

Modeling Breastfeeding and Weaning Practices (BWP) on the Coast of Northern Chile's Atacama Desert During the Formative Period

Erin K. Smith, William J. Pestle, Alejandro Clarot & Francisco Gallardo

To cite this article: Erin K. Smith, William J. Pestle, Alejandro Clarot & Francisco Gallardo (2017) Modeling Breastfeeding and Weaning Practices (BWP) on the Coast of Northern Chile's Atacama Desert During the Formative Period, *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology*, 12:4, 558-571, DOI: [10.1080/15564894.2016.1253047](https://doi.org/10.1080/15564894.2016.1253047)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564894.2016.1253047>



Published online: 22 Nov 2016.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 65



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 1 View citing articles [↗](#)

Report

Modeling Breastfeeding and Weaning Practices (BWP) on the Coast of Northern Chile's Atacama Desert During the Formative Period

Erin K. Smith,¹ William J. Pestle,² Alejandro Clarot,³
and Francisco Gallardo⁴

¹*Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, Colorado, USA*

²*Department of Anthropology, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, USA*

³*Department of Anthropology, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile*

⁴*Department of Anthropology and Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Interculturales e Indígenas, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile*

ABSTRACT

Stable isotope analysis of bone collagen is frequently employed as a means of studying the breastfeeding and weaning practices (BWP) of archaeological populations. Such studies are strengthened greatly through the application of statistical models that permit precise and model-bound estimates of weaning age, duration, trophic enrichment, and the isotopic characterization of supplementary foods. Here we present the result of a stable isotope ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$) and Bayesian computational modeling study of bone collagen from human subadults from two coastal cemetery sites located near the mouth of the River Loa in the Atacama Desert. Recent bioarchaeological and paleodemographic research on remains from these marine hunter-gatherer sites, which are contemporary with the Formative Period (1500 BC–AD 400), has found evidence for notably elevated rates of female fertility. Ultimately, we argue that the modeled BWP parameters, which indicate the early introduction of supplementary foods, support an argument

Received 26 February 2016; accepted 17 October 2016.

Address correspondence to William J. Pestle, Department of Anthropology, University of Miami, Merri-
rick Hall 102E, Coral Gables, FL 33124-2005, USA. E-mail: w.pestle@miami.edu

of high fertility as gleaned from the bioarchaeological evidence, and that these results provide novel insights into the child-rearing practices of the coastal populations of the Atacama. Indeed, these populations would have seemed to have developed a set of BWP that carefully balanced the biological and economic production/reproduction of the community.

Keywords archaeometry, bone, economy and subsistence, mortuary remains, Southern Andes

INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND

Breastfeeding and weaning are fundamental to the mammalian, primate, and human life course, and have profound impacts at both the individual and societal level (Humphrey 2010; Sellen 2007; Stuart-Macadam and Dettwyler 1995). Anthropological studies of both modern and ancient societies have found huge global variation in breastfeeding practices and the timing and process of weaning (Stuart-Macadam and Dettwyler 1995; Tsutaya and Yoneda 2015). The study of breastfeeding and weaning practices (BWP) is important in the field of anthropology not only because of the high degree of inter-cultural variation in, for example, weaning time (Sellen 2001), but also because BWP can be a reliable proxy for female fertility. Although the exact mechanism is debated, the linkage between BWP and female fertility is well established in medical and public health literature, with more rapid supplementation and weaning permitting/promoting greater individual fertility and the potential for more rapid population growth (Bongaarts and Potter 1983; Campbell and Wood 1988; Howie and McNeilly 1982; McNeilly 1997; Wood 1994).

The Formative Period (1500 BC–AD 400) in Chile was a period in which a profound shift in subsistence strategies engendered acute social transformations. In much of northern Chile's Atacama Desert (Figure 1), the Formative Period saw the emergence of a suite of novel phenomena, including sedentism, agriculture, camelid pastoralism, surplus production fostering far-flung exchange networks, and burgeoning cultural and ceremonial complexity

(Gallardo 2009; Lumbreras 2006; Núñez et al. 2006; Pimentel 2013). During this period, the marine hunter-gatherers of the coast increased their production of marine goods, began burying their dead in tumulus cemeteries, and exponentially increased their exchange with the agriculturalists and pastoralists of the interior oases (Ballester and Clarot 2014). While these coastal populations are not considered Formative in culture-historical terms (they did not live in villages nor practice agriculture/pastoralism), they are of Formative date, and their new economic and social forms gave rise to stable and surplus producing economies that fostered increasing population size and nucleation, brought about a reduction of residential mobility, saw an elaboration of mortuary practices in collective cemeteries, and fostered the development of region-wide systems of social interaction (Agüero et al. 2006; Agüero and Uribe 2011; Ayala 2001; Lumbreras 2006; Núñez 1971; Pestle et al. 2015a; Uribe 2009).

Rather little is known, from archaeological data, about the role(s) of women in the economic and social life of hunter-gatherer coastal communities of this era. Skeletal analysis of earlier (Archaic) coastal populations found stark sex-related differences in patterns of activity-related pathologies, differences attributed to male participation in fishing and marine hunting and female participation in marine gathering and child-rearing (Quevedo Kawasaki 2000). Sixteenth–nineteenth century ethnographic sources from the Atacama coast provide ample evidence of the differences in gender roles in an admittedly much later era, with fishing and long-distance



Figure 1. Map of northern Chile with locations mentioned in text noted.

travel/exchange being a male activity, whereas gathering (of marine mollusks and water), domestic activities, and child-rearing were the sole domain of females (Ballester et al. 2010; D'Orbigny [1835–1847] 1945; Feuillée 1714; Pretty [1599] 1904). The centrality of female activities in the economic and social reproduction of their (admittedly temporally later) communities is evident from these accounts.

As already mentioned, a key element of the drastic socio-cultural changes of the Formative Period in northern Chile was the rapid growth of local populations. Indeed, bioarchaeological research on remains from a series of coastal sites contemporaneous with the Formative Period has found substantial evidence for elevated rates of female fertility. Clarot and Moraga (2016) calculated three indices of fertility: the D_{30+}/D_{5+} index (Buikstra et al. 1986; Konigsberg et al. 1989), the D_{5-14+}/D_{20+} index (Bocquet 1979; Bocquet-Appel and Masset 1982), and the crude birth rate (Weiss 1973, 1975; Weiss and Wobst 1973) for these coastal Atacama populations, which were then compared with three ethnographically well-studied hunter-gatherer popula-

tions (!Kung, Agta and Ache). In the case of all three indicators, and as seen in Table 1, the coastal populations of the Atacama Desert possessed much higher levels of fertility than those observed in any of the comparative populations (Clarot and Moraga 2016). All things being equal, we would expect this observed high fertility to be linked to an early average weaning time, a correlation seen in other archaeological examples of expanding populations (Tsutaya et al. 2015).

To test this hypothesis, we employed cross-sectional (i.e., not longitudinal)

Table 1. Comparison of fertility indices among coastal Chilean and ethnographically documented hunter-gatherer populations.

	D_{30+}/D_{5+}	D_{5-14+}/D_{20+}	b
Chilean Atacama	0.33	1	0.24
Ache	0.63	0.26	0.21
Agta	0.77	0.05	0.13
!Kung	0.97	0.11	0.13

isotopic analysis of bone collagen and Bayesian computational modeling to investigate BWP in two cemetery populations from sites located near the mouth of the Loa River, the only river in the region that reaches the Pacific Ocean (Figure 1). Ultimately, the results of this study at least partially support an argument of high fertility as gleaned from the bioarchaeological evidence, suggest the development of a novel strategy balancing biological and economic necessities, and provide novel insights into the child-rearing practices (in particular the types of supplementary foods used during weaning) of the coastal populations of the Atacama.

ISOTOPE ANALYSIS AS A METHOD OF RECONSTRUCTING WEANING AGE

Biogeochemical methods, in particular stable isotope analysis, have become commonplace for the reconstruction of both paleodiet and ancient BWP (Fuller et al. 2006; Humphrey 2014; Lee-Thorp 2008; Pestle et al. 2014; Tsutaya and Yoneda 2015). As with other broader isotopic studies of paleodiet, the central premise of such analysis is that the consumption (and cessation of consumption) of a particular foodstuff, in this case breastmilk, will impart certain identifiable chemical characteristics in the biomolecular composition of consumer bone. While such analysis is predicated on certain assumptions (i.e., sufficient preservation of bone biomolecules, that breastmilk differs significantly from other available foods), “if a certain elemental signal systematically differs among breast milk, weaning foods, and the adult diet, BWPs can also be reconstructed” (Tsutaya and Yoneda 2015:3).

As Tsutaya and Yoneda (2015:4) note in their recent and extensive review of biogeochemical approaches to the reconstruction of BWP, “Nitrogen is the most frequently used element in the isotopic reconstruction of BWP,” due to the clear trophic enrichment factor engendered by infant consumption of maternal breast milk. This trophic en-

richment effect makes breastfeeding infants appear, chemically, as if they are carnivores, consuming their mother. This is not to suggest that data gleaned from $\delta^{15}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ analysis is not useful for examining, in particular, the types of supplementary foods provided during weaning, but cross-sectional analysis of the $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values of the subadult portion of ancient skeletal populations has become routine (Tsutaya and Yoneda 2015:7), with some 40 studies since the original work of Fogel and colleagues (1989).

While such analysis has become commonplace, until rather recently, its execution has not been as rigorous as it might otherwise have been. The data obtained from a simple visual inspection or mathematical comparison of a series of known age subadult and “maternal” $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values does not take into account: 1) variability in the enrichment factor from mother to infant tissue (which varies from <1‰ to nearly 5‰); 2) differences in the signatures of the weaning foods; or 3) differences in collagen remodeling rates for individuals of different ages (which, in varying from nearly 150% per year during infancy to just over 10% per year by age 20, make it difficult to ascertain what dietary stage in each subadult individual’s life the recorded isotopic signatures represent) (Tsutaya and Yoneda 2013). Thus, while the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of subadult collagen, as well as those from adult females of the same populations, provide essential information for beginning to determine average weaning age, the use of computational models, which account for such confounding effects as enumerated above, is necessary for obtaining reliable probabilistic estimates of weaning age. Such models also allow for comparison of weaning age data between sites of any age or location because they take into account variation in supplemental foods and trophic enrichment factors between individuals and populations. This new emphasis on model-based analysis mirrors a discipline-wide tendency towards the use of such Bayesian computational models (Fernandes et al. 2014; Moore and Semmens 2008).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The present study comprises 22 subadult individuals with ages-at-death between perinatal age and 10 years old as well as six adult females, used here as a proxy for a maternal isotopic signature. All analyzed individuals were excavated from two cemetery sites (CH7 and CH20) of Formative Period age and located near the mouth of the River Loa in the coastal Atacama Desert (Figure 1). Site configuration and artifact types for both sites are consistent with a Formative Period date, as are the available radiocarbon dates, which are presented in Table 2.

Subadult age for skeletal materials from both sites was assessed using indices of long bone growth (Hoppa 1992; Scheuer et al. 1980), dental formation and eruption (Moorrees et al. 1963; Smith 1991), and the state of epiphyseal appearance and fusion (Schwartz 1995). Adult age was determined by reference to the state of the pubic symphysis (Brooks and Suchey 1990), the auricular surface (Buckberry and Chamberlin 2002; Lovejoy et al. 1985), and the state of closure of the cranial sutures (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Meindl and Lovejoy 1985). Funerary and demographic data on these samples are provided in Table 3.

As previous research (Tsutaya et al. 2015; Tsutaya and Yoneda 2015) have shown that the isotopic composition of bone collagen (and, in particular, $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$) is the most reliable measure of human BWP, only that portion of bone was extracted and analyzed in the present study. Bone collagen from both subadults and adult female samples were extracted, purified, and analyzed using the following well-established methods, and all samples were extracted and analyzed in the same facilities, thereby obviating concerns of inter-laboratory variation (Pestle et al. 2014).

Collagen extraction was performed in the Archaeological Stable Isotope Lab at the University of Miami. Collagen extraction followed a modified version of that established by Longin (1971) and previously detailed elsewhere (Pestle 2010). Weighed 0.5 g aliquots of coarsely ground (0.5–1.0 mm) cortical bone were placed in 50 ml cen-

trifuge tubes, to which was added 30 ml of 0.2 M HCl. The tubes were capped and placed in a constantly spinning rotator for 24 hours, at which time the degree of demineralization was assessed. Samples requiring another 24 hours to demineralize had their acid refreshed at this time. After demineralization, samples were rinsed to neutral and treated with 30 ml of 0.0625 M NaOH for a period 20 hours. After this removal of humics, samples were again rinsed to neutral, and then gelatinized for 24 hours at 90°C in 10⁻³ M HCl. The resulting gelatin was then filtered using 40 μm sterile single-use Millipore Steriflip[®] vacuum filters, allowed to condense at 85°C, frozen, and then freeze-dried. Collagen yield data were collected after extraction and freeze-drying to assess the state of sample preservation.

Isotopic analysis of collagen extracts was performed in the Marine Geology and Geophysics' Stable Isotope Laboratory at the University of Miami's Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Science. Collagen samples were analyzed using a PDZ Europa ANCA-GSL elemental analyzer interfaced to a PDZ Europa 20–20 isotope ratio mass spectrometer (IRMS). This process produces data on both sample elemental composition (carbon and nitrogen weight yields, from which atomic C:N can be computed) as well as the isotopic measures of $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{co}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$. Typical precision of in-house organic standards (acetanilide and glycine) was $\pm 0.07\text{‰}$ for $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\pm 0.11\text{‰}$ for $\delta^{15}\text{N}$.

In order to remediate the effects of confounding factors such as differences in subadult collagen remodeling rate, differences in producer-consumer (mother-child) enrichment, and variation in supplementary food, the results of these isotopic analyses were used as inputs for the WARN v1.2 (Weaning Age Reconstruction with Nitrogen isotope analysis) model of Tsutaya and Yoneda (2013). WARN (in the form of a freely available package in R (Team 2014)) employs Approximate Bayesian Computational (ABC) modeling and sequential Monte Carlo (SMC) sampling of user-specified age and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value for all analyzed subadult samples (the consumer signal) and

Table 2. Radiocarbon dates for sites CH7 and CH20. Given the high level of marine food consumption at these sites, sample HV-557, a fragment of human bone, was calibrated using both SHCal13 and Marine13 to account for marine reservoir effect.

Site	Lab code	Material	Source	Radiocarbon age (BP)	2 sigma range (SHCal13)	2 sigma range (Marine13)
CH7	IVIC-788	Basketry/plant fiber	Tamers 1973; Núñez 1976	2030 ± 80	cal BC 200–cal AD 210	n/a
CH7	Beta 360552	Textile	FONDECYT 111072	1450 ± 30	cal AD 430–770 (0.990), cal AD 820–830 (0.01)	n/a
CH20	HV-557	Bone	Geyh 1967; Spahni 1967	1735 ± 100	cal AD 120–580	cal AD 440–880

the mean (\pm standard deviation) of adult female $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (the maternal/producer signal). Outputs of the WARN simulation includes maximum density estimators and posterior probabilities for: weaning beginning age (t_1 , the age at which food other than mother's milk is first added to the child's diet), weaning ending age (t_2 , when breast milk is no longer provided), as well as the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value ($\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{wnfood}}$) of weaning foods and E , the enrichment between mother and child. For the purposes of the present study, we employed the author-recommended settings for WARN (Tsutaya and Yoneda 2013:8), excluded one 13-year-old subadult (CH-7, B-8) from the analysis (as WARN does not include individuals of over 10 years of age in its calculations), and employed a particle size of 10,000.

RESULTS

All but one individual (CH20, T79) had sufficient collagen yields for isotopic analysis (Table 3), with a mean collagen yield of 16.6 ± 5 wt%, reflecting the excellent collagen preservation typical of skeletal materials from the hyperarid Atacama Desert. As seen in Table 3, chemical data (wt% C, wt% N, and atomic C:N ratios) for the 22 subadult and six adult samples possessing significant collagen indicate overall excel-

lent collagen preservation (Ambrose 1990; DeNiro 1985; DeNiro and Weiner 1988; Schoeninger et al. 1989; van Klinken 1999). Isotopic data ($\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{co}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$) for both subadult and adult female samples are also presented in Table 3, although we only consider $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$ henceforth. Visual inspection (Figure 2) of these data indicated that the $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$ signatures of individuals between two and three years of age approached the range of adult female $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$ values ($26.0 \pm 0.9\text{‰}$) indicating that weaning would appear to have been completed by the third year of life.

Use of WARN, as outlined above, allowed a far more rigorous and probabilistic estimation of both weaning ages and the isotopic characteristics of the foods involved in weaning (Table 4). Using the author-recommended settings, WARN estimated t_1 MDE at 0.2 years (credible interval 0.0–1.9 years), and t_2 MDE at 2.5 years (credible interval 1.5–3.1 years) as shown in Figure 3. Furthermore, in terms of supplementary foods, WARN estimated a producer-consumer enrichment factor (E) for mother to infant tissue of 3.3‰ (credible interval 2.7–4.0‰), and a $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{wnfood}}$ of 25.7‰ (credible interval 25.0–26.4‰). This final value suggests the use of food-stuffs highly enriched in ^{15}N in the weaning process.

Table 3. Contextual, demographic, chemical, and collagen isotopic data for subadult and adult female bone samples from sites CH7 and CH20.

Lab number	Site	Burial number	Age (years)	Collagen yield (wt%)	wt% C	wt% N	Atomic C:N	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{co}}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{co}}$ (‰)
Subadults									
K-19	CH20	D-2	0	20.1	41.0	14.6	3.3	-13.4	26.0
K-20	CH20	C-6	0.75	19.7	42.4	15.1	3.3	-12.2	28.9
K-21	CH20	T79	2.5	2.2	33.5	9.4	4.2	-14.5	29.5
K-22	CH7	B-10	7	21.0	41.5	15.1	3.2	-12.5	26.7
K-23	CH7	A-4	1.5	10.4	40.3	14.6	3.2	-12.8	27.2
K-24	CH7	B-3	0.75	9.2	41.6	14.7	3.3	-12.6	29.9
K-25	CH7	B-7	2.5	17.4	42.9	15.2	3.3	-13.1	27.1
K-26	CH20	E-4	7.5	19.9	44.0	15.8	3.3	-13.1	26.6
K-27	CH7	B-6	0	13.9	41.9	15.2	3.2	-13.2	29.3
K-28	CH20	E-5	0	14.2	37.2	13.3	3.3	-13.8	27.6
K-29	CH7	B-7	2.5	14.8	40.1	14.6	3.2	-12.9	28.0
K-30	CH7	C-9	0.75	17.4	42.6	15.6	3.2	-13.0	30.3
K-31	CH7	C-12	1.5	18.0	40.5	14.8	3.2	-13.1	30.3
K-32	CH7	B-8	13	20.7	40.9	15.0	3.2	-15.3	23.3
K-33	CH20	D-3	5.5	21.8	41.4	14.9	3.2	-12.5	27.1
K-34	CH20	F-2	6	17.4	40.2	14.2	3.3	-13.1	23.4
K-35	CH7	B-4	1.5	18.9	41.2	14.9	3.2	-12.5	28.3
K-36	CH20	H-6	0.17	18.0	41.1	14.8	3.2	-12.7	28.2
K-37	CH7	C-1	3.5	22.3	42.6	15.6	3.2	-13.0	26.0
K-38	CH20	B-3	6.5	12.9	38.1	13.7	3.3	-14.6	25.4
K-39	CH7	C-11	0.08	19.6	41.7	15.0	3.3	-12.9	30.5
K-40	CH7	C-8	5.5	16.9	40.1	14.8	3.2	-12.2	25.5
K-41	CH7	B-12	3.5	15.5	41.2	15.1	3.2	-13.2	25.4
Adult females									
J-6	CH7	B-24	18-35	15.1	40.3	15.4	3.0	-14.2	25.8
I-113	CH7	C-2	18-35	20.2	43.2	15.5	3.2	-12.5	26.6
I-115	CH7	D-3	35-50	20.7	40.6	14.8	3.2	-12.3	26.7
J-7	CH7	F-1	18-35	20.9	42.7	15.8	3.2	-12.8	27.0
J-16	CH20	L-1	18-35	19.2	41.6	15.3	3.2	-13.5	24.8
J-19	CH20	H-03	>50	17.9	43.7	15.8	3.2	-13.6	25.0

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In comparison with other archaeologically and ethnographically studied populations, the BWP practices observed in the sample

from the sites at the mouth of the Loa River are noteworthy in several respects.

Tsutaya and Yoneda (2013:S2) present WARN analyses of 39 archaeological populations, which averaged 1.1 ± 0.8 years

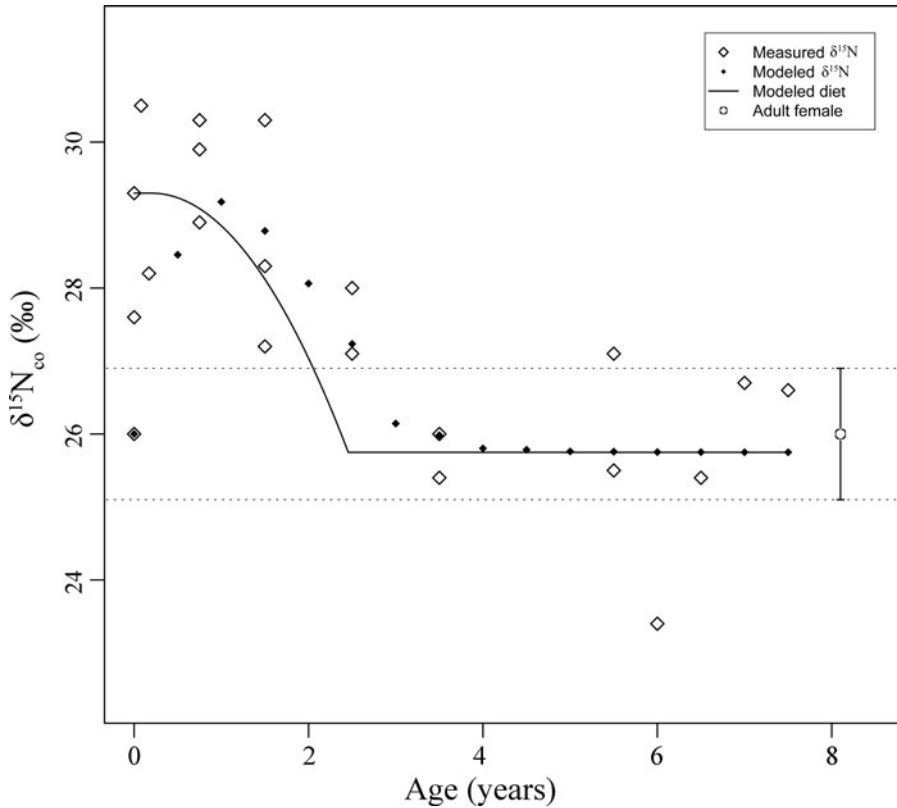


Figure 2. Plot of Caleta Huelén subadult $\delta^{15}N$ values (by age) as compared with adult female (maternal) $\delta^{15}N$ signature.

for t_1 and 2.9 ± 1.3 years for t_2 . As compared with these previously published data, the estimated t_1 value of these Atacama marine hunter-gatherers (0.2 years) stands out,

equaling the lowest t_1 value modeled for these 39 comparative examples, while the estimated t_2 of 2.5 years is near the middle of the observed archaeological range

Table 4. WARN generated maximum density estimators and credible intervals for initiation of weaning (t_1), completion of weaning (t_2), producer-consumer enrichment (E), and nitrogen isotope value of weaning food ($\delta^{15}N_{wn}$).

Parameter	MDE		Range		
	Estimator	Probability	Upper	Lower	Probability
t_1	0.2	0.08	0	1.9	0.96
t_2	2.5	0.09	1.5	3.1	0.96
E (‰)	3.3	0.12	2.7	4	0.96
$\delta^{15}N_{wn}$ (‰)	25.7	0.1	25	26.4	0.96

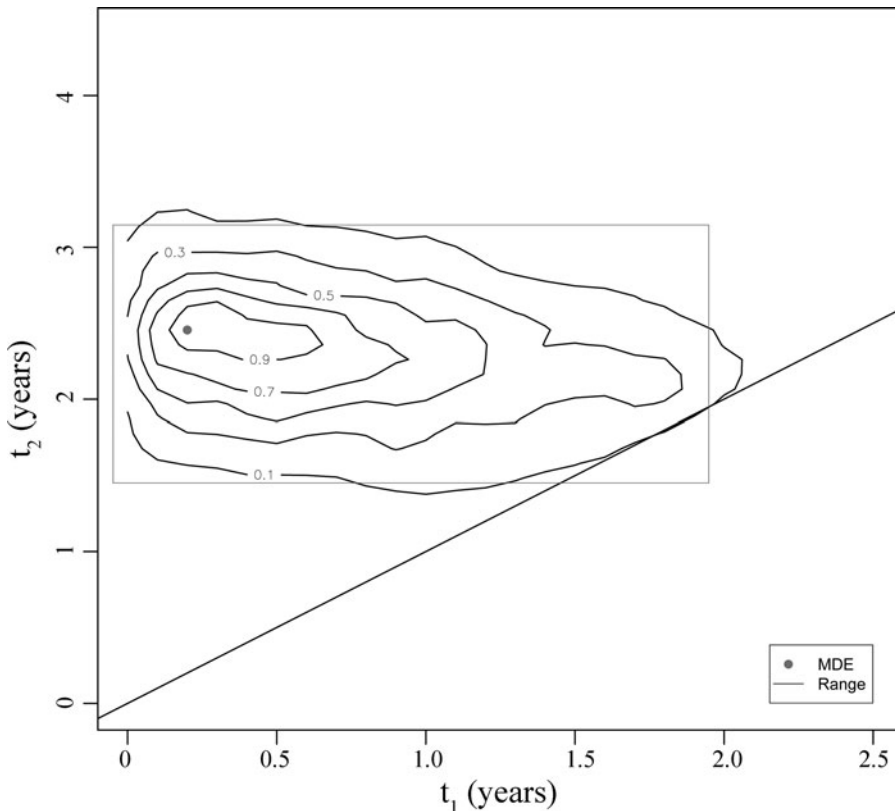


Figure 3. Probability distribution of modeled t_1 and t_2 ages for Caleta Huelén subadults. Box represents 95% credible interval.

(ranking 16th out of 39). The estimated values for the individuals from the sites at the mouth of the Loa River are also at the early end of the range established in a series of 113 ethnographically studied non-industrial populations (Sellen 2001), which found an average t_1 of 0.5 ± 0.5 years and average t_2 of 2.4 ± 0.8 years. Again, it is the t_1 estimate of these Chilean marine hunter-gatherers that stands out as precocious, with the t_2 value falling close to the midpoint of the observed modern range. Combined, this means that the duration of the weaning process for the Loa River mouth population (2.3 years) is half a year longer than the average seen for the comparative populations (1.8 ± 1.2 years), ranking 26th of those 39. Children's diets

were supplemented early at the Atacama sites, but they continued to receive at least some breast milk for a prolonged period thereafter.

These data on weaning timing can be seen as at least partially supporting our hypothesis of a linkage between observed high fertility and early weaning age among the ancient inhabitants of these coastal sites. As early supplementation and weaning is linked to increased fertility (Howie and McNeilly 1982; McNeilly 1997; Wood 1994), an early introduction of supplementary foods may have permitted higher levels of fertility and a shorter birth interval while still facilitating infant/child health and reducing infant mortality (another key in the growth of populations) (Sellen 2001).

A combination of the early introduction of supplementary foods with continued (if reduced) breastfeeding also may have represented a concerted economic strategy that permitted nursing mothers to return to the labor force rapidly while still promoting infant health. As noted above, there is limited archaeological evidence (Quevedo Kawasaki 2000), and a wealth of ethnographic testimony (Ballester et al. 2010; D'Orbigny [1835–1847] 1945; Feuillée 1714; Pretty [1599] 1904), regarding the repeated and prolonged involvement of the women of the Atacama coast in gathering, domestic, and child-rearing activities. Indeed, ethnohistoric/artistic evidence of (possibly) nursing mothers involved in fishing activities on the Chilean/Bolivian coast was documented by Auguste Borget in 1850 (Figure 4). The isotopic data presented here may then be taken as evidence of an economic and reproductive strategy intended to balance the biological and economic production/reproduction of the community. While continuing to care for their children, and to procure food and water for their families, the women of the Atacama Coast also made use of a weaning strategy that facilitated rapid population growth.

The types of foods used to supplement breast milk are also intriguing in the present case, and may have something to do with the apparent success (high fertility and burgeoning populations) of the reproductive strategy evidenced here. While the estimated producer-consumer enrichment observed for individuals from the sites at the mouth of the Loa River (3.3‰) is within one standard deviation of the values observed for Tsutaya and Yoneda's (2013:S2) 39 comparative populations ($2.3 \pm 1.1\text{‰}$), this study's observed $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{wnfood}}$, 25.7‰, is astronomical as compared to the 39 population average for $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{wnfood}}$, which stands at $10.4 \pm 2.6\text{‰}$. The next highest $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{wnfood}}$ value among Tsutaya and Yoneda's 39 comparative populations was 18.4‰, from Kellis, Egypt (Dupras 1999; Dupras et al. 2001; Tsutaya and Yoneda 2013), a value that is still more than 7‰ lower than that observed for the sites at the mouth of the Loa River

The extremely high $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{wnfood}}$ value seen at these sites is a clear testament to use of high trophic level, more than likely marine, proteins as a supplementary food during weaning. Similarly high values are characteristic of adult individuals of the Formative Period Atacama coast, who uniformly relied on ^{15}N enriched marine fish or marine mammals for dietary protein (Pestle et al. 2015a, 2015b). Indeed, the $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{co}}$ values of the post-weaning age (>2.5 years) subadults ($-13.0 \pm 0.6\text{‰}$) are also indistinguishable from those of their adult female counterparts ($-13.1 \pm 0.7\text{‰}$), pointing again to a diet dominated by marine protein. Early ethnographers reported instances of infants on Northern Chile's Pacific coast consuming raw fish during the weaning period (e.g., Feuillée 1714), which lends credence to the idea that the supplementary and/or weaning foods in the sites at the mouth of the Loa River, in contrast to many other archaeological and modern populations, included high fat and high protein (and possibly uncooked) fish (Clarot 2015). It is interesting to note that, in some regards, the protein and energy content of such foods may be more in line with the needs of weanlings than the grains/vegetable products provided in many modern/industrialized societies.

Data from additional individual sites from the review of Tsutaya and Yoneda (2013) make for particularly interesting points of comparison. Conchopata, Peru, is the only South American comparative site from the dataset (Finucane et al. 2006). At Conchopata, weaning began later ($t_1 = 0.8$ years MDE) than we have determined for coastal Chile, but was then terminated much more rapidly ($t_2 = 1.5$ years MDE). Producer-consumer enrichment at Conchopata was similar to that seen at the mouth of the Loa River (3.9‰), but the weaning foods used had much lower $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values (10.2‰). These disparate values would seem to represent not only a different range of available/preferred weaning foods but also a different approach to BWP and reproductive strategy more



Figure 4. Drawing, ca. 1850, by August Borget showing coastal family engaged in fishing. Note possible breastfeeding mother and child in vessel at center.

broadly. Further research into the demographic characteristics of the Conchopata sample, among others documented in Tsutaya and Yoneda (2013), would make for interesting comparisons of different BWPs and their correlates in terms of fertility and population growth.

CONCLUSIONS

The application of Bayesian computational modeling is instrumental in biogeochemically reconstructing the breastfeeding and weaning practices (BWP) of archaeological populations because of its capacity to account for a whole series of factors that are overlooked in more traditional isotopic reconstructions thereof. The modeling of isotopic data from the marine hunter gatherer cemetery sites at the mouth of the Loa River suggest a very early beginning to a somewhat prolonged weaning process, as well as the use of high trophic level, likely marine, supplementary foods. The early weaning age suggests an interesting accommodation of high fertility, the need for women's labor in key economic activities (gathering and possibly fishing), and efforts at maintaining infant/child health through continued breastfeeding. This study also found intriguing evidence of the use of a weaning food (fish) not often considered as part of the modern child-rearing practice. Combined, these would seem to represent a

novel adaptation to coastal life during northern Chile's Formative Period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Dr. Peter Swart, Amel Saied, and Sevag Mebterian of the Marine Geology and Geophysics' Stable Isotope Laboratory at the University of Miami's Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Science for their analytical efforts. Finally, the authors wish to thank Takumi Tsutaya for his gracious assistance in making modifications to the WARN program.

FUNDING

This work was made possible by funding from FONDECYT (1110702, 1160045, and 1090762) and FONDAP (15110006), as well as the University of Miami's Beyond the Book Fund.

REFERENCES

- Agüero, C., P. Ayala, M. Uribe, C. Carrasco, and B. Cases. 2006. El periodo formativo desde Quilagua, Loa Inferior (Norte De Chile). In *Esfemas De Interacción Prehistóricas Y Fronteras Nacionales Modernas: Los Andes Sur Centrales* (H. Lechman, ed.):73-118. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- Agüero, C., and M. Uribe. 2011. Las sociedades formativas de San Pedro de Atacama: Asentamiento, cronología y proceso. *Estudios Atacameños* 42:53-78.
- Ambrose, S. H. 1990. Preparation and characterization of bone and tooth collagen for isotopic analysis. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17:431-451.
- Ayala, P. 2001. Las sociedades formativas del Altiplano Circumtiticaca y meridional y su relación con el Norte Grande De Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 21:7-39.
- Ballester, B., and A. Clarot. 2014. *La Gente de los Túmulos de Tierra*. Santiago: Marmot Impresores.
- Ballester, B., A. San Francisco, and F. Gallardo. 2010. *Modo de Vida y Economía Doméstica de las Comunidades Cazadoras Recolectoras Costeras del Desierto de Atacama en Tiempos Coloniales y Republicanos*. XVII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Argentina, October, Mendoza, Argentina.
- Bongaarts, J., and R. E. Potter. 1983. *Fertility, Biology, and Behavior: An Analysis of the Proximate Determinants*. New York: Academic Press.
- Bocquet, J. P. 1979. Une approche de la fécondité des populations inhumées. *Bulletins et Mémoires de La Société D'anthropologie de Paris* XIII Série 6(3):261-268.
- Bocquet-Appel, J. P., and C. Masset. 1982. Farewell to paleodemography. *Journal of Human Evolution* 11(4):321-333.
- Brooks, S., and J. A. Suchey. 1990. Skeletal age determination based on the os pubis: A comparison of the Acsadi-Nemeskeri and Suchey-Brooks method. *Human Evolution* 5(3):227-238.
- Buckberry, J. L., and A. T. Chamberlin. 2002. Age estimation from the auricular surface of the ilium: A revised method. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 119:231-239.
- Buikstra, J. E., L. W., Konigsberg, and J. Bullington. 1986. Fertility and the development of agriculture in the prehistoric midwest. *American Antiquity* 51(3):528-546.
- Buikstra, J. E., and D. H. Ubelaker. 1994. *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains*. Fayetteville, AR: Arkansas Archeological Survey.
- Campbell, K. L., and J. W. Wood. 1988. Fertility in traditional societies. In *Natural Human Fertility: Social and Biological Determinants* (P. Diggory, M. Potts, and S. Teper, eds.):39-69. Hampshire: Macmillan Press.
- Clarot, A. 2015. Amamantamiento y fertilidad en el litoral del Desierto de Atacama. *XX Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Chilena*, sesión 14, October, Concepción, Chile.
- Clarot, A., and M. Moraga. 2016. Mortalidad temprana y sus respuestas adaptativas: análisis paleodemográfico en el litoral del Desierto de Atacama. In *Monumentos funerarios de la costa del Desierto de Atacama, contribuciones al intercambio de bienes e información entre cazadores-recolectores marinos (norte de Chile)* (F. Gallardo, B. Ballester, and N. Fuenzalida, eds.):270-281. Santiago: Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Inter-culturales e Indígenas, Sociedad Chilena de Arqueología.
- DeNiro, M. J. 1985. Postmortem preservation and alteration of in vivo bone collagen isotope ratios in relation to palaeodietary reconstruction. *Nature* 317:806-809.
- DeNiro, M. J., and S. Weiner. 1988. Chemical, enzymatic and spectroscopic characterization of "collagen" and other organic fractions from prehistoric bones. *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 52:2197-2206.
- D'Orbigny, A. [1835-1847] 1945. *Viaje a la América Meridional*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Futuro.
- Dupras, T. L. 1999. *Dining in the Daklehb Oasis, Egypt: Determination of Diet Using Documents and Stable Isotope Analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Hamilton: McMaster University.
- Dupras, T. L., H. P. Schwarcz, and S. I. Fairgrieve. 2001. Infant feeding and weaning practices in Roman Egypt. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 115:204-212.
- Fernandes, R., A. R. Millard, M. Brabec, M.-J. Nadeau, and P. Grootes. 2014. Food reconstruction using isotopic transferred signals (fruits): A Bayesian model for dietary reconstruction. *PLOS ONE* 9:e87436.
- Feuillée, L. 1714. *Journal de Observations Physiques, Mathématiques, et Botaniques faites par l'ordre du Roy sur les Côtes Orientales de l'Amérique Méridionale, et Dans les Indes Occidentales, depuis l'année 1707, jusques en 1712*. Paris: Pierre Giffart.
- Finucane, B., P. M. Agurto, and W. H. Isbell. 2006. Human and animal diet at Conchopata, Peru: Stable isotope evidence for maize agriculture and animal management practices during the Middle Horizon. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33:1766-1776.
- Fogel, M. L., N. Tuross, and D. W. Owsley. 1989. *Nitrogen Isotope Tracers of Human Lactation in Modern and Archaeological Populations*. Annual Report of the Director of the Geophysical Laboratory. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution.

- FONDECYT 1110702. 2011–2015. *Intercambio, Movilidad y Consumo Conspicuo Funerario Durante el Formativo Medio (500 AC–100 DC), Río Loa Medio e Inferior (Desierto de Atacama)*. Report on file with FONDECYT.
- Fuller, B. T., J. L. Fuller, D. A. Harris, and R. E. M. Hedges. 2006. Detection of breastfeeding and weaning in modern human infants with carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 129:279–293.
- Gallardo, F. 2009. Social interaction and rock art styles in the Atacama. *Antiquity* 83:619–633.
- Geyh, M. 1967. Hannover radiocarbon measurements IV. *Radiocarbon* 9:198–217.
- Hoppa, R. D. 1992. Evaluating human skeletal growth: An Anglo-Saxon example. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 2:275–288.
- Howie, P. W., and A. S. McNeilly. 1982. Effect of breast-feeding patterns on human birth intervals. *Journal of Reproductive Fertility* 65:545–557.
- Humphrey, L. T. 2010. Weaning behaviour in human evolution. *Seminar in Cell Developmental Biology* 21:453–461.
- Humphrey, L. T. 2014. Isotopic and trace element evidence of dietary transitions in early life. *Annals of Human Biology* 41:348–357.
- Konigsberg, L. W., J. E. Buikstra, and J. Bullington. 1989. Paleodemographic correlates of fertility: A reply to Corruccini, Brandon, and Handler and to Holland. *American Antiquity* 54(3):626–636.
- Lee-Thorp, J. A. 2008. On isotopes and old bones. *Archaeometry* 50:925–950.
- Longin, R. 1971. New method of collagen extraction for radiocarbon dating. *Nature* 230:241–242.
- Lovejoy, O. C., R. S. Meindl, T. R. Pryzbeck, and R. P. Mensforth. 1985. Chronological metamorphosis of the auricular surface of the ilium: A new method for the determination of adult skeletal age at death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68:15–28.
- Lumbreras, L. G. 2006. Un formativo sin cerámica y cerámica preformativa. *Estudios Atacameños* 32:11–34.
- McNeilly, A. S. 1997. Lactation and fertility. *Journal of Mammary Gland Biology and Neoplasia* 2:291–298.
- Meindl, R. S., and O. C. Lovejoy. 1985. Ectocranial suture closure: A revised method for the determination of skeletal age at death based on the lateral-anterior sutures. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68:57–66.
- Moore, J. W., and B. X. Semmens. 2008. Incorporating uncertainty and prior information into stable isotope mixing models. *Ecology Letters* 11:470–480.
- Moorrees, C. F. A., E. A., Fanning, and E. E. Hunt. 1963. Formation and resorption of three deciduous teeth in children. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 21:205–213.
- Núñez, L. 1971. Secuencia y cambio en los asentamientos humanos de la desembocadura del Río Loa, en el Norte de Chile. *Boletín de la Universidad de Chile* 112:2–25.
- Núñez, L. 1976. Registro regional de fechas radiocarbónicas del norte de Chile. *Estudios Atacameños* 4:69–111.
- Núñez, L., I. Cartajena, C. Carrasco, P. de Souza, and M. Grosjean. 2006. Emergencia de comunidades pastoralistas formativas en la Puna de Atacama. *Estudios Atacameños* 32:93–117.
- Pestle, W. J. 2010. *Diet and Society in Prehistoric Puerto Rico, an Isotopic Approach*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Pestle, W. J., B. E. Crowley, and M. T. Weirauch. 2014. Quantifying inter-laboratory variability in stable isotope analysis of ancient skeletal remains. *PLOS ONE* 9:e102844.
- Pestle, W. J., C. Torres-Rouff, F. Gallardo, B. Ballester, and A. Clarot. 2015a. Mobility and exchange among marine hunter-gatherer and agropastoralist communities in the Formative Period Atacama Desert. *Current Anthropology* 15:121–133.
- Pestle, W. J., C. Torres-Rouff, M. Hubbe, F. Santana Sagredo, G. Pimentel, F. Gallardo, and K. J. Knudson. 2015b. Explorando la diversidad dietética en la prehistoria del Desierto De Atacama: Un acercamiento a los patrones regionales. *Chungara, Revista de Antropología Chilena* 47:201–209.
- Pimentel, G. 2013. *Redes Viales Prehispánicas En El Desierto De Atacama: Viajeros, Movilidad E Intercambio*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Tarapacá: Universidad Católica del Norte and Universidad de Tarapacá.
- Pretty, F. [1599]1904. The prosperous voyage of M. Thomas Candish esquire into the South Sea, and so round about the circumference of the whole Earth, begun in the yere 1586 and finished 1588. In *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-Land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at an Time within the Compasse of these 1600 Yeeres*, Vol. 11 (R. Hakluyt, ed.):290–347. Glasgow: The University Press.

- Quevedo Kawasaki, S. 2000. Patrones de actividad a través de las patologías en población arcaica de Punta Teatinos, Norte Semiárido Chileno. *Cbungara* 32(1):7-18.
- Scheuer, J. L., J. H., Musgrave, and S. P. Evans. 1980. The estimation of late fetal and perinatal age from limb bone length by linear and logarithmic regression. *Annals of Human Biology* 7(3):257-265.
- Schoeninger, M. J., K. M., Moore, Murray, M. L., and J. D. Kingston. 1989. Detection of bone preservation in archaeological and fossil samples. *Applied Geochemistry* 4:281-292.
- Schwartz, J. H. 1995. *Skeleton Keys: An Introduction to Human Skeletal Morphology, Development, and Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sellen, D. W. 2001. Comparison of infant feeding patterns reported for nonindustrial populations with current recommendations. *The Journal of Nutrition* 131:2707-2715.
- Sellen, D. W. 2007. Evolution of infant and young child feeding: Implications for contemporary public health. *Annual Review of Nutrition* 27:123-148.
- Smith, B. H. 1991. Standards of human tooth formation and dental age assessment. In *Dental Anthropology* (M. A. Kelley and C. S. Larsen, eds.):143-168. New York: Wiley-Liss.
- Spahni, J.-C. 1967. Recherches archéologiques à l'embouchure du Rio Loa (Côte du Pacifique Chili). *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 56(1):179-251.
- Stuart-Macadam, P., and K. A. Dettwyler (eds.). 1995. *Breastfeeding: Biocultural Perspectives*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Tamers, M. 1973. Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas. Natural radiocarbon measurements VII. *Radiocarbon* 15(2):307-320.
- Team, R. C. 2014. *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing, Version 3.1.0*. Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. <http://www.R-Project.Org/>.
- Tsutaya, T., H., Ishida, and M. Yoneda. 2015. Weaning age in an expanding population: Stable carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis of infant feeding practices in the Okhotsk culture (5th-13th centuries AD) in Northern Japan. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 157:544-555.
- Tsutaya, T., and M. Yoneda. 2013. Quantitative reconstruction of weaning ages in archaeological human populations using bone collagen nitrogen isotope ratios and approximate bayesian computation. *PLOS ONE* 8:e72327.
- Tsutaya, T., and M. Yoneda. 2015. Reconstruction of breastfeeding and weaning practices using stable isotope and trace element analyses: A review. *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 156:2-21.
- Uribe, M. 2009. El período formativo de Tarapacá y su Cerámica: Avances sobre complejidad social en la Costa Del Norte Grande De Chile (900 A.C.-800 D.C.). *Estudios Atacameños* 37:5-27.
- Van Klinken, G.J. 1999. Bone collagen quality indicators for palaeodietary and radiocarbon measurements. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26:687-695.
- Weiss, K. 1973. A method for approximating age-specific fertility in the construction of life tables for anthropological populations. *Human Biology* 45(2):195-210.
- Weiss, K. 1975. The application of demographic models to anthropological data. *Human Ecology* 3(2):87-103.
- Weiss, K., and M. Wobst. 1973. Demographic models for anthropology. *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 27:1-186.
- Wood, J. W. 1994. *Dynamics of Human Reproduction: Biology, Biometry, Demography*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.