eleventh to the thirteenth of October (Dillon, 2002: 110) and was the time of the Greek year when seeds were sown. The Thesmophoria may have taken place in this month in other cities, though in some places – for instance Delos and Thebes – the festival seems to have taken place in the summer, and been associated with the harvest, instead. In other places the festival lasted for longer – in Syracuse, Sicily, the Thesmophoria was a ten-day long event. The most extensive sources on the festival are a comment in a scholion on Lucian, explaining the festival, and Aristophanes’ play Thesmophoriazusae, which parodies the festival (Dillon, 2002: 111).

3.3 PanHellenic games

In addition to the festivities that exclusively concerned citizens of a particular city excluding any other Greeks, there were also PanHellenic cults and races, common and open to the entire Greek community, such as those expressed at the famous Olympia or Delphi sanctuaries (Orrieux, 1995: 290).

Hellenic struggles first emerge as a PanHellenic movement, based on the need for man to interrupt wars, even for short periods of time, and to refer to the fundamental bonds that bind him to his fellow man (Miller, 1989: 15). This need, transformed into sporting and religious celebrations, has transferred human competition from the battlefields to the athletic arena (Miller, 1989: 11). Thus, for a certain period every year a PanHellenic truce came into force.

The truce had become a Pan-Hellenic experience and the purpose of its conclusion was the national interest, the realization of the unity instead of the destructive divide. That is, before the date of each race a sacred truce is declared so that pilgrims can visit the temples without the risk of retaliation (Orrieux, 1995: 303).

Of the many fights that took place throughout the ancient Greek world, four were those that came out of narrow local boundaries and became PanHellenic religious and athletic festivals because they developed within powerful religious centers and states with politically flourishing and militant areas. As early as 776 BC was born the Olympic idea in honor of Zeus, whose power continues to move humanity even today.

After Olympia, other great PanHellenic sanctuaries of Delphi followed in 586 BC. In honor of Apollo, the Isthmus in 580 BC. In honor of Neptune and Nemea in 573 BC in honor of Zeus. Since then the races have been regular throughout the ancient times. These struggles were called “common” and “sacred” and earned the appreciation and recognition of the entire ancient Greek world. The winners, crowned with branches of trees or plants, after returning to their homeland, entered the city from a part of the wall that their compatriots had demolished, thinking that when they had such heroes, they did not need walls.²

The institutionalization of the four PanHellenic struggles in antiquity helped to forge the unity of Hellenism. The great PanHellenic struggles caused the interest and participation of all Greeks. They were an attraction for a multitude of athletes who wanted to leave eternal glory through their sporting achievements, but also for a large number of spectators who wanted to watch the purest form of sports competition, applaud athletic excellence and have fun (Orrieux, 1995: 305).

The races also played a social role as people came closer, reinforcing their national identity and unity, and reinforced the sense of “belonging”. If you look at the list of Olympians,

² For further information: http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/Ancient/en/Olympic.html.
they will see their wide spectrum of origin and understand the importance of the competition and sympathy of all these Greeks for consolidating their national consciousness.

4. The Roman era

During the Roman Empire, the Dionysian and Bacchian associations flourished. For many centuries, Dionysian, Orphic, and Eusebian ideas were merged with (Kennedy, 1972: 86). In the following centuries, the religious and social life of the Roman Empire holds an equally important place in celebrations and public holidays, which over the years have become abundant (Dimou, 2016: 14).

In Latin there were two conditions for festive events: festum, as a public holiday, cheerfulness, feast and feria, which means abstaining from work in honor of the gods. Both terms were used in the plural, festa and feria, which indicates that already at that time festivals lasted many days and included many events (Falassi, 1987: 1-2).

Saturnalia was an ancient Roman festival in honor of the god Saturn, held on 17 December of the Julian calendar and later expanded with festivities through to 23 December. The holiday was celebrated with a sacrifice at the Temple of Saturn, in the Roman Forum, and a public banquet, followed by private gift-giving, continual partying, and a carnival atmosphere that overturned Roman social norms: gambling was permitted, and masters provided table service for their slaves (Parker, 2011: 211). Saturnalia was the Roman equivalent to the earlier Greek holiday of Kronia, which was celebrated during the Attic month of Hekatombaion in late midsummer (Bremmer, 2008: 82). Unlike several Roman religious festivals which were particular to cult sites in the city, the prolonged seasonal celebration of Saturnalia at home could be held anywhere in the Empire. Saturnalia continued as a secular celebration long after it was removed from the official calendar (Aulus Gellius 18.2.1).

Lupercalia was an ancient, possibly pre-Roman pastoral annual festival (Lupercalia: Encyclopedia Britannica, 17 -11th ed. - 126.) observed in the city of Rome between 13 and 15 February, to avert evil spirits and purify the city, releasing health and fertility. It was said that it was originally a pastoral feast, as Lupercus was a shepherd’s patron and associated with Roman’s upbringing and breastfeeding. At the Lupercal altar, a male goat (or goats) and a dog were sacrificed.

After the sacrifice, a gathering was organized where plenty of wine flowed. Over the years it lost its glamor as the Romans were not a shepherd’s race, but the celebration continued in remembrance of the founders of Rome and was a pure folk amusement that satisfied the beastly instincts of its faithful.

5. Cultural management

In the ancient Greek world, about two and a half thousand years ago, institutions, traditions and ideas developed that still form the basis of modern culture. Through this effort, various political systems and institutions were born and developed in the Greek city-states.

Cultural policy is defined by UNESCO as a set of social practices, conscious and calibrated, interventions or non-interventions aimed at satisfying certain cultural needs by making the most of all the material and human resources that a given society has, in a certain moment. And yet this policy must set some criteria for cultural development and link culture with personality formation and socio-economic development (UNESCO, 1969: 8).

Festivals play an important role in local communities, offer opportunities for fun and leisure, stigmatize memory and contribute to the local economy (Long, 1990: 10-14). The
organization of cultural activities of a festival aims to create an attractive cultural image of the city. Cities during the festival promote local identity and culture. Festivals also help to reinforce the social dimension of the city.

According to Getz (Getz, 2005: 20-30), festivals exert social and cultural influence on the participants as well as the wider community. Influences are about sharing experiences, discovering new possibilities and stimulating the imagination. The attraction of visitors as well as artists and professionals of the area enhances the economy of the area. Everyone in the area is spending money, stimulating the local market and empowering local businesses. Businesses are often advertised for free through the postings of visitors’ experiences on social networks.

In addition, the tourist development of the place is being enhanced. Tourism enhances pride and creates cultural identity, cohesion, exchange of ideas and increased knowledge about the culture of an area (Besculides et al., 2002: 303). Local government integrates festivals with local development efforts recognizing their potential as tourist catalysts. However, festivals, in addition to local development and strengthening local identity, can also have some negative effects. Some of these may be the annoyance of residents from the overwhelming number of visitors, excessive alcohol consumption, road closures, traffic jams, difficulty finding parking, etc. In summary, we could say that festivals are part of the cultural work of municipalities.

Organizing local festivals enhances local artistic development. In particular, it contributes to the production and promotion of various forms of artistic expression but also to the exploitation of cultural potential. In addition, it can highlight the local color of an area, improve the image of a city and create the conditions needed for its multifaceted development (to be an attraction for visitors, new residents, new businesses, etc.) in the modern competitive environment (Gkagka, 2018: 31).

6. Conclusions

The written testimonies revealed the existence of festivals in the ancient Egyptian, the Ancient Greece and the Ancient Rome, which served mostly religious purposes. These celebrations had or local character or global interest, so were common and open to the entire community. In ancient Greece mainly and later in Rome, the festivals were widely celebrated and associated with the organization of processions, sports or artistic competitions, and theatrical performances.

Festivals are a great source of income and tourism locally and internationally. Many organizers are trying to demonstrate the contribution of festivals to local development using mainly economic analysis and various impact assessment methods. The festival and the society that organizes or hosts such an event have to collaborate for a successful result.

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