

G4210: Rise of Andean Civilization

October 13, 1999 T. D'Altroy

Early Horizon: Chavín

1. following the advent of ceramics: Andean prehistory somewhat misleadingly conceived as having constituted alternating periods
 - a. large-scale integration: horizons
 - b. and breakdown into regional systems: intermediate periods
2. first integrative period: termed Early Horizon
 - a. broadly associated with crystallization of distinctive art style
 1. called Chavín
 2. after type site: Chavín de Huantar
 - a. in Callejón de Huaylas
 - b. its import is belied by the core site's modest scale
 1. significance lies in the influence of the ideas that had their source at the center
 - c. style most often considered religious iconography of an expansive or integrative cult
3. period begins with the first appearance of Chavín-style artifacts in the south coastal Ica Valley
 - a. has become something of a straitjacket in terms of assessing chronological sequences
 - b. no longer any reason why we should use a stylistic ceramic sequence from one valley peripheral to main developments
 1. as focal point for describing Andean chronology
4. Tello: father of Peruvian archaeology
 - a. began work in 1920s
 - b. Chavín was the mother culture of all Andean civilizations
5. continued series of excavations throughout the decades: major focus of recent publication
 - a. several recent volumes by archaeologists who have worked at the main site of Chavín de Huántar
 1. and other contemporary sites
 - b. Luis Lumbreras: two books

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c. Burger

Outline and major questions

1. time period: about 800-200 B.C.
 - a. period of major developments in social complexity
 1. continuity from that which occurred in latter part of Preceramic and Initial Period
 - b. focus traditionally on Chavín: Tello
 1. fantastic artwork
 2. monumental constructions
 3. elegant craftsmanship
 4. interregional adoption of iconographic elements
 5. synthesis of artistic elements with origins in jungle, highlands, and coast
 - a. implied pan-Andean synthesis and integration
2. unclear what Chavín actually was: imprecise language in the literature reflects uncertain or conflicting conceptions of what Chavín was
 - a. e.g., site?: Chavín de Huantar
 - b. art style
 - c. ideological system
 1. separable from art style?
 2. raises question: to what extent and in what ways do art and socio-religious organization coincide?
 - d. sociopolitical entity
3. recent work has shown that Chavín de Huantar represents only a part of a very complex series of related developments
 - a. regional and interregional changes
 - b. Great and Small religious traditions
4. major issues that have been addressed at least peripherally
 - a. origins of civilization
 1. Tello: mother culture for all Andean civilizations
 2. Larco Hoyle: coastal origins
 - b. chronology
 1. Rowe's work: basis for interregional comparisons based on art styles
 2. Burger: C-14
 - a. amended appreciation of sequence of development
 - b. and relationships among highlands, coast, and jungle
 - c. nature of art and religious organization

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1. complex and elegant style with high quality workmanship
 - a. often taken to imply complexity of society
 - b. and dominance of priestly cults over all aspects of society
 2. led to disproportionate emphasis of research on
 - a. artwork: often out of context
 - b. monumental architecture
 - c. minute differences in style
 1. taken to be important temporally
 2. and regionally
 - d. spread of Chavín: parochialism in explanations
 1. missionaries
 - a. non-violent diffusion of religion and its associated artwork
 2. colonization
 - a. movement from coast to highlands
 3. long-distance trade networks
 - e. settlement pattern study: recent phenomenon
 1. empty ceremonial centers
 - a. Willey, Tello
 - b. Olmec-Chavín comparison
 2. regional systems with integrated communities
 - a. Burger: Chavín, Pojoc, Waman Waín
5. evolving views of Chavín
- a. many archaeologists have treated the Chavín phenomenon as the source of Andean civilization
 1. since Tello's pioneering work in the 1920s
 - b. recent decades: less grand conception
 1. ideology broadly integrated Peruvian societies
 2. but important local developments in the era
 3. spread of Chavín imagery was preceded or paralleled by important independent social and artistic developments along coast of Peru
 - a. Paracas
 - b. Lima
 - c. Casma
 - d. Nepeña
 - e. Moche
 - c. now considerable evidence that antecedent societies of Peru's north coast were larger-scale than anything else till the Moche polities
 1. however, Chavín remains conceptually at the core of Andean archaeology
 - d. rather than being a period of social integration

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1. zenith of Chavín "integration" may have actually seen the demise of the social formations responsible for building great coastal ceremonial complexes
6. problems not yet clearly addressed
 - a. size of populations: except in Santa
 - b. sociopolitical organization
 1. theocracy explains everything
 2. but why rituals?
 - c. means of interregional interaction
 1. why are there religious traditions in art and architecture?

Chronology

1. early claim for antiquity of Chavín made by Tello
 - a. doubted because of sophistication of art style and technology
 - b. precedence shown over Moche, Chimu, Inka
 - c. questions remained over sites in Casma, Nepeña, and Moche Valleys
 1. stylistically related
2. Tello: related coastal sites are evidence of Chavín expansion
 - a. Larco Hoyle: North coast origins (Nepeña)
 1. Cupisnique
 2. spread to Chavín
 - b. Rowe: seriation at Chavín
 1. cautiously extended to coastal sites
 - c. Roe: highland origins
 1. coastal expansion
3. Burger: refined chronology
 - a. based on excavations at Chavín
 - b. variation in use of term Rocas has caused problems
 1. Lumbreras: two phases bracketing Ofrendas
 2. Amat: three different, but sequential phases
 - a. thought to predate Ofrendas
4. Burger: 3 phases based on 11 stratigraphic excavations
 - a. Chavín materials always on sterile
 - b. no earlier ceramics known in the area

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- c. assumption: ceramics spanned era from first settlement to small nucleated town
- 5. probable that Chavín de Huantar was founded in late Initial Period
- 6. tentative radiocarbon chronology
 - a. Urabarriu: 850-460 B.C.
 - 1. platform used only during this phase
 - 2. published pottery from Ofrendas Gallery agrees well with Urabarriu materials
 - b. Chakinani: 460-390 B.C.
 - 1. classic Chavín style ceramics
 - 2. short period of occupation
 - 3. dates for the construction of New Temple fit: Amat
 - c. Janabarriu: 390-200 B.C.
 - 1. marked by expansion of settlement: 1.2 km long
 - a. along western bank of Río Mosna and both sides of Río Huachecsa
 - 2. evidence for craft production and social differentiation at settlement [data?]
 - 3. tied into system of long-distance exchange
 - 4. contexts of recovery are disturbed: inconsistent readings
 - a. Rocas Gallery dates fit
 - 1. questionable: taken on bone
 - 5. era of major construction at Castillo [see below]

Chronological relationships with Las Haldas, Caballo Muerto,
Ancón, and Garagay

- 1. sites with imagery related to that of Chavín de Huantar: include ceremonial and habitation sites
 - a. north coast
 - 1. sites in quebrada de Cupisnique
 - 2. Caballo Muerto
 - 3. Punkurí
 - 4. Cerro Blanco
 - 5. Las Haldas
 - 6. Sechín Alto
 - b. central coast
 - 1. Garagay
 - 2. Mina Perdida
 - 3. Pachacamac
 - c. upper coastal and intermontane valleys

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1. Kotosh
 2. La Galgada
 3. Pacopampa
 4. Huaricoto
 5. Kuntur Wasi
 6. Ataura
- d. south coast: cemetery of Karwa
2. traditionally: coastal sites considered to be contemporary with Chavín
 - a. similarity in art style, architecture, or ceramics
 - b. considered to be provincial manifestations of Chavín
 1. since the highlands site has been most intensively studied
 - c. no longer sustainable
 1. good dates from Las Haldas and Caballo Muerto
 2. many other sites described last week
 3. Las Haldas
 - a. impressive littoral site
 - b. massive truncated pyramid and semisubterranean galleries
 1. bear a striking similarity to architectural remains at Chavín de Huantar
 - c. key dates
 1. principal monumental construction: 1190-900 B.C.
 2. final occupation: 880-500 B.C.
 - e. so predates Chavín de Huantar
 4. Caballo Muerto (Pozorski 1982)
 - a. ceremonial complex
 1. 190 km north of Las Haldas
 2. 240 km NW of Chavín de Huantar
 - b. architecture and adobe sculpture associated with Chavín
 1. Roe: late phase D of early EF of Chavín stone sculpture seriation
 - c. at least 8 major temple mounds
 1. covers 2 km NS x 1.1 km EW
 2. probably no more than 2-3 in use at any one time
 3. population probably resident
 - a. evidence scanty so far
 - d. Pozorski proposes three major architectural periods for construction
 1. Period I: 1500-1200 B.C.
 2. Period II: 1200-800 B.C.
 3. Period III: 800-400 B.C.

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3. I-II: most impressive constructions
 - a. Huaca de los Reyes
 1. most complex: 2 symmetrical platform mounds
 2. series of friezes on faces
 - a. 39 of 58 excavated
 - b. adobe: laid over cobbles, boulders, and mud mortar
 - c. intact friezes: yellow finishing clay
 - d. two basic types
 1. large adobe heads: human and feline characteristics
 2. bipedal figure: presumably human
 3. labor costs: 100 men fulltime for 11.43 years to build second construction phase
 - a. could have been built in a single generation
 - b. 50-100 men could have built second phase easily within 25 years
 - b. Huaca Herederos Grandes
 1. 120 x 100 x 18 m
 - c. each mound is in the shape of a U
 1. central large mound
 2. two flanking parallel wing structures
 4. Phase III: less impressive
 5. I and II preceded establishment of Chavín de Huantar
 - a. Period III: 440±70 B.C.
 1. Janabarriu-related ceramics found at Period III mounds
 6. scale, labor investment, complexity: imply central authority
 - a. probable sociopolitical ranking
 - b. discussed further below
5. discussion of dates
- a. major sites were prospering on the coast between 1200 and 900 B.C.
 1. e.g., Caballo Muerto, Haldas, Garagay
 - b. earliest phase of Chavín de Huantar: 850-460 B.C.
 - c. iconographic and architectural features found at coastal sites
 1. may be possible antecedents for similar features at Chavín de Huantar
6. temple at Chavín is different
- a. new set of motifs and stylistic conventions
 - b. sculpture differs in content
 - c. coexisted with Garagay and Caballo Muerto
7. intrasite expansion and maximum influence of Chavín: 390-200 B.C.

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- a. increased importance directly related to decline of Initial Period ceremonial complexes on the coast
- b. lack of remains from beginning of the Initial Period in the Mosna Valley or in the nearby highlands
 - 1. suggests that the people who built the Castillo moved in from elsewhere

Settlement and Architectural Evidence

Chavín area (Burger 1982, 1992)

- 1. survey data from Chavín area: very spotty
 - a. complex environmental context: three major life zones
 - 1. 3100-3300 m: quechua
 - a. tropical mountainous humid forest
 - b. best area for growing maize
 - 2. 3300-3800 m: suní or jalca
 - a. tropical mountainous very humid forest
 - b. potatoes, quinoa, root crops
 - 3. 3800 on up: jalca or puna
 - a. tropical subalpine pluvial páramo
 - b. 80% of the land with agricultural potential
 - c. year-round herding
 - b. three zones lie within 2 hours walk of one another
 - 1. all three zones could have been exploited from any of the three
 - 2. Chavín lies on the valley floor
- 2. site of Chavín de Huantar
 - a. settlement almost 1.5 km along the west side of the Río Mosna
 - 1. against the lower slopes of the valley
 - b. east side has only scattered remains
 - 1. Burger: perhaps seasonal occupation for agriculture
 - c. total area: about 40 ha.
 - 1. housed 3,000-4,000 inhabitants
 - d. character of occupation difficult to determine
 - 1. because of colluviation and erosion
 - 2. structures not visible except for excavated areas
 - 3. ceramics visible primarily in strata cuts, drains, canals, eroded areas
 - 4. no control over density of settlement
 - 5. nor variety nor specialization of activities

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- a. some byproducts of bone tool manufacture found in test pits
- 6. some residential structures of high quality found at Janabarriu
 - a. gold, coastal shell, fish
- 7. contrasts with contemporary domestic architecture in the area
- e. exact nature of settlement difficult to ascertain
 - 1. somewhat nucleated
 - 2. but no more than a small town
- 3. temple: expanded or renovated several times
 - a. contains elements of Initial Period monumental complexes
 - 1. U-shape
 - 2. sunken circular pit in central plaza
- 4. Old Temple
 - a. original late Initial Period temple
 - b. architectural focus: U-shaped pyramidal platform
 - 1. enclosing a sunken circular courtyard
 - c. elements
 - 1. north wing: 45 x 75 m, rises 14 m
 - 2. central wing: 29 x 44 m, rises 11 m
 - 3. south wing: 35 x 71 m, rises 16 m
 - d. built of alternating rows of thick and thin blocks
 - 1. granite, sandstone, limestone
 - e. sculpted tenon heads projected from upper portions of walls
 - 1. more than 2x size of human heads
 - 2. could weigh 0.5⁺ ton
 - f. opens to E
 - 1. toward Mosna River
 - 2. and rising sun
 - 3. although 13⁰ off: closer to setting of nadir or anti-zenith sun
 - 4. faces away from settlement and approaches
 - g. interpretations of layout
 - 1. Isbell: U-shape is a metaphor for mediation of dual opposing forces
 - 2. Lathrap: form used to focus sacred energy
 - h. circular plaza
 - 1. 21 m diameter
 - 2. could have held ~550 people or fewer
 - 3. stonework finer than that of adjoining buildings
 - 4. E stairway flanked by sculptures of four profile felines
 - i. galleries

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1. narrow: rarely more than 1.1 m wide
2. roofed with flat slabs
3. no source of natural lighting
- j. Lanzón Gallery: most important
 - a. faces east along axis of Old Temple
 - b. Lanzón: principal cult image of Old Temple
 - c. stone 4.5 m tall: point embedded in floor
 1. Andean foot-plow: *chaki taklla*
 2. of knife or lance-point
 - d. located in cross of galleries in Old Temple
 - e. anthropomorphic image: Smiling God or Snarling God
 1. human body
 2. with claws for fingers and toes
 3. feline face
 4. snakes for hair
 - f. possibly served as oracle
- j. other galleries
 1. also Gallery of Labyrinths
 2. and Gallery of Staircases
 3. G. of Offerings: 800 pots
 - a. probably broken through use of gallery in later eras: maybe chicha, since one has an illustration of a maize ear
 - b. bones: camelids, deer, guinea pigs, fish
 - c. from coast: Peruvian mussel shells and Ecuadorian Spondylus
 - d. 233 human bones: burnt and fragmented
 1. at least 21 children, juveniles, and adults identified
 2. full spectrum of body parts
 3. possible ritual cannibalism: but cut marks yet to be verified
 - * 4. note: comparable remains not found in settlement of Chavín de Huantar
 - e. materials segregated according to use
 1. e.g., bottles separate from bowls and plates, from globular jars, and from carved stone objects
 4. G. of Snails
 5. Field Camp Gallery
- k. ventilation and drainage: accomplished through elaborate shaft complex
- l. Tello Obelisk
 - a. long stone block
 - b. 2 caymans: principal images
 1. Cayman A: associated with manioc, achira, peanuts (below ground)

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- 2. Cayman B: gourd, pepper, & other cultigens (above ground); Spondylus, raptorial bird
 - c. Lathrap
 - 1. A is Cayman of Underworld
 - 2. B is Cayman of the Sky
 - d. maybe mythical donors of these crops

- 5. New Temple
 - a. developed during Janabarriu-phase settlement
 - b. era of Black and White portal
 - 1. carving on one column unfinished
 - c. stylistically an elaboration of what came earlier
 - 1. rather than a radical transformation
 - 2. kennings, anatomic design, dual profiles, bilateral symmetry, modular width
 - d. thematic continuity as well
 - 1. one deity holds Strombus and Spondylus shells in hands
 - 2. Raimondi Stela
 - a. monolithic plaque
 - b. depicts Staff God
 - c. serpents for hair
 - d. projecting canines and claws
 - e. architecture
 - 1. southern wing doubled in size
 - 2. addition of new array of galleries and stairwells
 - 3. orientation on same axes as Old Temple

- 6. imagery: finest stonework of era
 - a. images combine elements from diverse environmental zones
 - a. cayman: from tropical forest
 - b. Spondylus shell: from coastal Ecuador
 - c. hawk: from sierra

- 7. circular plaza
 - a. 21 m across by 2.5 m deep
 - b. could have held 550 max: Burger estimates
 - c. finely cut stonework
 - d. floor lined with yellowish slabs
 - 1. fossilized gastropod included deliberately
 - e. 13 profile jaguars in wall stones
 - f. above them: elaborate series of anthropomorphic figures

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1. carrying, e.g., Strombus trumpet, ribbed staff or club
8. other settlements
 - a. Pojoc
 1. 3850 m
 2. 2.5 ha
 3. visible architecture
 - a. various platforms and terraces
 4. some tombs excavated
 - b. Waman Waín
 1. 3500 m
 2. 4 ha
 3. architecture: terraces, platforms
 4. tombs also noted
9. relations of other regions with Chavín de Huantar
 - a. material evidence for interregional interaction at Chavín
 1. marine shells found in domestic middens
 - a. Burger suggests eating
 1. TD: not likely serious part of the diet
 2. Spondylus offerings during Janabarriu
 - a. beads, small laminas, and fragments
 - b. evidence suggests products of Ecuadorian exchange were extended to populace around Chavín
 3. 3 species of marine fish: Chakinani and Janabarriu
 4. obsidian
 - a. almost all from Quispisisa: 460 km away in Huancavelica
 - b. found in Chakinani deposits
 - c. abundant in domestic middens in Janabarriu
 5. other goodies: sources unknown
 - a. crystals, fossils, chrysacolla, beaten and soldered gold
 - b. possible economic complementarity
 1. camelids and occasional cervids at Chavín
 2. obsidian flakes at high altitude sites
 - c. clearer evidence for religious and maybe sociopolitical interaction
 1. monumental stone platform at Pojoc
 - a. implies ritual activity
 - b. marine shell and fish bones
 - c. high quality stonework
 2. similar remains found at Waman Waín

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- a. and at other sites in the region: Runtu, Yuayaku, Gotush
- d. ceramics
 - 1. Pojoc: came from other source than that which produced those at Chavín
 - 2. Waman Waín: same as those from Chavín Temple area
 - 3. may imply distinctions among support communities
- 4. Burger: suggested form of relations
 - a. inter-community religious ties
 - b. quality and nature of remains at smaller communities
 - 1. imply access to expertise and resources probably beyond the means of small agricultural communities
 - c. proposition: Chavín provided quality sculpture, exotic ritual paraphernalia, and perishable exotic items for offerings
 - 1. established ritual obligations owed the temple
 - d. perhaps a regional ritual cycle of festivals and processions
 - 1. carried out on a calendrical basis
 - 2. tied together secular and religious obligations of support communities

Comparisons with coastal patterns: Santa Valley (Wilson 1983, 1987, 1997)

- 1. six chronological periods defined
- 2. Las Salinas: Cerro Prieto/Preceramic
 - a. 36 sites
 - b. almost all habitation: <1 ha
 - c. mostly shell middens along the coastline
 - d. total population estimate: 1000, assuming contemporaneity of all sites
 - 1. 27 persons / site
 - 2. about 60% of population along the coast
- 3. Cayhuamarca Period: Guañape/Early Horizon
 - a. 54 sites: all but one in the Middle and Upper Valley
 - 1. grouped in at least four discrete clusters
 - 2. at intervals of 2-4 km apart
 - b. each cluster contains the same three settlement types
 - 1. a number of terraced and nonterraced habitation sites
 - 2. one to three sites of probable ceremonial-civic function
 - 3. one or more large, rock-walled citadels: most in rugged terrain of south desert margin on hilltops or ridges as high as 575m above valley floor

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4. good evidence for settlement differentiation
 - a. habitation sites: 24 occupations
 1. somewhat removed from valley floor
 - b. citadels: 21 occupations
 1. 33% of discrete defensive sites found in region
 2. 40% of sites belonging to time period: highest percentage
 3. many 1-2 hrs from valley floor
 4. internally complex sets of ditches, walls, baffles
 5. many also used for c-c activities and elite residence
 - c. civic-ceremonial sites: 8 occupations
 1. located in open, valley floor positions
 2. largest: 2.0-3.5 ha
 - d. cemeteries: 1 occupation

5. relationships among sites
 - b. description of Structure 33
 - c. probable that residents of habitation site depended on citadels during periods of strife
 1. and all citadel and habitation sites relied on nearby ceremonial-civic sites for major religious or other public activities
 2. so it's unlikely that the villages were autonomous
 - d. total population: 6000 persons
 1. 120/inhabited site
 2. 1500/settlement cluster
 - e. subsistence: associated with canals
 1. but sites belonging to later periods are also nearby
 2. catchment study suggests that maize-based irrigation agriculture was necessary to support this large a population

7. developmental trends: rise of chiefdom society
 - a. sociopolitical institutions were also growing increasingly complex
 1. shift from 2 to 5 levels
 - b. Table 1: tiers of site sizes
 1. 3: Cayhuamarca
Vinzos
 2. 4: Early Suchimancillo
Late Suchimancillo
 3. 5: Guadalupito

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- c. corporate labor projects as early as Cayhuamarca: canals serving several communities
 - d but Suchimancillo phases represent clearly more complex societies
 - 1. probably an incipient chiefdom
 - e. Cayhuamarca and Vinzos are probably incipient nonstratified societies
8. Wilson: distribution of citadels implies threats came from outside the valley
 - a. not among each of the four settlement clusters
 - b. TND: not so clear from the data
 9. comparisons with Nepeña Valley: to the south
 - a. both had rise of temple mound
 - b. rise of elite complexes
 - c. rise of warfare
 - d. nearly total lack of evidence for burial sites
 - e. stronger Chavín influence in Nepeña
 10. comparisons with Virú: to the north
 - a. similarities in overall size and nature of habitation sites
 - b. presence of possible elite residential sectors at some sites
 - c. civic-ceremonial structures
 - d. limited numbers of detectable cemetery sites
 - e. differences
 - 1. no evidence of fortresses in Virú
 - 2. greater variety and frequency of civic-ceremonial sites in Santa and Nepeña

Artistry and Technology

1. Chavín art
 - a. identified by array of fantastical and representational figures
 - 1. coalesced into classic form by mid-first millennium BC
 - b. many scholars feel that Andean artistry reached its pinnacle in Chavín artwork
 - 1. and greatest portrayal at Chavín de Huantar
 - c. major dissemination of classic Chavín style art: primarily in Chakinani phase
2. era marked by broadest distribution of Chavín-style art: saw important advances in craft technology and artistry
 - a. notable strides in pottery technology and execution

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1. reduced-firing
2. graphite and resin painting: in Paracas
- b. metals
 1. hammered gold-working: produced three-dimensional forms
 2. soldering
 3. sweat welding
 4. repoussé
 5. silver-gold alloying
- c. innovations in textile manufacture
 1. included use of heddle loom
 2. introduction of new weaving, dying, and painting techniques
3. most spectacular textiles from prehistoric South America: date to the end of this era
 - a. Cavernas and Necropolis cemeteries: Paracas Peninsula
 - b. excavated in the 1920s: by Julio C. Tello
 1. father of Peruvian Archaeology
 - c. well-preserved mummy wrappings
 1. contained brilliantly colored cloth
 2. decorated with myriad small figures and geometric forms
 - d. people who produced these textiles
 1. lived in much simpler society
 2. did not invest the same effort in public monuments seen hundreds of kilometers up the coast

Conclusions

1. basic features of Early Horizon
 - a. continued development of large-scale architectural complexes
 1. first seen in late Preceramic
 2. through Initial Period
 3. disproportionate labor investment
 4. but scale toned down in Early Horizon
 - b. beginning to get evidence of local integration of communities
 1. economically: Chavín and its neighbors
 2. ideologically: same group
 - c. evidence for widespread sharing of ideas
 1. concept of large-scale religious/ritual architecture
 2. architectural organization
 3. actual content of idea systems
 - a. represented in iconography

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- 4. shared goods and raw materials
 - a. consumed primarily in ritual and elite contexts
 - b. e.g., obsidian and Spondylus shell
 - 4. interaction among societies increased over time
 - a. but nature of relationships remains ambiguous
2. past notions: not widely accepted today
 - a. grand military conquest
 - b. migration
 - c. missionization
 3. current theories
 - a. some societies adopted and tailored an evolving ideology to local circumstances
 1. without much social upheaval
 - b. cult based at oracle site of Chavín de Huantar gained influence because local authorities collapsed in many areas
 1. perhaps from environmental disaster
 2. or from resistance to elite demands
 3. fortified citadels in the Virú and Santa Valleys: testify to greater role of organized warfare in local developments
 4. Cerro Sechín: grisly stone panels of warriors and dismembered bodies at Cerro Sechín
 - a. Initial Period: profoundly disruptive era
 - c. no doubt: Chavín ideology contributed to the form of society in late Early Horizon in many places
 1. remains to be seen to what extent its proponents triggered change
 2. or helped fill a leadership vacuum left by local disintegration or conflict
 4. Burger's perspective
 - a. notes Initial period antecedents to many of Chavín's cultural features
 1. iconographic motifs
 2. agricultural economy
 3. layout of monumental architecture
 4. specialized craft production
 - b. but concludes that Chavín's coalescence and elaboration of those features produced a major advance
 - c. key point: that cultural diversity combined with shared Chavín ideology and material culture to produce locally focused societies within regional interaction spheres
 - d. religion provided the social glue of these early societies

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- e. downplays the organizational impact of
 - 1. coercion
 - 2. differential control of productive resources
 - 3. class exploitation

- 5. end of Chavín phenomenon: an enigma
 - a. it may be surmised: Chavín was a religious movement that complemented regionally-organized societies
 - b. did not have independent political or economic bases to sustain itself over time
 - c. regional reassertion of power
 - 1. locally-based ideologies supplanted Chavín's ideology

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