

## G4210: Rise of Andean Civilization

November 10, 1999 T. D'Altroy

### Late Intermediate Period on the North Coast:

#### Chimor and Sicán

[sources: Rowe, 1945; Netherly, 1978; Rostworowski 1977; J. Topic 1982, 1992; Klymyshyn and Mackey 1983; Moseley and Cordy-Collins 1990; Kolata 1990; Shimada 1990]

1. final era before Inka expansion: often called Late Intermediate Period
  - a. as Wari and Tiwanaku collapsed: ca. 750 and 1000 respectively
    1. highland power became fragmented
    2. Peruvian coast resurged as sole home to the most prominent Andean polities
  - b. ca. AD 600: Moche polity shifted north to Lambayeque region
    1. while Wari and Tiwanaku were still at their peak
  - c. Sicán society soon eclipsed Moche
    1. reigned for over 700 years
    2. distinctive material culture: esp. metallurgy
  - d. new group called Chimor had emerged by AD 900
    1. in old Moche Valley heartland
    2. empire called Chimor
    3. engulfed Sicán and entire north coast by ca. 1400
  - e. while Pachacamac-centered polity continued to dominate central coast
  - f. even with grand-scale political unification
    1. coastal societies exhibited substantial cultural variation
    2. e.g., Chancay culture
      - a. between Chimor and Pachacamac
      - b. produced distinctive ceramic whiteware figurines and delicate gauze textiles
  - g. farther south: diverse regional societies reigned
    1. strongest centered in Chíncha and Ica Valleys
  - h. by end of 15th century
    1. all coastal and highland societies were incorporated into Inka empire
2. focus of presentation today: Chimor (1000-1470 A.D.)
  - a. development of expansionist state on the north coast of Peru
  - b. major period of urban construction
  - c. clear evidence for hierarchical political development
  - d. agricultural intensification
  - e. centralized labor organization
    1. generalized
    2. specialized craft producers
  - f. separation of social classes
  - g. major role for ritual activity in maintenance of state

*[Chimor]*

3. material for today underscores a major feature of study of late prehistoric and protohistoric societies: documentary vs. archaeology evidence and interpretations
  - a. work by Netherly and Rostworowski: suggests significant differences between
    1. models of coastal organization based on the archaeological arguments
    2. and arguments based on documentary evidence
  - b. archaeological perception
    1. focuses on strong political centrality
    2. major labor projects
    3. extractive political economy
    4. regularization of rule
      - a. supported to some degree by documents
  - c. documentary views
    1. much more limited perception of central control over resources
    2. focus on structural features of sociopolitical organization as key to understanding economic activities
    3. in contrast to control of critical resources
    4. much higher degree of specialization of activities
      - a. particularly sociopolitical unit and community specialization
      - b. with intent to trade with other specialized groups
      - c. implies that the goods of specialized production were not under central control of elites: as Moseley and Topic would have it

### Historical Development

1. documentary dynastic evidence
  - a. 13 kings: places beginning in 13-14th century
2. origin myths: recorded in early Spanish documents
  - a. Anonymous History of Trujillo (1604)
    1. Taycanamo arrived by balsa raft
      - a. settled north coast
      - b. royalty descended from Taycanamo through 10 kings
    2. son Guacri-caur and grandson Ñançen-pinco were the conquerors
    3. then 5-6 anonymous caciques
    4. the Minchançaman: sixth or seventh ruler
      - a. second stage of imperial expansion
      - b. conquered from Chillón to Río Tumbes
      - c. then conquered by Inkas
  - b. Calancha (1638:546-47): brief account
  - c. far north coast: Ñaymlap legend
    1. reached Lambayeque coast
      - a. with retinue of 40 officials
      - b. and green idol named Yampellec: gave name of Lambayeque

*[Chimor]*

2. established center at Chot
  3. 10th successor: Fempellec
    - a. decided to move idol
    - b. brought rains and calamity
    - c. bound and tossed into the sea
  4. sometime later, region conquered by Chimu Capac
    - a. second successor, Oxa, rule when Inkas arrived in Cajamarca
    - b. five more rulers till arrival of Spaniards
2. archaeological evidence
- a. main phase of expansion: A.D. 1000-1300
  - b. Chimu state began to expand
    1. first south: ca. AD 1150-1200
    2. then north: 1300-1370
      - a. included conquest of Lambayeque
    3. through 3-5 waves of expansion: lasted till 1400
  - c. early growth
    1. marked by construction of fortifications
  - d. but Chimu imperialism probably combined
    1. diplomacy
    2. conquest
  - e. recent analyses suggest that expansion was tied to efforts to compensate for agricultural failures in Moche Valley
    1. devastating rains and flooding
    2. effectively destroyed sustaining network of irrigation canals on pampas north of the city
  - f. ultimate expanse: covered 1000 km of coastline
    1. southern Ecuador to central Peru

### Settlement Organization

#### Chan Chan

1. formed apex of Chimu settlement hierarchy
  - a. in Moche Valley
  - b. most outstanding urban center in coastal Andean prehistory
  - c. at site's broadest extent
    1. core covered 6 km<sup>2</sup> (2.3 mi<sup>2</sup>)
    2. entire settlement 20 km<sup>2</sup> (7.8 mi<sup>2</sup>)
  - d. settlement grew through accretion
    1. does not have an identifiable focal point
    2. may have a bilateral axis
2. core contained three kinds of architecture: housing a population of about 36,000
  - a. 9-11 ciudadelas

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1. were immense adobe enclosures
  2. thought to be royal residences
  3. contain elite residential and retainer areas
  4. platform tombs
  5. storerooms
  6. U-shaped structures: called audiencias
  7. plazas
  8. wells
  9. passage highly restricted
  10. fragments of tombs have survived looting
    - a. suggest that burial of a paramount was accompanied by
      1. sacrifice of scores of attendants
      2. internment of great wealth
    - b. Intermediate architecture
      1. about 30 simpler compounds
      2. probably residences of lesser elites and retainer artisans
    - c. SIAR: small, irregular, agglutinated rooms
      1. lowest architectural rung
      2. four barrios
        - a. small irregular rooms
        - b. courts of cane and mud
      3. housing and workshops
3. barrios
    - a. bulk of population
      1. about 26,400 persons
      2. 10,500: adult craft specialists
    - b. separate cemeteries
      1. may indicate four parcialidades
    - c. in each barrio
      1. artisans housed in single family domestic units
      2. kitchens, storage areas, work space, domestic animals
    - d. most houses had evidence of metalworking and weaving of elaborate textiles
      1. probably male and female artisans
    - e. preliminary sheet metal fabrication: major activity
      1. most ingots found in houses
    - f. houses grouped in blocks
    - g. among houses: workshops and administrative areas
      1. arcones: 3-sided structures associated with craft production
        - a. sometimes full of raw materials: e.g., cotton
        - b. sometimes tools and partially finished products
  5. retainer areas
    - a. same mixture of weaving and metalworking activity
    - b. organization different

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- 1. maybe 3,000 retainers
  - c. best evidence from rooms on platforms
    - 1. adjacent to ciudadelas Velarde, Bandelier, and Squier
  - d. big kitchen area
    - 1. no evidence of chicha production
    - 2. suggests large social grouping
  - e. preliminary craft activity not so important
    - 1. finishing work more important
  - f. more elite than SIAR
6. caravansaries
- a. at center of site
    - 1. at terminus of transportation network
    - 2. could house about 600 people
  - b. features
    - 1. communal kitchens
    - 2. large, corral-like rooms
    - 3. platforms filled with llama burials
    - 4. rooms with multiple sleeping benches
  - c. likely end-points for importation
    - 1. alpaca wool: pre-spun and pre-dyed skeins
      - a. from Ancash or south
    - 2. metal ingots: Quiruvila region at headwaters of Río Moche
7. chronological development of city
- a. Early Chimu Phase I: AD 900-1100
    - 1. small concentration of SIAR
    - 2. lesser extent of intermediate architecture
    - 3. around Chayhuac and south of Uhle
  - b. Late Chimu I: 1300-1400
    - 1. Velarde and Bandelier
    - 2. SIAR and intermediate architecture began to expand rapidly
  - c. Late Chimu
    - 1. major surge of construction
    - 2. 65% of intermediate architecture built at this time
    - 3. but total area of storerooms decreased
      - a. broadening in location of storage
      - b. shift to emphasis on elite goods at Chan Chan
8. chronological trends in ciudadelas
- a. Early Chimu Phase I
    - 1. Uhle and Tello
    - 2. multiple stages of construction
      - a. Uhle 4

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- b. Tello 2
- 3. internal sectioning
  - a. and addition of annexes
- b. Early Chimu 2
  - 1. Laberinto
  - 2. internal design changed radically
  - 3. introduction of 3-part division
    - a. N: large entry court and smaller courts, flanked by variety of structures
    - b. C: second entry court and similar smaller courts, flanking structures, burial platform
    - c. S: devoid of permanent adobe architecture, but with walk-in wells, and perishable domestic structures
  - 4. formal linkage of audiencia courts and storerooms with overall design scheme
    - a. audiencias now along corridors to storerooms
- c. Gran Chimu: 1150-1300
- d. Velarde, Bandelier, Tschudi, Rivero

### Regional settlement patterns

- 1. series of provincial administrative centers
  - a. constructed throughout north coast
  - b. e.g., Casma: Manchan
  - c. Chicama: 6 identified
    - 1. e.g., Quebrada del Oso, Chicamita, Mocollope
  - d. Jequetepeque: Farfan, Pacatnamú
- 2. administrative centers: characteristics
  - a. isolated complexes of mass labor constructions
    - 1. frequently associated with extensive field systems
    - 2. located near major irrigation canals
  - b. administrative architecture
    - 1. obvious similarities to ciudadelas at Chan Chan
    - 2. e.g., audiencias
    - 3. clearly planned layouts
  - c. main structures: rectilinear compounds with thick stone walls
    - 1. oriented north: single main entry at north end
    - 2. internally divided: entry courts, pilastered doorways, complex passageways
    - 3. symmetrical apportionment of rooms
  - d. contained residential populations
    - 1. no other residential populations nearby
  - e. El Milagro de San José
    - 1. kitchen off main courtyard
    - 2. similar to Chan Chan

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- f. functions: likely associated with rural agricultural production for state

### North Coast Sociopolitical Organization

1. political structure
  - a. monarchy: centered at Chan Chan
  - b. class of nobility
  - c. origin myth: aristocracy came from two stars
    1. population from different one
  - d. Moseley: implies great class differences
2. various terms of status
  - a. lord, lady, subject, yana
  - d. note diversity of terminology for individuals of high status
    1. suggests differentiation of status within this general category
  - e. diversity of terminology for people of low status: more limited
  - f. status of artisans and other specialists remains ambiguous
3. basis for political organization: ranked dual division of progressively smaller sociopolitical units
  - a. cacique principal: highest ranking lord
  - b. segunda persona: next highest
  - c. principales: all lower-ranking lords
4. parcialidad: bounded social groups of varying size subject to lords of differing ranks
  - a. groups of lineages with patrilineal descent
  - b. lineages buried together: Cieza
    1. shrines associated with particular social groups
  - c. led by a cacique principal: with at least one other lord subject to him
    1. divided into moieties
  - d. had social, economic, and religious functions
  - e. provided a social identity for its members
    1. very occasionally referred to as ayllu
  - f. occupational affiliations
    1. mostly farmer groups
    2. also artisans: potters, metalsmiths, salt-makers, leather-workers, fishermen, exchange specialists
5. geography favored establishment of compact political territories
  - a. essentially contiguous resource zones
  - b. dependence on hydraulic agriculture

6. lords ranked among themselves

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- a. note ranking order in Spanish terminology: caciques principales, principales, indios
- 7. cacique principal and segunda persona
  - a. cp: paramount lord of political unit
    - 1. also headed one moiety
  - b. sp: headed other moiety
  - c. quadripartitioning: six more lords
- 8. lords had special access to
  - a. full-time servitors
  - b. women
  - c. labor service
- 9. specialized occupational and service groups
  - a. grouped into parcialidades
    - 1. internally differentiated by rank
    - 2. set under their own lords
  - b. enjoyed relief from some of the labor service that fell to the commonality of the agricultural groups

#### Authority, Power and Responsibility of the Lords

- 1. privileges: tied up with access to services and goods
  - a. enabled lords to fulfill their obligations of hospitality
  - c. e.g., elevated hammocks and horses
- 2. lord's rights were limited
  - a. could pass judgment and punish
  - b. but a paramount was executed by a council of his subordinates for making excessive demands for cloth tribute
  - c. execution of illegitimate ruler
- 3. succession: brother or son of lord in majority of cases
  - a. capabilities also considered
  - b. plural sons by plural wives made this possible
- 4. female ruler appears only once

#### Economic aspects of lords' position

- 1. complex, partially specialized economies
  - a. Netherly: emphasizes
    - 1. redistribution
    - 2. reciprocal obligations

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- 3. labor tax
  - 4. ceremonial contexts
  - b. Rostworowski: emphasizes
    - 1. specialization
    - 2. exchange of
      - a. products
      - b. rights to resources
2. key: economic specialization by groups
    - a. specialized groups within each polity
    - b. exchange much more important than in the highlands
      - 1. some part-time
      - 2. some full-time
      - 3. social position of specialists is unclear
      - 4. did not have mit'a labor as did the agriculturalists
  3. redistributive aspects of lord's role
    - a. production and distribution of agricultural and cloth products
      - 1. central features of coastal and highland redistribution
    - c. labor service to lords critical to their position
      - 1. cultivation of food: by agri population
      - 2. construction and maintenance of irrigation system by agricultural population
      - 3. weaving by women: by agri population
  4. lords' reciprocal obligation in agricultural labor
    - a. provide food, seed, tools
      - 1. esp. chicha
      - 2. brewed by men organized into parcialidades
    - b. hospitality dispensed for communal labor
      - 1. 16th century: without chicha, the peasants would not obey the lords
    - \* c. chicha brewers would exchange in kind to maintain themselves
      - 1. maize, wool, shell beads
  5. integration of farmers and fishers
    - a. sometimes part of same group
    - b. sometimes fishermen were part of a larger group of fishermen
    - c. exchange of fish for other produce noted: cotton, maize, and beans
    - d. note also freedom of fishermen from agricultural mit'a
  6. production of cloth: probably women's work
    - a. agricultural households
      - 1. or state specialists
    - b. clothing decorated by men
    - c. documents: decoration of cloth could be a labor service
    - d. dyeing cloth was also probably a specialty

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7. occupational groups: tied into political economy
  - a. groups also obtained part or all of their subsistence necessities through a network of reciprocal exchange
    1. none farmed
  
8. exchange specialists: barter exchange with at least two distinct spheres
  - a. intra-regional exchange: within a valley or valley cluster
    1. foodstuffs and fibers
    2. processed goods and foods
    3. specialized goods from different ecozones
    4. exotic exchange items: e.g., chaquira
  - b. long-distance circulation of non-subsistence goods
    1. direct exchange
    2. or administered trade: redistribution
      - a. chaquira, wool, and maybe clothing
  - c. exchange: customary occupational specialty
  - e. middlemen: dealt in a variety of commodities: e.g., fish, agricultural products, clothing, chaquira
    1. but some were goods-specific
  - f. political organization of the exchange specialists was the same as that of the other specialists
  
9. "Roman" balances: suggest system of equivalencies
  - a. at least for gold and maybe silver
  - b. described for coast of Peru, coast of Ecuador, and along the Caribbean coast of Venezuela
  - c. one in hands of lord of Jayanca in 1540 for measuring gold
    1. another for silver
    2. possible European origin
    3. possible that relative values of 1:3 are indigenous
  
10. trade with the highlands: maybe administered trade
  - a. probably trade between groups across ecozones all the time
  - b. labor service: bringing gold, silver, copper, and chaquira from the mountains
  - c. salt, pepper, and clothing exchanged with highlands for water

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11. some sort of conversion of prestige goods must have occurred
  - a. e.g., emergency conversion in time of stress provided a mechanism for dealing with crop failure and dearth

### Access to Land and Water

1. lords may have held rights to lands in name of parcialidad
  - a. also held personal lands
  - b. rights to land and water were inseparable
2. irrigation systems
  - a. intakes of lower valley canal networks tend to cluster between 200 and 300m
    1. approximate boundary between coast and highlands under Inka
    2. under Inka: intakes remained in coastal control
3. three levels of complexity among North coast canal systems
  - a. small canals: maintained and used by one parcialidad to water their own lands
    1. canals of Moche Valley and Chicama Valley
  - b. shared canals: of more than one parcialidad
    1. e.g., canals on south banks of Pacasmayo river in Jequetepeque Valley and Chancay (Reque) River in Lambayeque Valley
  - c. intervalley canals
    1. e.g., Taymi and Ynalche or Túcume of Lambayeque
    2. Talambo Canal of Jequetepeque
    3. segmentation clear characteristic of their maintenance and probably of their construction
  - d. Chicama-Moche canal: separate category because of its close association with the Chimu state
4. canal construction: by far the largest labor investment
  - a. La Cumbre Moche-Chicama intervalley canal
    1. movement of millions of cu m of earth
  - b. series of parallel canals: built out from Facalá area
    1. into Pampa de Mocan: northern extremity of middle section
    2. few by two large aqueducts
  - c. series of large dividing walls
    1. perhaps territorial
    2. more likely to keep animals out of agricultural areas
5. responsibility: for maintenance of the canals and distribution of water was vested in the local and regional lords
  - a. hierarchies of polities and canals are similar

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- b. larger canal systems were associated with the larger political units
- 6. tail-to-head irrigation: permits last user first shot at the water
  - a. used both on coast and in highlands
- 7. unknown if lords had preferential treatment for water
  - a. Chinchá: Castro y Ortega Morejón affirm that the lands were watered in terms of social hierarchy

### Craft and Metallurgical Production

- 1. archaeological and documentary evidence generally coincide
- 2. basic archaeological interpretation of craft production
  - a. organized in hierarchical guild-like manner
  - b. artisans: likely endogamous
    - 1. resulting in specialized kin groups
  - c. some artisans directly attached to the royal court
  - d. state heavily involved in major crafts: weaving and metalworking
- 3. Rostworowski
  - a. emphasized differences between artisans of coast and highlands
  - b. corroborated by Netherly
- 4. dating of craft production at Chan Chan
  - a. initiation
    - 1. began about Phase 4: phase lasted only about 2 generations
    - 2. i.e., ca. 1350 A.D.
    - 3. correlates with occupation of Ciudadela Velarde
  - b. Phase 4: maybe 7,300 fulltime artisans at Chan Chan
  - c. Phase 5
    - 1. maybe 12,000
    - 2. mostly weaving and metalworking
    - 3. probably concentrated at Chan Chan from elsewhere
      - a. esp. Lambayeque
  - c. termination
    - 1. artisans abandoned site en masse
    - 2. probably shipped off to Cuzco and other Inka cities
    - 3. evidence
      - a. pots still left on the hearth
      - b. storage jars lined up against walls of small rooms
      - c. ingots left on floors of houses

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- d. hammers and other tools in workplaces
  - e. storage bins full of cotton
  - f. unfinished textiles
5. craft production in Casma: Manchan and Laguna II
- a. artisans in cane-walled structures: outside elite compounds
  - b. 280-420 artisans
  - c. crafts
    - 1. metalworking
    - 2. textile production
    - 3. chicha-brewing: expanded greatly under Chimu
    - 4. spinning of alpaca wool: only place known on coast
  - e. artisans also farmers and fishermen

### Sicán

1. Sicán region
  - a. contained most extensive irrigation systems in South America
2. Sicán architecture and crafts are currently better understood than social organization
  - a. adobes exhibit makers' marks
    1. as at Moche
    2. probably associated with recording labor contributions
  - b. chamber-and-fill technique
    1. may have required closer supervision than earlier segmental constructions
3. Sicán metallurgy
  - a. culture's most distinctive craft
  - b. advanced
    1. technically
    2. aesthetically
    3. organizationally
  - c. workshop at Batán Grande
    1. smelting furnaces
    2. ore
    3. slag
    4. processing tools
    5. used in mass-production of arsenical copper bronze
  - d. some metal mixed coastal and highland ores
    1. showing exchange between neighboring societies
  - e. Sicán Lord
    1. most pervasive image in metals and ceramics
    2. postulated by some to be Ñaymlap

*[Chimor]*

- a. legendary founder of north coast dynasties
  - 3. figure appears in some of most spectacular gold and silver objects found in the New World
  - 4. virtually disappeared with disruptive shift to Late Sicán
4. Lambayeque metallurgical tradition continued under Chimu domination
- a. Huaca del Pueblo (Batan Grande): smelting of copper-arsenic ores
    - 1. resulted in prills: small beads of copper that had to be amalgamated before being used in larger pieces
  - d. Huaca Chotuna (Donnan): production of sheet metal from prills
    - 1. artisans housed in large compound
    - 2. metalworking spans several centuries
    - 3. small break in 13th century: may be Chimu conquest

### Religion

- 1. documents narrate
  - a. moon was worshiped as greatest god
  - b. the Pleiades were patron of agriculture
  - c. sea was powerful deity

### Summary

- 1. Chimor was clearly an expansionist state
  - a. centralized polity
  - b. hierarchical series of administrative centers
- 2. socially
  - a. class-based society
  - b. distinct origins
  - c. strict rules
- 3. demography
  - a. Moseley: Chan Chan small
    - 1. dispersed rural population
  - b. Keatinge and Day
    - 1. concentrated at Chan Chan
- 4. political economy
  - a. state expansion of agricultural production
    - 1. canals
    - 2. land reclamation
  - b. development of attached specialists
    - 1. long-distance commodities
    - 2. prestige goods
  - c. Chan Chan

*[Chimor]*

1. artisans attached to lords' courts
  2. also organized in somewhat more autonomous parcialidades
  3. artisans supported out of state's resources
  - d. products used to maintain reciprocal relationships between state and local-level lords and subjects
  - e. elites involved in everything
    1. from procurement of raw materials
    2. to distribution of final products
  - f. in provinces
    1. artisans flourished in provincial centers
    2. metalworking: regional in nature
      - a. dependent on local mines and smelting facilities
    3. lacked horizontal integration present at Chan Chan
    4. Manchan a bit more like Chan Chan
5. domestic economy
    - a. tied into local kin groups
    - b. and access to land and water: through group membership
  6. ethnohistoric/archaeological conflicts: leaves us with a series of questions
    - a. does Netherly provide any historical depth for development of coastal organization?
      1. look for spatially discrete patterns of distribution of goods that conform to Netherly's model
      2. e.g., north and south banks of Río Moche corresponded to polities
      3. if this channelled the economic interactions of social groups, then we should see this sort of organization reflected in ceramics
    - b. where were all the people living?
      1. Moseley and Netherly imply dispersed population
      2. Keatinge and Day: concentrated at Chan Chan
    - c. does spatial association of craft specialists with elite habitation areas necessarily imply control by the elites?

*[Chimor]*