The Initial Period

Overview of changes

1. Initial Period derives its name from appearance of simple ceramic vessels
   a. rapidly came into use for cooking and storage
   b. pots: indisputably useful chronological markers
      1. but importance of transition from Preceramic lies more in the nature of society
      2. than in advances in craft technology

2. sociopolitical development: focus of lecture today
   a. Q: were societies ranked, stratified, or state-level by the end of the Preceramic?
      1. A: probably ranked
   b. Initial Period
      1. at least complex chiefdom
      2. state not likely
         a. scale of integration less extensive than would be expected with a state
         b. e.g., possibly multiple polities within valleys

3. several elements important in Initial Period: already present in Late Preceramic at least in an incipient form
   a. economics
      1. agriculture already integrated into subsistence system
         a. wide variety of cultigens in use
         b. small-scale irrigation
      2. fine craft objects already manufactured
   b. ideology
      1. large public monuments constructed along coast and in highland Peru
      2. some shared concepts of layout
   c. social differentiation
      1. some degree of ranking represented in the mortuary record

4. Initial Period: major changes
   a. shift to heavy reliance on irrigation agriculture
      1. reflected in settlement shift inland
b. introduction of ceramics  
c. woven textiles  
d. change in complexity and scale of social organization  
e. widespread shared ideology  
   1. along 500+ km of coastline  

5. lines of evidence  
a. settlement diversification: still shaky area  
   1. ceremonial centers: focus of most research  
   2. population centers  
   3. small villages  
b. monumental architecture: best evidence  
   1. enormous labor investment  
   2. differential distribution of residential units with respect to fancy architecture  
c. burial treatments: few data  
   1. differential access to certain kinds of material goods  
      a. e.g., shells in burials  
d. also little evidence yet for things like differential diets  
   1. or control of manufacture or consumption of other critical resources  
e. economic specialization  
   1. only modest evidence  

6. major developments in three areas  
a. central/north coast  
   1. population relocated up to 35 km inland  
   2. erected some of the most spectacular ceremonial complexes in the Andes  
   3. similarities in design  
      a. suggest that builders shared basic cosmological notions  
      b. even if nature of ideas remains elusive  
b. western valleys  
   1. continuation and expansion of occupations from Late Preclassic  
   2. e.g., Tablachaca Valley: La Galgada  
   3. Huaricoto  
c. intermontane valleys and eastern slopes  
   1. also continuity from Late Preclassic  
   2. esp. in Huacaloma and Cajamarca regions  

7. disagreements over complexity of societies involved  
a. Moseley: coercive social authority was present  
   1. for construction of canals or pyramids with dedicatory human burials
2. even in late Preceramic
b. Burger: many early monuments arose from addition of multiple layers
   1. each required only modest labor investment
   2. some valleys contained several coeval mounds built over centuries
   3. small, fairly simple societies could have erected many of the mounds
      a. by means of intermittent collaborative efforts
c. alternative view: variety of social forms present
   1. earliest canal systems at least could have been organized communally
   2. erection of ceremonial architecture may reveal lack of coercive power on the
      part of elevated social groups
      a. needed to rely on religious sanction to maintain status
   3. military iconography implies significant role for coercion in forming larger
      polities
   4. i.e., different sources of power (economic, ideological/political, military)
      operated differently in differing situations

**Subsistence changes**

1. major shift to agricultural subsistence base
   a. new settlements lay where the topography made construction of irrigation intake
      canals convenient
   b. some maritime-oriented sites were still occupied
      1. e.g., Tortugas (Casma)
c. move inland signaled commitment to agriculture
d. midden analyses
   1. wider range and higher proportion of cultivars
   2. industrial plants: cotton, gourds
   3. foods: squash, beans, maize, achira, peppers, peanuts, pacai, lúcuma, avocado,
      and guava
   4. recall: crops not introduced as a package
      a. adopted gradually at differing rates in differing areas
      b. e.g., maize did not make a significant appearance in the Casma Valley until
         the advent of the Early Horizon
         1. i.e., at end of second millennium BC

2. shift to agriculture improved productivity per unit of land
   a. supported larger populations
   b. gains may have been partially offset
      1. lowered return on labor investment
2. shortened life spans
3. increasing malnutrition and communicable disease

(c) hints of problems appeared centuries earlier: in some settled foraging villages
   1. became especially noticeable with shift to staple crop agriculture
      a. esp. osteoporosis
   2. likely populations were unaware of drawbacks
      a. at least until no reversal could be attempted
   3. but La Paloma shows that foraging was not necessarily inimical to health of populations

d. societies were thus larger
   1. not without cost

3. some continuity in coastal communities: e.g., Las Haldas
   a. no freshwater source nearby
      1. despite reports of a spring
   b. abundant seafood remains: proximate to ocean
      1. indicates subsistence based on intensive exploitation of marine resources
   c. marine-related artifacts: shellfish hook, metal hook (late phase), woven fishnets, weights
   d. other artifacts
      1. lithics: no points, only crude percussion tools
      2. wooden implements of unidentifiable function
      3. gourd vessels
      4. various ceramic vessels
   e. cultigens
      1. quantity is small, but diverse
         a. corn, cotton, avocado, lúcuma, common bean, squash, gourd
      2. corn only found in Late basurales: only kernels
      3. premise: cultigens were grown in the Casma Valley
         a. probably traded in for marine products
         b. closest inland site in Casma is Chankillo
         1. 20 km away: at least 5 hr walk

4. overall Initial Period subsistence pattern
   a. diversification
   b. rapid elaboration of irrigation agricultural economy
   c. localized exchange of foodstuffs
Settlement Organization

Peruvian coast

1. still fairly poorly defined
   a. sites with ceremonial complexes
      1. often contain discrete areas of organized residential architecture
   b. but much the populace lived in smaller villages
      1. or was dispersed among the farmlands

2. population estimates: still conjectural
   a. largest settlements may have housed a few thousand people

3. Santa Valley: Wilson
   a. Las Salinas: Cerro Prieto/Preclassic
      1. 36 sites
      2. almost all habitation: <1 ha
      3. mostly shell middens along the coastline
   b. total population estimate: 1000, assuming contemporaneity of all sites
      1. 27 persons / site
      2. about 60% of population along the coast

Ceremonial Architecture

1. Late Preclassic: largest known concentration of early settlement with corporate construction projects lies on coast between Rimac and Chicama Valleys
   a. date to Cotton Preclassic: 2500-1800 BC
   b. complexes do not appear south of Mala or north of Supe

2. Initial Period
   a. many sites contained monumental architecture
      1. laid out in U-shape
      2. open end roughly toward east or upstream
      3. large pyramids formed the base of U
      4. long mounded arms enclosed open plazas
         a. often contained sunken circular pits
      5. iconographic depiction on mounds
   b. 45 sites with this layout: 27 with pits
1. recorded between Mala and Moche Valleys
   c. El Paraiso: layout may have anticipated these sites
      1. Initial Period complexes dwarfed their antecedents

3. coastal Initial Period examples
   a. Jequetepeque: Limoncarro
   b. Nepeña: Cerro Blanco, Punkurí
   c. Rimac: Garagay
   d. Lurin: Cardal
   e. Casma: Sechín Alto, Sechín Bajo, Tawkachi-Konkan, Cerro Sechín, Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke, Las Tortugas, Las Haldas

**Eastern slopes**

1. highland societies: do not seem to have kept pace with coastal developments
   a. main late Preceramic centers
      1. often enlarged and elaborated
      2. no constructions on the scale of major coastal settlements undertaken
   b. e.g., Kotosh, La Galgada

2. La Galgada area: Bueno and Grieder
   a. 11 Preceramic settlements in valley
   b. all in area where valley widens: offers agricultural possibilities
      1. 10-km long strip
   c. many occupied into Initial Period
   d. population estimates not provided
   e. site refurbished numerous times
      1. shift from asymmetric architectural construction
      2. to axial symmetry: rectangular structure at center
   f. spectacular burials
      1. burials placed in former ritual chambers
      2. 3-5 bodies placed in flexed or extended positions
      3. accompaniments
         a. fancy twined textiles: bird, snake or geometrical designs
         b. shell pendants and bone hairpins: common
         c. beads of turquoise-like stone

   a. several moderate-sized courts built by group labor
1. enclosures built and used successively
b. niches ornamented the interiors of plastered masonry walls
   1. friezes depicting crossed human forearms on one wall
c. structures were not domestic nor residential
   1. specific kinds of behaviors pursued are not clear
   2. nor is the nature of the authority that commissioned their construction

4. Layzon: Cajamarca Valley
   a. complex dating from Late Preceramic through Initial Period into Early Horizon
   b. Initial Period occupations similar to those of other coastal and highland sites of the same period
      1. i.e., building groups with interior hearths and canal systems

Exemplary major pyramid sites: Initial Period

1. Casma Valley: home to greatest concentration of monumental architecture of era
   a. major sites
      1. Las Haldas
      2. Pampa de la Llamas-Moxeke
      3. Sechín Alto
      4. Cerro Sechín
      5. Huerequeque
      6. Pallka
      7. Taulachi-Konkan

2. Las Haldas: Seichi Izumi
   a. long occupational continuity from about 2000+ BC
      1. centered around temple structures
      2. during latter stages of Preceramic
         a. i.e., during Kotosh Mito phase
   b. archaeological remains: cover an intermittent area of 2 km²
      1. high quantity of marine products
      2. overlooks sandy and rocky littorals
      3. lots of mounded basurales
      4. apparently not the result of contemporaneous construction
   c. basic plan
      1. central mound
      2. 2 long arms extending up valley: i.e., toward the east
   d. temple complex is large-scale construction: 60m _ 600m
1. role of sunken circular court unclear
2. some adult male burials present
e. Early phase basural architecture: generally small
   1. overall plan and relationship to temple construction remains largely unknown
f. single construction episode in the Middle phase?: remains questionable
   1. series of partial expansions during the phase can be recognized
   2. construction materials: stone and mud
   3. wall stones: quarried at two locations
      a. on the south side of the natural outcrop on which Terraces I-III were built
      b. near seashore
g. construction techniques
   1. retaining walls: loosely netted totora sacks filled with crushed stones used as backing for enlarged sections of Terrace III
   2. collapse of a single section of wall support: suggests a single event
      a. followed by a long-term accumulation of sand on top
      b. maybe a torrential rain
   3. some masonry walls of Early phase: 1+m in height
   4. most stone walls of Late phase: no more than 1-2 courses

2. Pampa de las Llamas-Moxeke
   a. largest early center in southern tributary of the Casma Valley
   b. in early Initial Period: entire complex formed one active center
      1. often mistaken for two
c. principal mound at Moxeke
   1. 160 _ 170 m _ 30 m high
   2. tiered rectangular platform with rounded corners
   3. mass of conical adobes with some stone finishing
   4. series of clay sculptures around outer face of 3rd platform level
      a. situated in large wall niches
      b. sculptures initially about 3 m high: 2m remain
      c. finely dressed anthropomorphic figures
d. occupied 1800-1400 BC at least
   1. and probably later
e. Huaca A: complex of stone chambers
   1. Pozorskis: storage function
      a. plausible, but difficult to substantiate
      b. most rooms empty: a few turquoise beads, an anthracite mirror, some textiles, wooden figurine
   2. Burger: religious activities implied
      a. cut and polished stone: human hand and double-headed snake inscribed

[Initial Period]
b. relief clay frieze of felines at entrance implies religious function
c. perhaps storage facility for ceremonial activities

3. Sechín Alto complex: largest of all
   a. covers about 56 ha
      a. all laid out according to a basic axial arrangement
   b. immense main pyramid
      1. largest construction in New World during 2nd millennium BC
      2. 250 - 300 m at base
      3. max height: 44 m
      4. stone facing: late Initial Period renovation
   c. four plazas with associated architecture
      1. extend 1.5 km out from main mound
      2. two plazas contain spacious pits
      3. 50 and 80 m across
   d. dating: 1721 BC C-14
      1. fits with ceramic types

4. Cerro Sechín
   a. late Initial Period: covered 5 ha
   b. 3-tiered stepped platform
      1. flanked on either side by two smaller buildings
   c. central pyramid
      1. quadrangular with rounded corners: 53 m on a side
      2. multiple phases of construction and renovation
   d. facing of pyramid
      1. 400 granite sculptures
      2. 302 recovered before excavation of southern wall
      3. gruesome deaths and body parts
      4. apparently arrayed as single scene
         a. two sets of warriors advancing along lateral walls
         b. through carnage of their adversaries
         c. banners displayed at head of columns
   d. prolonged debates over the dating and character of iconography
      1. dating consensus: antecedent to Chavín developments
      2. disagreement over importance of warfare
         a. e.g., small-scale raiding (Burger 1992:78)
         b. Pozorskis: imagery indicative of conquest

5. San Jacinto: Chancay Valley
a. exemplifies scale of construction
b. 2,000,000+ m³ of earth were moved
   1. solely for leveling (Williams León 1980)

6. La Florida: Lurin Valley (Patterson)
a. 11 km inland: Rimac
   1. initial construction: end of Preclassic, before 2150 BC
   2. abandoned before 1750 BC
b. labor investment
   1. main pyramid: 1,010,500 m³
   2. 6,736,670 man-days of labor: 500-1,000 people for two centuries
b. labor force
   1. 21 villages in region
   2. probably agriculturally specialized

7. no complexes built at single blow
a. Sechín Alto: exhibits at least five such phases

Development and Functions of Ceremonial Complexes

1. questions as to nature and size of labor force and leadership
   a. do size and complexity necessarily imply a large number of fishermen and farmers as laborers?
   b. does temple construction imply existence of powerful priests?
      1. who presumably organized and directed large labor force of special personnel?
      2. architects as well as religious leaders?

2. management of space
   a. visual impact must have been great for their time
   b. imposing imagery on massive pyramids
      1. pillared entrances
      2. stairwells
      3. friezes
      4. probably brilliantly colored: clay
   c. scale of participation greatly enhanced over Late Preclassic ceremonies

3. Williams: similar orientation suggests astronomical orderings
   a. TND: but they are also pointing toward the mountains
      1. or toward the sea, depending on how you look at them
b. this form shows up all over the Central Andes in the second millennium BC

c. common element: orientation NNE or E
   1. just a few degrees differences from one valley to the next

d. from S to N: orientation shifts to the E
   1. significance unknown
   2. but it follows the river

4. general pattern
   a. northern focus on sunken court complexes
   b. central focus on U-shaped pyramid complexes

5. variants on the general theme exist
   a. actually, no structure is exactly like another
   b. giant size suggests that some could not have been built without planning or prior experience
      1. e.g., San Jacinto
         a. 30 ha of open space
         b. 1.5-2.0 million m$^3$ of earth moved to create flat surface
         c. 15m high central pyramid

6. postulated sequence: according to Williams
   a. enclosures flanked by elongated mounds: El Paraiso
   c. elongated rectangular depressions with low pyramids at the narrowest extreme
      1. La Salina: Rimac
      2. Salinas: Chancay
      3. Barbacay: Huarmey
   d. associated habitation
      1. on flanking arms: El Paraiso
      2. adjacent to the field: La Salina, etc.
         a. central space was probably sacred
         b. no habitation allowed
   d. final stage: baroque forms
      1. more complex architecture: principally in the nucleus
         a. e.g., Cardal
      2. circular patios and ceremonial pits
         a. e.g., Cardal, Garagay, San Jacinto

7. compare sequence based on carbon dates from Pozorski and Pozorski book: 1987:6-7
   a. Cotton Preceramic
      1. Huaynuná, Las Haldas

[Initial Period]
b. Initial Period
1. Pampa de la Llamas-Moxeke, Tortugas, Sechín Alto, Cerro Sechín
2. Huerequeque
3. Pallka, Sechín Bajo, Taukachi-Konkan
c. Early Horizon
1. Pampa Rosario, Huaca Desvio, San Diego, La Cantina, Chankillo

Social Organization

1. social elites probably drew their elevated status from a combination of
   a. kin ties
   b. political negotiation
   c. religious sanction
   d. military leadership

2. no solid evidence yet for development of hereditary social classes
   a. e.g., segregated burial grounds
   b. distinctive and segregated residential sectors

Burial data

1. mortuary information that we have at present is limited
   a. probably not a representative cross-section of society as a whole
   b. few cemeteries excavated

2. Ancón: fishing village: four classes of burials encountered
   a. general cemetery
      1. most of the population
      2. little distinction among graves
      3. shallow pits, flexed position
      4. wrapped in cotton cloth, places on reed mat
      5. single, used cooking vessel
      6. read ochre around head
      7. body covered with stones: like Preceramic
   b. one adult male
      1. _30 yrs old
      2. between knees: cebus monkey covered with mica flakes
      3. string of stone beads
      4. necklaces and armlets

[Initial Period]
5. fan of feathers: red, yellow, and green
6. various other bowls and single-spout bottle
7. mortar and pestle with red pigment and cotton cloth

C. 20-30 yr-old woman
1. buried with 5 6-month fetuses

d. dedicatory offering
1. body of small child: 3-5 yrs old
2. beneath corner of residential structure
3. eyes replaced with mica sheets
   a. stomach replaced with gourd
   b. heart with clear rock crystal

3. Cardal: civic-ceremonial center
a. excavation of penultimate atrium area of central mound
   1. level used as cemetery
b. 16 individuals in tightly flexed positions
   c. usual items
      1. cotton cloth, fiber mats, stones
      2. charred cooking pot or a few spindle whorls
d. one adult male distinctive
   1. necklace of sea-lion incisors
   2. red-painted bone ear spools
   3. bone tool in left hand
   4. no pottery of other offerings
e. other isolated simple burials found

4. these burial data point to relatively simple level of social organization
   a. at least among the people represented
   b. not clear, however, what part of the populace is represented here

Explanatory Theories

1. Moseley: coercive centralized authority
   a. posits that development of large-scale architectural complexes mark the shift from
      maritime to agricultural subsistence economies
      1. radical economic restructuring
      2. labor reorganization
      3. required new kinds of ritual ratification
         a. e.g., ritual hearths: example of new religious activity
b. coordinated with a shift to inland locations
c. notably at intake areas for irrigation: La Florida
d. ritual manipulation of water may have been key
   1. note Williams' argument concerning ritual crops in the U-shaped areas

2. Burger: multiple small-scale polities
   a. many apparently coeval monuments in same valley
   b. structures built by accretion over hundreds of years
   c. no evidence for elite burials
      1. such as we see later
   d. general character of society
      1. multitude of weakly stratified small-scale societies
      2. with highly developed religious institutions
   e. civic-ceremonial centers occupied by independent and equivalent small-scale
      societies
      1. tied together by economic interdependence
         a. to shoreline villages
         b. and specialized inland farming hamlets
      2. linked to other large centers by shared beliefs
      3. perhaps by marriage alliances
      4. occasional cooperation in raiding or defense
   f. no overarching hierarchical political structure

3. D'Altroy [after Wright 1984]: turn to chiefly ideology
   a. chiefs maintain power through combined
      1. military
      2. sacred
      3. and economic activities
   b. leadership sacralized
      1. system: highly ranked noble or chiefly class and a commoner class whose rank
         is minimal
      2. developed from simpler patterns of ascribed rank
      3. repeated definition of rank distinctions as communities developed
      4. increasingly far-flung relations among ranking families must be documented
         with lengthier genealogical histories
         a. exotic origins come to be emphasized
         b. ritual actions of higher ranking chiefs is thought to sustain the universe
      5. widely shared ideology links populace in two ways
         a. vertically: ties leadership to general populace
         b. horizontally: ties elites of various polities together

[Initial Period]
c. key to testing propositions about ideology: occurrence of complex of motifs and materials in a context of ritual use
   1. existence of symbolizations specifying nobles and the major events important in their lives in terms of cosmic forces
      a. more precise indication that a system of beliefs of cosmic power was operating
   2. e.g., naming of nobles with calendrical signs: clear in Mesoamerican Formative
      a. or military leadership in action: e.g., Cerro Sechín iconography

4. some sort of political centralization or integration is probable within valleys
   a. some evidence for settlement hierarchies
   b. centralized monumental construction
   c. territoriality is very unclear
      1. no good evidence for stylistic boundaries in territories
   d. however, larger polities very unlikely
   e. more likely that some valleys were unified
      1. and that some were not

Summary

1. archaeologists are at odds over organization needed to build the ceremonial complexes and irrigation systems
   a. one view: coercive social authority was present
      1. for construction of canals or pyramids with dedicatory human burials
      2. even in late Preceramic
   b. second view: earliest canal systems at least could have been organized communally
      1. paradox: erection of ceremonial architecture may reveal lack of coercive power on the part of elevated social groups
      a. needed to rely on religious sanction to maintain status
   c. third view: many early monuments arose from addition of multiple layers
      1. each required only modest labor investment
      2. some valleys contained several coeval mounds built over centuries
      3. _ small, fairly simple societies could have erected many of the mounds
         a. by means of intermittent collaborative efforts
2. nevertheless: clear evidence for exchange or sharing of ideas over long distances
   a. standardization of large-scale architecture
   b. long-distance exchange of commodities that were valued over a wide area
      1. e.g., Spondylus

3. many key changes occurred before ceramics as pottery
   a. and before shift to agriculture
      1. as dominant source of subsistence
   b. implies: sociopolitical changes do not necessarily coincide with changes in other
      areas of society and culture
      1. that have traditionally been associated in explanations
      2. e.g., economic change: stratification without agriculture
      3. social complexity without pottery

4. however, shift to irrigation agriculture and use of ceramics coincided with
   a. major leap upward in scale of constructions
   b. possible emergence of valley-wide polities
   c. perhaps emergence of conflict as major force
      1. NB: Cerro Sechín