

WANKARANI SETTLEMENT DATASET

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SITE DESCRIPTIONS

La Joya Region

LJ-A: Large artifact scatter with a diameter of from 150-250m. The artifact scatter is very light (less than five sherds/m²) except for four small denser concentrations within it. We systematically collected two of the concentrations in 2x2m units. Ground visibility is good, topography is totally flat, and no surface architecture was evident. Ceramics of the Mallku style are present on the surface. Slate, basalt, and chert flakes and bifaces were also retrieved. The site is located near a small spring that produces a small pond where flamingos roost much of the year. The surrounding area is used for modern pasturage. This site probably represents a Late Intermediate Period farmstead group.

LJ-B: Parts of the surface of this Wankarani mound site have been leveled, covered with fill, and used for a parking area for mine vehicles. Therefore, no surface architecture is evident on the surface of this site.

LJ-C: This Wankarani mound site has some well preserved surface architectural features including round/oval structural foundations two to five meters in diameter and some smaller features believed to be threshing bins. Unfortunately mining activity has disturbed portions of the site considerably.

LJ-D: This Wankarani mound site is relatively well preserved and there are several surface architectural foundations, although some mining of site for building stones has occurred. Structural foundations on the site are generally round or oval in shape ranging from two to three meters in diameter. There are also some smaller oval features that may be threshing bins. The site has been plowed and a considerable amount of erosion down the sides of site has taken place.

LJ-E: This site is composed of a continuous relatively dense distribution of artifacts. Therefore, this site probably represents something more like a village than a farmstead or farmstead group. Diagnostic Mallku artifacts were recovered from the surface.

LJ-F: This site has been completely destroyed by deep mining activities. It was located on top of a hill, overlooking the Río Desaguadero.

LJ-G: This is a typical dark, ashy Wankarani mound site. It is slightly elevated above the plain which is inundated with water during the rainy season. There are foundation stones on the surface but few are in situ.

LJ-H: The surface of this dark ashy Wankarani mound site has a dense scatter of surface artifacts. In addition to the typical lithic and ceramic artifacts, the surface is littered with copper slag. Foundation stones are common on surface, but few remain in situ.

LJ-I: This Wankarani mound site has some copper slag in addition to the typical ceramic and lithic artifacts. The site is covered with foundation stones, but very few are in situ. Extensive modern corrals and parcel walls surrounding the site are constructed with foundation stones mined from the site.

LJ-J: This is the largest Jachakala Phase settlement (Tiwanaku-contemporary) in the research zone, located at northeastern base of Cerro La Joya, relatively close to the Río Desaguadero. There are large stone foun-

dations throughout the central portion of the site in addition to the typical artifacts found on prehispanic sites in the region. LJ-J (the Jachakala type site) is described in detail by Bermann and Estévez (1993).

LJ-K: This very dense, nucleated artifact scatter represents one of the few Late Intermediate Period nucleated villages. Part of site is covered by a modern cemetery, a schoolhouse, a road, and agricultural fields, all of which have impacted the site considerably. Ponce characterized this settlement as a Wankarani site; however, there is no evidence of Wankarani ceramics or other Wankarani style artifacts on the surface. Rather, ceramics are characteristic of the Late Intermediate Period.

LJ-L: This site is a light scatter of artifacts near the river at the northeastern base of the Cerro La Joya. Above the site are some poorly preserved agricultural terraces which are eroded and disturbed by modern cultivation.

LJ-M: This is one of two defensive outpost sites in the research zone. The site is in a very defensive location, on top of Cerro Isahuara (the northern spur of Cerro La Joya). Below the pinnacle of the site are several terraces constructed of very large stones and boulders, some agricultural in purpose and some with occupational refuse. Colluvial deposition has obscured the remains of most of these terraces. The terraces are large, approximately two to ten meters long and two to five meters deep. On the south side of the site is a large terraced wall allowing for further defense.

LJ-N and LJ-O: These sites are small and light artifact scatters at the base of Cerro La Joya.

LJ-P and LJ-Q: These light scatters of Jachakala ceramics lies to the northeast of the site of Jachakala (LJ-J). They probably served as peripheral residential areas of the type site. Within the larger scatters, there are small concentrations that probably represent peripheral residences (isolated farmsteads).

LJ-R: This site is a Late Intermediate Period small nucleated village. The site consists of a relatively dense, nucleated artifact scatter on southern slope of Cerro La Joya. Mallku ceramics were present on the surface. The site is located in an area covered with modern agricultural terraces so it has been heavily impacted. In addition to these disturbances, colluvial deposition has obscured much of the site.

LJ-S: This is one of two Late Intermediate Period defensive outpost sites. It is located on the top of a southern spur of Cerro La Joya. Diagnostic Mallku ceramics were present on the surface. With a good view in all directions (except north) and a high location it seems to be defensive in purpose. The site is surrounded by terraces (agricultural and habitation) that are now obscured by colluvial deposition.

LJ-T and LJ-U: These are Late Intermediate Period Farmstead groups with light to medium artifact scatters and possibly agricultural and occupational terraces (they may be modern).

LJ-V: Bermann and Estévez (1992) report the presence of a few Tiwanaku-style sherds on top of Cerro La Joya. This site LJ-V, may be an offering of some sort.

LJ-W: Bermann and Estévez (1992) report the presence of a few Inca-style sherds on top of Cerro La Joya at this site. It may represent an offering of some sort.

LJ-30 and LJ-31: Late Intermediate Period farmstead groups with partial remains of terracing with residential remains including ceramic and lithic artifacts. Both sites are very eroded since they are located on a hill slope adjacent to seasonal drainages. These very light sherd scatter with a few concentrations. Also, drilling activities have disturbed these sites (particularly LJ-31).

LJ-32: This Late Intermediate farmstead is in an area that has been extensively plowed in modern times. Its location between hills is ideal as the hills serve as natural windbreaks from the strong winds that pick up in the early afternoon.

LJ-33: This Late Intermediate farmstead group is located on a seasonal drainage in an area of modern cultivation and grazing activities. It is a fairly dense ceramic scatter but very few lithics were found, with only a few bifaces and biface fragments.

LJ-34 and LJ-35: Two nearby Late Intermediate farmstead sites composed of artifact scatters of medium density located on either side of a low-lying hill.

LJ-36: This Wankarani mound site is located among low-lying hills with a direct corridor to the Río Desaguadero via a valley to northwest of the site. Its location in the hills is a very different kind of location than all other Wankarani sites in the La Joya region. There are several oval stone foundations, in situ.

LJ-37: This small nucleated village site is composed of a medium to dense artifact scatter. It is located directly on the river on a low lying spur sticking out eastward toward the river. The site is slightly eroded and cut by a road on its western edge.

LJ-38, LJ-39, LJ-40, LJ-41: These are typical Late Intermediate farmstead settlements.

LJ-43: This farmstead group site is composed of three concentrations connected by a very light scatter of artifacts. Mallku ceramics were present on the surface of the site.

LJ-44 and LJ-45: These sites are composed of small artifact scatters circling the hills west of Cerro La Joya. Occasional small light scatters around the bases of these hills suggests that there were several single farmsteads.

LJ-46: This Late Intermediate Period farmstead group is located on the plain south of Cerro Quimsa Chata (directly west of Cerro La Joya). This site is typical of all farmstead groups, with small dense artifact concentrations connected by a very light scatter of artifacts, except for the presence of several projectile points and chert and jasper flakes (used in projectile point manufacture). In this area the survey team sighted herds of vicuña regularly (including the day we found this site); therefore, hunting may have been a more important part of the subsistence pursuits of inhabitants of this site than other sites located nearer the hill groups where potatoes and quinoa could be intensively cultivated.

LJ-47 and LJ-48: These small nucleated village sites are composed of dense artifact scatters, near springs. The sites are disturbed by modern cultivation and grazing activities. These Late Intermediate period nucleated villages have more diverse lithic assemblages than La Joya Wankarani sites including basalt, chert, slate, and obsidian.

LJ-49: This small farmstead group site has two small discrete artifact concentrations connected by a lighter scatter of artifacts. The ceramics on the site exhibit the characteristic reddish slip of Late Intermediate Period sherds.

LJ-51: This is a large site of chullpas, approximately 15 to 25 chullpas in all. Chullpas, approximately 2x2m and up to two meters high, are arranged in two (possibly three) long north-south lines. Most of the chullpas are badly destroyed and looted. The openings of the chullpas open to the east. There are a few Late Intermediate sherds surrounding the chullpas but too few to suggest that there was settlement nearby.

LJ-52: This site is composed of two chullpas located directly north of Cerro La Joya. These chullpas are constructed of mudbrick with paja (straw) fibers mixed in for durability. In the ceiling of these chullpas are stone slabs held in place with wooden beams.

LJ-53: This is a typical farmstead site like LJ-L, LJ-N, and LJ-O, located on the saddle between Cerro La Joya and Cerro Isahuara.

LJ-54: This Late Intermediate farmstead group site is located on the southern base of Cerro La Joya in the potato/quinoa agriculture zone. Terraces above the site (agricultural and occupational) are obscured by colluvial deposition, which was probably accelerated through mining activities on Cerro La Joya.

LJ-55: This is a site with some Jachakala type ceramics on the surface. The site is located on the western base of Cerro La Joya with a medium scatter of artifacts and several stone basins. These stone basins are possibly associated with the extraction of minerals from prehispanic times; however, they are probably artifacts of colonial mining activities.

LJ-56: This is a small nucleated village site with a dense and continuous ceramic scatter on the eastern base of Cerro La Joya. The site is slightly elevated above plain which is inundated with water during the rainy season.

LJ-57: This isolated farmstead site is located on a small rise and is composed of a medium artifact scatter which includes Mallku ceramics.

LJ-58, LJ-59, and LJ-60: These Late Intermediate Period farmstead sites are typical of other farmsteads located on the plain with light and small artifact scatters.

LJ-61: This site is composed of a light scatter of artifacts with denser concentrations within this area (farmstead group). Diagnostic Mallku ceramics and three projectile points found on the surface of this site.

LJ-62 and LJ-63: These are Late Intermediate Period isolated farmstead sites with characteristic ceramics with red slip.

LJ-64: This is a large farmstead group site with copper slag on the surface. It is composed of a large artifact scatter with several very dense concentrations. Small fragments of copper slag localized in various parts of the site, suggests this site was active in the production of copper during the Late Intermediate Period. Also, a projectile point and Mallku ceramics were found.

LJ-65: This is a typical Late Intermediate Period isolated farmstead site.

LJ-66: This site is an enormous Late Intermediate Period farmstead group site. It is a sprawling light scatter with multiple smaller dense concentrations. This site probably represents a large community spread out (dispersed) in separate compounds. Similar large farmstead groups are common in the region today, with as many as 10 to 40 compounds located apart from one another. Mallku ceramics and many utilized bifaces were found on the surface of the sites. Additionally, at least 16 chullpas arranged in several north-south rows on the eastern edge of the site.

LJ-67, LJ-68, and LJ-69: These are farmstead group sites with chullpas on their eastern boundaries. They are characterized by light artifact scatters with small denser concentrations within. Included in the ceramic assemblages were diagnostic Mallku ceramics.

LJ-70: This is a typical isolated farmstead group.

LJ-71: This site is similar to LJ-66 but far smaller. It is composed of a light scatter of artifacts with smaller dense concentrations. At least four chullpas serve as the eastern boundary of the site. Also, there were some copper slag fragments in the collections, and a copper artifact (possibly a hair ornament) was retrieved.

LJ-72: This Late Intermediate farmstead group site is composed of a medium scatter of artifacts with some smaller, denser concentrations. Mallku sherds, handle sherds, and a carved stone (non-local granite) lizard or fish head were collected from the surface.

LJ-73: This is a typical isolated farmstead site, a small concentration of ceramic and lithic artifacts.

LJ-74: This site was an isolated projectile point found near a pregnant vicuña that was having her baby.

LJ-75: This typical Late Intermediate farmstead site is composed of a medium scatter of artifacts.

LJ-76: This site is composed of a small concentration of artifacts including several small copper slag fragments. This site may possibly represent a single farmstead that smelted copper, or it may have been separated from a larger site because of the air pollution caused by copper smelting.

LJ-77, LJ-78 and LJ-79: These were isolated projectile points located in areas where the survey team consistently encountered small groups of vicuña.

LJ-80: This site is a single isolated chullpa with no associated settlement.

LJ-81, LJ-82, LJ-83, LJ-84, LJ-85, and LJ-86: These Late Intermediate farmstead sites are small, light isolated artifact scatters on the plain.

Río Kochi Region

RK-1: This Wankarani mound site has typical Wankarani artifacts, but it located on top of a hill, highly defensible on all sides which is unusual for Wankarani sites in the research zone. In addition to the typical lithic materials (especially basalt) found on the site, obsidian was encountered.

RK-2, RK-3, and RK-4: These are Late Intermediate farmstead sites with medium scatters of artifacts. These sites are located in areas with close access to good farm and pasture lands.

RK-5: This is a single chullpa site. The chullpa is very degraded; however, it is evident that the doorway opens to the east as do all chullpas encountered in the research zone. The chullpa is located in a modern agricultural field.

RK-6: This site is composed of four chullpas arranged in three north-south rows with the openings facing east. The chullpas, as at other chullpa sites, are arranged perfectly with respect to the cardinal directions. Only a few ceramic fragments were found and no lithic artifacts were encountered. There are the slightest remains in the form of slight small bumps or rises where other chullpas had been leveled and/or melted away with the seasonal rains. The area surrounding the site is used today as pasturage.

RK-7: This is a large chullpa site with at least 25 chullpas, arranged in at least six north-south rows. All chullpas in this group open to the east. Some of the chullpas remain in excellent condition and exhibit the construction techniques quite well. The chullpas are constructed on a built up mudbrick platform (very durable, intermixed with paja). Then the walls of the rectangular structure are built up with the same durable mudbrick and angle in to a peak at the top, center. Inside the chullpa the ceiling (flat) is composed of large flat stone slabs laid horizontally (functioning as lintels) side by side. There was a medium to dense scatter of ceramics and a light scatter of lithics on the site. Also, there were human bone fragments associated with the chullpas reinforcing the notion that they were used as above ground burial chambers, possibly marking territory.

RK-8 and RK-9: These sites are probably associated with one another and do not contain ceramics. The predominant lithic material is basalt. The debitage is characteristic of bifacial retouch debitage and biface breakage, suggesting it was the site of intensive bifacial usage, i.e. agricultural fields.

RK-10: This site is a small scatter of ceramics and lithics on a ridge top overlooking the river. Today the area is used as a potato field.

RK-11: This is a farmstead site located on a gentle eastern slope on a tributary of the Río Kochi. The area is used in modern cultivation and a modern farmhouse is located nearby.

RK-12: This site is composed of four chullpas, all arranged in the cardinal directions (in north-south rows) with the openings facing east. Associated with the chullpas is a light scatter of artifacts.

RK-13: This site is composed of two chullpas arranged in a north-south line opening to the east. This site is located approximately 500 meters east of Calchi Chullpa (RK-7) and may be associated with this site. Very few artifacts were found near these chullpas.

RK-14: This site is located on the top of a hill overlooking an eastern tributary (Río Tiviña) of the Río Kochi. Modern cultivation and erosion have disturbed the archaeological site. There is a light scatter of ceramics and a light to medium scatter of lithic remains (flakes and biface fragments). The area was probably cultivated by a single farmstead, possibly a temporary occupation set up during periods of cultivation.

RK-15: This site is located on the flat top of a hill just north of Jaltaya (RK-14) and is composed of basalt, chert, and slate debitage and biface fragments and no ceramics. This was probably a field associated with the occupation of Jaltaya (RK-14). Today these flat top locations are used as agricultural fields.

RK-16: This is an aceramic site composed of biface fragments and flakes of basalt, slate and two obsidian flakes. This site is located at the junction of a tributary (Río Tiviña) and the Río Kochi on a spur sticking out at the junction of the drainages. The area is under modern cultivation and has undergone some erosion. The site probably represents an agricultural field or maybe a lithic workshop where obsidian was worked in addition to the typical slate and basalt materials.

RK-17: This Wankarani village site is located on the top of a low lying hill overlooking the Río Kochi which is less than 2 kilometers away. Between the site and the river is extensive agricultural and grazing land. No geographic barriers (quebradas, tributaries, hills) retard access to the river. Surface artifacts were dense and included basalt, slate, chert, quartz, obsidian, ceramics, grinding stones, and surface architecture. The site is in fairly good condition with only a few small looters pits on the side of the site. Stone foundations were typical of those found at other Wankarani sites in the research zone. The excavation of a 2x1 meter unit determined that deposits were approximately 2.5 meters deep near the center of the mound. Surrounding the site are modern agricultural fields, potatoes and quinoa. Also, much of the surrounding landscape is used for grazing domestic herds. Additionally, there were 59 projectile points (of basalt, quartz, chert, and obsidian) collected from the site, more than any other site in the research zone, so hunting (and possibly spear fishing) clearly played a part in the subsistence economy.

RK-18: This Late Intermediate Period nucleated village site is located on the eastern edge of a tributary running north to the Río Kochi. The western edge of the site has eroded into the tributary and the site as a whole is under modern cultivation so it is quite disturbed. Artifact density is relatively high including basalt, quartz, slate, and obsidian lithics, and the ceramics are very similar to the ceramics at the sites of RK-24 and RK-27 sherds that may be classified as Pacaje. Included in the ceramic assemblage is the leg of a ceramic vessel believed to be in the form of a llama. Four projectile points were encountered, at least two of which are very distinct from points found on Wankarani sites. Therefore, this site represents a Late Intermediate site with Pacaje style ceramics as opposed to Mallku style ceramics.

RK-19: This gray ashy Wankarani mound is typical of Wankarani sites found elsewhere in the research zone, except it is located on a low lying hilltop (as are the other Wankarani sites in the Río Kochi region). Surface artifacts are dense including lithics, ceramics, grinding stones, and many oval/circular stone foundation. The site is located on the top of a hill at the northern base of higher and steeper hills. The site has close access to the river. A modern corral lies on the northeastern corner of the site constructed of foundation stones mined from the site itself. Also, portions of the site have been plowed and used for cultivation. Erosion has also disturbed the site. Typical Wankarani sherds, projectile points, and bifaces are diagnostic artifacts collected from the site. The site is surrounded by modern agricultural fields and pasture land.

RK-20: This farmstead site is located north of the Río Kochi. It is a small scatter of artifacts including Mallku ceramics on a hilltop on a ridge overlooking the river.

RK-21 and RK-22: These farmstead sites are located on natural terraces overlooking the river that is only one kilometer away. The terrain is relatively sandy and probably is covered with colluvial deposition from the hill slopes directly to the north. The sites are composed of a medium scatter of artifacts including lithics and Mallku ceramics. These kinds of sites probably occur all along the base of the hills to the north of the Río Kochi, but are covered over by flood deposits. Farmers in the area said they commonly dig up broken pots and other artifacts when plowing the fields adjacent to the river at the base of the northern hills.

RK-23: This site represents the remains of a single broken pot that is stylistically similar to the Tiwanaku style. No further settlement is associated with this find, however. The site is located at the base of a solitary hill located just north of the Río Kochi and may represent an offering of some sort.

RK-24: This isolated farmstead site is located on a hill slope leading down to a northwestern tributary of the Río Kochi. This site is very disturbed, it has been heavily plowed and there are modern structures built on-site and nearby. Artifact density is relatively high including Pacaje sherds and a large quantity of utilized bifaces. The site is very ashy and ceramics are similar to the sherds found at RK-18, and RK-27. Included in the ceramic assemblage are handled and based vessels further suggesting that it is a Late Intermediate site.

RK-25: This site is located on a low-lying plain adjacent to a tributary of the Río Kochi. Today the area is under cultivation and used for pasturage. The area is also dotted by individual farmsteads, probably similar to the settlement pattern during Late Intermediate times.

RK-26: This Wankarani site is typical of other Río Kochi Wankarani sites, located on a hill or spur at the base of much higher, steeper hills. There is relatively easy access to the river, but the site is in a defensible location. The area surrounding the site is used in the cultivation of potatoes and the plain at the base of the spur is used in quinoa cultivation. Oval/circular foundations common to other Wankarani sites are also apparent on the surface of this site; however, very few foundation stones are left in situ. The hill sides below the site are covered with modern terraces. Artifacts on the surface are dense and typical of other Wankarani sites including utilized bifaces, ceramics, grinding stones, and projectile points.

RK-27: This Late Intermediate Period nucleated village site is a long linear site located on the primary terrace along the Río Huayllamarca, a large tributary of the Río Kochi. Part of the site has eroded into the river channel and the profile shows a shallow (approximately 30 cm deep) deposition. The site is also adjacent to a modern farmstead group and is somewhat disturbed due to daily impact from the modern inhabitants. The artifact scatter is dense and there are a few foundation stones in situ, but not enough to discern the size of the structures. The ceramics are different than Late Intermediate Mallku ceramics and may actually represent the Pacaje style. The paste is a lighter brown, one sherd is decorated with the typical Pacaje motif, a llama stick figure. The base fragments are also more similar to the bases found at RK-18 and RK-24. Additionally, a ceramic figurine fragment was found, similar to the ceramic llama leg found at RK-18.

RK-28: This site is a small light scatter of artifacts just south of the Río Kochi located on a hilltop. Mallku ceramics were present on the site.

RK-29: This linear site was located at the southeast base of a hill. The artifact scatter was light including Mallku ceramics and basalt and obsidian flakes.

RK-30: This farmstead site is composed of a small medium artifact scatter located on a rise on a small tributary of the Río Kochi.

RK-31: This site is located between two hills slightly elevated above the Río Kochi floodplain. The site is surrounded by modern cultivation. The artifact scatter is of medium density including sherds and lithic remains.

RK-32: This isolated farmstead site is located on a flat topped hill overlooking the Río Kochi. Ceramics, lithics (basalt, chert, obsidian), a grinding stone, and a basalt projectile point were encountered on the surface of the site. This hilltop is currently under cultivation.

RK-33: This site is located on a hilltop overlooking the Río Kochi and is composed of a light scatter of artifacts including a basalt projectile point.

RK-34: This site is a light artifact scatter located on a flat topped bluff overlooking the Río Kochi. The area is currently under cultivation.

RK-35: This site is located on the plain, near a spring. The soil is quite sandy and there is a lot of leña vegetation.

RK-36, RK-37, and RK-38: These sites are located on the plain near the modern village of Papel Pampa. They are small light artifact scatters in an area that is predominantly used for pasturage. Very little cultivation occurs around these sites.

RK-39 and RK-40: These sites are located on the plain near pasture land. Modern cultivation of quinoa surrounds the sites. The sites are composed of medium artifact scatters with dense concentrations of artifacts including sherds and lithics (basalt, slate, obsidian). Included in the artifact assemblages were Mallku sherds and a basalt projectile point (at RK-39).

RK-41 and RK-42: These sites are located on the plain adjacent to stands of leña (a shrub used for fuel). Grazing is the most predominant activity in the vicinity of the sites today; however, there is the occasional agricultural (quinoa) field.

Belén Region

B-1: Several in situ circular foundations are evident on the surface of this site and typical Wankarani artifacts are abundant. In addition to the typical artifacts, three carved stone llama heads were recovered. Also, the characteristic purple and light brown sandstone fragments (the material the heads were carved out of) littering the surface suggests that the manufacture of the heads took place on site. Also, a ground basalt ax head was recovered, very similar to Formative ax heads encountered in Cochabamba.

B-2: This five to six meter high Wankarani mound is currently being used as a garbage dump for the modern village of Belén. Additionally, the site has been extensively looted. Systematic collections were not made, but some diagnostic artifacts were collected.

B-3: This Wankarani mound site is relatively small located at the northern base of hills. The site has undergone some disturbance as there were modern plow furrows cut into the surface of this gray ashy mound.

B-4: This Wankarani village site is located on the top of a hill on the western edge of the Belén hill group. Given its location on the western edge of the region it may have served as a defensive lookout or frontier site. Residential terraces descend down the slopes of the hill and contains typical Wankarani artifacts, including stone llama heads, and carved shallow stone basins (mortars) and four sling stones were found, possibly used as defensive weapons.

B-5: This is a typical small Wankarani site approximately three meters high. Extensive looting by a nearby potters community has taken place at the site. The potters crush the sherds and use the powder for temper in making their pots.

B-6: This is a large Wankarani site. It has undergone extreme looting, with a trench excavated in the center of the site. Some stone oval foundations remain intact, and typical Wankarani artifacts were abundant on the surface, including stone llama heads.

B-7: This is a typical ashy Wankarani mound site except for one thing. It is littered with sandstone fragments and sandstone llama heads/fragments. Unlike most other Belén Wankarani sites, B-7 is a very well preserved site. There is an abandoned modern house on this mound with a coral constructed of foundation stones and an occasional sandstone llama head. We found two sandstone llama head blanks. On these blanks, the features are sketched in but not completely engraved or carved out, suggesting this site manufactured these carvings. There is also a carved white granite stone with snake motifs, very similar to Chiripa (Yaya Mama Tradition) motifs.