Chavín

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Edited by
William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter

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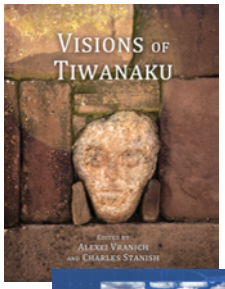

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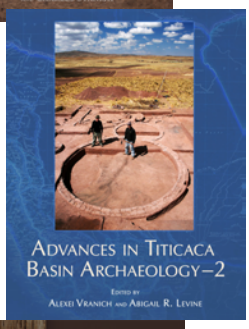

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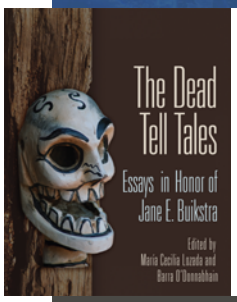

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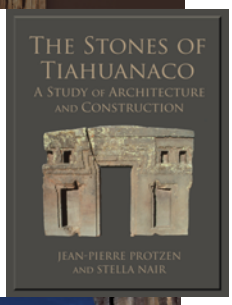

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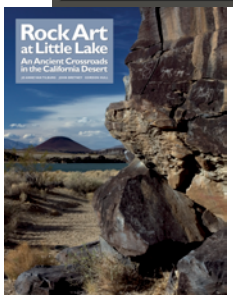

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William J Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter

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THE COTSEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY at UCLA is a research unit at the University of California, Los Angeles that promotes the comprehensive and interdisciplinary study of the human past. Established in 1973, the Cotsen Institute is a unique resource that provides an opportunity for faculty, staff, graduate students, research associates, volunteers and the general public to gather together in their explorations of ancient human societies.

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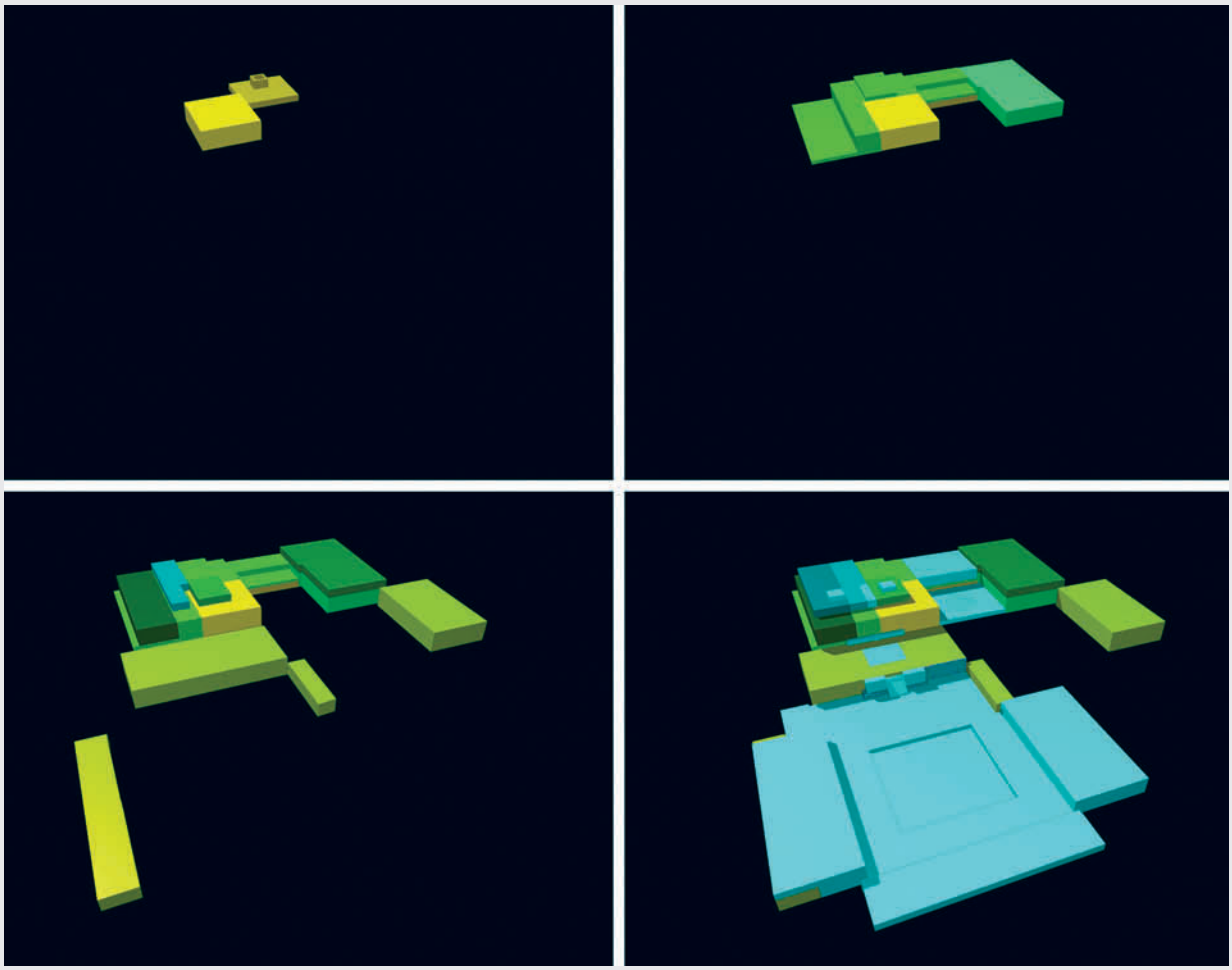
John W. Rick

Plate 1.1. The central monumental zone of the site of Chavín de Huántar, as of July 2004. Specific structures can be identified by consulting figure 1.1; the Circular Plaza, for instance, is located in the upper center of the photograph, the Mosna River at the bottom, and a small portion of the Wacheqsa River is visible at extreme upper right, along with administrative buildings of the National Institute of Culture. Rectangular gray areas within the monument are rain shelter roofs over sensitive locations. *Composite photograph taken by Anthony Fassero.*

John W. Rick is Associate Professor and past Chair of Anthropological Sciences at Stanford University, Curator of Anthropological Collections, and past Director of Stanford's Archaeology Center. His teaching concentrates on South American archaeology, the beginnings of social complexity, hunter-gatherers, stone tools, and digital methodologies in archaeology. For the last 14 years he has directed fieldwork at Chavín de Huántar, a monumental UNESCO World Heritage site dating to the first and second millennia B.C. Cooperative mapping, excavation, and conservation work there is done under long-term agreements with the Peruvian government His interests there concentrate on understanding how early religious cults strategized the beginnings of political authority in the Andes. He is also currently co-directing a major fieldwork project on Preclassic sites near Lake Atitlan in the Guatemalan highlands.

2 **The Architecture at the Monumental Center of Chavín de Huántar: Sequence, Transformations, and Chronology.** . . . . . page 35
Silvia Rodriguez Kembel



Silvia Rodriguez Kembel is an Assistant Professor Adjunct in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and is a member of the Institute of Andean Studies. Her research explores the roles that architecture and the built environment play in the development of human societies, particularly during the Andean formative period. Specifically, she studies the design, construction, and growth of prehistoric monumental architecture using new techniques including three-dimensional digital mapping, computer modeling, systematic spatial analyses, architectural patterning, and direct dating of construction materials. She has conducted research at Chavín de Huántar since 1996, supported by grants from sources including the National Science Foundation, the National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration, and the Howard Heinz Foundation. Her Stanford University Ph.D. dissertation, *Architectural Sequence and Chronology at Chavín de Huántar, Perú*, won the Society for American Archaeology 2002 Dissertation Award.

Plate 2.1. Architectural sequence for the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar. This new sequence is the result of detailed architectural documentation, 3D laser mapping and computer modeling, as well as the development and application of new spatial analysis methods. It demonstrates that the site's construction history is significantly different, more richly complex, and older than previously believed. (*Top left*): Stage 1, Separate Mound Stage. (*Top right*): Stage 2, Expansion Stage. (*Bottom left*): Stage 3, Consolidation Stage. (*Bottom right*): Stage 4, Black and White Stage, with some structures of Stage 5, Support Construction Stage, shown in gray. *Computer models by Silvia Rodriguez Kembel.*

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Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar

Richard L. Burger is C. J. MacCurdy Professor of Anthropology at Yale University and Curator of South American Archaeology at the Yale Peabody Museum. He has served as Director of the Yale Peabody Museum, Chair of the Dumbarton Oaks Senior Fellows Committee for Pre-Columbian Studies, and is current President of the Institute of Andean Research. For the last three decades he has been investigating Initial Period and Early Horizon sites in the highlands and coast of Peru, and his books include *The Origins of Andean Civilization* (Thames and Hudson, 1992), *La Emergencia de la Civilización en los Andes: Ensayos de Interpretación* (San Marcos, 1993), *Excavaciones en Chavín de Huántar* (Catholic University, Lima, 1998), *The Archaeology of Formative Ecuador* (with Scott Raymond, Dumbarton Oaks, 2003), and *The Life and Works of Julio C. Tello* (University of Iowa Press, in press).

Lucy C. Salazar, Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology and Curatorial Affiliate at the Yale Peabody Museum, is the co-curator for the exhibit "Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas." She is an authority on Inca archaeology and the early prehistory of Peru. She has over two decades of experience in archeological fieldwork and museum research and has directed numerous excavations in Peru. Salazar has written extensively on daily life at Machu Picchu, and received grant support for her work on the Incas from the NEH, NSF, and the Josef Albers Fund. She recently coedited the monograph *The 1912 Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition Collections from Machu Picchu: Human and Animal Remains* (2003) and *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas* (2004).

Plate 3.1. Perishable effigy of a supernatural with a gourd body and movable limbs: *Photo: Richard Burger*.

4 **Context and Contents of Early Chavín Art** . . . . . page 107
Henning Bischof

Henning Bischof, Director of the Anthropological Collections of the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen, Mannheim (Germany), has conducted fieldwork at several early sites in Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia since 1958, among them Asia, Paracas, Cerro Blanco/Nepeña, and Cerro Sechín in Peru, and Valdivia in Ecuador. He has published numerous articles on preceramic and early ceramic cultures as well as the Spanish conquest period.

Plate 4.1. Cayman or feline image. Detail of bone spatula carved in the Chavín A style. Height 2.3 cm. Excavated by Frédéric Engel at Haldas, Casma province. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, inv. no. 35.073. *Photo: Henning Bischof, 1959.*

5 **The Importance of Pacopampa: Architecture and Iconography in the Central Andean Formative** . . . . . page 143
Daniel Morales Chocano

Daniel Morales Chocano is a Peruvian archaeologist who studied at San Marcos University in Lima, Peru. Today he teaches at San Marcos University, where he was, until recently, director of the archaeology program. His research focuses on the Formative period in the Central Andes, in Pacopampa (Cajamarca), San Blas (Junin), and Chambira (Loreto). His research has included a study of the ceramics of Huánuco and recent studies in the Peruvian tropical forest region. He has authored several articles and books about archaeology, among them "Historia de la Arqueología del Paleolitico a la Epoca Inca," in *Compendio Historico del Perú*; "El Dios Felino en Pacopampa," in *Seminario de Historia Rural Andina* (1980); and "Chambira: Una cultura de sábana árida en la amazonía peruana" (1998).

Plate 5.1. Pacopampa was the northernmost Initial Period center in Peru. At 2140 m in altitude, the crest of a hill was modified into three large terraces for public architecture, which used large cylindrical columns and carved stone sculptural elements; felines, birds, and serpents were portrayed in stone carvings and ceramics and may have served as metaphors for earth, sky, and water. Pacopampa drew upon ideas already developed in the late Preceramic, which were also incorporated into later Chavín iconography.

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Richard Burger

Richard L. Burger is C. J. MacCurdy Professor of Anthropology at Yale University and Curator of South American Archaeology at the Yale Peabody Museum. He has served as Director of the Yale Peabody Museum, Chair of the Dumbarton Oaks Senior Fellows Committee for Pre-Columbian Studies, and is current President of the Institute of Andean Research. For the last three decades he has been investigating Initial Period and Early Horizon sites in the highlands and coast of Peru, and his books include *The Origins of Andean Civilization* (Thames and Hudson, 1992), *La Emergencia de la Civilización en los Andes: Ensayos de Interpretación* (San Marcos, 1993), *Excavaciones en Chavín de Huántar* (Catholic University, Lima, 1998), *The Archaeology of Formative Ecuador* (with Scott Raymond, Dumbarton Oaks, 2003), and *The Life and Works of Julio C. Tello* (University of Iowa Press, in press).

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Peter G. Roe

Peter G. Roe, Ph.D., Professor, University of Delaware, trained first as an artist and since 1969 combines archaeology and ethnology in his research on Caribbean and South American Indians, with a special focus on the interrelationships between art style, society, and ideology. He has worked in the highlands (Chavín de Huántar: archaeoastronomy and iconography, Formative) and lowlands (Cumancaya, Upper Ucayali, Late Prehistoric archaeology), and on both sides of the Amazon Basin (Shipibo, Peruvian montaña/Waiwai, Upper Essequibo, Guyana) studying art, ethnoastronomy, ethnoarchaeology, and oral traditions. He is also a Visiting Professor, Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, Old San Juan, Puerto Rico, and was, for 15 years (1985–2000) the Curator, Centro de Investigaciones Indígenas de Puerto Rico, San Juan, PR, where he continues to research the prehistory of the Greater Antilles (Puerto Rico and eastern Hispañola) from the Saladoid to the Chicoid in ceramic age archaeology, with a focus on ceramic and woodbone carving analysis and rock art iconography. He is the author of 100+ publications, including two books and two monographs, and has presented more than 50 professional papers.

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8 **The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art** . . . . page 217
Gary Urton

Gary Urton is the Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Pre-Columbian Studies in the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University. He is the author of numerous articles and several books on Andean and Inca civilization, including *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky* (1981), *The History of a Myth* (1990), *The Social Life of Numbers* (1997), *Inca Myths* (1999), and *Signs of the Inka Khipu* (2003). He has been Director of the Khipu Database Project at Harvard University since 2002.

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Constantino Manuel Torres

Plate 9.1. San Pedro cactus–bearing personage from the sunken plaza of the Old Temple, Chavín de Huántar, Peru. *Photo: William Conklin*.

Constantino Manuel Torres, Ph.D., University of New Mexico (1982), is Professor of Art History, School of Art and Art History, Florida International University in Miami, Florida. His primary interest is in the art and archaeology of psychoactive plant use in the Central Andes, and he conducts research and archaeological work in the Atacama Desert of northern Chile. Recent publications include *Anadenanthera: Visionary Plant of Ancient South America* (Haworth Press, Binghamton, NY, 2006) and "Imágenes legibles: La iconografía Tiwanaku como significante," *Boletín del Museo Chileño de Arte Precolumbino* 9, Santiago, Chile, 2004.

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William J Conklin

Plate 10.1. Reconstruction of a Chavín goddess from a painted Chavín textile.

William J Conklin, M.Arch., Harvard Graduate School of Design, is an architect and archaeologist who has written and published numerous articles on Andean archaeology—articles primarily concerned with the evolution of textiles as the primary Andean form of visual communication. He is associated with both Peruvian and Chilean educational institutions and is a Research Associate at the Field Museum in Chicago and at the Textile Museum in Washington, DC, where he was the curator of an exhibition concerned with Chavín textiles entitled "Messages from Minus Time." That exhibition led to a Dumbarton Oaks Roundtable whose papers constitute this volume. His Andean fieldwork has involved excavation and analysis of Andean textiles and architecture from many locations and time periods. Currently he is exploring the early evolution of the *khipu*.

11 **The Felicitous Legacy of the Lanzón** . . . . . page 279
Tom Cummins

Tom Cummins is Dumbarton Oaks Professor of the History of Pre-Columbian and Colonial Art and chairman of the Department of the History of Art and Architecture at Harvard. He has a Ph.D. from UCLA. He taught for 11 years at the University of Chicago, was the director of The Center of Latin American Studies from 1998 to 2001, and was acting director of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard in 2003–2004. His research and teaching focuses on pre-Columbian and Latin American colonial art. Recent research interests include a study of the only three extensively illustrated manuscripts from Peru (*The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of the "Historia General del Piru,"* edited by Thomas Cummins and Barbara Anderson, Getty Research Institute); the analysis of early Ecuadorian ceramic figurines (*Huellas del Pasado: Los Sellos de Jama-Coaque*, Banco Central del Ecuador), and the study of late pre-Columbian systems of knowledge and representation, especially Inca, and their impact on the formation of 16th- and 17th-century colonial artistic and social forms (*Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Kero Vessels*, Univ. of Michigan Press, and *Native Traditions in the Colonial World*, Dumbarton Oaks). He has also written about New World town planning, the early images of the Inca, miraculous images in Colombia, and the relationship between visual and alphabetic literacy in the conversion of Indians.

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The many years of work that have of necessity accompanied the development and production of this book can only be put into scale by the longevity of Chavín itself. First on the list of "Thank you!" would be the authors themselves whose devotion and commitment deserves a hearty round of applause. My co-editor, Jeff Quilter, personally translated and coordinated the work of the foreign authors as well as conceiving of and managing the original Transformation in Chavín roundtable. His intelligence and knowledge have been invaluable. That roundtable was itself inspired by the Textile Museum's Chavín textile exhibition entitled "Messages from Minus Time" for which I was the curator. Barbara Conklin, whose years as a professional editor with Junius Bird at the American Museum of Natural History, created an ally vastly beyond any definition of marital duty. The enthusiasm that Charles Spanish has shown for this book has carried us all to its completion.

Bill Conklin

PREFACE

Jeffrey Quilter

Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture is the title of the book of conference papers resulting from the first meeting held at Dumbarton Oaks on this early cultural phenomenon of Peru subsequent to the landmark conference held there in 1968, organized by Elizabeth Benson with the aid of Michael Coe. One might consider it remarkable that three decades passed between the two meetings, but the great range of pre-Columbian art and culture is such that even with the common occurrence of two major scholarly meetings a year at Dumbarton Oaks on pre-Columbian themes, there are many major topics that are yet to have their day at that venerable institution. Nevertheless, when Bill Conklin approached me with the idea of holding a meeting on Chavín, I was eager to join with him in organizing such a meeting. It is salutary, nonetheless, to compare the nature and events of the two meetings as a prelude to this book for, in many ways, the field has advanced considerably while, at the same time, some things have changed very little. Thanks to notes provided to me by Elizabeth Benson, I am able to report on the earlier meeting as well as the more recent one.

The first Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín was held on October 26 and 27, 1968, under the chairmanship of Junius Bird of the American Museum of Natural History. This was the second pre-Columbian conference held at Dumbarton Oaks. The first one was held the year before, in 1967, and was on the Olmec. The impetus for that meeting was fieldwork that had been undertaken by Michael Coe at San Lorenzo, and at La Venta by Robert Heizer and other California archaeologists. Chavín was the logical candidate for the next conference because, as the Olmec was viewed as the earliest recognizable "high" art style of Mesoamerica, so too was Chavín seen as the earliest such style in the central Andes. Just as important fieldwork at major sites was underway at Olmec sites, active new research was being carried out at Chavín. In particular, the work of Luis Lumbreras at the type site was of great interest, but research by Seiichi Izumi and his University of Tokyo team at Kotosh, Donald Lathrap's search for tropical forest origins of Chavín, and Thomas Patterson's work on early sites on the central coast also added incentive for such a meeting.

It should be noted that one of the important factors in encouraging fieldwork at both Olmec and Chavín sites, and in holding the conferences, was the growing confidence in, and use of, radiocarbon dating in archaeology. Combined with the initiatives to study the origins of civilization in the Old World, the potential of radiocarbon dating to provide chronometric dates offered to clarify major issues in Americanist archaeology. As Elizabeth Benson points out, in the mid-1960s there were still scholars who thought that the Olmec postdated the Maya. So too, in the Andes, a great number of objects and sites were classified as "Chavinoid," recognizing both similarity with and difference from art that could securely be considered as simply Chavín. So, while diffusion was increasingly being abandoned as an explanatory mode, lingering thoughts remained that Chavín was a product of some kind of migration or other direct influence from the Olmec.

There were five speakers at the 1968 Chavín conference. Benson notes that the participants consisted of 22 experts who were invited because they knew as much as the speakers about the topic. The Olmec conference had been scheduled for all day Saturday, but several of the invited participants asked if they could make presentations so the meeting was extended to include a Sunday morning session. The same thing happened at the Chavín conference and, ever since, the pre-Columbian symposia are usually planned for both a full Saturday session and a Sunday morning one.

Luis Lumbreras, who was excavating at Chavín de Huántar, was invited to attend the meeting but declined the invitation. Hernán Amat, co-director of the Chavín project, came and offered a presentation, however. Volunteered Sunday papers included presentations by Alan Sawyer, Gary Vescelius, and Tom Zuidema. The conference volume was not published until 1971 and included an article by Lumbreras that was a translated version of one which had appeared in the Peruvian magazine *Amaru* and utilized illustrations sent by Amat, followed by contributions from Thomas Patterson, Seiichi Izumi, Donald Lathrap, and John Rowe.

There were a number of tensions at the meeting. Edward Lanning had been invited but apparently declined because his estranged wife was planning to attend. Donald Lathrap's views of the tropical forest origins of early Andean cultures ran counter to the views of Clifford Evans and Betty Meggers on the role of Japanese fishermen in introducing ceramics to coastal Ecuador. After Lathrap finished his presentation, all turned to look at Meggers and Evans. The latter stood up and politely stated something to the effect of "Our position is well known. There is no point in reiterating it at this time," and sat down, averting discord. John Rowe had to leave early due to an airplane flight on Sunday morning: his departure for the airport coincided with the beginning of Tom Zuidema's talk.

Although the meeting was held in 1968, the resulting slim volume was not published until 1971 because Elizabeth Benson, as editor, waited for Amat's paper, which never arrived. Despite the personal and academic differences among that group at the meeting, the book was a landmark in Chavín and Andean scholarship. Indeed, all of the articles are still essential reading for anyone who desires a thorough knowledge of theories and data on Chavín and its origins.

More than 30 years later, when Bill Conklin and I decided to organize a meeting on Chavín, we faced the fact that a considerable number of studies on it and related topics had been published. There had been many changes and yet many things were still the same, with many issues unresolved. In terms of meetings at Dumbarton Oaks, the annual conferences had grown into symposia, still with a day-and-a-half format but usually including a dozen or more presentations and an audience commonly between 150 and 200. The character of the symposia tended to be broader as well, drawing on an audience of pre-Columbianists who may not have been specialists in the particular subject matter covered but who wished to learn of current views by experts. Colloquia and roundtables had been instituted, however, each with successively decreasing and more specialized audiences. We therefore decided to hold a roundtable similar to the 1968 meeting in consisting of a small group of specialists as both speakers and audience. We chose the theme of transformation because it covered both art and archaeology. Chavín's baroque art style displays images that segue from one form to another, while the cultural phenomenon of Chavín participated in the transformation of ancient societies from regionally based entities into participation in a supra-regional phenomenon.

It is important to note another stimulus for the meeting. Bill Conklin had curated an exhibit of Chavín textiles at the Textile Museum of Washington, DC, entitled *Messages from Minus Time*. While we could have held a meeting at any time, we both felt that the opportunity to have a conference during the period of the exhibit was a bonus. Indeed, the participants were hosted at the museum on the Saturday evening of the meeting, adding to the enjoyment and edification of all during the weekend. It is also worth noting that North America and Europe still await a major museum exhibition on Chavín. When such an event occurs, it will surely be a landmark in bringing attention to the beauty of Chavín art and the richness of early Peruvian culture history.

In what ways has the study of Chavín advanced in the four decades since the first Dumbarton Oaks meeting? The term "Chavinoid" has disappeared from the archaeological lexicon. Forty years ago, Chavín-like art and sites were debated as earlier, later, or contemporary with the type site, Chavín de Huántar. Thanks to continuing research, it is now clear that most of these sites and art works date to the Initial Period, preceding the accepted dates of Chavín's apogee. This view was best articulated in the Dumbarton Oaks symposium "Early Ceremonial Architecture in the Andes," held in 1982 and subsequently published in a volume (Donnan 1985) of the same name.

Another advancement in Chavín studies followed from the work on early ceremonial architecture and associated remains in general. In the late 1980s into the early 1990s, Richard Burger (1992) who had conducted fieldwork at Chavín in the mid-1970s, developed and presented a clear and elegant thesis for understanding the Chavín phenomenon in which the cult and art are viewed as reformulation of Initial Period ideas. It was a synthesis that took some motifs and ideas from a more diverse Initial Period cultural matrix and transformed them into a distinct cult, a revitalization movement, which spread through Peru in a Pax Chavinensis.

As at the 1968 conference, our meeting included some tensions between the scholars present. Although many articles had been written about various aspects of Chavín art and symbolism in the last few decades, relatively little archaeological fieldwork had been carried out until the excavations by John Rick and his team at Chavín de Huántar. As a result of this work, Rick and his colleagues have challenged the Burger model. In short, their argument is that Chavín de Huántar was not a relatively late synthesizer of Initial Period traditions but that it rose to prominence early and is simply another Initial Period center among many, albeit with some spectacular art and architecture.

These two different views of Chavín are being debated and discussed at the time this book is being prepared for publication. As was the case during our conference, we have encouraged each of the relevant parties to present their views in the pages of this book, and we have allotted them slightly more pages to do so than some of the other chapters. Combined with ongoing research by the other authors, this means that this volume encapsulates a moment in a continuing discussion, rather than marking the reaching of a distinct plateau in understanding.

Unlike the earlier meeting which consisted mostly of archaeologists as speakers, our gathering included two ethnohistorian-ethnographers interested in symbolism (Roe and Urton), two art historians (Cummins and Torres), and an architect with a specialty in textiles (Conklin). The resulting diversity perhaps speaks to the fact that Chavín and its fascinating art are much more appreciated, at least among academics, than it was in the past, and viewpoints on the subject are thus much broader than in the past. Although Lumbreras was again invited, as in the earlier meeting only a single Peruvian national was at the roundtable—Daniel Morales, who contributed an important paper on the role of the tropical forest and the site of Pacopampa. The meeting was carried out in a collegial atmosphere. One minor event of note occurred during a coffee break when, unfortunately, many of the participants were out of the Founders Room where the meeting was held. John Rick played a tape of a "Chavín Rap Song," written and performed by one of his students at a fairly high volume on a "boom box" brought in for the occasion.

It is interesting to consider that the great Peruvian archaeologist, Julio C. Tello, first proposed Chavín as a kind of "mother culture" of Peruvian civilization in the 1930s. Thus, the length of time between Tello's first identification of the importance of Chavín and the first Dumbarton Oaks conference is about the same span of time as between that meeting and the holding of *Transformation in Chavín Art and Culture*. Viewed from this perspective, we can appreciate that in both units of time, tremendous advances have been made in our understanding of Peruvian prehistory and of Chavín's role in it. And, while debates about some fundamental issues may still be occurring, we may take some comfort in the irony that Mesoamericanists are still debating about the role of the Olmec as the "Mother Culture" of Mesoamerica (see, for example, Blomster 2002) and they met at Dumbarton Oaks before the Chavín scholars did.

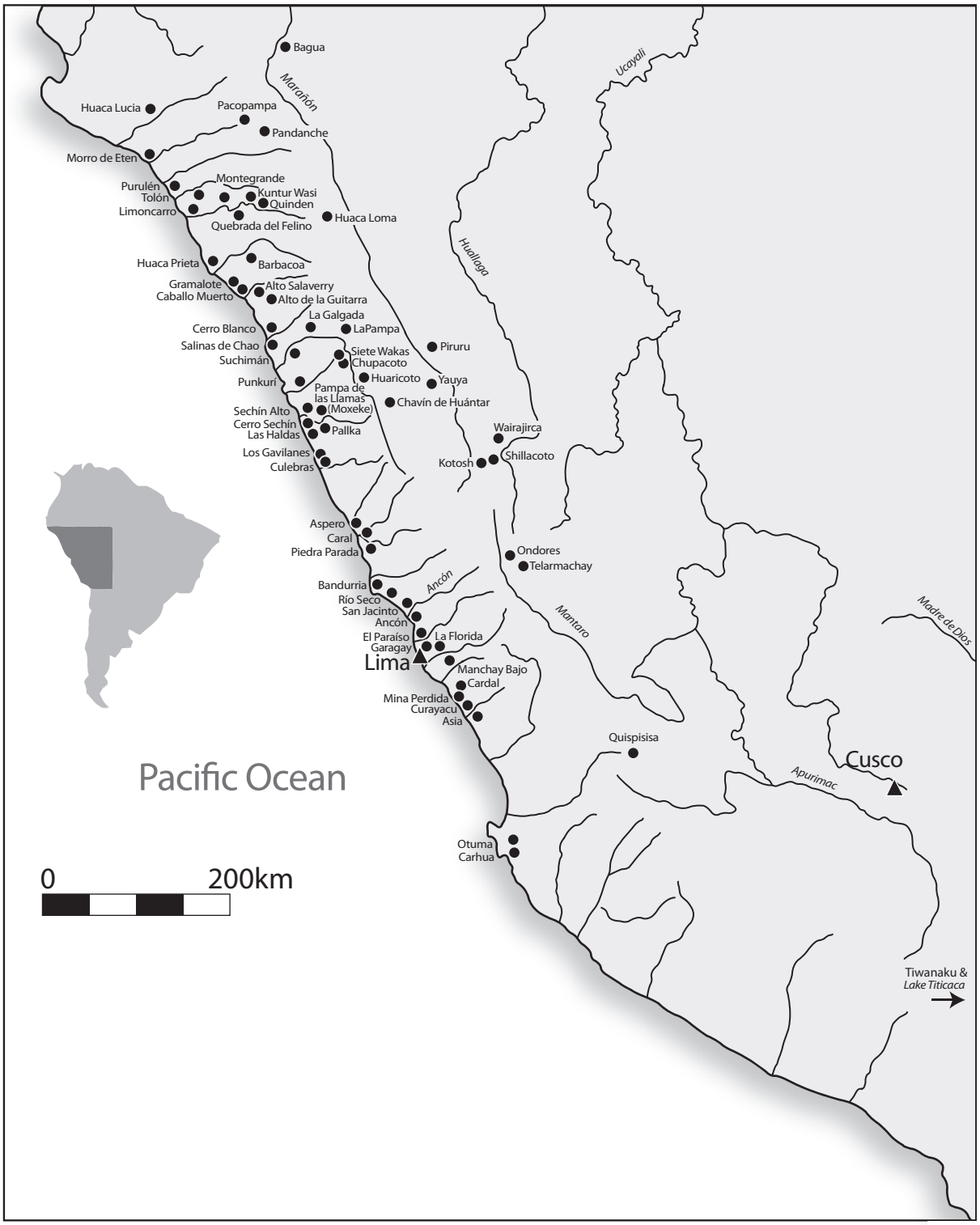


FIGURE I.1. Map of Peru, with sites and cities mentioned in this text.

Introduction

William J Conklin

Perhaps someday future archaeologists will have available as their research tools various modes of time travel, and they will write papers on their differing reliabilities and will compare each of them to the "ground truth" of old-fashioned archaeology. Radiocarbon dating would have seemed like such a dream only some 70 years ago. Today archaeologists would deny that their aim is that seemingly impossible reconstruction of ancient reality: today, the goal is rather to probe the past, to ask questions, to examine postulates, to throw searchlights into the ancient darkness and even to question whether "reconstruction" of the past is actually their desire.

From the perspective of a Western-world archaeologist, the job of an Andean archaeologist would seem an especially difficult one because of the lack of written records. Students who study the Western past are the beneficiaries of vast written histories, chronologically continuous or spatially contiguous cultures, and centuries of scholarly research, but understanding the past of the Andean cultures has none of these aids. Looking backward through the time portal of A.D. 1532 seems sometimes, in spite of a century of serious Andean archaeology, somewhat like peering into an unmapped forest. But as in a forest trip, we can really only see a few trees at a time, and careful as we can be in analyzing and describing each element of the forest and its relationships, and listening carefully for the echoing sounds from other searchers, we always know that the pattern of our own grove is but a small part of that vast unknown forest. But archaeology, today an essentially physical exploration, is as yet our only careful, surefooted way of traveling into this Andean time.

This book is an attempt, using fully the available tools, to look carefully at a seemingly influential (and also highly influenced) center of highland Andean culture—Chavín, named for its presumed focus at the monumental temple of Chavín de Huántar in the highlands of Peru. Shovel by shovel, stone by stone, sherd by sherd (and for some of us, thread by thread), we continue our search for meaningful portions of this ancient culture, fragments that we and others can gradually fit into a convincing outline of a portion of the amazing Andean past.

This book analyzes a wide range of those *physical* artifacts—such being the only data from the past that we archaeologists attempt to read. But the range and scale of our data is very broad—from river reconstruction by Chavín engineers, to continuous architectural planning and building for over a millennium: but our database also includes the smaller artifactual crafts like ceramics and textiles, as well as the analysis of plant use during Chavín times.

Art, in the absence of written language, establishes our closest rapport with ancient human minds, and for a century Chavín has been known for its powerful art. But the new understanding of Chavín technical abilities discussed in this book should shift our exclusive view of Chavín as an art center toward the political and societal structure that must have existed for the accomplishment of the transformation in Andean culture that is called the Early Horizon, a transformation with which we associate the cultural evidence referred to as Chavín. Our effort must always be to reach beyond the artifact to ask questions concerning the social structures, the religion, the mores, and values that were the constituents of their ancient societal web. But in addition to the rock-hard facts discovered, the exact question itself and the nature of the questioner, both, profoundly affect the answer. Each of

the chapters in this broad survey of current knowledge about Chavín was, of course, written by a single individual, an individual whose background, previous work, interests, and beliefs determine the nature of the questions asked and therefore, inevitably, the range of the answers provided.

Prominent in the discussions and meeting that led to this volume was the key word *transformation*—with references to transformation in art, culture, and architecture. But the word actually has a deeply appropriate etymology. The English word *transformation* has as its earliest recorded meaning the grotesque changing of beasts into men and vice versa. Although the word does not occur in modern translations of Beowolf, the concept is certainly present alongside the many monstrous man/animal images in Beowolf, which seem to resonate for us with the world of Chavín. However, the word's Latin form, as *transformare*, does not confine its references to bodily changes but supplies the term with a much broader context.

We Andeanists use the word today in two general ways: one use is in the Andean context of the changing of one living form into another living form, such as is commonly represented in Chavín art, with an apparent meaning not unlike the early English meaning. But the second, more common use of the word is one in which the concept of transformation is applied to changing cultures, evolving institutions, and changes in their constituent parts. It was our intention in developing this volume to include the full range of meanings and perhaps eventually discover interconnections that must surely have existed in Chavín culture. The constant evidence of the Chavín fascination with human/animal interconnections no doubt had its reflection in their views of human–societal interconnections, and one paper in this volume specifically speaks of such connections.

Catherine Julien, in her recent book *Reading Inca History* (2000), has a concluding chapter on the subject of transformation, specifically on the way in which the various chroniclers told the story of the transformation of Cusco by the Inca. By transformation she means not only changing the physical form and appearance of Cusco, but also refashioning the residents of Cusco into an imperial elite and educating and animating members of this elite to carry on the goals of their forebears. She then notes how the cultural backgrounds of the various chroniclers profoundly affected their telling of the story. And each of us, in seeing the concept of transformation in the art and culture of Chavín, will inevitably convey our own background, hoping that somehow the sharp corners of our opinions will be softened in the conflict.

Two questions concerning Chavín float through the essays that follow: "What kind of an entity actually was Chavín? A mecca? A state? A religion? A culture? One of many competitive religious centers?" The second question is simply, "Where did it come from?" Both questions have only layered and complex answers, but even the tentative answers herein provided are without unanimity, as the reader will discover. On the first question, "What was it?" we note here the comments of an influential analyst, Kent Flannery (1972): "The critical contribution of state religions and state art styles is to legitimize that hierarchy." Although Chavín influence on Andean art, technology, mythology, and culture was vast, interestingly enough no one presently thinks of Chavín as being a state or even a proto-state. Are we but the blind men examining the elephant? So "What was it?" is perhaps an even more critical question than "When was it?" As editors, we certainly did not demand authorial agreement, hoping only for cross-referencing and believing that in the supplied diversity, we are providing provocative ground for future research into the beliefs and cultural patterns that appear to have accompanied the art, architecture, and settlement patterns that have been known broadly as the "Chavín" horizon.

Part I of this book is concerned with the *Architecture of the Temple at Chavín de Huántar* and reports on several years of recent work at the site largely carried out by Stanford University archaeologists. John Rick, in chapter 1, analyzes Chavín architecture and its site from a point of view not previously considered—as an engineering accomplishment. Andeanists have previously identified the word *Chavín* primarily with complex polymorphic art, but to this will now be added the extraordinary Chavín engineering accomplishments, both their technical abilities and their organizational abilities. When eventually

we have societal analyses of Chavín, including an understanding of their leaders, workers, and sympathizers, then the group willpower required to accomplish the architectural construction and its new physical setting will be a factor considered equal to the motivation for the accomplishment of their world-famous art. Rick has rebalanced the scales in our appreciation of the very word *Chavín*.

Silvia Rodriguez Kembel, in chapter 2, follows Rick's analyses of the external architecture with an extraordinary analysis of the interior architecture of the Chavín temple, relating interior and exterior in a far more complete way than previously attempted. Her analysis of the labyrinthine grottoes beneath the pyramids indicates they were not conceptually tunnels or cellars at all but were constructed first, more like the structural naves of a cathedral, with the fill and mound facings (the visible architecture) built later. She also has developed a complex construction sequence for the galleries and their associated temple parts. The physical and chronological complexity of the subject really requires an animated illustration. She, with John Rick, also reports on temple dating and generally finds the temple to have been constructed earlier than previously believed.

The next section of the book, Part II, is concerned with *Chavín and Its Predecessors*, and begins with Richard Burger and Lucy Salazar's presentation in chapter 3 concerning what they have named the Manchay culture of the Central Coast of Peru, an area long known for its extensive Initial Period, pre-Chavín temple complexes. They carefully examine their previous position concerning the chronology, the associated ceramics, and the developments preceding Chavín de Huántar. They reaffirm their belief in the evident relational nature of ceramic styles and, most critically, in the inspirational role of the early religious complexes of the coastal cultures in the formation of the architectural and cultural complex we call Chavín de Huántar.

Henning Bischof, the author of the succeeding chapter 4, although concerned with the same general theme concerning the origins of Chavín, focuses exclusively and exhaustively on early Chavín art images. He notes that in premodern societies, sculptural or graphic art is a major means of communication providing a "code common to the community" that in some ways also contributes to the creation of that society by becoming part of its self-definition and identity. He defines "early" in this case as art that was apparently created before the Lanzón stela, the earliest carved stone image at Chavín de Huántar. He calls the style of these objects "Chavín A," remembering that John Rowe called his earliest Chavín phase "AB," leaving room for the differentiation and identification that Bischof now provides. He considers a wide range of art objects from central and northern coastal sites. Interestingly, although thoroughly knowledgeable concerning the record of existing technically derived dates, Bischof feels that a resultant sequence must make sense in terms of its art for the technical dates to be fully accepted, and in that way contrasts his beliefs with those who believe in the immutability of current science. He describes a range of both coastal and highland objects that he considers to be pre-Chavín, but having established such a corpus, he does not draw easy conclusions concerning their probable relative influence on Chavín de Huántar itself, but leaves that largely to the reader.

Daniel Morales, a Peruvian archaeologist previously not well known to North American archaeologists, should now find his place in their bibliographies. In chapter 5 he carefully and fully arrays early Andean architectural evolution and then analyzes an amazing single site, Pacopampa, in northern Peru whose initial occupation occurred long before Chavín de Huántar and continued through much of Chavín's existence. He sees many deeply held, long-term Andean beliefs embedded in and expressed by the architecture and the associated sculpture of Pacopampa. He finds evidence supporting Andean dualistic beliefs in the sculpture associated with the architecture but also finds evidence concerning the less familiar triadic cosmic beliefs held in the Andes, a perspective that might well be followed in other studies.

Although every paper in the volume is in one way or another occasionally concerned with the art of Chavín, we have grouped three papers explicitly concerned with that subject into Part III, *The Art of Chavín*.

The Yauya stela is one of the most important carved stone monoliths associated with Chavín de Huántar, although previously it was only associated stylistically. In chapter 6 on the Yauya stela, Richard Burger summarizes his many years of work tracing the travels of the broken parts of the stela as well as his work analyzing its evident content. His analysis of the iconography of the monument suggests tropical forest origins. The discovery of its history, as well as other related monument histories, leads him to postulate the existence of tall stone hilltop monuments as markers and icons of the Chavín manifestation. This major discovery adds significantly to the sociopolitical understanding of Chavín, with hilltop markers now added to the spread of textiles as evidence of the purposeful distribution of Chavín images and ideas.

Peter Roe is well known for the breadth and depth of his knowledge of tropical forest symbolism, and he has long been a champion of using that knowledge in interpreting Chavín art and iconography. In his essay here, chapter 7, his focus is on a painted Chavín-style textile said to be from Callango in the Ica Valley and now in the Pre-Columbian collection at Dumbarton Oaks. Roe's aim is to reinterpret the symbolism of the painting, arguing that the imagery does not depict a cayman, as commonly thought, but rather a harpy eagle. But Roe goes far beyond simple reinterpretation of a single object and links the symbolic load of the imagery to a wide range of other artworks, social practices, and religious belief in the ancient Andes.

Digging deeply into the relationship between form and significance, Gary Urton (chapter 8), considers of critical importance the role of bodies as carriers of meaning in the art of Chavín. He considers the symbolic use and organization of bodies and body parts in Chavín art as clues to value and meaning in Chavín society and culture. He reviews John Rowe's early concept of kennings, analyzing that concept more thoroughly than it has ever been analyzed before, and concludes that Rowe's arguments are essentially linguistic and are not really applicable to physical art. So he turns to the analysis of the body as the central transformative structure of Chavín art and thought, seeing joints in the body as regulating movement, and orifices as regulating body–environment interaction. His example for study is the Tello obelisk, which he sees as representing a pair of *amarus*, the Quechua mythical creature. He believes the only reliable source for interpretations of this Chavín animal body imagery is in the mythology of the tropical forest. His article, published before in an earlier version, is, in our view, a very important article on Chavín art, and hence well worth the double exposure.

Part IV of the book, *The Culture of Chavín*, contains papers that attempt to explore broadly how Chavín ideas, customs, and products affected subsequent Andean culture. Constantino Torres, in chapter 9, broadly perceives the use of hallucinogens as a continuum in Andean culture but with each particular time and place having its own special materials and procedures. His sources of information include ancient visual evidence of the psychoactive plants themselves and of the use of those plants, but also the discovery of actual implements used in the process. He compares the apparent Chavín use of hallucinogens with the use of hallucinogens by contemporary South American shamans. Most critically, he finds that the stone sculptural representation of hallucinogenic plants in ceremonial locations within the Chavín de Huántar temple complex (see cover photo) provides strong evidence for their probable precedent-setting use in the ancient Chavín rituals.

This author's own essay, chapter 10, is concerned with the cultural implications that can be extracted from the analysis of Chavín textiles. For two reasons the study of Chavín textiles is handicapped: first, the textiles of Chavín have only relatively recently become known, and their analysis is still not present in the thinking of most Chavín researchers; and second, most Chavín textiles have been recovered unscientifically. Nevertheless, I argue, the textiles are very real evidence and are a very important contribution to the body of Chavín art. I consider the technical inventions evident in Chavín textiles to be of enormous importance to the later development of textiles as the major art medium of the Andes. Much of the major iconography found on the textiles is also found on stone sculpture, and the textiles were undoubtedly didactic messengers for the religion. However, the minor iconography is also highly informative, including scenes of people and ani-

mals acting under the influence of hallucinogens, images not found in stone sculpture. The societal analysis of this minor, non-deity iconography has yet to be accomplished.

The Lanzón stela, the earliest of the Chavín stelae, is the subject of Tom Cummins's chapter 11. His analysis is not explicitly concerned with the familiar (but amazing) iconography, but rather with the lasting effect the Lanzón has had on Andean culture history. He considers its placement within the temple and its sword-like form, seemingly stretching between earth and sky, to have been as powerful as its detailed iconography. He traces the role played by the cultural concept of the Lanzón and its impact on Andean history, noting the role that many later Andean icons played in their time, a sequence stopped only by the invasion by the Spaniards.

And so the authors extol the wonders of Chavín, each of them always realizing, however, that the actual explanation of the forest they are examining remains vague at best. The late Ed Franquemont—carpenter, weaver, and profound Andeanist—once described his experience in attempting to direct the construction of a grass bridge in the Andes. Although the required technology was seemingly chronologically remote from the current knowledge of the local village workers, these men and women essentially organized themselves, solved every technical problem, made group decisions, and constructed the bridge, with Ed essentially watching carefully in amazement. There were no discernible leaders or bosses that Ed could identify, but a lot of rapid discussion followed by multiple coordinated actions. Ed, though full of admiration for the unique Andean social structure that produced the bridge, could not really describe that social structure, because it did not fit Western societal models which always involve hierarchies of the leaders and the led. So perhaps we will someday find in Andean studies societal models that can explain the astonishingly profound and incredibly influential, but totally non-Western, nature of the cultural transformation that was Chavín.

But every reader, in addition to reviewing the authors' articles, should at least glance at the general reference map (Figure I.1, p. xxvi) that broadly shows the geographic spread of Chavín influence. If we could date each of those Chavín hotspots on the map and sequentially connect the dots, then we could see the evolving pattern of the Chavín culture as the network that it undoubtedly was.

The reader should also review the chronological chart (Figure 1.2, p. xxxii) which differs considerably from previous Chavín chronologies. The old concept of blocks of cultural geography and cultural time is our inheritance from the work and thought of earlier archaeologists. Cultural sequences were first discovered as underground layers, one below the other, which did define their relativistic relationships but not their actual dates. As scientific dating methods have evolved, the two forms of chronology have coexisted uneasily.

The chronological chart provided in this volume (Figure I.2) is our attempt to reconcile these two forms of chronology. Many Chavín scholars, as noted on the chart, have contributed to this new complex but coordinated chronology, which we hope will continue to evolve in the future work of Chavín scholars. Perhaps someday we will have a ceramic network chronology, an architectural network chronology, and a textile network chronology so we can discover their interactions and begin to understand more clearly the transmission processes of Chavín culture.

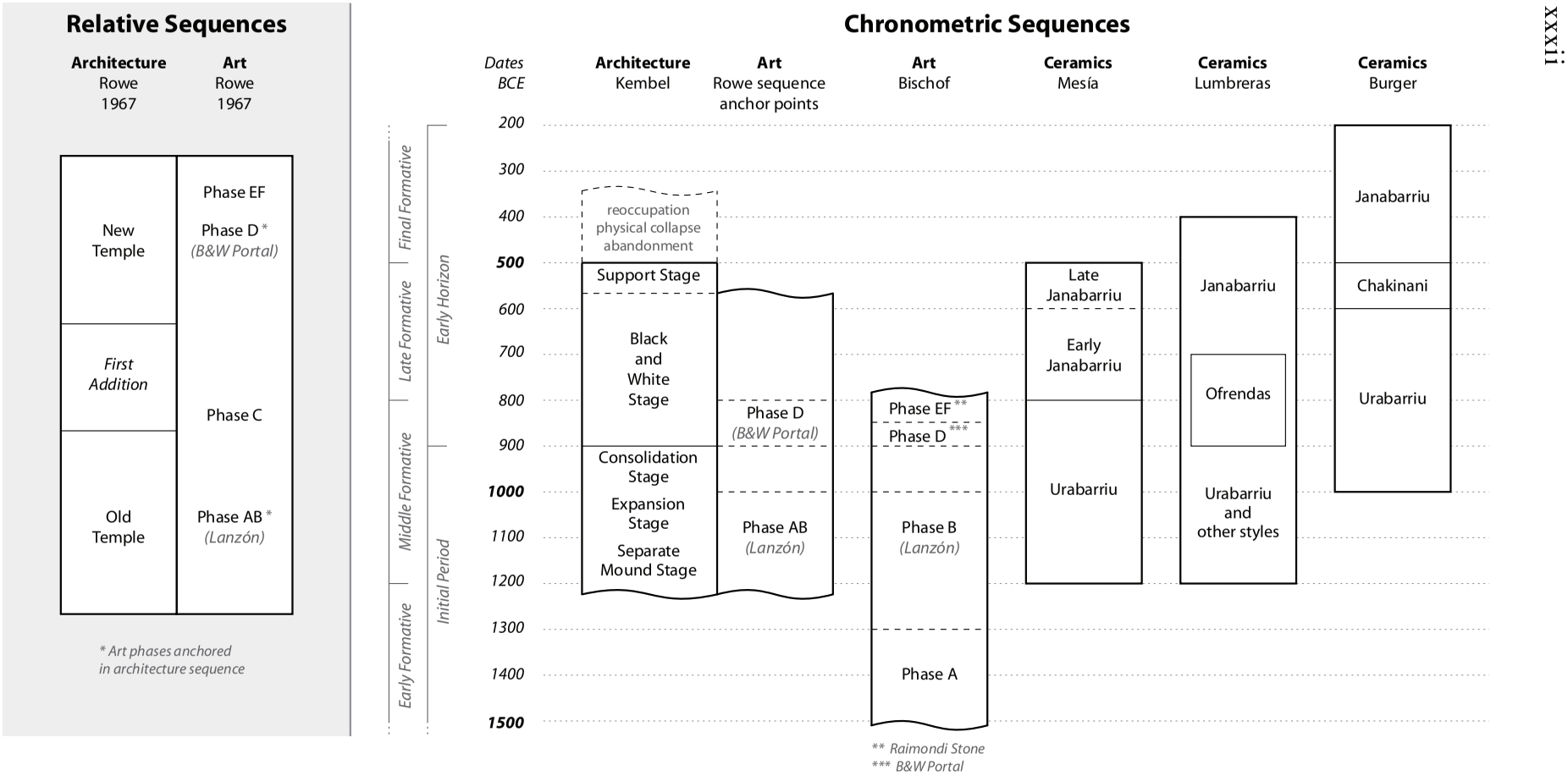
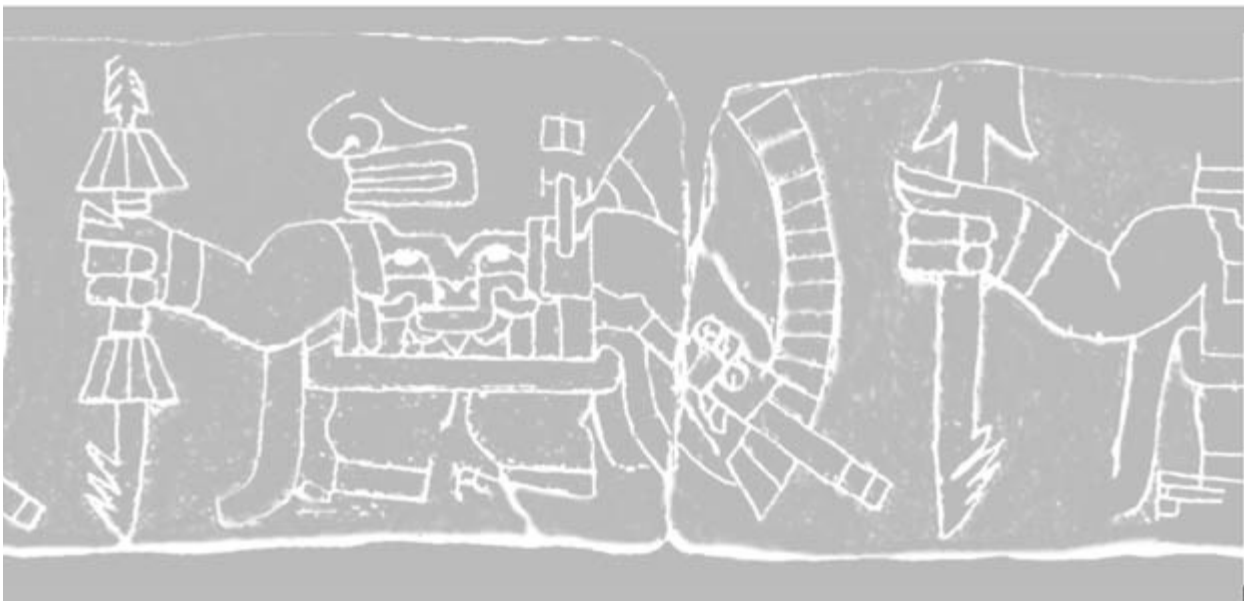


FIGURE I.2. Current Views of Chronologies for Chavín de Huántar. Understanding of Chavín de Huántar's architecture, art, and ceramic sequences is in flux as new data, dates, and analyses are emerging; this diagram represents a snapshot of current thinking. Rowe's original architecture and art sequences for Chavín de Huántar are relative, not tied to specific radiocarbon dates. Kembel proposes a new architectural sequence and is analyzing new dates to determine specific chronological ranges for its stages; in this sequence, Rowe's art sequence anchor points remain tied to the architecture and retain their relative positions. Bischof dates Phase A and Phase EF according to the appearance of Chavín art styles at other sites, and he believes that Phase A overlaps the beginnings of monumental construction at Chavín de Huántar. Mesía believes that Urabarriu and Janabarriu ceramics can be split into more phases based on the analyses of their different stylistic and typological components. Lumbreras views Ofrendas ceramics as a high-end ritual complex of ceramics, parallel to the other ceramic complexes at the site. Burger links ceramic phases with Rowe's architecture sequence, relating Urabarriu with the Old Temple, Chakinani with the First Addition, and Janabarriu with the New Temple. All chronometric sequences based on calibrated dates. Details for each chronometric sequence were provided by the sequence's originator. Formative chronology from Kaulicke 1994. See chapters in this volume by Rick, Kembel, Burger and Salazar, and Bischof for details. *The editors would like to thank, for their substantive contributions to this chronological chart, the following: Henning Bischof, Richard Burger, Silvia Rodriguez Kembel, Luis Lumbreras, Christian Mesía, and John Rick, and for the design and layout of the material, Silvia Rodriguez Kembel and John Kembel.*

Part I
The Architecture of the Temple of Chavín de Huántar



1.

Context, Construction, and Ritual in the Development of Authority at Chavín de Huántar

John W. Rick

The goal of this contribution is to fill in gaps in our knowledge about the monumental center of Chavín de Huántar (plate 1.1), based on investigations at the site over the last decade. The aspects of the site mentioned here are just a few of those we have researched, but I judge them to be among the most important. My secondary goal is to relate these characteristics of the site to larger questions about the nature of the organization of the center, how it related to surrounding communities and centers, and how and why Chavín changed over time. I will make frequent reference to the findings described in fellow team-member Kembel's chapter 2 in this volume, which provide essential knowledge about construction, chronology, and strategy derived from the architecture of the center.

Chavín de Huántar remains a surprisingly unknown site on quite a number of levels. The site's monumentality, striking setting, and easily identifiable iconic style led to its early recognition and importance, and to the postulation that Chavín was the place of origin, perhaps the center of, the first large-scale political entity in the central Andes (Tello 1929, 1960). Yet the fairly deep burial of the site by unstable sediments, combined with the complexity of overlying post-Chavín occupation layers and the very small amount of cultural material built up in the ceremonial precinct in Chavín times, led early research to rely on rare and unrepresentative pockets of cultural debris to understand site growth and the nature of Chavín occupation. The advent of radiocarbon dating did little to clarify the antiquity of the center's use, or its duration (compare Burger 1981; Lumbreras 1989, 1993). From the beginning the ceremonial center was uncooperative in producing traditional layer-cake stratigraphy that would aid in this process. Lumbreras (1977, 1989) was the first to have any success in understanding the complex stratigraphy of the center itself, and like that of all investigators, his work was hampered by not penetrating below the latest level of Chavín occupation.

Two other interrelated and important figures in the development of understanding about Chavín are Marino Gonzáles M. and John H. Rowe. Gonzáles spent most of his life investigating and primarily clearing and restoring the site, and I have recently argued that his vision of the site's development was literally built into the site as he modified and influenced it (Rick and Rick 2003). Gonzáles chose which structures to reveal and preserve, and based on Gonzáles's field notes, I believe that he originally observed the building seams and other site features that originated the Old Temple/New Temple distinction. Rowe, who spent two fairly brief seasons at Chavín in 1961 and 1963, was highly influenced by Gonzáles's ideas of Chavín's construction history. Rowe was most interested in the chronology of Chavín and

built an initial intertwined chronology for the architecture and lithic art of the monument, taking a pattern of architectural growth as the basis for the time sequence (Rowe 1962, 1967a). Nonetheless, the lack of any absolute dating, or any detailed ceramic association with the architecture, hampered specific and reliable chronological conclusions. Burger's work (1984, 1998) beyond the monumental site's boundaries greatly increased the knowledge of ceramic chronology, not to mention the degree of residential development around the center, but it intrinsically could not resolve the persistent chronological problems related to the center itself.

Chavín's monumentality led to an emphasis on clearing the structures, in work that varied between rapid and indiscriminate removal of overlying deposits, to careful consideration of post-Chavín layers. But most excavations, whatever their character, fortunately stopped upon reaching the carefully laid floors and walls of the latest temple periods. While this was of great benefit in avoiding destruction of Chavín architecture, it has until now forced the interpretation of Chavín's history on a very flat, surficial perspective, using what can be seen on the surface of Chavín as a laterally segmented but full representation of whatever had been there. Such a perspective would be preposterous for any major monument whose later constructions fully obscure the earlier ones (as widely observed in the central Andes and Mesoamerica), and this view is probably inappropriate at Chavín as well. The monumental center must be understood on its own terms and within a comprehension of the massive construction projects that it represents. Discovering the strategies and intentions behind the evolution of the monumental architecture, its adornments, and contents should be a major goal of investigations at the ceremonial center. The growth of the site is likely to reflect the strategies of a developing religious authority, and also the challenge of construction and maintenance of the buildings. If we can assume that Chavín was the result of construction over many hundreds of years, it must span an important segment of Andean prehistory, one in which the Andean patterns of strong authority were being developed. Like many monuments of its time, it should hold clues to the ways in which populations were moving from relatively egalitarian and smaller-scale societies to much larger populations with increasingly differentiated power and privilege. Understanding any part of those transitions is one of the greatest perspectives that archaeology can provide, and Chavín, properly read, has a great deal to contribute to this perspective.

CHAVÍN FIELDWORK: 1995–2003

Together with Kembel's chapter 2 (this volume), this article is a preliminary synthesis of data from nearly a decade of investigation at Chavín's monumental center by a team of US and Peruvian investigators, within the context of the numerous previous investigations by earlier archaeologists. Chavín has been regularly subjected to excavations since Tello's initial work in the 1920s, and due to the catastrophic *aluvión* (debris flow) of 1945 that re-covered much of the site, a great deal has been excavated twice! Our project, initially developed at Stanford University, began as a simple mapping project with the straightforward goal of producing a reliable and precise, primarily two-dimensional plan of the site. This, however, underestimated the challenge of documenting this highly three-dimensional site, and particularly ignored the value of graduating from the idea of maps as useful representations of sites, to using three-dimensional models as active tools in archaeological analysis (Rick et al. 1998). Our initial aim was to make use of the available architectural information that had been provided by the prior extensive clearing and excavation activities.

In 1995 and 1996 we undertook July–August field seasons with a modest-sized team devoted entirely to mapping, using a total station theodolite, controlled by computer and with real-time display of the developing map on the computer screen. In the first season it became clear that other specialized technologies would be required for accurate mapping of the extensive subterranean gallery system, and this task was undertaken by Silvia Kembel, who provides details on this work and its implications in chapter 2 of this volume (see also Kembel 2001). In 1998 we finished

mapping most of the exterior and gallery areas and continued a series of very small excavations, begun in 1996, that would allow us to clarify specific architectural issues that analytical work within our evolving CAD model had pinpointed (Rick et al. 1998). These excavations were primarily designed to reveal the presence or absence of exterior seams downward to wall foundations of Buildings A, B, or C (figure 1.1). As a secondary goal we attempted to recover datable carbon materials for understanding the age of layers at or above the local foundation level. Similar small units continued in our next major field season in 2000, along with excavations aimed at new issues. Units on the west side of Buildings A and B had revealed deep fill deposits, leading to excavations to determine the sediment depth and nature of cultural features in the West Field, an area west of the current Chavín-Catac road (figure 1.1). Also in 2000 it seemed likely that at very short notice the modern road connecting Chavín with the Callejón de Huaylas would be moved to the other side of the

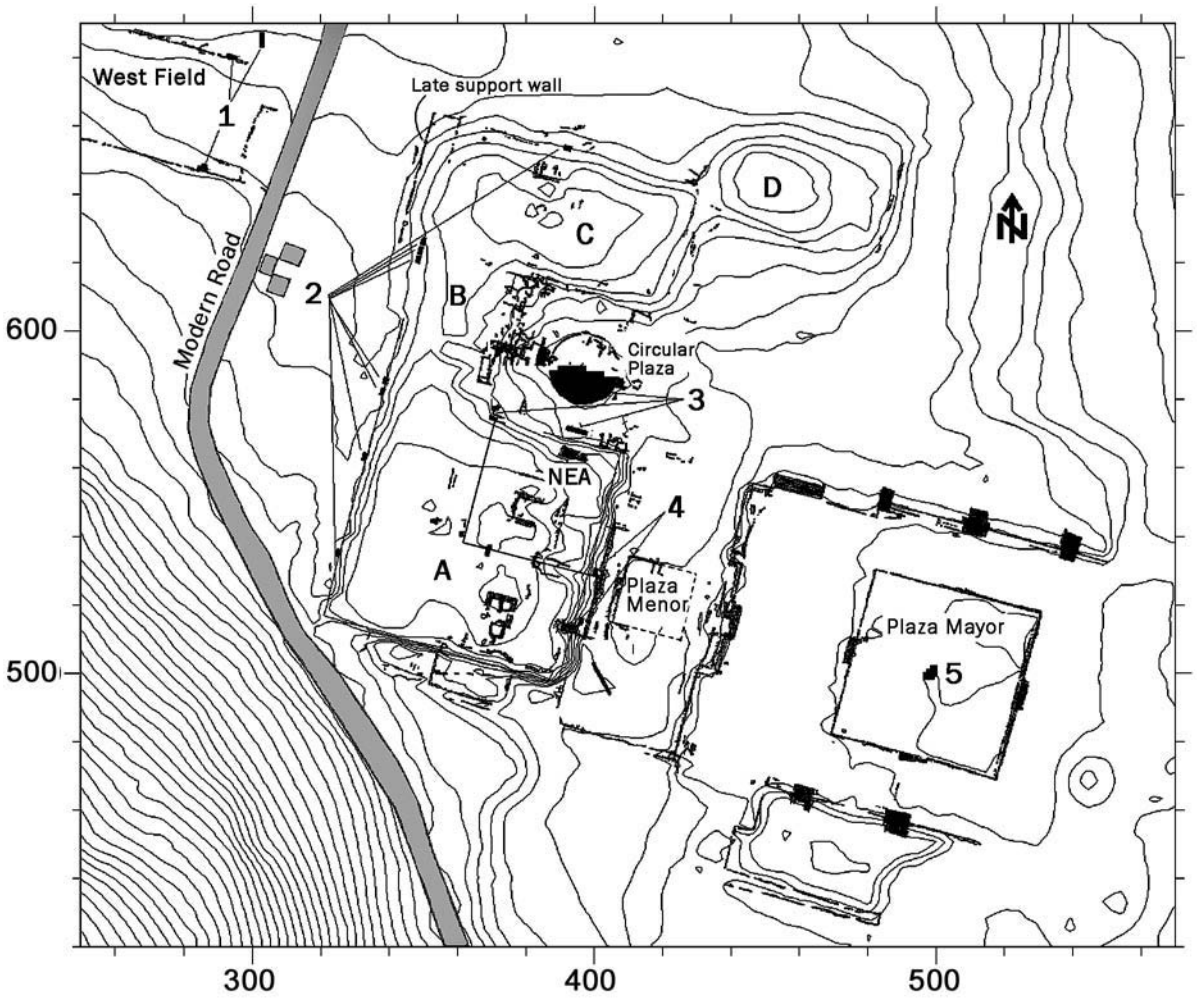


Figure 1.1. Map of Chavín de Huántar, showing location of excavations. Letters and text are designations of buildings and site features; numbers are excavation locations. **1** = West Field excavations 2000, 2001; **2** = northern and western facade excavations of Building A-B-C (1998, 2000); **3** = NEA excavation (1996), Caracolas Gallery excavation (2001), and Circular Plaza excavation (2001, 2002); **4** = eastern facade excavations of Building A (1996); **5** = Plaza Mayor excavation (2001). Lateral scales in meters; arrow indicates true north.

Mosna River, leading us to initiate survey and excavation within the projected roadbed area at La Banda, east of the monumental center.

In 2001 we turned to diverse excavations that could contribute to a series of issues:

1. Exploration of what appeared to be an early Chavín residential deposit in the West Field area explored in 2000.
2. Excavation of late Chavín and post-Chavín deposits overlying the floor of the Circular Plaza, with an eye toward eventual conservation work in this area.
3. Exploration of the deposits contained in the Caracolas Gallery to see if intact gallery materials remained.
4. Excavations to investigate a strong ground-penetrating radar anomaly discovered in 1998 in the exact center of the Plaza Mayor.
5. Continuation of La Banda excavations to investigate deeply stratified Chavín and post-Chavín deposits found in 2000.

In 2002 we continued with excavation and conservation work in the Circular Plaza and the entranceway of the Caracolas Gallery. Efforts included precision documentation of the post-Chavín architecture that is likely to be removed in efforts to restore the monument to a Chavín-period appearance.

The alternative road projection that led us to work across the Mosna River in La Banda in 2000 and 2001 returned dramatically and unexpectedly in 2003, leading to emergency excavations in the altered roadbed trajectory. Major, deep, and highly stratified urban deposits were encountered, leading to a long field season running from July to December in which La Banda was the overwhelming focus of cooperative field efforts by Stanford, the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, and other Peruvian investigators. Subsidiary work was done in small-scale excavations at the northern entrance to Building A and along the south bank of the Wacheqsa River. Because it will not be mentioned further in this chapter, two additional discoveries from La Banda, in the excavations of graduate student project member John Wolf, are worth noting. (1) In the basal deposits of one unit, at about 2 m of depth, a stratigraphically segregated component of Preceramic occupation remains was found. The material culture assemblage principally consists of chert and quartz projectile points (figure 1.2), flakes, and unifacial tools; a modest number of large animal bones (all identifiable specimens of which are of deer), and a few ground stone tools. This evidence, combined with stratigraphic features and sediment characteristics, suggests the presence of a mid to late Preceramic open-air encampment in La Banda. (2) Relatively near to the Preceramic component, another unit revealed a well-made and well-preserved elaborate hearth of square form, with an elongated ventilation duct leading to it (figure 1.3). The hearth is apparently not in association with pottery but lies immediately below ceramic-bearing layers, and substantial amounts of ash and charcoal were found in its vicinity. Its form is highly suggestive of a late Preceramic or Initial Period hearth. Together these finds suggest the presence of pre-Chavín occupations in La Banda, in the immediate vicinity of the temple complex.

These investigations, combined with the published information from prior investigators at Chavín, constitute the basis for the following observations about Chavín.

LOCATION OF CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR

For many visitors and investigators the large monument of Chavín is surprising within its narrow valley setting, raising important questions about the reasons for its siting on both a regional and local scale. Although possibly due to chance, more likely this location can reveal some of the intentions of its creators. For instance, it has been argued that Chavín is on a natural route between coast and eastern lowlands (e.g., Burger 1992a:129), but this can be argued to the contrary. While the Rio Mosna is a tributary of the Marañon, every major river of this part of the Andes, excepting the Rio Santa, is as well. To follow the Mosna to the tropical east involves hundreds of kilometers of extra travel to the north, but a direct route east across this latitude requires traversing major altitude differentials in eastern Andean ranges. A simple GIS route

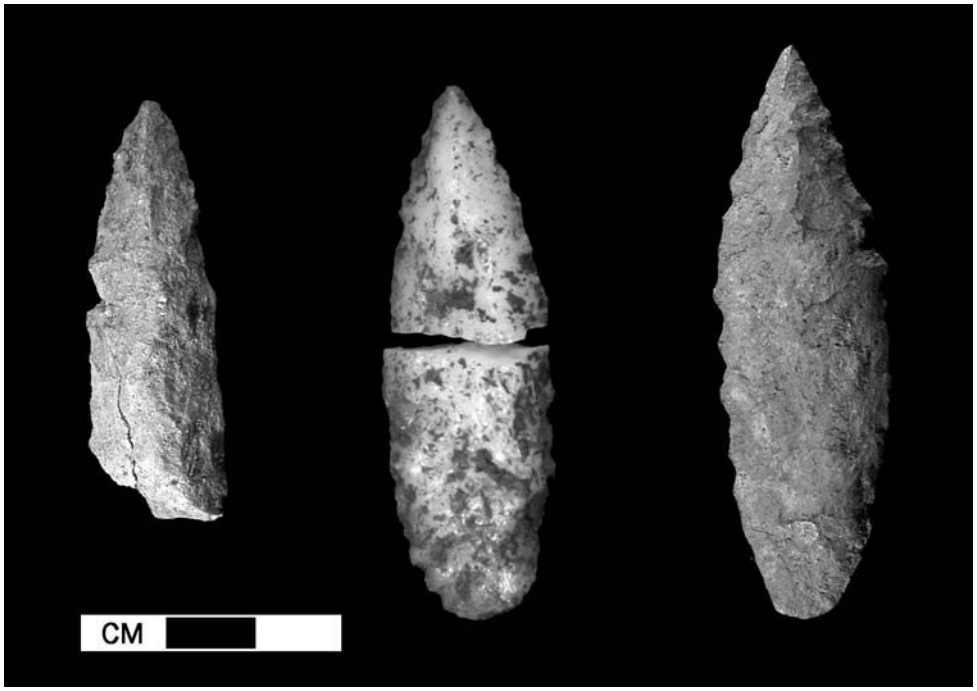


Figure 1.2. Projectile points from a Preceramic component in unit 18, La Banda, across the Mosna River from monumental Chavín (excavations of John Wolf)

Figure 1.3. Ceremonial hearth found in unit 19 (2 × 2 meters), La Banda (excavations of John Wolf)

analysis optimized for minimal altitude change for this part of the north-central Peruvian Andes specifies what is apparent from the examination of topographic maps: that the better route lies to the south of the Chavín area (figure 1.4). This southerly route stays at higher altitudes without descending into, and back up out of, most of the deeper inter-Andean drainages.

Chavín lies at the conjunction of the Mosna and Wacheqsa rivers, the largest confluence of rivers for some distance in this region. The Wacheqsa drainage does form a particularly transitable route between the Callejón de Huaylas and Chavín's Callejón de Conchucos. Not unusual but perhaps of some significance are the hot mineral springs in the Mosna drainage that bracket the monumental center at a distance of about a kilometer upstream and downstream. This particular segment of the Mosna River has prominent rock outcrops that create a dramatic landscape and also provide a number of important raw materials used in the site, including quartzite/sandstone, volcanic tuff, and black fossiliferous and veined limestone. Reinhard (1985, 1987) provided dramatic photographs and arguments that Chavín's location was determined by its geographic relationship to the nearby high mountain of Huantsan. It may well be that proximity to a particularly sacred mountain was a factor in Chavín's success as a ceremonial center, yet there are a number of similar locations within a reasonable radius of Huantsan that could have played this role; the specific local siting may be due to multiple ritual, economic, historic, or other influences.

These factors suggest that Chavín is located at a point of unusual features of potential ritual and strategic importance. But another issue, obvious on the landscape to the geological eye, may have been important (Turner et al. 1999). It is striking that the site lies at the upriver extreme of a small expanse of flat land, approximately 1 × 3 km in size in a floodplain-like formation that in fact was caused by an ancient landslide that dammed the Mosna River (figure 1.5). Sediments accumulated within the resulting lake and eventually formed an unusually flat area of deep sediments, originally near the level of the Mosna River. The river is now eroding down through both the lake sediment and the landslide deposits, gradually leaving the sediment surface as a terrace. This area of flat land, lying mostly on the

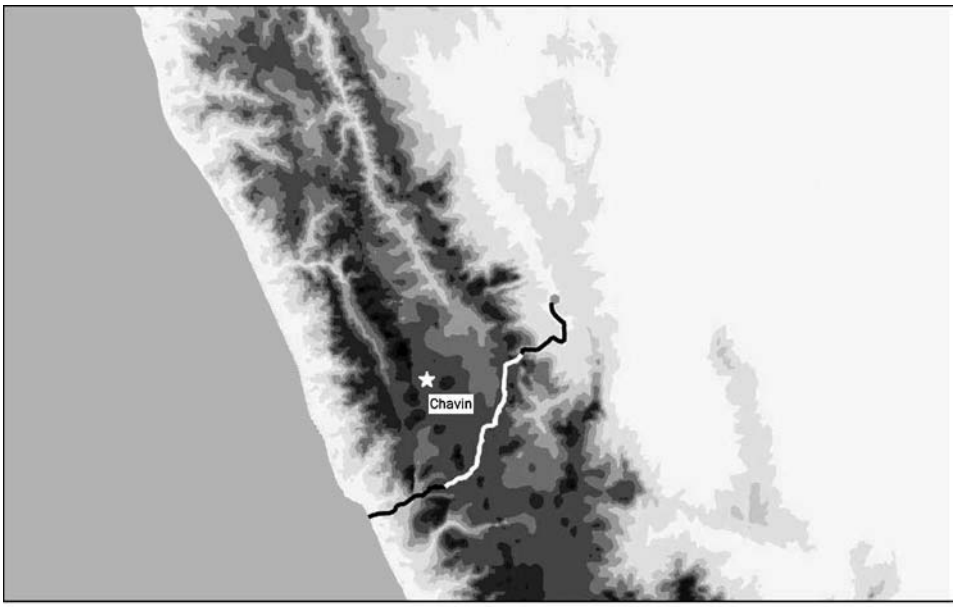


Figure 1.4. GIS route map showing optimal east–west route in the north-central Andes of Peru. The route indicated (initially ascending the Fortaleza River drainage) minimizes altitudinal change between the Pacific Ocean and the Amazonian lowlands; Chavín is not on or near the optimal route. *Map produced by Dana Jensen.*

west side of the river, is intensively farmed today, and because the high-gradient Wacheqsa River enters from this side, water for irrigation can be diverted fairly easily to the area. This land represents an opportunity for small-scale but highly productive farming activity that is not commonly found within this section of the Mosna drainage, and its intimate association with the ceremonial center may be more than coincidental. The land area is too small to have supported a very large population, but the deep and fertile soils may help explain the initial siting of the monument and may have provided some of the resource surplus that funded labor-intensive construction. Also potentially important is that Chavín is locally surrounded by three large-scale earthflow deposits that form the valley's hillslopes (Turner et al. 1999). While these are common features of the Mosna drainage, they are highly fertile and are completely cultivated today. Thus, Chavín was located in an area of diverse productive agricultural settings that would have allowed somewhat larger-than-normal farming populations to develop. In the upper portions of the Callejón de Huaylas and Callejón de Conchucos, significant extensions of deep, flat, irrigable soil are exceedingly rare, and thus this exceptional factor might explain some singular aspects of the monument of Chavín.

Notably, the temple itself is located upriver from the flat lake sediment area, where the toe of the Cochas earthflow contacts the alluvial fan of the Wacheqsa River. As I will specify later, bedrock is also found in this location, and because of erosion by both converging rivers, the site rests on a somewhat elevated spur, in an area confined by literally encroaching, down-moving hillslopes and bounded by relatively large rivers with steep river scarps. This suggests that the large structures were developed in a location with a potentially

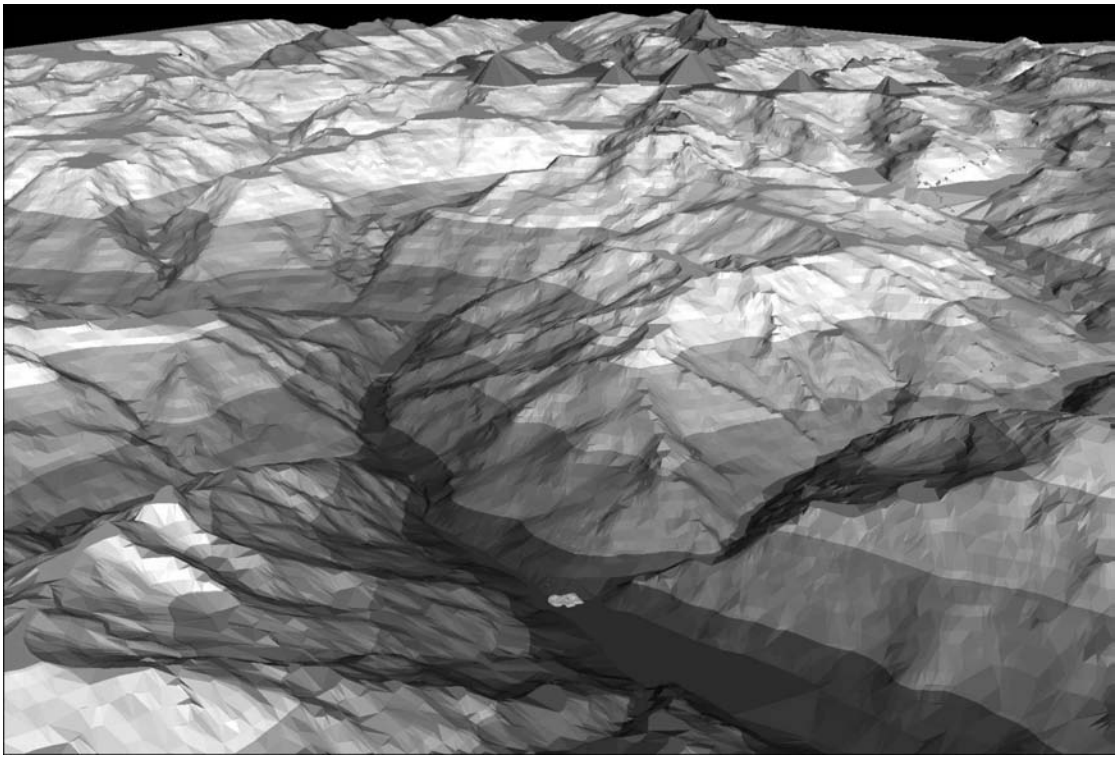


Figure 1.5. Digital elevation model view of the location of Chavín de Huántar (lower center), looking toward south-southeast; Mosna River drainage is in the foreground; Wacheqsa tributary stream comes in from the middle right. The flat area below and to the right of Chavín is an area of ponded deposits caused by an ancient landslide. No vertical exaggeration is shown. *Model provided by Dana Jensen and James Rohr*.

firm and elevated substrate, but at the cost of being on a small, bounded parcel very subject to the active forces of river erosion and mass wasting of immediate hillslopes. Adjacency of building material does not seem to have been an overwhelming factor, because the best and nearest bedrock exposures of the predominantly used quartzites and sandstones are on the other side of the Wacheqsa and Mosna rivers. Thus, the specific siting of the monument seems to have been influenced most by foundation deposits and local topography, while location within the Mosna drainage may reflect access, agricultural resources, and building materials. On a regional level, Chavín's position within dramatic topography and its out-of-the-way location may have been important for general ritual considerations but may have also conditioned the experience of those who traveled to and spent time at the center. This suggests that the site began with strategic and technological considerations as the most important, but given the ritual importance that the site apparently had, some aspects of siting may reflect positioning on a sacred landscape that we do not yet fully understand.

GROWTH OF CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR

In chapter 2, Kembel gives a more detailed account of the specific construction sequence and phasing we propose for Chavín. For convenience I am providing an approximate chronological chart in figure 1.6, but for details on site chronology the reader should consult Kembel's chapter. In essence, the earliest known constructions at Chavín seem to have northward entrances and do not necessarily conform to the U-shaped pattern familiar in the Initial and Early Horizon Periods. By the middle of the growth process, however, Chavín does take the form of buildings surrounding open areas which, at least by the end of the architectural sequence, become plazas, with a U-shaped arrangement and a roughly east–west axis bisecting the enclosed space, and also intersecting the Lanzón monolith, within Building B (see also chapter 2). The commonality with the well-known U-shaped monument layout, particularly frequent and apparent in coastal sites (Williams 1980), is suggestive of increasingly strong relationships between Chavín and the rest of the Formative world. But some larger questions remain about why the growth occurred in the way it did. For instance, the growth of U-shaped structures that occurred in many places in the Andes in most cases preserved the original axis of symmetry. Not so in Chavín, where the east-oriented site axis shifts southward but maintains an approximately 13.3-degree south-of-east, parallel direction (figure 1.7). The most striking aspect of Chavín's growth is that it does not add symmetric structures along the original axis but rather expands the temple in a new, laterally displaced configuration. Symmetrical expansion of a U-shaped configuration is never easy, but arrangement of the overall complex and its specific features was made immensely more complicated by the displacement of the axis.

Two already-mentioned local constraints may have played a large role in the axis shifts. For the site to have grown from the oldest suspected U-formation (the NEA and early phases of Buildings B and C: figure 1.1), it would need more space, in both horizontal and vertical dimensions. While the former is obvious, the latter is undoubtedly an important component of similar early ceremonial centers, where a vertical range going from intentionally sub-excavated plazas to towering mounds is intrinsic to monumental design. Because of the few excavations that penetrate below late phase Chavín buildings, we do not know if the early configurations emphasized sunken plazas, but there is no question that the latest one did, having at least three such features: the Circular Plaza, the Plaza Menor, and the Plaza Mayor. The first of these is usually felt to be part of the Old Temple, and the second is generally not recognized, but there is abundant evidence to place all these plazas in the final monumental constructions—what we term the Black and White Stage (Rick et al. 1998; Kembel, chapter 2, this volume).

Chavín's location conditioned the directions in which it could easily grow. A westward shift in new east-oriented constructions would hide the new structures behind the old, or require the demolition of the old structures to properly configure the low, forward plazas and elevated, rearward platforms. A northward shift would lose altitude,

Approximate Age	Ceramic Sequence	Kembel's Construction Stage
500 B.C.	Late Janabarriu	Support
700 B.C.	Early Janabarriu	Black & White
1100 B.C.	Urabarriu	Pre-Black & White

Figure 1.6. Chronological chart showing approximate temporal relationships between construction phases of Kembel (see chapter 2, this volume) and ceramic time periods in calibrated radiocarbon years.

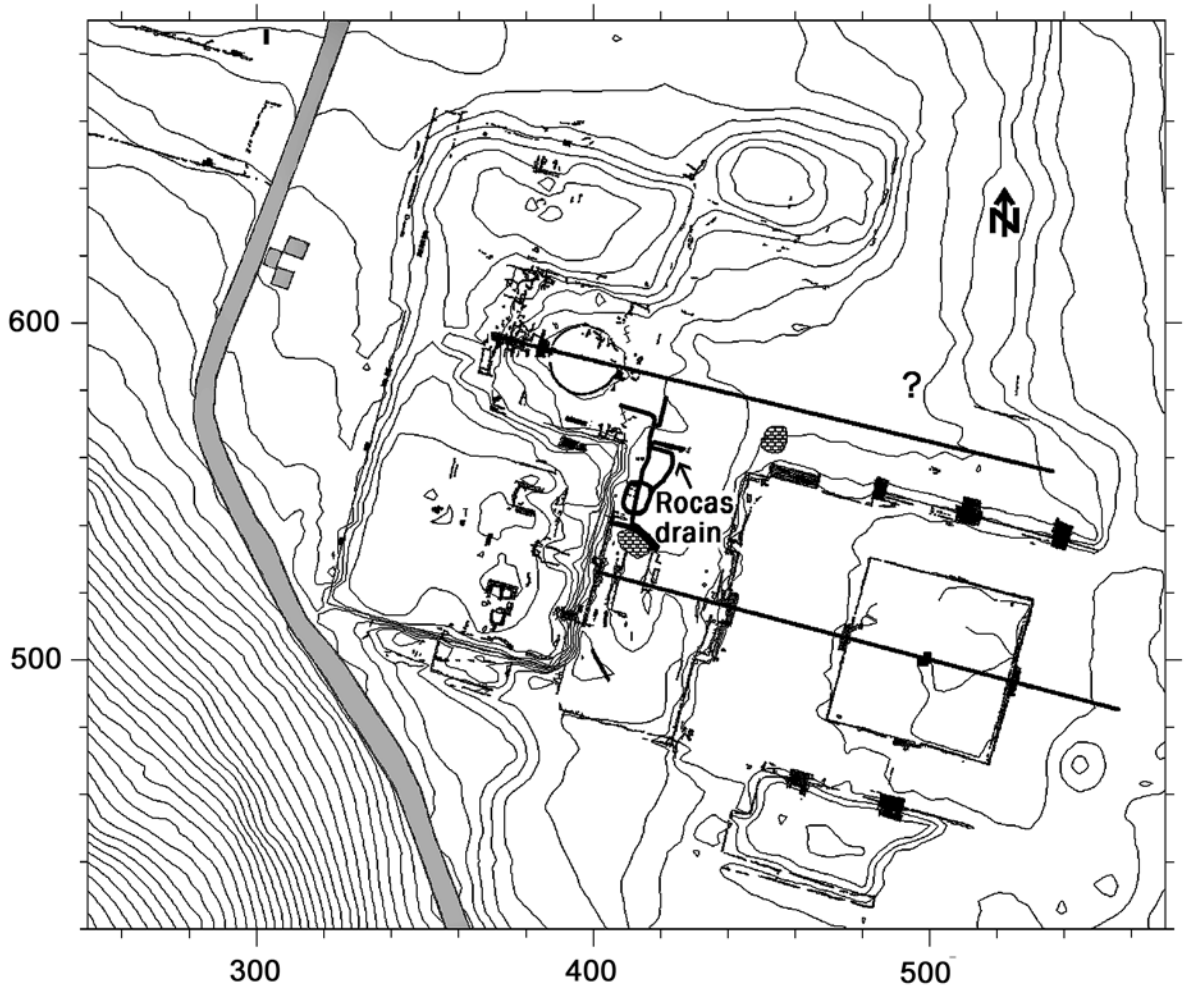


Figure 1.7. Map of Chavín de Huántar showing the earlier, east–west axis (*upper line*) and the later axis (*lower line*). The Rocas Drain is incompletely illustrated; patterned areas are bedrock; ? = area of possible bedrock.

suffer constriction between the rivers, and lose the firmer foundation substrate. Moving south was limited by the steep hillslope deposits of the Cochas earthflow that narrow the valley in this direction, but a slight shift would increase perceived height by taking advantage of the edge of the original elevated spur on which the earlier buildings were placed. Expansion to the east would run into the Mosna River but would allow the new structure to adopt or expand on the old buildings. Moving lower parts of the monument toward the east would increase the height differential by taking advantage of the falloff of the Mosna River scarp. Although there is some evidence of earlier construction to the south in the area of the Plaza Mayor's south flanking mound (figure 1.1; see also Kembel, chapter 2), that evidence is from the stage immediately preceding the clear definition of the new axis in the Black and White Stage (figure 1.6; see Kembel, chapter 2) and does not seem part of a clear architectural strategy. Within these choices, Chavín's footprint and vertical differential seems to have grown by both upstream–downstream lateral shifting (N–S) along the Mosna Valley, and shifting forward or backward (E–W) on the laterally displaced axis.

An eastward expansion along the earliest apparent east–west axis was made difficult by the presence of bedrock lying directly east of the early U-form of the Expansion Stage (figures 1.1, 1.4; and Kembel, chapter 2). Shale bedrock is currently visible to the close observer immediately north and at the top of the Middendorf Staircase; other probable bedrock is found to the south and east of Building D and in the Rocas Drain (the largest known drainage canal). To avoid downcutting through extensive bedrock, a southward displacement of the axis would have been a likely solution; it is notable that the configuration of the late axis U-shape has the minimum displacement necessary to clear known bedrock locations. Bedrock thus seems to have been particularly responsible for the shift southward of the expanded sunken plazas and lower surfaces, given the immense labor costs of massive bedrock removal.

The specific distance of the shift south may reflect additional factors. We have found that, as observed from the center of the enclosed space of the earlier U-shape (which happens to coincide with the later Circular Plaza), the southern hemisphere summer solstice sunrise occurs over a sharply pointed hill east of the Mosna River. The horizon sighting, however, is not in line with the older architectural axis running through the U-shape of the Expansion Stage, but well to the south (figure 1.8). The hill itself, a prominent horizon feature from most places in the ceremonial center, has an artificial platform on its top, and its surface is littered with potsherds of various periods, among them a variety of Chavín-period wares. It seems likely that this horizon point was in fact observed from along the older axis of the complex (and might have something to do with the positioning of the early temple buildings around that axis), but this would no longer have been possible along the later temple axis, as defined through centerlines of the columnar gateway and the various east–west staircases. This new axis itself is reasonably close, if not perfect, in architectural alignment with the same hilltop, rather than providing a solstice observation point. One interesting possibility is that the preservation of some relationship with this platformed hill was sufficiently important to influence the degree of southward displacement, and that a direct alignment was an effective substitution for a solstice alignment in activities to be performed in the larger, newer U-shaped configuration (figure 1.8). The later construction of the Circular Plaza, exactly along the older axis, may indicate a continued use of the solstice alignment in late-stage activities. These possible alignments are in fact the only evidence we have been able to find of any specific attempt to coordinate the architecture of Chavín with landscape or sky. Our work has not replicated the findings of a number of other investigators who have postulated astronomical arrangements at Chavín (Romano 1994; Scholten de D'Ebneth 1982).

Taking into account the current location of the Mosna River, a southward displacement with eastward extension would make sense, since the river curves dramatically eastward exactly where the later U-form extends the farthest in this direction. Although it might seem that this is a

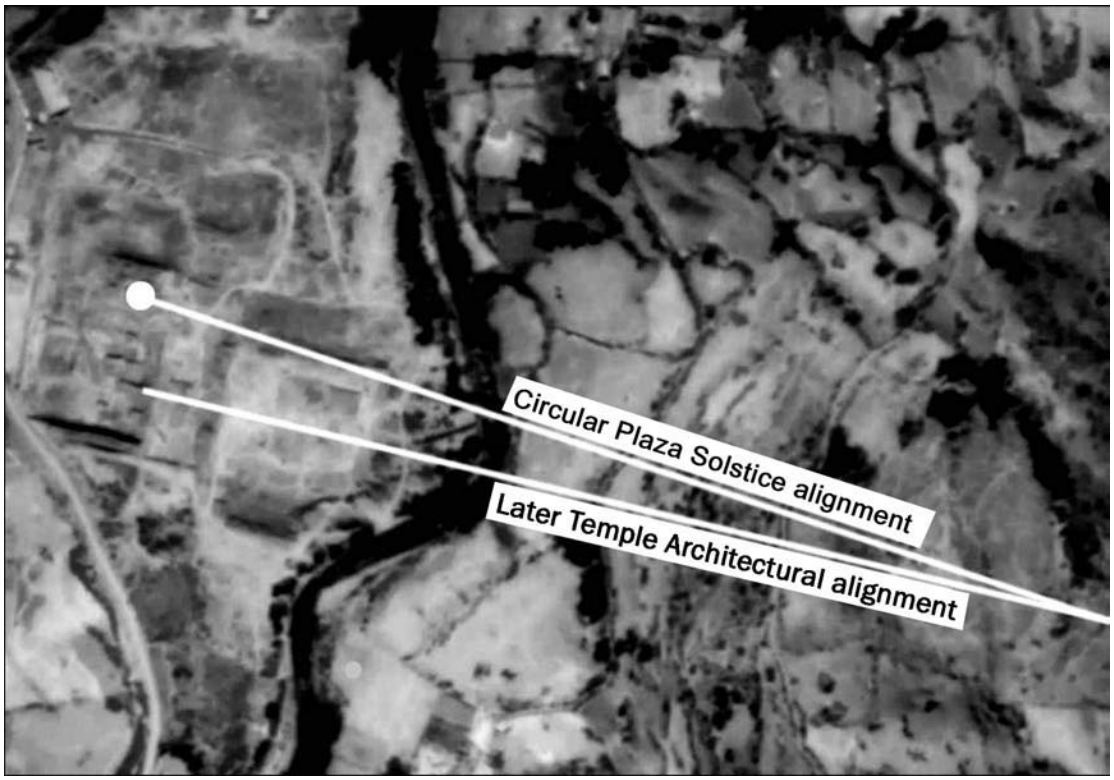


Figure 1.8. Aerial photograph of Chavín de Huántar, showing the Southern Hemisphere summer solstice alignment to the nearby hill from the Circular Plaza area of the early axis (*upper line*); the architectural alignment of the southern, later axis is to the same hill (*lower line*).

happy coincidence of bedrock and riverbed, there are reasons to believe today's river course is not that of Chavín times. First, the current course of the river is strikingly odd: this river has a fair gradient and is flowing rapidly through a nearly linear canyon, yet takes a very notable bend in its otherwise rather straight course exactly at the point of the late U eastward extension. This is the most prominent bend that the river displays anywhere near Chavín, and there is no clear natural explanation for the pattern (figure 1.9). Second, the river scarp and terrace fragments near Chavín show a linear pattern that suggests the original river path was straight across the area where the easternmost buildings of the later U lie. Third, around 1930 the Mosna River attempted to change its course substantially, in an apparent return to the pre-temple course indicated by old terraces. The river's action cut away a substantial portion of the south flanking mound, as documented by Tello (1960), and the river was returned to its banks only through the implementation of major modern river defense features, including masses of rock laid behind cement walls. Notably, segments of apparent Chavín-age river megalithic containment walls remain on both sides of the course, suggesting the need to keep the river within an unnatural bed.

Although the Mosna River might have changed course naturally, the factors above suggest that such a change was more likely a result of human intervention. This would be a substantial undertaking, but changing rivers' courses is not unknown in the prehistoric Andes, especially later, during Inca times. Establishing if this actually occurred at Chavín will require further investigation, but our 2001 excavation in the center of Plaza Mayor produced relevant data. In particular, the lowest sediment that we encountered in this area, starting at a depth of around 2.5 m below the current plaza surface and apparently predating site occupation, is a very dark, sterile,

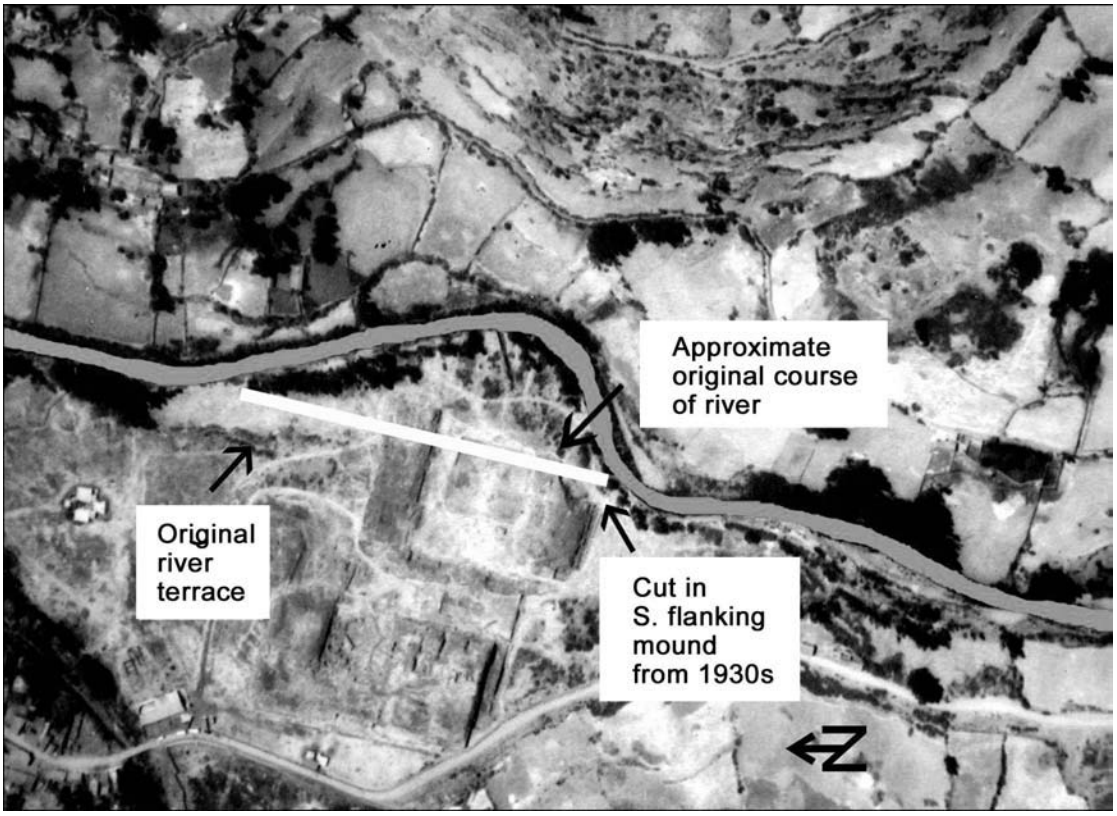


Figure 1.9. Aerial photograph showing the current course of the Mosna River, likely the original course, and landscape features relevant to the original course.

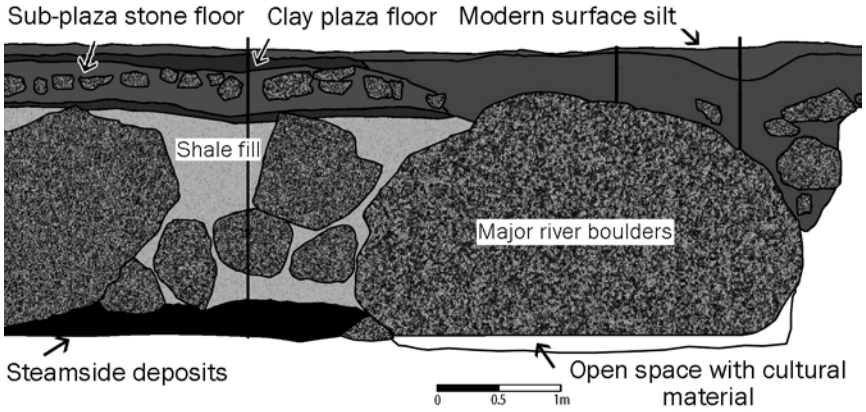


Figure 1.10. Eastern and partial northern and southern profiles of the Plaza Mayor excavation, showing basal sediments, boulder field, and layers related to the original plaza floor.

water-saturated soil. We have identified this as a probable river-edge deposit that would only have occurred in this location if the river were considerably closer (see figure 1.10). This, together with the other mentioned evidence, helps argue that the expansion of the New Temple period was only possible by landscape modification which likely included rerouting this sizable river. This of course makes the assumption that in addition to the conditions mentioned above, the

site designers were unwilling to change the temple configuration to one that could be accommodated by the original available land surface. Given that a temple complex of considerable size would have been possible if the basic east–west-aligned U-shape were not required, the effort to move the river suggests that the actual realized temple form must have been of great desirability, perhaps due to conventions broadly shared in Early Horizon times (Kembel and Rick 2004).

CONSTRUCTION OF CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR

From our excavations and surface work we have been able to make a number of novel observations related to construction processes at Chavín. Starting with raw materials, we concur with most investigators in identifying primary construction materials as quartzite/sandstone, white granite, and black limestone (Turner et al. 1999). Additional materials used include a variety of igneous stones, the most frequent being the tuff used primarily in making the tenon heads that adorned the major temple facades. The various types of stone are not treated randomly across contexts and probably not across time, either. Quartzite is rarely worked beyond the naturally occurring tabular form in which it is found nearby, and when it is, the primary technique is spalling, never cutting or polishing. This quartzite occurs as near vertically oriented natural slabs with a range of consistent thicknesses; the long-noted alternate coursing of thick and thin quartzite in the major platforms of Chavín is in fact a selection of some of the naturally occurring thicknesses. A lightly calcium-carbonate-cemented bright white sandstone (as opposed to the highly consolidated grayish sandstone intergraded with quartzite) was used interchangeably—in terms of architectural context—with white granite, and both stones are almost always cut, and probably originally polished. Granite, along with a velvety-black veined limestone, are the raw materials of almost all engraved lithic art in the site, excepting the predominantly tuff tenon heads and the crystalline volcanic stone used in both columns of the Black and White Portal. Granite is frequently used in structural elements such as wall ashlars and plaques forming platform or plaza faces. Limestone in general is less frequently employed; when in an architectural context, it is almost always in bilaterally symmetrical opposition to granite or white sandstone, and always used as cut stone. The largest, and probably the earliest, stones used in wall construction are quartzite, and I currently find no intact evidence for the use of granite, white sandstone, or limestone in any architectural context dating to the Separate Mound Stage of construction, and I suspect that they are also missing in the version of the temple formed by Buildings NEA and early phases of Buildings B and C (figure 1.1), early in the Expansion Stage. The single major exception appears to be the Lanzón image itself (figure 1.11; see discussion of the Lanzón's relationship to other Chavín art in chapter 4, and exploration of its meaning in chapter 11, this volume), which is likely to predate these construction stages, but it may be an exception that proves the rule. The Lanzón may be the only substantial piece of engraved granite used in Chavín whose basic shape is not achieved by stonecutting. The Lanzón is a natural stone form that has been extensively engraved, with perhaps one partial face that has been planed (the rearward part of the figure's left side from about the level of the eye down to below the belt line). Until our recent reformulation of the construction sequence in Chavín, the extensive use of granite in the Circular Plaza and its staircases would have been seen as an exception to this observation, but the clearly late temporal position of the known plazas serves to corroborate the lack of granite, limestone, and sandstone, and thus also of cut stone, in the earliest major construction stages at Chavín.

As Kembel (2001; chapter 2, this volume) makes apparent, the original concept that Chavín grew horizontally in just a few solid block additions needs to be replaced with a much more complex pattern of both lateral and vertical expansion. Over a very considerable period of time, the site grew in stages that transformed small, perhaps disjoint buildings into unified and imposing structures. As with other cultures

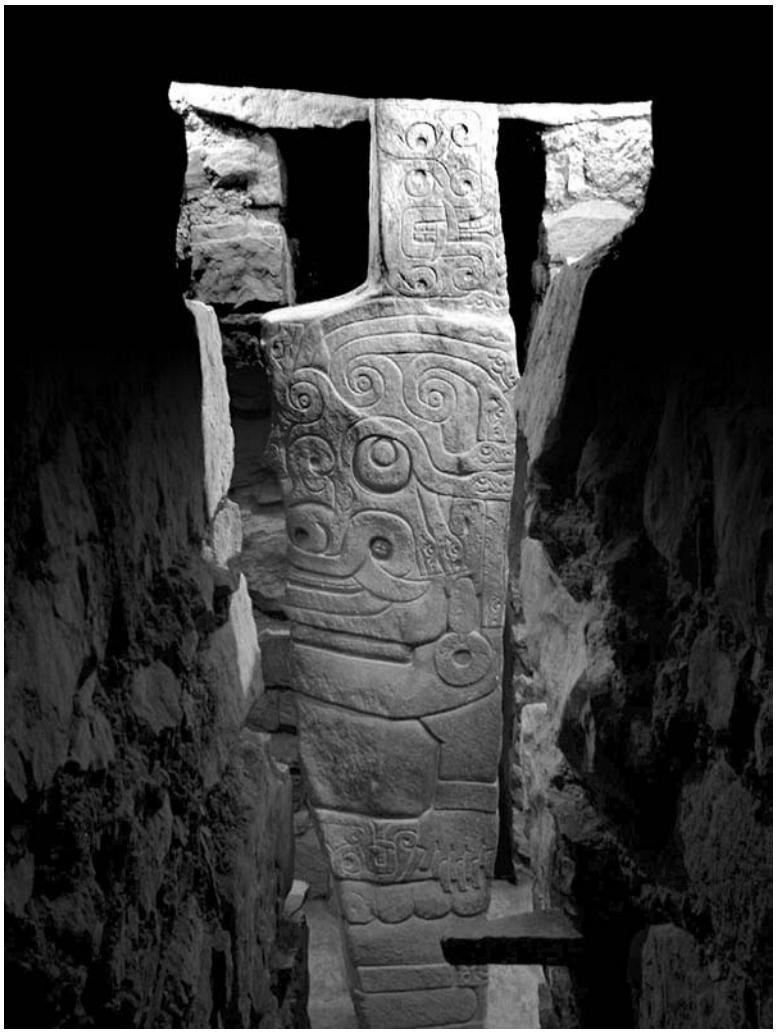


Figure 1.11. The Lanzón, a 4.5-m-high engraved monolith of granite, in its approximate original location within the Lanzón Gallery, Building B, seen from the north side. The only apparent area of artificial shaping of the stone is a flattening in the area of the figure's right arm.

throughout the world, the growth of structures presents various dilemmas for continuity of site use, especially in religious structures whose architecture can be reasonably expected to have been highly invested with significance. Simply put, if locations, surfaces, spaces, and large objects had intrinsic meaning in their original position, the incessant growth of monumental centers almost inevitably implies losing the meaning by engulfing these places with later construction. Modifications to these meaning-laden structures could destroy or at least remove highly sacred elements from visibility or access, unless these could be translated to the newer, larger structures. Intentionally or not, Chavín avoided some of these problems by including lateral, asymmetrical growth along with the rebuilding and overlayering of older structures. Yet an option existed that we believe was utilized, which was to maintain access to earlier structures and features through internal passageways. It appears highly likely that the Lanzón Gallery, with its well-known sculptural centerpiece, may have begun its existence as a way to maintain access to this

clearly important sculpture. There is no doubt that the Lanzón Gallery was created from an earlier freestanding structure (Kembel 2001; chapter 2, this volume) which, in a series of steps, was transformed into a stone-roofed internal space of reduced size by construction that overwhelmed it. The Lanzón itself may have been present for some time prior to roofing, although the evidence is equivocal. Given what we know of general Chavín engineering abilities, it should have been easily possible to remove the Lanzón sculpture from this setting and place it in a new context, yet instead, considerable construction investment was put into designing, constructing, and maintaining access to this earlier, presumably highly sacred locale. On this basis we can speculate that at least in certain circumstances, there was a balance between a need for growth and construction and a conservative force that required continued access to earlier facilities. There is a happy coincidence between Chavín's interest in maintaining such access and the archaeologists' need for understanding the internal structures of these structures from the inside out, as can be seen in Kembel's effective analyses (2001; chapter 2, this volume).

In terms of construction, it is increasingly apparent that a great part of the effort of building Chavín involved various types of orderly fill. The large, stone-faced platform mounds are primarily composed of orderly fill made up of rectanguloid, selected quartzite blocks, mostly on the order of 30–50 cm in length with a 20- to 30-cm square section. These lie in leveled layers in a matrix of various types of highly compact, gravel-laden clays, mostly with a color range of yellow to reddish brown. Orderly fills surrounding stone-lined galleries form the bulk of the massive Chavín platforms and thus characterize the growth of Chavín de Huántar. These, however, are far from the only use of fills as a major architectural element. Our excavations to date, mostly conducted around rather than within the major platforms, have shown a disconcerting pattern of Chavín-period fills extending down to, and often well beyond, the foundational level of these large structures. In fact, on only two occasions have we apparently penetrated through all Chavín fill levels to find underlying natural sediments. In both cases—the Circular Plaza and the Square Plaza—there are between 2 and 3 m of organized fill (like that of the platform mounds) underlying the plaza floors. In most cases the small size of our explorations, or the presence of formal Chavín architecture, has precluded penetration down to sterile deposits. But our excavations have demonstrated that many of the monumental center structures are built on top of major Chavín-period organized fill deposits, indicating major investment in constructing and shaping the landscape on top of which the center sits.

The degree of this investment became apparent in our 2001 excavations in the Plaza Mayor. In some respects it is not surprising to find major structures erected upon engineered fills, since this enhances height and may be a requirement for the stability of the structures' foundations. Sunken plaza surfaces seem less likely to have received similar attention, but the Plaza Mayor showed the lengths to which Chavín constructors had gone to establish a durable and stable surface. Excavations showed that the plaza floor, to the degree it remains after clearing operations in the mid-twentieth century, consists of highly compact, reddish clay with 2–5 mm shale angular microgravel "temper" (figure 1.10). Just a few centimeters below this floor is a single layer of typical, selected rectanguloid quartzite stones neatly accommodated in parallel lines, much like a horizontal brick wall. Next we encountered a layer of crushed shale fill—still very porous—lying on top of and around a series of very large river boulders ranging in dimension from 50 cm up to at least 6 m. Although we could reveal only a limited area, these boulders are lying edge to edge in a tightly packed fashion. In some cases these have been intentionally spalled, as if they were huge cores, seemingly to allow their accommodation within a tight matrix of massive rocks (figure 1.12). This 2- to 3-m-deep accumulation all rests on top of the black streamside deposit previously mentioned. The costs of processing and assembling this subfloor construction were substantial, and the job required major engineering if only in procuring and placing the boulder field. The

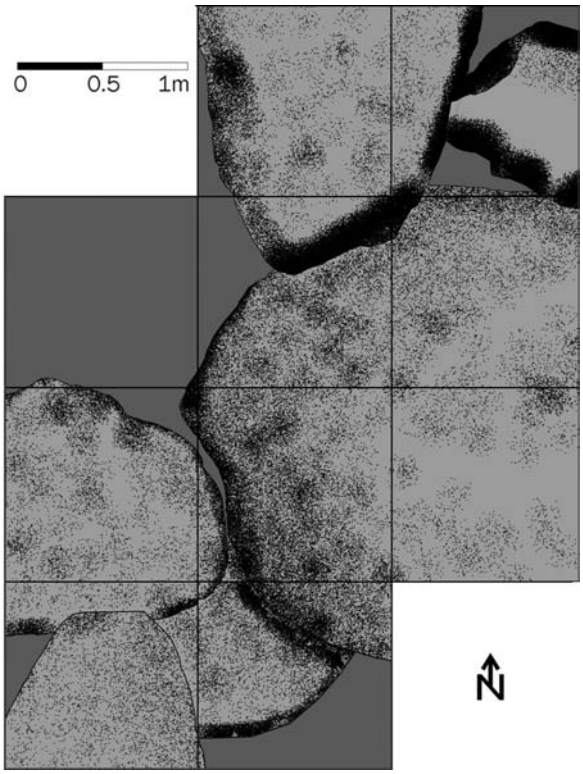


Figure 1.12. Plan view of the distribution of Plaza Mayor excavation boulders

clean shale fill, composed of surprisingly consistent, sharply angular fragments 2 to 4 cm in size, gives the impression of an intentionally produced and processed building material. The resulting plaza floor, complete with drainage system along its lower, eastern edge, remains quite flat, with a consistent, planar slope down from west to east in spite of at least 2500 years of accumulating uneven overburden. Over the east–west width of the plaza, the substrates on which the plaza was built probably vary from compacted bedrock-derived soil to over-bank river clay deposits to riverbed gravels and cobbles. Given these varied and suboptimal substrates, this construction technique seems to have been a good solution for long-term stability.

Other fills seem to be have been generated for quite different reasons. The long trajectory of Chavín not only witnessed major growth, but undoubtedly required maintenance and repair, along with demolition of architecture. It is highly likely that the lateral growth pattern, and the Chavín interest in at least partial architectural symmetry, would require some dismantling or infill of previous structures, and Kembel (2001) has made some progress with this intrinsically difficult subject. We have much more evidence for response to challenges presented by the environment—in particular, at least one major destruction event: a sizable earthquake. In about half of our excavations, particularly those along major walls on the west side of Buildings A, B, and C, and in the areas west of the current road (figure 1.1), we found evidence of wall destabilization, destruction, patching, and accumulated wall detritus at or near the foundational level. This pattern is so consistent that the event seems likely to have affected virtually the entire site, albeit in a more pronounced fashion in some contexts, particularly west-facing walls. In the case of the long west wall of combined Buildings A-B-C, virtually the entire wall has suffered substantial damage: in places the facade is missing and in others the wall actually has negative batter—the opposite of the normal situation in monumental Chavín walls (figure 1.13). In many places support walls have been placed alongside the facade in an attempt to stabilize it, although the age of the support walls is not always clear. Strikingly, in a number of cases platforms were built directly on top of fallen wall stones, as if there were little or no attempt to remove destruction debris before covering it (figure 1.14). Yet these platforms are of late Chavín origin, judging from their direct association with Janabarriu-type ceramics. The largest of these support efforts that we have observed thus far is the asymmetrical westward extension of Building C (figure 1.1), which in fact is a major support buttress built around the apparently collapsed northernmost segment of the long west wall of Buildings A-B-C. All evidence at this time suggests that this event took place, in ceramic terms, in late Janabarriu times, at or around the beginning of the Support Construction Stage circa 500 B.C. (for discussion of the dating of this stage, see Kembel, chapter 2, this volume).

Excavations in the area west of the A-B-C complex have revealed a series of massive, intentional, but not very orderly fills that were placed against the destabilized walls. In the case of the southernmost extension of the A-B-C wall, we

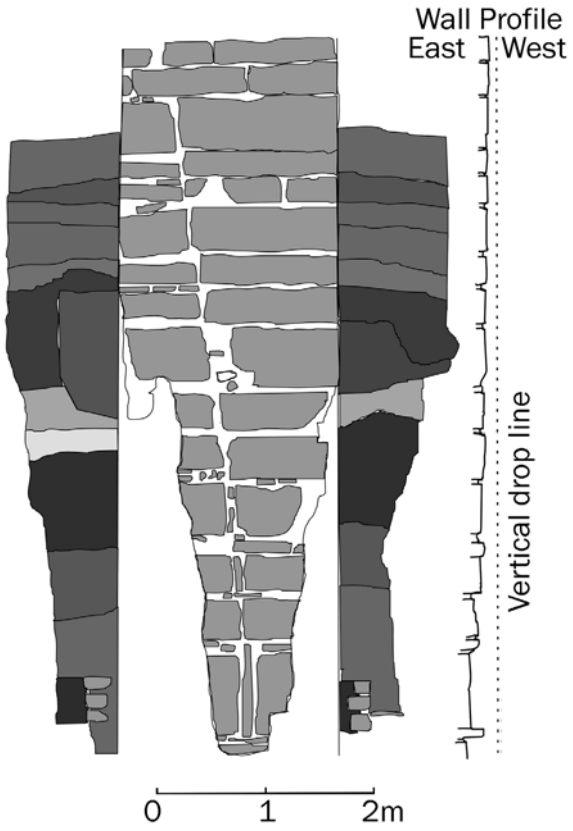


Figure 1.13. Profile of CdH-4 excavation, showing massive fill deposits (*lateral shaded areas*), Building A wall with Seam A-W-1 that shows intact batter (*central shaded area*) and profile of the wall showing negative batter (*outward leaning*) of wall.

found at least 7 m of varied fills, ranging from clean boulder fills to clay layers, built up against the virtually collapsing walls. This suggests that sometime soon after the above-mentioned destruction event (in the range of 410–760 cal B.C., as dated with our sample CdHCS–29; see Kembel, chapter 2, this volume), the area lying west of the A-B-C complex was filled in with immense quantities of varied materials, apparently in a major effort to avoid the extensive collapse of the west facades of Chavín's central structures. We have found that at least one "terrace" observable on the surface of the West Field is in fact a major structure that was interred by this same fill activity, leaving only the top of the building exposed. The effort implicated in the massive volume of these fills is considerable but,

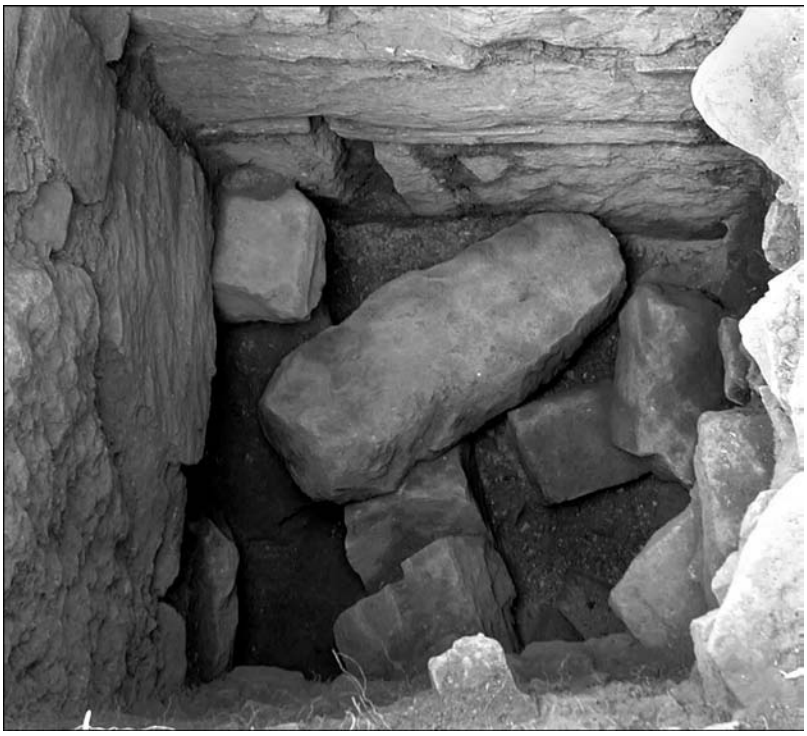


Figure 1.14. Photograph of collapsed wall rocks in excavation CdH-10 on the west face of Building B (*top of photograph*); the wall to the left is an informal but massive support wall built over collapse material.

significantly, this Support Stage effort shows little of the orderliness of the fills used in prior stages of construction. Like the earlier fills, however, they are massive and seem to signify the intent of Chavín constructors to noticeably modify the overall landscape context of their structures. Of particular interest is evidence of late Chavín ritual activity in the form of elaborate broken-in-situ Janabarriu-period pottery in West Field deposits capping these fills. It remains to be seen if the apparently catastrophic event that led to these late fills was sufficiently disruptive to be the major force responsible for ending the expansion, and probably the ritual functions, of the center.

Evidence for Ritual in the Architectural Design and Art of Chavín de Huántar

Most authorities agree that monumental Chavín was primarily a temple complex and thus can be supposed to have been the scene of important religious ritual activity (e.g., Lumbreras 1989; Burger 1992a). While the significance and meaning of Chavín art and architecture have been the subject of extensive treatment by numerous authors (Burger 1992a; Campana 1995; Cordy-Collins 1976; Lumbreras 1989; Roe 1974; Rowe 1962, to mention a few), there has been an understandable reluctance to speculate on what actually happened in Chavín ritual. These rituals must have been at the core of the site's function and design; thus any clues to what occurred are worth ferreting out, and some degree of tentative speculation is probably worthwhile. Kembel (2001; chapter 2, this volume) mentions evidence for change in the group size involved in Chavín ritual over time, and Burger (1992a) has also used the dimensions and character of the architecture to suggest aspects of ritual organization. In our researches we have added some specific evidence that I will concentrate on here, emphasizing new understandings of the Chavín architecture and in particular the context of new art discoveries.

New Art in Architectural Context: Evidence for Processions

An inadvertent addition to ritual knowledge came in the form of a new cornice fragment that was found in the 1998 excavations along the west A-B-C wall in unit 7a. The stone, found face up at a depth of less than a meter below the current surface (and thus far above original Chavín foundation-level surfaces), is incomplete (figure 1.15). After searching through the corpus of cornice fragments stored at the site, we were able to find a matching fragment, reported by Marino Gonzáles (personal communication) to have been found along the east side of Building A, quite a distance away. When reunited, the main, originally downward-facing surface of the cornice displays two figures in apparent procession, with the leading figure playing a *Strombus* trumpet. The following individual is prominently carrying a *Spondylus* shell and differs from the lead figure in having fangs (along with other teeth), much more elaborate ear ornaments and hair arrangement (including headband and forehead ornament), and carrying an incompletely preserved object in the left hand. The lead figure has a more complex dorsal fan or wing, and circular pectoral ornaments that are missing on the trailing figure. On the originally outward-facing edge, the combined fragments show three similar individuals also in a right-to-left procession, who are depicted with quite different objects and slightly variant adornment. All three appear to be carrying spears in their right hands, and the central figure has a shaft-like object, perhaps a spear-thrower, in his left hand. Two figures have elaborate pectoral ornamentation in the form of a fanged frontal-view face, but otherwise what is preserved of posture, vestment, and appendages appears analogous to the two larger figures on the downward face. While it is unwise to assume that this apparent procession is descriptive of Chavín ritual, the relatively pure human forms suggest worldly action. The strong parallels between the form and style of these figures and those of the less well-preserved personages of the Circular Plaza plaques, which are felt by most au-

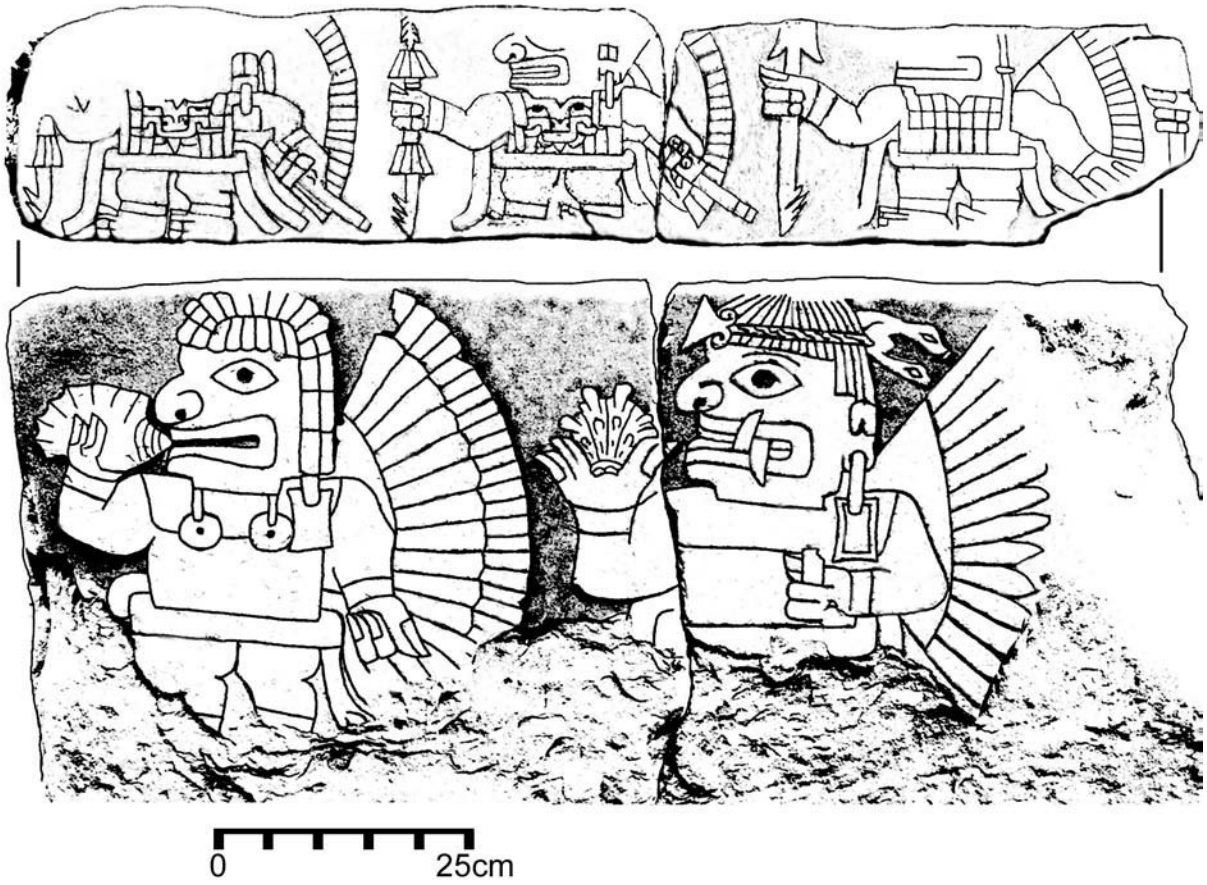


Figure 1.15. Drawing of the face and edge of a cornice fragment excavated in 1998 from the west side of Building A (*left*) joined with a previously known cornice fragment (*right*).

thorities to be paralleling real-world processions toward the main staircase, argues for the likelihood of actual *Strombus* sound-making and major processions. Interestingly, the procession of figures from right to left makes little sense as a contingent entering farther into the temple of Chavín, as there are no known ground-level entrances convenient to leftward procession from either our find location or the reported find location of the matching fragment. Alternative explanations abound for this directional problem, including the possibility that this is a procession retiring from the ritual location, that directionality of processional art was not meant to be realistic, or that these are not depictions of processions at all. Representations of weapons are rare in Chavín relative to ceremonial gear, and this cornice gives a secondary importance to arms as well, given their smaller size and placement on the cornice edge, rather than on the main face. Overall, this engraving adds considerably to knowledge of Chavín lithic art, being one of the only examples of multiple human figures, probably in procession, that are in clear original relationship to each other because they are on a single original stone.

Understanding of the ritual-related art of the Circular Plaza improved somewhat with our 2001 excavations, which fully revealed the southwest arc of the plaza wall. The northwest arc, revealed by Lumbreras in 1972, includes a line of jaguar figures surmounted by plaques with humans, all as if in procession toward the western

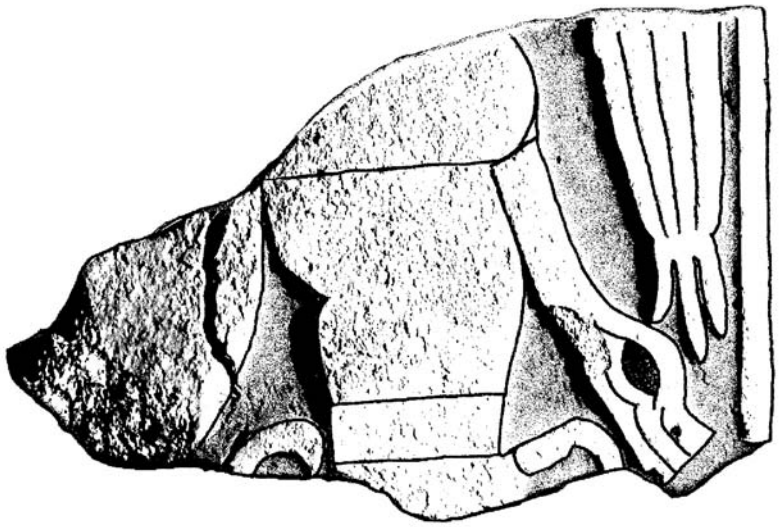


Figure 1.16. Fragment of personage plaque from the 2001 Circular Plaza excavations, displaying an exact mirror image of the known San Pedro cactus–carrying individual from the north arc of engraved stones. This fragment displays most of the left leg of the individual, a pendant snake descending from the belt of the individual, and the lower stem and root structure of the cactus itself.

Figure 1.17. One of the best-preserved jaguar plaques from the southern arc of the Circular Plaza, revealed in our 2001 excavations

staircase of the plaza. The human depiction plaques are completely missing in the southwestern arc, but we did find a fragment of a plaque with the identical, but mirror image of the San Pedro cactus–carrying figure from the northwest arc in a post-Chavín intrusive pit that penetrates the plaza floor (figure 1.16). This strongly suggests that the upper layer of personage plaques was originally present on the south side and hints that the plaques may have been matched pairs, with counterparts on the north side. The complete arc of jaguar plaques is present on the south side, with the sole exception of the two closest to the western staircase. Unlike the incomplete north arc, the transition from carved jaguar plaques to undecorated plaques is observable in the south and occurs after Plaque 19, rather than at 14, as has been frequently reported for the north side (Lumbreras 1989; Burger 1992a). It is highly likely that the arcs were identical in having 19 jaguars, and both sides are primarily sequences of pairs of nearly identical jaguar designs. On the north side, the discrepancy between an overall odd number of plaques and the pattern of pairs is due to at least one mismatch among the plaques closest to the west staircase. The equivalent plaques on the south side are far too eroded to be sure of a parallel, but Plaques 10–19 are in pairs, so the break in the pairing pattern must also be relatively nearer the western staircase. Only a few plaques of each sequence are well preserved (figure 1.17), and most of these are not matching numbers in the respective arcs. In spite of these conditions it is clear that bilateral symmetry is not present, as the specific attributes of the pairs of jaguars are not a close match between north and south arcs. In fact, between and within the arcs there are no identical jaguars except within individual pairs; although some are nearly similar, at least one major attribute differs between all known pairs. Given the near-systematic pairing of jaguar figures, it is likely that the non-matching among pairs and the break in the pair lines—especially when contrasted with admittedly limited evidence for north–south matching of human personages—reflects an important structure in this apparent complex of processional art.

ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE FOR RITUAL AT CHAVÍN

As mentioned above and detailed by Kembel (2001; this volume, chapter 2), we consider the currently revealed Circular Plaza to have been constructed relatively late in the Chavín building sequence (Black and White Stage) and not at the time of the major buildings that originally formed a U-like shape centered here (that is, prior to or during the Expansion Stage of Kembel). The investment of effort in the Circular Plaza area during or after the time of a major axis shift speaks to the continued importance of the older temple center. There must have been a problem of how to maintain an important and impressive entrance path to this older, but updated area of the center. One guesses that "go to the Black and White Portal, turn 90 degrees right, and dog-leg to the Circular Plaza" may not have been an elegant, dignified, or otherwise appropriate ritual pathway, due to the indirect connection it would make between the Plaza Mayor area of the later construction stages and this long-sacred ritual precinct. The solution seems to have been to create a new path that maintained somewhat of an axis-like approach, while respecting the dominance of the new axis/temple complex (figure 1.18). The key piece of that procession way is the Middendorf Staircase, the widest stairs in the site, which incorporated the largest pieces of cut granite yet is otherwise inexplicably asymmetric and oriented for a south–north passage, rather than along the usual east–west axes of the largest staircases. This elaborate and costly staircase, upon close examination, shows clear signs of being cut into the middle of a much earlier and less formal structure that seems to antedate the building of the newer axis temple, which we have argued is part of the lower structures of the older axis temple (Rick et al. 1998). The late use of massive and cut granite in the stairs is thus also consistent with other evidence that granite is a late, predominantly Black and White Stage phenomenon. If the stairs are seen to be part of an elaborate, grand entranceway to the older temple center—important but neither paramount nor exclusive—this architectural effort begins to make sense.

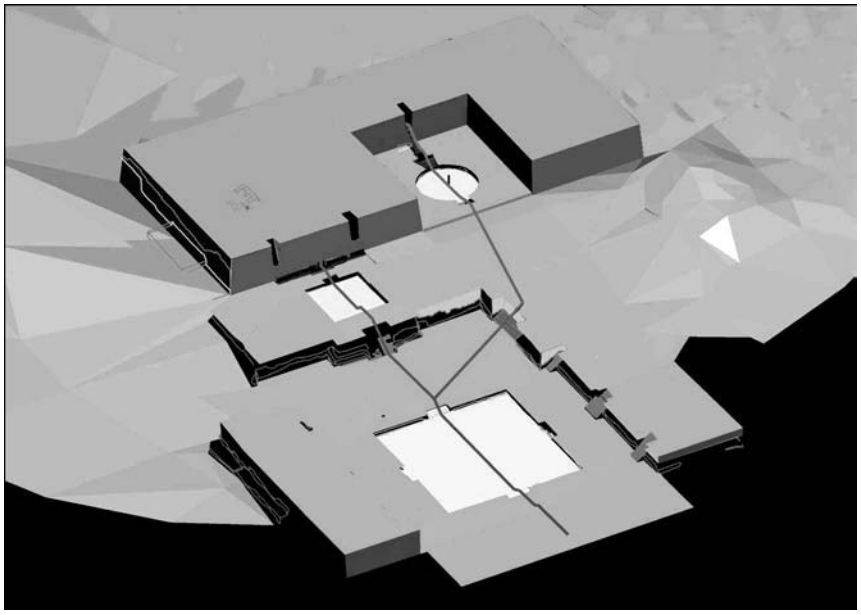


Figure 1.18. Isometric view of a simple model of the late construction phase architecture of Chavín, showing both the straight-line path to the Black and White Portal, and the entrance path through the Middendorf Staircase to the Circular Plaza and the Lanzón area.

At the risk of being somewhat circular in argument, I take the accumulated evidence of pathways, processional depictions, and axis symmetry to argue that much of Chavín ritual had to do with the movement of groups of people within the site. An additional aspect worth mentioning is the evidence we have reported (Rick et al. 1998) that staircases were important framing elements within which other structures seem to be positioned, and that they frequently bear depressions or other marks that suggest they may also have been significant ritual settings in themselves. The staircases are the points where one shifts between levels, and it seems reasonable to think that each upward level shift involved a notable increase in sanctity and a similar reduction in both the space available within the precincts and the number of people permitted to make the transition (see Kembel 2001; and note the importance given temple levels at Pacopampa in chapter 5, this volume). The only exception to the upward shifting would be at the last level, in which those privileged to reach the temple's uppermost surfaces could descend into the even more restrictive gallery interiors. These transitions between architectural levels in the site may have signified many things, but they probably played a large role in procession ways, through which the Chavín visitors/initiates/participants observed or joined in meaningful actions.

EVIDENCE FROM THE CARACOLAS GALLERY

Our excavation of the Galería de las Caracolas (Gallery of Sea Snails) in 2001 is only the second time that substantial intact gallery deposits have been recovered archaeologically and reported, the first being Lumbreras's extensive account of excavations in the Ofrendas Gallery (Lumbreras 1993). Caracolas is the smallest Chavín gallery, measuring 6 × 1.2 m, not counting its entranceway. It has been known since the 1970s, when initial testing by Lumbreras yielded fragments of *Strombus* (conch) shell, giving the gallery its name (figure 1.19). The gallery proved to have largely intact Chavín-period deposits, heavily overlain by later prehistoric materials and modern sediments that were mostly introduced through a large opening in the ceiling, resulting from the collapse of rock roof beams. The original entrance was excavated in 2002, proving to be a simple stairway descent on the east end of the gallery. The floor consists of well-compacted gravelly clay, still easily distinguished from overlying deposits. Lying directly on this floor was a group of 20 complete-

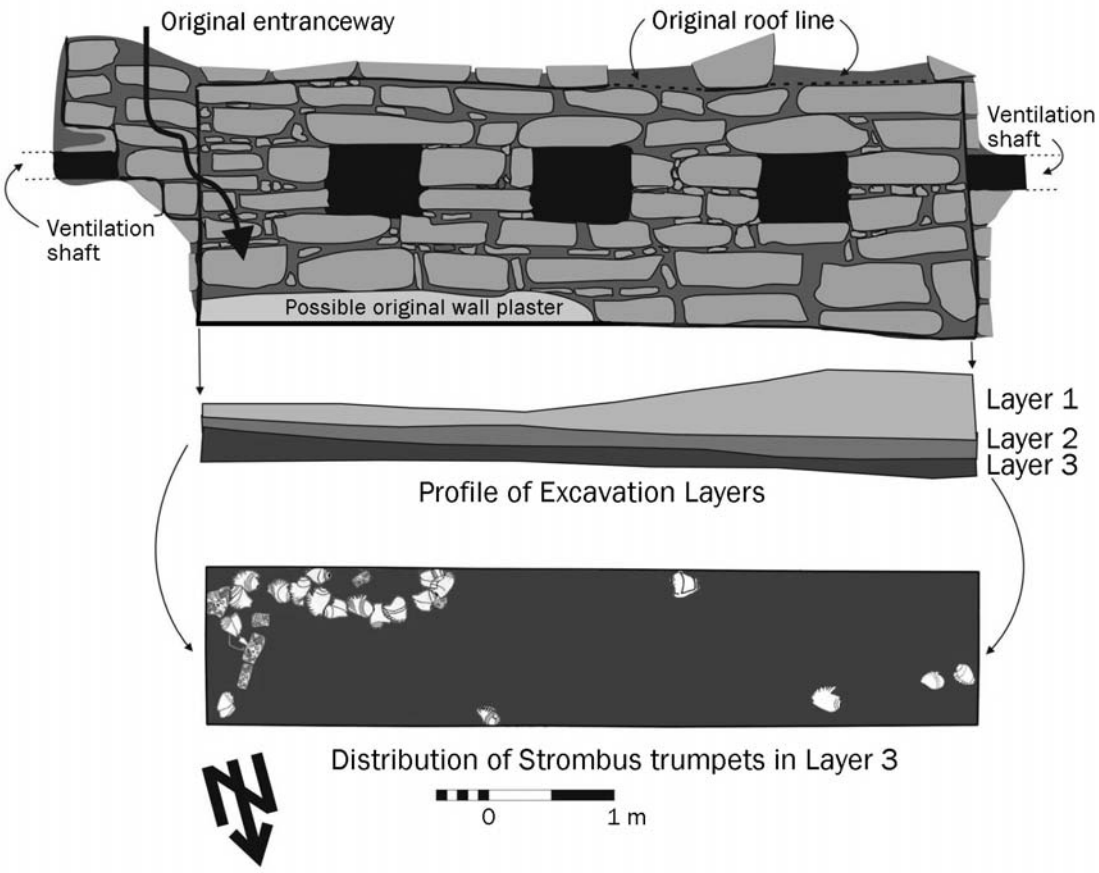


Figure 1.19. Caracolas Gallery southern wall (*upper panel*), sediment profile (*central panel*), and plan view of distribution of *Strombus* shell trumpets on the floor of the gallery (*lower panel*)

ly intact *pututos*, or *Strombus galeatus* shell trumpets (figure 1.20). Surrounding and overlying the trumpets was a prehistoric deposit, thickest nearest the entrance and tapering to the interior, containing substantial quantities of heavily broken and dispersed sherds, principally of highly polished Janabarriu-type black ware pottery, plus a significant quantity of large mammal (probably camelid) bone. This material is most densely concentrated in layer 2 of this above-floor deposit (figure 1.19); very few objects were found on or near the floor other than the *Strombus* shells themselves. Later ceramics, primarily of post-Formative age, lie above in a still-higher deposit (layer 1) which seems largely derived from the introduction of washed-in materials since the gallery was last investigated in 1972. At this time the most likely conclusion is that the gallery saw prehistoric use during two periods: one in which the original floor was maintained in a clean condition and the *Strombus* were ultimately deposited, and a later (Janabarriu, Support Construction Stage or later) period in which the gallery was reopened and debris-generating activities occurred.

A large quantity of broken and reworked *Strombus* fragments also occur in the over-floor deposits, representing a minimum of nine additional shells. The concentration of these shell fragments, many of which are by-products of the manufacture of shell ornaments, is found toward the middle and western end of the gallery. Some of these reused shell materials show clear signs of Chavín-style iconography and are associated with the Janabarriu materials in the gallery. The

Figure 1.20. Eight of 20 *Strombus* shell trumpets excavated in the Caracolas Gallery in 2001. *Drawings by Helene Bernier*.

concentration of shell fragments is complementary to that of whole shells and appears to occur where the buildup of over-floor deposits was thinnest at the time of the second period of gallery activity. It appears likely that most of the intact *Strombus* shells we found in the gallery were completely covered by deposits at the later time that this gallery was in use, and they may have escaped being broken and processed into ornaments because they were not visible. A series of shells, probably more than just the nine fragmented individuals we documented, were removed and broken up in the process of using the trumpets for raw material, with little regard for their original, presumably sacred function. The majority of the intact shells were engraved, but only three have unworn, clear designs. All the rest are highly use-polished, especially in the positions that a *Strombus* player typically holds the instrument, and on many the original engravings have been nearly worn away, indicating extensive handling and use. These were heirloom instruments at the time of their deposition in the gallery, interred there only after a long period of use as sound instruments. The shells can still produce tones, and center on a D pitch, with a range of two steps in either direction. When played together, the shells not only produce an immense volume of noise, but their tones interact to produce a cyclical, attention-commanding beat. If they were played in performances with 20 or more shells within the sound-reflecting walls of galleries or the Circular Plaza, the sound may have had major, even physical impact on the listeners and may represent an important technique for creating an ambiance for rituals related to religion, power, and authority.

The Caracolas Gallery is relatively unlike the only other excavated gallery, Ofrendas, on a number of fronts, even though both were constructed simultaneously within our architectural construction sequence (Black and White Stage). The on-floor contents of these quite contemporaneous galleries are almost completely complementary: Caracolas has only *Strombus* shell, while Ofrendas has no *Strombus* (except for a tiny representation of a shell in worked bone). Caracolas has virtually no diversity of on-floor remains, while the in-

ventory of Ofrendas includes a wide range of ceramic, stone, and bone materials. Lumbreras's interpretation of Ofrendas (1993) is that it was a massive, one-time deposit or offering. If so, then Caracolas, with the presence of long-used trumpets, suggests the contrary: that the gallery was probably a customary, long-term holding location for a single class of objects. Although many alternative scenarios can be entertained, this gallery may well have been the location from which *Strombus* trumpets were retrieved en masse for ceremonies in the area of the Circular Plaza. The conditions of the abandonment of the shells prior to their partial destruction for ornaments, either on the gallery floor or possibly hanging from walls or on now-disappeared furniture, suggests that the gallery itself was closed or inaccessible for a period during late Chavín times. Relatively little remained of the above-gallery deposits at the time of our excavation, but we know that that this atrium area of the Circular Plaza was heavily affected by the previously mentioned late Chavín-period cataclysm. It is possible that the entrance to the gallery was covered with debris at that time, and only later did late Janabarriu-period activities re-expose the entrance.

While it is hardly a novel suggestion (e.g., Burger 1992a), Caracolas helps build the argument that galleries had a variety of uses, including ritual settings, serving as contexts for massive and diverse offerings (Ofrendas) and as storage locations for ritual paraphernalia (Caracolas). It is interesting that at least some of the late galleries seem to have functions other than primary ritual contexts, which may relate to Kembel's idea that external spaces became increasingly important across time (2001; chapter 2, this volume).

Creating Ambience at Chavín: The Use of Light

Chavín seems to have been designed with an eye toward creating a special ambiance for rituals that would have the power to influence the viewer. Presumably this context-induced persuasion process reinforced the message of the ritual and led to credibility of what may have been, at least for the times in which it took place, an incredible message. If this were not the case, one wonders why a credible message would require such reinforcement. The ingestion of psychoactive substances (Cordy-Collins 1977), the extensive use of image and sound (Lumbreras et al. 1976), and the ambience of the galleries themselves presumably contributed to this process of persuasion. Undoubtedly, we are only privy to a subset of the actions and artifices used by the Chavín leadership; presumably many have not translated well into the archaeological record. One medium that can, I believe, be added to the Chavín repertoire is light. The evidence for this assertion is in the patterning and placement of ducts (frequently termed "ventilation shafts") that link galleries and the buildings' exteriors. The majority of these roughly 30 × 30 cm ducts are remarkably straight, and not only are they so within individual shafts, but many form straight lines, with the continuing shaft segments found across passageways, rooms, or other galleries. Most ventilators are either aimed down passageways, through doorways, or into niches or alcoves; they very rarely point at blank interior walls. Considerable planning and even architectural manipulation have gone into ensuring this strategic "aim" of the ventilators; one could even speculate that some aspects of gallery layout may have been influenced by the apparent need to accommodate this so-called ventilation pattern. Yet the effort was largely unnecessary if simple air passage or even sound transmission was the goal, as straightness has little value in that regard. Thus it seems likely that the shafts had another purpose, and the logical possibilities—functions that would be enabled or enhanced by straightness—are light and visibility. The field of vision allowed by most ventilators either into or out from the galleries is tiny, and many exterior ventilator openings were suspended high on near-vertical exterior walls. Thus, sighting through ventilators directly seems of little utility, and we can rule out sighting of celestial phenomena because the horizontal ventilators never look out onto the sky due to the mountainous terrain surrounding Chavín.

The possibility that sunlight was transmitted through ventilation shafts into the interior is provocative, and we have observed that small

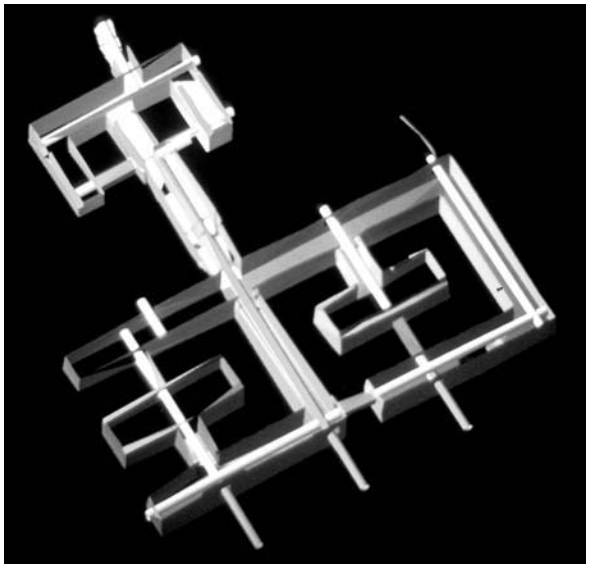


Figure 1.21. Three-dimensional model of the Laberintos Gallery, with the roof removed, with dowel-like projections coming through the ventilation shafts. Note that the shafts point down or through most of the gallery passages. The rightmost ventilation shaft has a curve that would partially curtail light entry into the gallery; not all ventilators led to outside surfaces in all stages of construction. *The image is based on a model developed by John and Silvia Kembel.*

Figure 1.22. Two photographs of light coming from the Lanzón Gallery central ventilation shaft, striking the Lanzón image

pocket mirrors held outside the ventilators can provide a surprising amount of light in the interior space. In some galleries, the ventilators form a virtual grid that could have sent light down almost every major passageway and through every room (figure 1.21). The shaft-like passage of this highly directional light through the somewhat dusty air of the galleries, as well as the bright splash it makes on stone walls, creates a striking other-worldly ambience in an otherwise dark setting. Perhaps corresponding to this possible use of light, Chavín deposits produce abundant evidence of the manufacture and presence of small but highly light-reflective anthracite mirrors, likely made from high-grade coal deposits found in the upper Mosna River valley.

Two additional observations support the hypothesis that light may have been brought into the galleries. The first is that without some light source, the galleries are of very limited utility, as they are quite dark at any distance beyond the entranceways. There is little evidence of soot deposits on the ceiling beams of the galleries, something that would be expected if the galleries had been lit through burning torches or lamps. Many stone beams have accumulated a thin calcite layer that would have sealed in, but kept visible any carbon accumulation, much like the situation in many famous rock art caves. If the ceiling beams were plastered, as at least some gallery walls seem to have been, this would be a moot point, but I suspect that roof plaster was not universal (witness the engraved beams in the Vigas Ornamentales Gallery) and would have been very difficult to maintain in position with dampness and gravity. The second is the particular arrangement of the central ventilation shaft of the Lanzón Gallery. We conducted experiments projecting light down this shaft, using an electric light source pushed to the outside extreme of the ventilator, a procedure made necessary by modern modifications that have predominantly blocked the exterior orifice. The face of the Lanzón image is thus illuminated from forehead to chin, and the raking light striking this triangular-section image from the front is ideal for emphasizing the engraved features of the sculpture (figure 1.22). This suggests not only that simple illumination may have been used, but that the effects of the light in ritual settings may have been calculated and very much a part of the growing complex of environment-conditioning phenomena that were evidently strategized in Chavín. Given the difficulty of maintaining incoming reflected sunlight due to the changing position of the sun, and given the possibility of night use of the galleries and other factors, I would not argue for an exclusive or necessarily even a common use of reflected light. The evidence we have suggests a more strategic, possibly dramatic, and experientially striking use that might have been very effective in ritual context.

DISCUSSION

The data from this article related to the growth, construction, and activities performed at Chavín de Huántar can be used to pursue more fundamental issues about the nature of the cultural system that Chavín represents within its Andean context in the Early Horizon and perhaps earlier. While we have the idea that Chavín is essentially a temple complex that increased in size over many centuries, with substantial but perhaps variable connections to other centers over time (Kembel and Rick 2004), we are far from understanding what prompted the characteristics mentioned here or those known from previous studies. My proposition here is to try to "read" the strategies implied by our current knowledge of the site. Certainly, we must exercise caution in reading the modern monument of Chavín, because it reflects most strongly the condition of the site toward the end of its life as a monumental and ritual location, although some aspects, particularly those related to construction and planning, are indicative of the transitions to this final temple configuration. It should also be emphasized that the excavated archaeological sample of the site, including from previous investigations and our own, remains inadequate in both spatial and temporal senses. Judging from the amount we have learned in a decade of relatively small-scale research, it can be expected that major additions have yet to be made to our knowledge base.

Given the elaboration of the ceremonial center, including all the evidence we find for advanced planning and engineering abilities, an authority structure must have been present. Striking and sophisticated aspects of the Chavín monument include the abundant use of cut-stone walls in the ceremonial precinct, the elaboration and integration of precision stone engravings into the architecture, and precise site layout and achievement of geometric forms (circles, squares) (Rick et al. 1998). Long-distance transport (at least 10 to 20 km) of large stones over exceedingly rough terrain was achieved, as exemplified by the granite steps of the Middendorf Staircase, with its fragile, highly elongated stone beams weighing in the range of 1 to 2 metric tons. Quartzite rocks as large as 15 metric tons were procured, modified, and moved regularly, albeit, in all probability, on a more local basis: the largest boulders of the Plaza Mayor foundation layer are in this weight range. Stone color symmetrical dualities were incorporated in Chavín architecture by the later building stages. Still larger-scale projects, including building stable fills and moving river courses, were within the grasp of Chavín planning and execution. It is likely that these technical abilities increased over time at Chavín, since some of these features are found only in later construction, and it may be that the overall architectural design at Chavín changed significantly over time. I argue, however, that over the likely 500- to 1000-year period of monumental construction there are notable continuities in the basic concepts of what constitutes ceremonial construction and the techniques used to achieve it. The roles of staircases and (probably) plazas, the incorporation of galleries, and the use of massive stone ceilings all seem to have significant time durability, and even the clay-aggregate mixtures used in fills seem to be prepared to a constant formula over time.

The fact that previous structures were well-integrated into later constructions makes clear that continuity was of major importance. The effort to maintain continued access to the Lanzón and its space implies that the context and objects of the past had value over an extensive time span. The investment in the construction and adornment of the Circular Plaza and its atrium, clearly within the context of earlier buildings, helps confirm this time-transgressive linking. The Lanzón itself may be the strongest evidence for continuity in iconic information over time, but I suspect that additional evidence will be found—or is already in hand, but undatable—for continued use of image and symbolic content at Chavín. These factors argue for the continuity of a complex of engineering and symbolic knowledge, presumably on the part of a similarly continuous descendancy of a core elite who designed, underwrote, executed, and maintained the materialization of what Chavín should be. From the evidence at hand it seems probable that there was a group of priests, architects, and engineers—groups of individuals who may have embodied one or more of these roles—who over time carried this project forward. Thus it makes sense to think of Chavín as an evolving effort of a powerful group with a core strategy that may have itself evolved and certainly was in substantial interaction with parallel social entities scattered across the Andes in other ritual centers (Kembel and Rick 2004). The size and labor involved in the construction, on top of the design continuity and engineering competence, assure us that significant quantities of labor and organization were put together: Chavín would have required that some individuals hold power over others to obtain the resources and direct the project's realization. While this may seem obvious, it is less clear how strong that power was and under what authority it was held.

Given the temporal placement of Chavín probably in the later Initial Period and surely during a good part of the Early Horizon, it would be foolish at this point to look to Chavín for the beginnings of power and authority in the Andes. The long-known and ever-growing evidence for late Preceramic complexity (e.g., Quilter 1991; Shady and Leyva 2003) tells us that large local groups, substantial building projects, and presumably initial forms of authority had been underway for some time. Yet during the lengthy span of growth and ritual activity at Chavín, we can suspect that further developments occurred, especially when we look at the evidence indicating that so many elements that Chavín (and some other contempo-

raneous centers) developed are foundational to later Andean societies. But what sort of authority was held at Chavín, and what was its strategy? I believe the fundamental answers to those questions can be found in the site's design and content.

To understand the nature of Chavín authority, we need to know the reasons behind the elaborate construction and ritual activity at Chavín. One simple answer is that this was the result of a devotional system, in which the societies' individuals were deeply committed to and willing to invest resources in a temple center because of their intrinsic adherence to the religious concepts on which the system rested. Was there a devout priesthood at Chavín leading a flock of devoted followers who were eager for someone to coordinate their efforts in producing monuments thought efficacious in supplicating greater powers? I argue this is clearly insufficient to explain the nature of the site.

First, it does not explain the evidence for extensive interaction among the centers of this time period. Evidence from Chavín clearly shows—for example, in the *Strombus* trumpets—the well-known phenomenon of Early Horizon long-distance interaction. There seems to have been a substantial supply line, especially to and from the north, that could provide large numbers of bulky and presumably valuable objects. The diversity of decoration on the *Strombus* shells—most of which we think was not applied at Chavín itself, given the styles depicted (Van Valkenburgh 2003)—suggests that the *Strombi* may have been obtained from a variety of sources. Yet commonalities in their final modifications and treatment suggest that Chavín may have "claimed" them after they arrived. The evidence of interaction and the concentration of labor investment in ceremonial centers throughout much of the central Andean coast and sierra argue for a sphere of interaction that must have involved a substantial role for the centers, a role that would have given them access to resources from some distance (Kembel and Rick 2004). The consultation of oracles may have been involved in this, but such a belief system—equivalent to that of Pachacamac, for instance—had not been established. Although both were massive centers, I am not aware of evidence for Pachacamac having Chavín's panoply of media effects; in fact, Conquest period Spanish reports suggest a rather dismal shrine at Pachacamac, lacking investment in the convincing mechanisms seen at Chavín.

But the interaction and exchange that Chavín engaged in was far from just a simple trade system. It is probable that the outsiders wanted to emulate precocious Chavín authority by obtaining the material and information output of Chavín and other centers, while Chavín sought to reinforce its priestly status and role by obtaining exotic and high-investment foreign objects. Initiates traveling to Chavín to obtain symbols and knowledge that would demonstrate their exclusive status, and perhaps receiving or transmitting oracular information, would have reinforced the position of those in priestly authority in their own distant localities. But reinforcement is necessary at two levels; those who are seeking a basis for their own authority are trying to convince their own followers and are equally in need of being convinced that the system they choose to ally with is valid and their best option within a field of alternatives. Here again, Chavín is hardly alone. This undoubtedly created multiple competitions: competition among those who might be in a position to claim Chavín-related status in a local society, among those gaining such rank in adjacent local societies, most certainly among those Chavín-like centers seeking followers, and perhaps even among those who would lead Chavín itself. Two important conditions likely existed in such a situation. First, the centers had to benefit from the inclusion of outsiders in their cult, as alluded to above; and second, the competition among centers would almost certainly lead to the growth of the centers over time as well as to characteristics that would be particularly effective in convincing potential inductees. But let me be clear: I believe that the interaction pattern of this period was a reflection of competition and aspiration to status, as well as, perhaps, an expression of the glory of the religious belief itself. Still, there remains a very active question of just who was involved in the competition and interaction—a question that brings issues of Chavín chronology into sharp focus. The timing of Chavín's growth

that Kembel and I espouse would make a great many coastal centers at least partially contemporaneous with Chavín, while Burger's later chronological positioning of Chavín (chapter 3, this volume) would diminish the size, membership, and duration of this greater interaction sphere. This situation requires resolution, steps toward which are currently being taken by a dating project directed by Kembel.

The second major aspect of the site that tells us about the nature of authority has been a theme of this article: the evidence for extensive efforts to create an ambience in which local authority could be convincingly displayed and made self-evident. The combination of effects we can document for Chavín—noise production in the form of water-generated sounds and loud *Strombus* trumpets, apparent manipulation of reflected light into galleries, and the evidence for use of psychoactive drugs (Burger 1992a; Cordy-Collins 1977; Rick 2006; Torres, chapter 9, this volume)—would have been particularly strong within the highly controlled and visually bounded settings of U-shaped temples and galleries. I argue elsewhere (Rick 2006) that the very nature of the architecture of Chavín—with its sunken plazas and towering buildings—cut off much of the view of the outside world, and the decidedly divorced underground world of the galleries was aimed at creating a "place apart," where normal experience would be suspended, perhaps in an emulation of shamanistic other-world experience. These features could be a way of promoting Chavín as a decidedly sacred place in order to increase devotional dedication on the part of those experiencing the site. Two factors qualify this devotional aspect, however. One is that the apparently fearsome aspects of the ambience—darkness, fierce images, loud noise, enclosing architecture, and harsh light—seem more likely to lead to distancing rather than to adherence to a cult based on adoration. The second factor is that the apparent inner sanctums, such as the Circular Plaza and galleries, are not likely to have included many individuals in any given event, thus ruling out these features as a means of fostering a broad devotional support base. The ambience-setting features seem instead to signify that those providing the services of the center and those using the center were equally concerned with their own status, but not as secure authorities wielding power over long distances. The "media effects" of Chavín seem designed to convince outsiders or cult initiates of the veracity of the belief system, and to reinforce the position of the priests in Chavín as authorities in relation to the belief system and its great powers.

The third aspect of Chavín that I wish to focus on partially answers this question about the nature of authority at the site. Confirming our evidence of the participants in processions, much of the imagery of Chavín art is clearly humanoid in character. While these figures may be described as anthropomorphized creatures/deities, their characteristics argue more strongly for costumed and "accessorized" humans. Although some central figures on singular obelisks/columns—such as the Lanzón, the Raimondi stela, the Tello obelisk, and perhaps the columns of the Black and White Portal—are *possibly* deities, these figures are easily matched in number by clear depictions of humans, costumed or otherwise. The portrayal of humans with fierce animal characteristics might be a demonstration of the incorporation of natural powers into humans, or basically naturalizing the idea of the intrinsic difference between humans of greater and lesser access to supernatural authority. The tenon heads of Chavín may likewise be making an argument for the transformability of those in the cult, perhaps derived from shamanism, as noted by Burger (1992a) and Cordy-Collins (1976). The rituals envisioned for Chavín in the form of processions or orchestrated events in closed spaces would give a prominent and sometimes highly visible role to the high-ranking members of the cult. The evidence, as I read it, emphasizes the role of artifice, if not downright deception, in convincing initiates or others about the validity of both the cult and the innate supernatural connectedness of those orchestrating ritual at Chavín. I doubt that the priesthood at Chavín made direct claims of deity status, but they went to great efforts to create the setting, actions, and appearances that would argue for their intrinsic relationship to greater powers and their access to the alternate worlds in which they dwelt. I suspect that the attraction of Chavín

and the other great cult centers of this time for outsiders was as much the possibility of gaining this relationship and access, or at least the appearance of it, as it was the satisfaction of devotional religious motives.

Thus the expansion of Chavín's monument, the impressive array of phenomena employed at Chavín in ritual activity, and the very creation of the elaborate architectural settings within the site (the galleries and cut-stone plazas) all make sense within this type of a system. That is to say, emerging cult-connected authorities were seeking to establish their position and power, albeit within the context of a religious cult. If incorporation of the material, behavior, and concepts of such a system helped confer the ability to make increasingly self-serving claims on the labor and resources of others, it would be consistent to dedicate some of this potential income to gaining, and retaining, membership in that system. From the Chavín side, the investment in the physical plant, materials, and rites would be worthwhile and self-serving if they generated income either by increasing the numbers of paying initiates or by having initiates under continuing obligation to contribute to the central system. Over time, the former would have become inefficient or ineffective, because increasing the number of initiates implies an increasing area of support, eventually implying increased transport costs and competition for followers with other monumental centers. For competition to be effective between the different centers and their extended cults, they must be separable in their symbols and behaviors, but yet these must be mutually intelligible, sharing core commonalities that should be expressed in similarities of form and function in objects, actions, and architecture. Obviously, this describes well what we see in the Initial and Early Horizon Periods of the central Andes (Kembel and Rick 2004).

Maintaining long-term commitment from the initiates makes excellent sense. It not only keeps contributions coming in, but helps prevent initiates from becoming providers themselves. Thus, if the system of meanings upon which the cult operates incorporates the concept of progressive "advancement" or other long-term dedication to the center, it assures longitudinal contributions. Oracular consultation would make good sense for the same reason: there would be continuing reasons for visiting the center, assuming an ongoing need for predictive information. Again, the implications fit the known situation: the center should have a complex of rituals and perhaps facilities useful for the continued instruction of inductees, and the inductees should have a variety of signifiers of their continued and advancing connection with the system. In the case of Chavín, the multiplicity of gallery systems may not only have had different ages and functions, but also may potentially have been a series of locations for different rituals, perhaps performed at different stages of advancement into the cult.

CONCLUSION

This scenario describes speculative steps in the development of the cult of Chavín; at the same time it also describes steps toward the growth of inequality and an increasing ability to build the credibility of emerging authorities that would have favored self-serving activity at the expense of system-serving, to use the concepts of Flannery (1972). In the discussion above there is little that could be described as system-serving, and thus little reason why the local population would support these developments. Participation in events/rituals that reinforce associated beliefs and lead to devotional attachment, respect, or fear may have played a role in the formation of a local support base for monuments like Chavín, especially at the outset. Ultimately, the creation of an accepting mindset is the outcome, in a population not only accustomed to authority but expecting it as part of their religious and political world. A range of specific transitions, mechanisms, and justifications must have been involved in such a long-term change away from an antecedent, presumably system-serving condition. One such system-serving role that has been widely discussed for Chavín is shamanism. Psychoactive drug use and shamanistic transitions seem to be represented in art and paraphernalia at Chavín and elsewhere (Burger 1992a; Cordy-Collins 1977; Sharon 2001). If classic shamanism

was at the root of Chavín's development, it would imply that system-serving individuals were interacting with natural or other-world forces in gaining information about, and solving, diverse societal problems. Chavín seen in this light would be a monument in which medical, social, or other problems were resolved, perhaps in front of the local population. The levels of effort in planning, construction, and decoration in the monumental center; the range of themes found in the depictive art of Chavín; and the nature of the objects themselves as described above, all give little credence to such a standard shamanistic pattern, but some of the behavioral and material links seem strong. This seems to be a candidate for what has been termed a *perversion* in cultural evolution (Flannery 1972), in which an existing aspect of an early system, long-accepted, is altered by a later system, usually toward increasingly self-serving ends. The widespread concept of a shaman's *access* to supernatural power, in part through identity transformation and other-world contact, could be altered into an argument of *intrinsic identity* with such power. The existence of the greater power, generally seen in natural elements or organisms, seems broadly held; what is required for the transition toward increasing power in specific individuals are linking arguments that would ideally take advantage of credible, already existing connections. In this sense shamanism is a natural platform for these arguments; but it is the manipulation of its concepts that might have helped build authority in Chavín. The argument of natural power invested in humans, and the relatively restricted access to the locales, actions, and materials through which this power was gained (and probably conferred) seem to characterize Chavín itself. As I have argued above, the arrival at, and procession into, the monument center in a highly visible, perhaps costumed form, carrying and playing objects of supernatural connection, and perhaps transitioning through a series of increasingly restricted architectural levels seems to be foremost in Chavín ritual portrayal. I suggest that this vision is coherent with fundamental concepts of power, transformation, and transition found in shamanism, but represents an evolved version that takes advantage of and extends the credibilities of this traditional system.

The purpose behind the development of Chavín—the energy expended in its construction, the expertise developed in order to plan and coordinate this long-term, coherent project, and the nature of both architecture and icons—seems to have been to create an imposing, competitive, undeniable, and naturalized world that would give credibility to the power of an emerging authority structure. Can the concepts that surround the corresponding evolving beliefs be called religious? If religion is the means by which people communicate, act out, and reproduce fundamental beliefs about the way the human-centered world should work, then probably the activities at Chavín can be seen as religious. The specifics of how these beliefs evolved need further exploration. Yet, at this stage in this evolution, the usually conservative, behavior-reproducing force of religion is apparently less important than the potential for religion to alter such beliefs. In other words, religion has adopted a radical position as transformer of the way things have been. This sense of political transformation can be balanced against the strong evidence we have found for continuity in the principles of organization and construction over many hundreds of years. Sites like Chavín, with their design to play a lead role in this transition, carry the seeds of understanding how and why humans chose to build a new edifice of sociopolitical relations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The long duration of our fieldwork in Peru has created too many debts to easily recognize here, but I would like to thank particularly my Stanford doctoral colleagues Daniel Contreras, Silvia Kembel, Christian Mesia, and John Wolf for all their patience and help; Bill Conklin for the determination to see this work through to publication, and Peruvian colleagues and the National Institute of Culture for their generosity and willingness to permit a foreigner to conduct research at such a recognized site and national treasure as Chavín de Huántar.

2.

The Architecture at the Monumental Center of Chavín de Huántar: Sequence, Transformations, and Chronology

Silvia Rodriguez Kembel

While the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar has been central to archaeologists' study of early complex societies in the Andes, understanding of its place and role in Andean prehistory has changed substantially over the years and continues to do so. Originally expounded as the "Mother Culture" of Andean civilization by Tello (1943, 1960), Chavín de Huántar was viewed as the origin from which widespread similarities in art, ceramics, and architecture had spread in a "Chavín horizon." Subsequent work, however, demonstrated that Chavín de Huántar was preceded by a long sequence of Preceramic and Initial Period coastal and highland monumental centers, many of which incorporated the art and architectural features that Tello proposed to have originated at Chavín de Huántar (see Moseley 1985). Following research that provided substantial insight into the site's ceremonial nature (Lumbreras and Amat 1965–1966; Lumbreras 1977), Chavín de Huántar was then postulated not only to have appeared late in this sequence of centers, with construction beginning around 800 B.C., but to have reached its peak in regional influence only after coastal centers containing art and architectural forms similar to those at Chavín de Huántar had declined by the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. (Burger 1981). The broadly used term "Chavín horizon" was delimited to describe the period in which an integrated exchange system, Janabarriu-related ceramic traits, and technological innovations in metallurgy and textiles became widespread across the Andes, between 490 and 200 B.C. The Chavín horizon was proposed to have corresponded with the peak of monumental construction at Chavín de Huántar as well as the peak in influence of a "Chavín cult" based at the site (Burger 1988, 1992a, 1993a). This cumulative framework formed the initial background in the mid-1990s for the beginning of a multiyear, ongoing collaborative research effort at Chavín de Huántar, some results of which are presented here and in Rick, this volume, chapter 1.

At the core of this long series of investigations is the architecture of Chavín de Huántar itself, because interpretations of the site's material culture sequences and chronology have been fundamentally based on the relationships of these sequences to the site's architecture, in particular the three-phase construction sequence proposed by Rowe (1967a:Fig. 2). Citing construction seams evident in external walls at the

site, Rowe proposed an original U-shaped "Old Temple," followed by construction of two additions to form a second, larger U-shaped "New Temple" to the south and east. In addition to being widely adopted as the standard model presented in works on Andean prehistory (Lumbreras 1974:60; Moseley 1992:155; Moore 1996: 51–52; Isbell 1976:289), general archaeology (Renfrew and Bahn 1991:360–361), and art history (Kubler 1975a: 254; Stone-Miller 1995:39), Rowe's sequence created a foundation upon which were built links between Chavín de Huántar's architecture and its art sequence (Rowe 1962, 1967a), ceramic sequences (Burger 1981, 1984; Lumbreras 1977, 1989), occupation patterns (Burger 1984), and radiocarbon dates (Burger 1981, 1984, 1992a; Lumbreras 1989, 1993). The resulting studies have shaped the recent understanding of Chavín de Huántar, its development, and its relationships with other sites.

The architecture at Chavín de Huántar (figures 2.1 and 2.2), however, contains more chronological evidence than is incorporated into Rowe's sequence. For example, new external construction seam data frame a different picture of the site's growth (Rick et al. 1998). Additionally, at least 35 internal seams mark construction episodes within the site's internal galleries and structures (Kembel 2001); this complex network of passageways, rooms, staircases, ventilation shafts, and drainage canals permeates the site's platform mounds, terraces, and sunken plazas and is here referred to as "internal architecture" (figures 2.3–2.7). Only one of these internal seams is evident externally as well, because the corresponding exterior stonework, in which originally some of the internal seams likely visibly continued, is missing, buried by fill, reconstructed in modern times, or covered by later Chavín or post-Chavín constructions. In addition to seams, the architecture at Chavín de Huántar contains other chronological clues and features that provide insight into the site's architectural history. These include the galleries' spatial loca-

Figure 2.1. The monumental center at Chavín de Huántar. *Photo: John Kembel.*

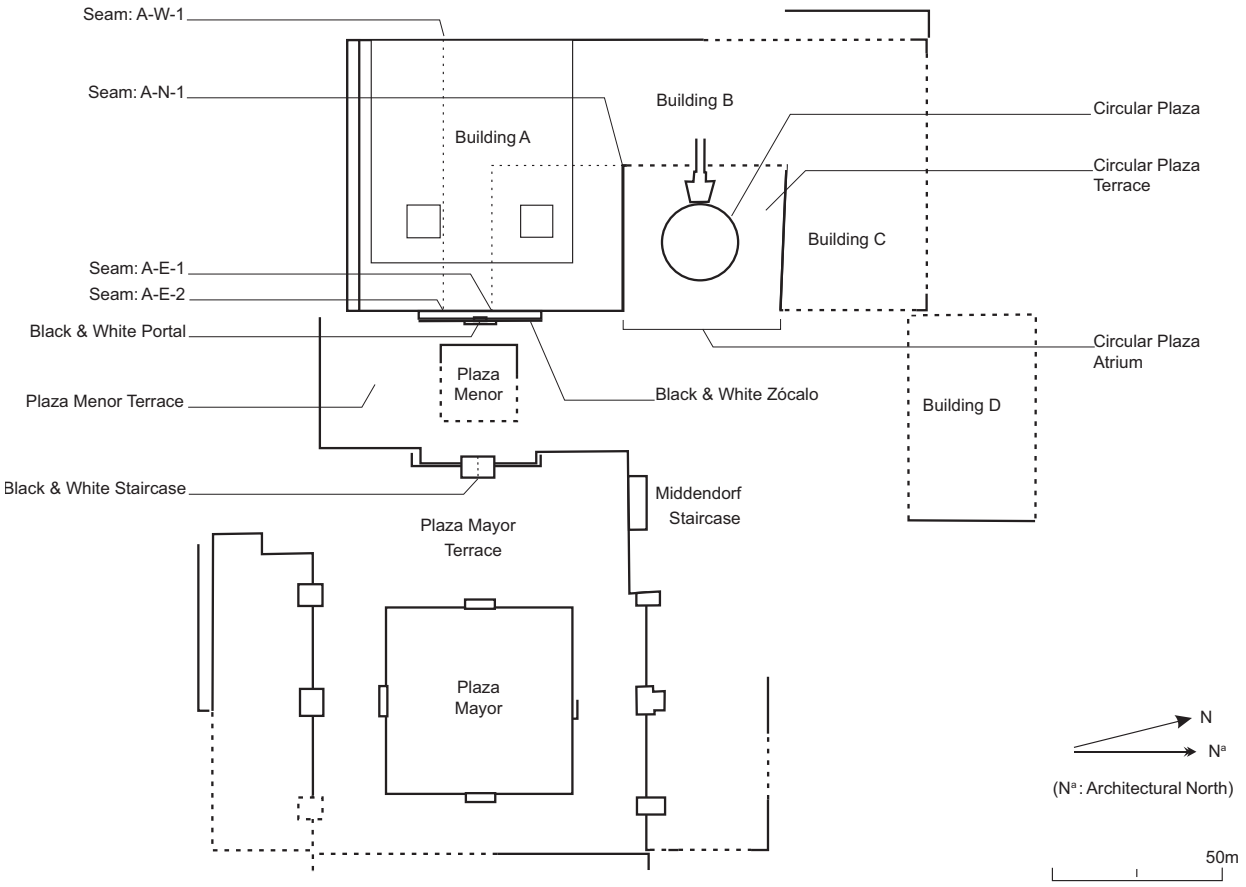


Figure 2.2. Map of external architecture at the monumental center of Chavín de Huántar. *Redrawn from Rick et al. 1998:Fig. 5.*

tions and spatial relationships with one another; stonework characteristics, coursing patterns, and construction patterns both externally and internally; evidence of modification; evidence of both vertical and horizontal growth; and organizational construction principles that incorporate the site as a whole. This wealth of chronological data embedded within both the internal and external architecture at Chavín de Huántar was not integrated into Rowe's architectural sequence or scholars' subsequent research that built upon it, and thus clearly warranted a new analysis of Chavín de Huántar's architectural sequence and its relationships with the site's art, ceramic, radiocarbon, and occupation sequences.

A new analysis of Chavín de Huántar's architectural chronology evidence is summarized here and presented fully in Kembel 2001. The discussion below reviews the resulting new architectural sequence as well as architectural principles and construction patterns that guided the site's growth. It then addresses some of the transformations within this sequence, including the incorporation of antecedent architectural forms, changes in site use over time, and the sequence's implications for understanding the design of architectural meaning by the site's builders. Finally, it examines the relationships between the new architectural sequence and Chavín de Huántar's radiocarbon, art, ceramic, and occupation sequences. The results depart considerably from earlier perspectives on how and when the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar was constructed, and hold significant implications for understanding Chavín de Huántar's place and role in formative Andean social development.

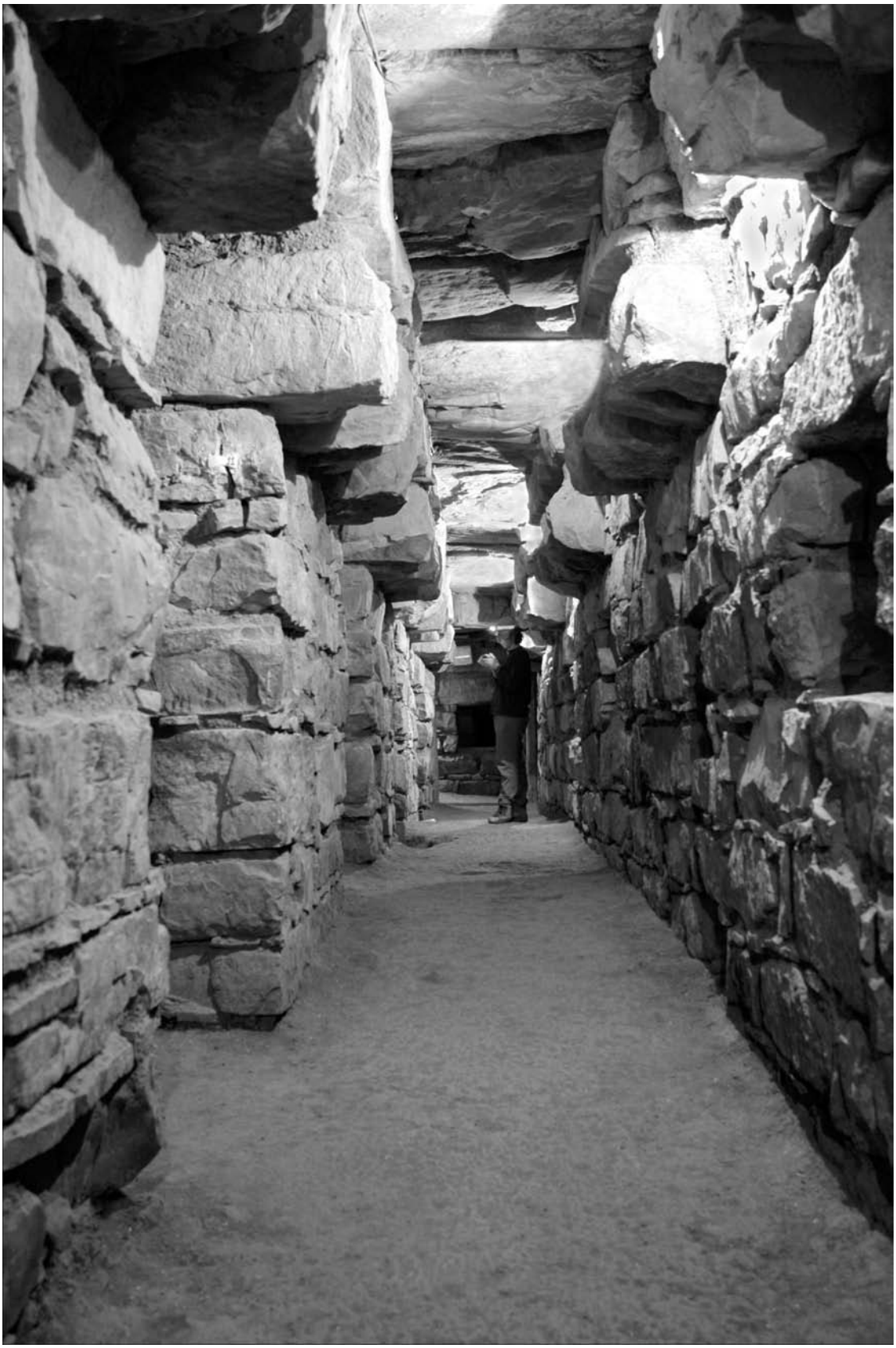


Figure 2.3. Chavín de Huántar's internal architecture: a hallway in the Doble Ménsula Gallery. *Photo: John Kembel.*

Figure 2.4. Chavín de Huántar's internal architecture: in the Lanzón Gallery, a hallway with construction seams. Seam Lan-E-3 is visible in the foreground; Seam Lan-E-2 is visible in the midground; Seam Lan-E-1 is at the gate. The Lanzón monolith is behind the gate. *Photo: John Kembel.*

Figure 2.6. Chavín de Huántar's internal architecture: staircase within the Doble Ménsula Gallery, with two ventilation shafts. A construction seam is present between the staircase and the end of the hallway. *Photo: Carlos Rodriguez.*

Figure 2.5. In the Lanzón Gallery, detail of Seam Lan-E-3, showing white plaster that marks the formerly exterior wall surface of the Lanzón Patio. *Photo: John Kembel.*

Figure 2.7. Chavín de Huántar's internal architecture: a room in the Laberintos Gallery. Note the pegs integrated within the ménsula course. The tenon heads were temporarily placed in this room for storage. *Photo: Carlos Rodriguez.*

MAPPING AND ANALYZING CHAVÍN ARCHITECTURE IN THREE-DIMENSIONS

The abundance of chronological evidence in Chavín de Huántar's architecture and the spatial complexity of its construction, internally as well as externally, required new methods of architectural documentation and analysis. To address this need, my research team and I developed a new laser-based methodology for collecting three-dimensional data in internal spaces, in collaboration with John Rick as part of Stanford University–based digital mapping and excavation work (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1) at the site. In 1996 and 1998 we gathered approximately 20,000 three-dimensional points and 3000 databased photographs documenting the 26 then-accessible galleries at Chavín de Huántar, related vents and drains, internal and external seams, and other important external architectural features (see Kembel 2001). The result is a highly precise data set that establishes the form and absolute spatial position of each gallery and important chronological features within the site (figures 2.8 and 2.9).

To determine Chavín de Huántar's construction sequence, these points, as well as additional external points collected by Rick (see Rick et al. 1998), were systematically analyzed within a CAD (computer-aided design) model of the site's internal and external architecture. In order to identify and sequence individual construction phases, analysis involved four major steps: determining the number and sequence of construction episodes within each gallery; analyzing how the galleries and their construction episodes spatially relate to each other; examining how the galleries spatially relate to external seams and other chronological

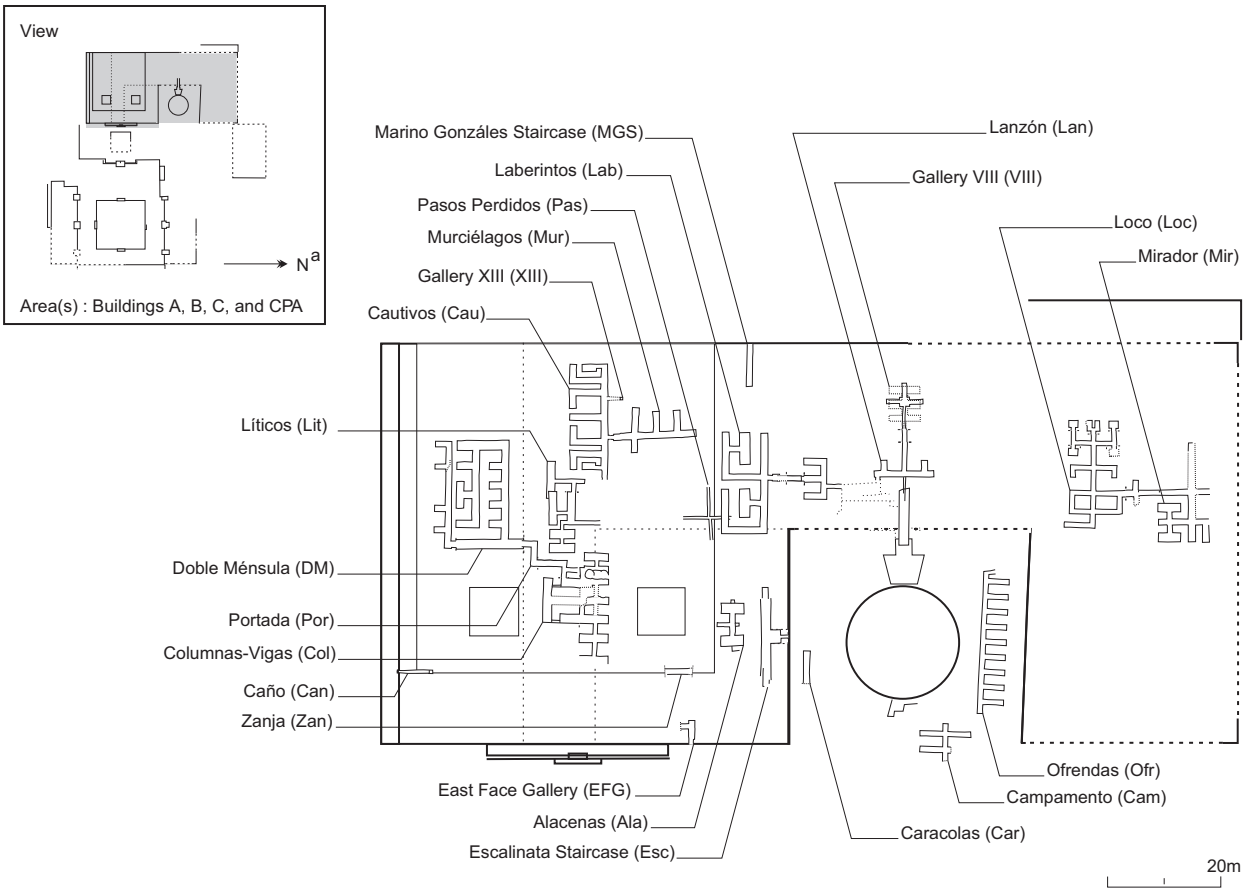


Figure 2.8. Map of gallery locations in Buildings A, B, C, and the Circular Plaza Atrium. *Here and in figures that follow, galleries are drawn directly from three-dimensional data. Gallery VIII is redrawn from Tello (1960). External architecture is based on three-dimensional data, including data collected by Rick. Abbreviations following gallery names are used in figures that follow.*

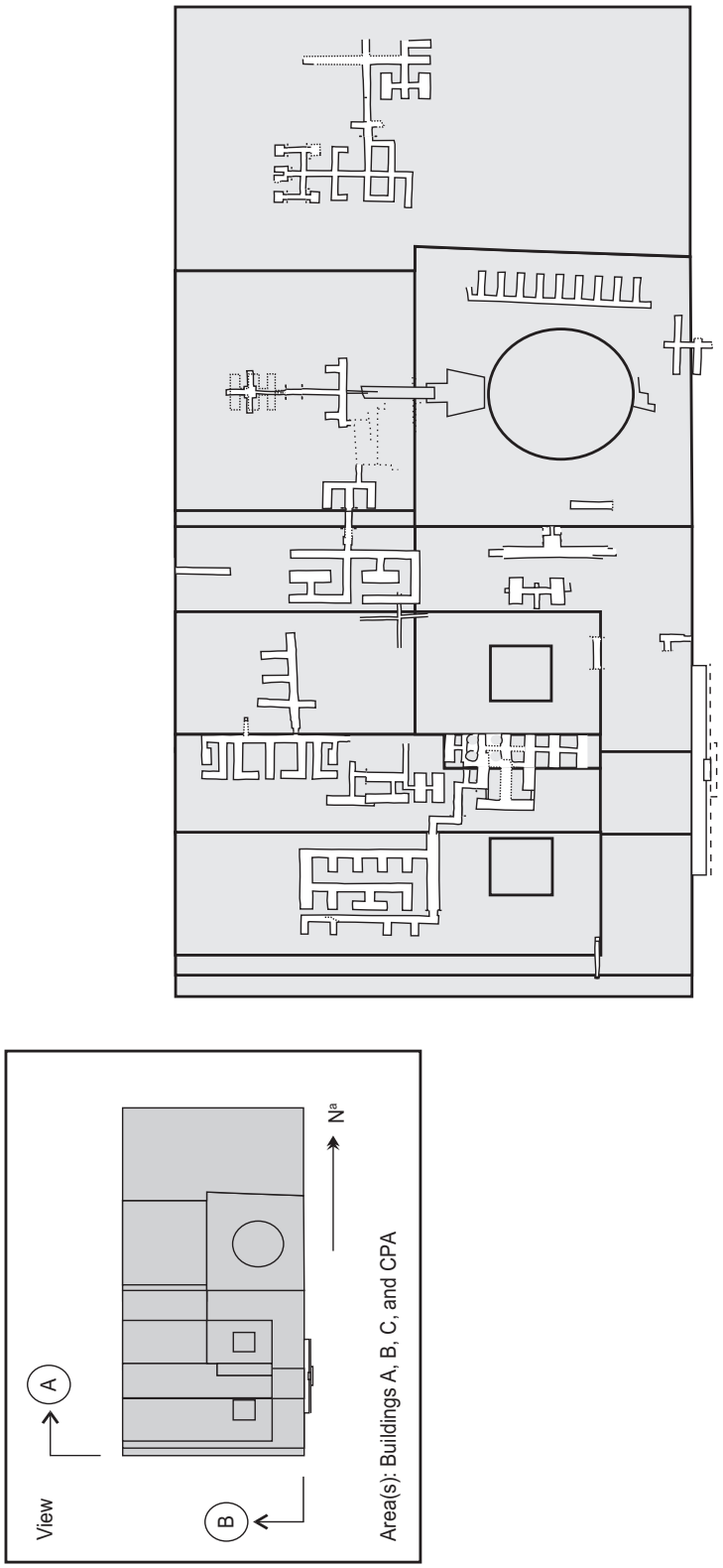


Figure 2.9. Map of gallery locations in Buildings A, B, C, and the Circular Plaza Atrium, in plan and architectural north (A) and west (B) profile views. All documented galleries are visible. *Galleries are drawn directly from three-dimensional data. External architecture is based on three-dimensional data, including data collected by Rick.*

features; and analyzing these relationships at a site-wide level. Most of these analyses are possible exclusively via the computer model. This methodology enabled a systematic and precise analysis of this large, complex data set on the site's architecture (see Kembel 2001 for more details).

These methods for gathering and analyzing spatial data contribute significantly to the study of complex prehistoric architecture. Archaeologists can explore sites on the computer to address questions that previously could not be answered and to pose new questions that previously could not be conceived. Researchers can take conceptual and visual points of view that are impossible in the field, because the model gives archaeologists "X-ray vision" to see through walls into the interior of structures, to examine a site from any angle, and to compare measurements between any points or features. Together with additional CAD models of the external architecture and surrounding area created by Rick, also based directly on detailed digital mapping data, these methods and models enabled us to document, visualize, and analyze the site in new ways. We were also able to apply these models toward other efforts at the site, such as determining the placement of strategic excavations, and using digital documentation of the site to facilitate on-site conservation work. Significant insights result from these methods, as discussed below.

ARCHITECTURAL SEQUENCE, PRINCIPLES, AND CONSTRUCTION PATTERNS

The monumental center at Chavín de Huántar was built in a complex sequence of at least 15 known phases, which incorporate 39 known episodes of gallery construction. These individual phases can be grouped as five higher-level stages according to site-wide patterns (figure 2.10; plate 2.1). The earliest stage, the Separate Mound Stage (figure 2.11), consists of separate buildings con-

CHAVIN DE HUANTAR CONSTRUCTION STAGES	CHAVIN DE HUANTAR CONSTRUCTION PHASES GROUPED BY AREA, WITH GALLERIES			
	BUILDING A	BUILDING B AND CIRCULAR PLAZA ATRIUM	BUILDING C	EAST AREA
SUPPORT CONSTRUCTION STAGE	Support construction	Support construction	Support construction	Support construction
BLACK & WHITE STAGE	**Building A Black & White Axis Phase** Galleries: North Columnas-Vigas, North and South Rectangular Structures	**EB-High B-CPA Phase** Galleries: Lower Laberintos, Laberintos Alcove, Lower Pasos Perdidos, Outer Lanzón,VIII, Circular Plaza Staircase, Ofrendas, Campamento, Caracolas		**East Area Black & White Axis Phase** Galleries: Cortada, Bennett "cells"
	High SA Phase Galleries: Upper Doble Ménsula			
CONSOLIDATION STAGE	**High MA Phase** Galleries: Cautivos, Upper Líticos, Upper Portada, South Columnas-Vigas, Columnas Patio		**High Building C Phase** Galleries: South Loco, North Loco and Mirador, Loco Patio	**East Area Pre-Black & White Axis Phase** Galleries: Tello High, Tello Low, Rocas, Escondida
	SA Phase Galleries: Lower Doble Ménsula, Caño, East Face South Staircase, South Face Staircase			
	High NEA Phase Galleries: Alacenas East Entrance			
EXPANSION STAGE	**NWA-High NWA-MA-SA Platform Phase** Galleries: Upper Laberintos, Upper Pasos Perdidos, Marino Gonzáles Staircase, Murciélagos, XIII, Lower Líticos, Lower Portada, East Face North Staircase	**WB-MB Phase** Galleries: Inner Lanzón Chamber, Middle Lanzón, Lanzón Patio	**Low Building C Phase** Galleries: Lower Loco, Rooms of Loco	
SEPARATE MOUND STAGE	**NEA Phase** Galleries: Escalinata, Alacenas, East Face, Zanja	**B Platform-Inner Lanzón Rectangle Phase** Galleries: Inner Lanzón Rectangle		

Figure 2.10. Architectural sequence for the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar, showing construction phases grouped by area, and gallery construction episodes grouped by phase

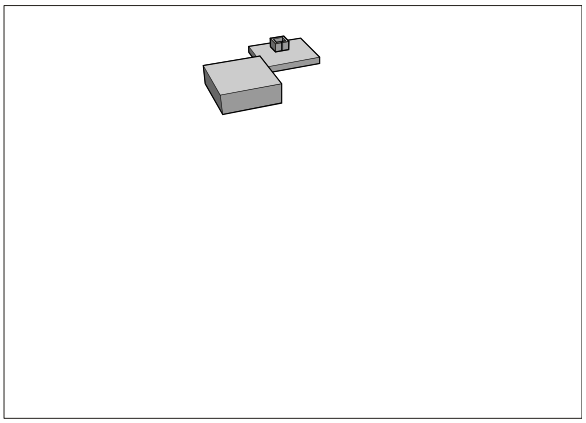


Figure 2.11. Chavín de Huántar construction sequence, Stage 1: Separate Mound Stage

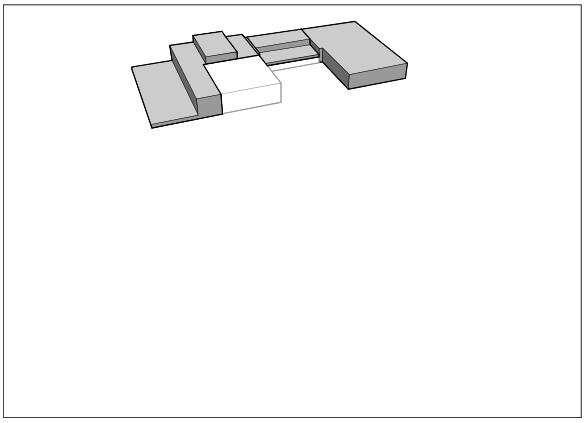


Figure 2.12. Chavín de Huántar construction sequence, Stage 2: Expansion Stage

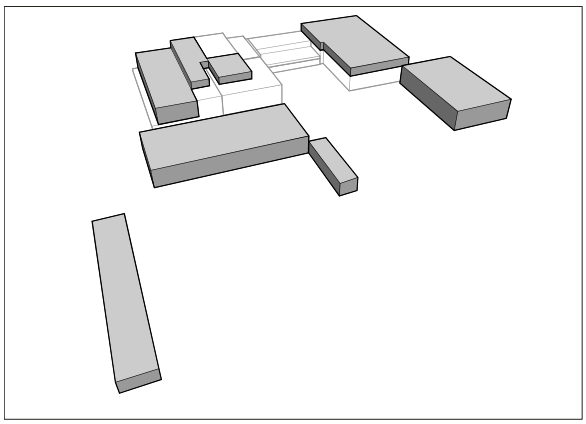


Figure 2.13. Chavín de Huántar construction sequence, Stage 3: Consolidation Stage. The buildings in the East Area (in the foreground in front of Buildings A, B, and C) likely span the first three construction stages (see figure 2.10); they are displayed here, in the latest possible stage for their construction.

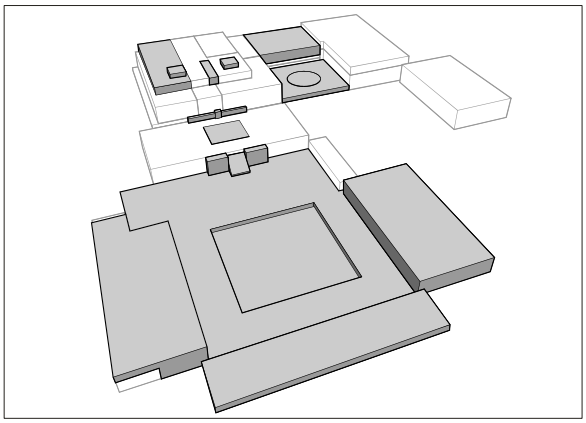


Figure 2.14. Chavín de Huántar construction sequence, Stage 4: Black and White Stage

taining galleries and at least one freestanding rectangular structure. The Expansion Stage follows (figure 2.12), consisting of integrated stepped platforms that cover much volume and area, contain galleries that are elaborate in form and features, extend Building A to its full southward extent, and connect the earlier phases of Buildings A, B, and possibly C, creating a contiguous U-form. The following phases, grouped as the Consolidation Stage (figure 2.13), include block additions that fill in the stepped platform of Building A to become a large rectangular platform, and contain galleries whose forms and features are elaborate but becoming more standardized. In the final monumental stage, the Black and White Stage (figure 2.14), site-wide additions, including plazas, terraces, and open staircases, are built with high levels of symmetry, decorated fine stonework, and standardized galleries. At the same time, gallery patios—uncovered spaces atop temple platforms, with walls on three sides into which one or more galleries open—from earlier stages are enclosed and replaced with new gallery segments. A set of support constructions follows the Black and White Stage in different areas across the site; this stage, called the Support Construction Stage, contains no additional monumental structures. Within this sequence, individual construction phases are named by area rather than chronology. The specific forms and components of these phases, as well as the relationships between them, are described in detail in Kembel 2001.

Within this sequence, each major building is constructed in multiple construction phases. For example, Building A contains seven highly integrated monumental construction phases (see figure 2.15 for an example of spatial relationships within Building A). It begins as a separate mound, the NEA (the northeast corner of Building A; see Rick et al. 1998), transitioning in its second phase to a large set of stepped platforms descending to the south, east, and north into Building B. The platforms are gradually filled in by a set of block additions that includes the Columnas Patio, a gallery patio centered north–south in Building A that in the Black and White Stage is itself enclosed and converted into a gallery.

In contrast, Building B (figure 2.16) contains three monumental phases, beginning as a low platform topped by a freestanding rectangular structure, the Inner Lanzón Rectangle (figure 2.17). During the building's second phase it is converted into a stepped platform (figure 2.18). At this time the Inner Lanzón Rectangle is enclosed and transformed into a gallery, becoming the internal cruciform Inner Lanzón Chamber. This chamber is reached via a gallery patio, the Lanzón Patio, sitting to the east, which also connects with the entrance to another gallery to the south, the Upper Laberintos Gallery. In Building B's third and final monumental phase (figure 2.19), its gallery patio and stepped platform are

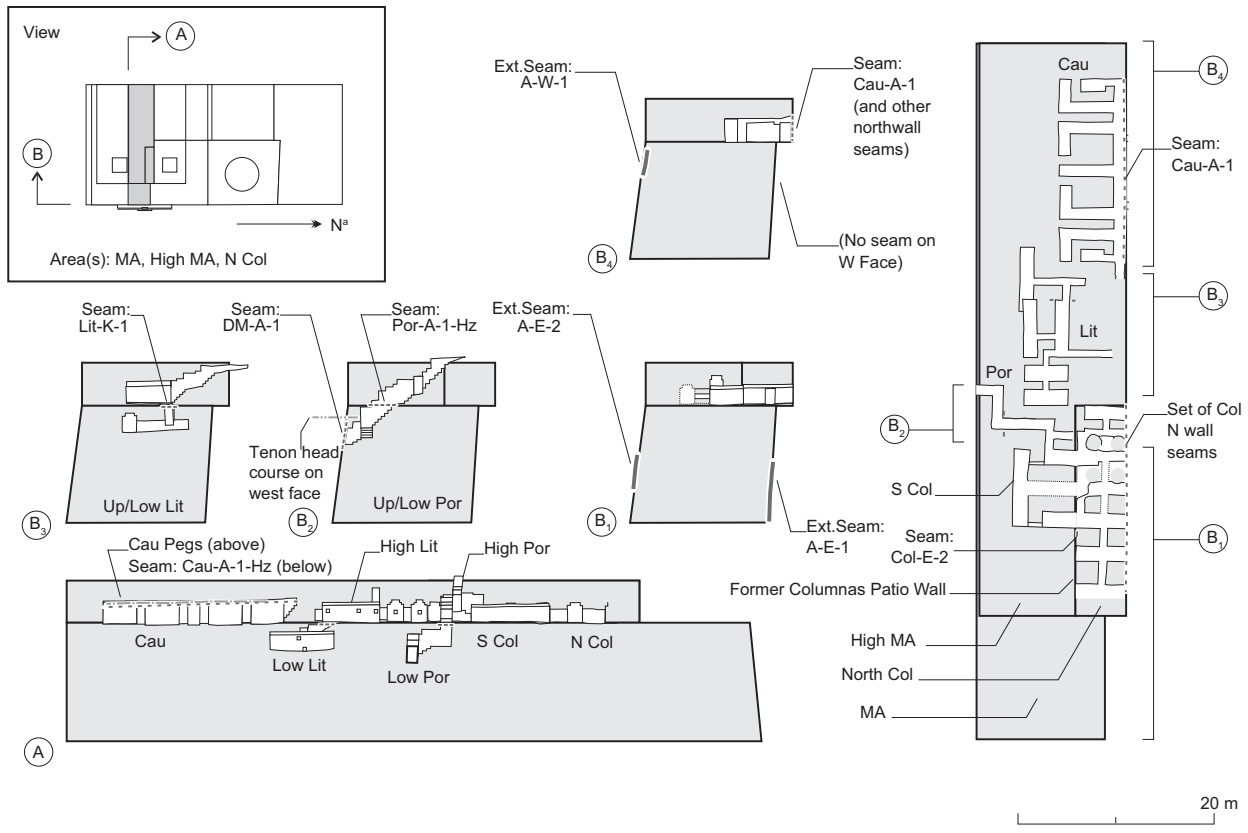


Figure 2.15. Examples of spatial relationships of internal and external architecture within Building A; plan and architectural north (A) and segmented west (B) profile views. This portion of Building A was built in three different construction stages. The lowest portion, the MA, was built during the Expansion Stage. The larger of the two upper portions, the High MA, was built during the Consolidation Stage and included the Columnas Patio. The North-Columnas-Vigas Gallery episode was built during the Black and White Stage, filling in the Columnas Patio. Note how access to earlier galleries was maintained during the addition of later phases by the construction of new gallery episodes. For full details of Building A's construction phases, see Kembel 2001.

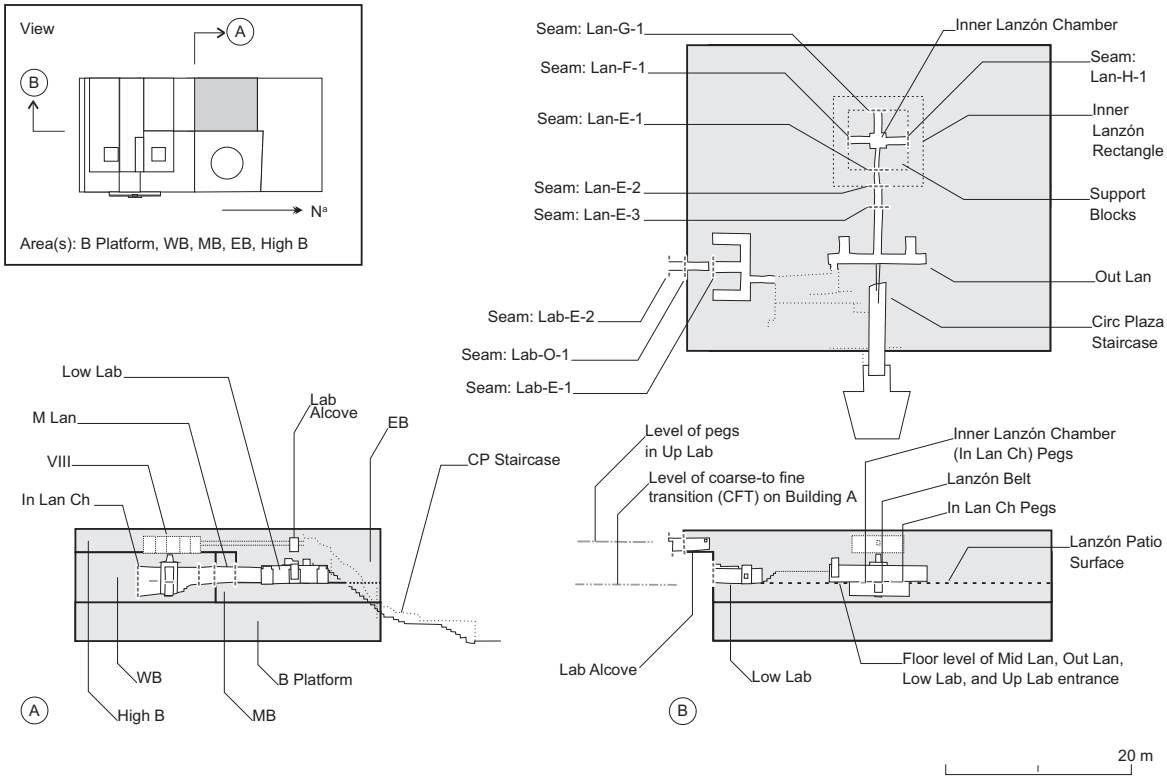


Figure 2.16. Building B: spatial relationships of internal and external architecture; plan and architectural north (A) and west (B) profile views. Circular Plaza Staircase is not shown in view (B). Gallery VIII is not shown in plan view.

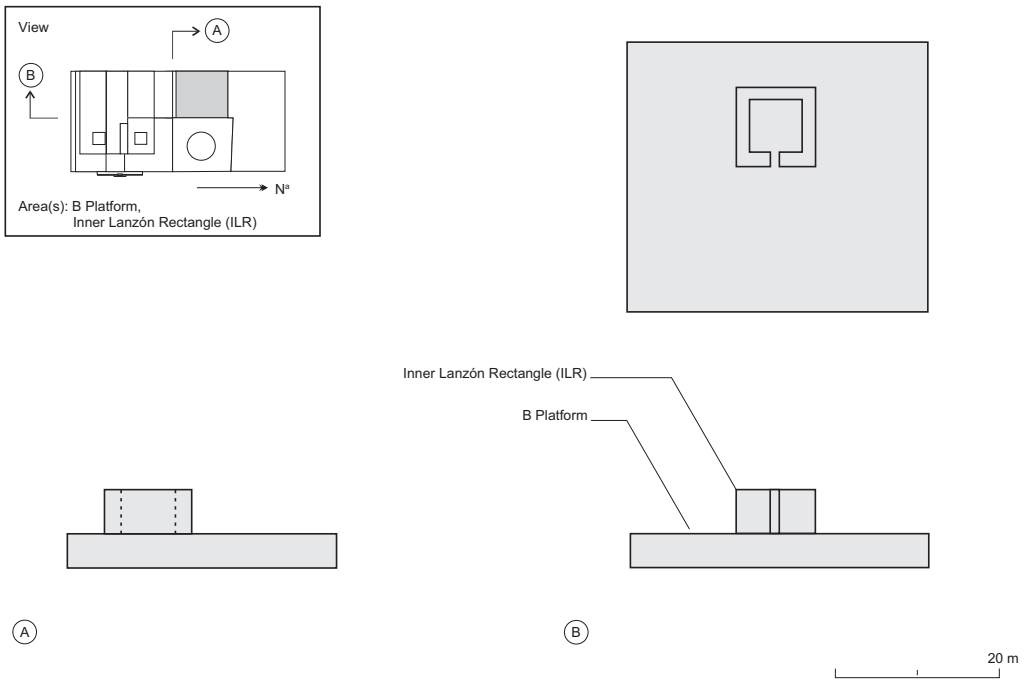


Figure 2.17. Building B Construction Phase 1: B Platform-ILR Phase; plan and architectural north (A) and west (B) profile views.

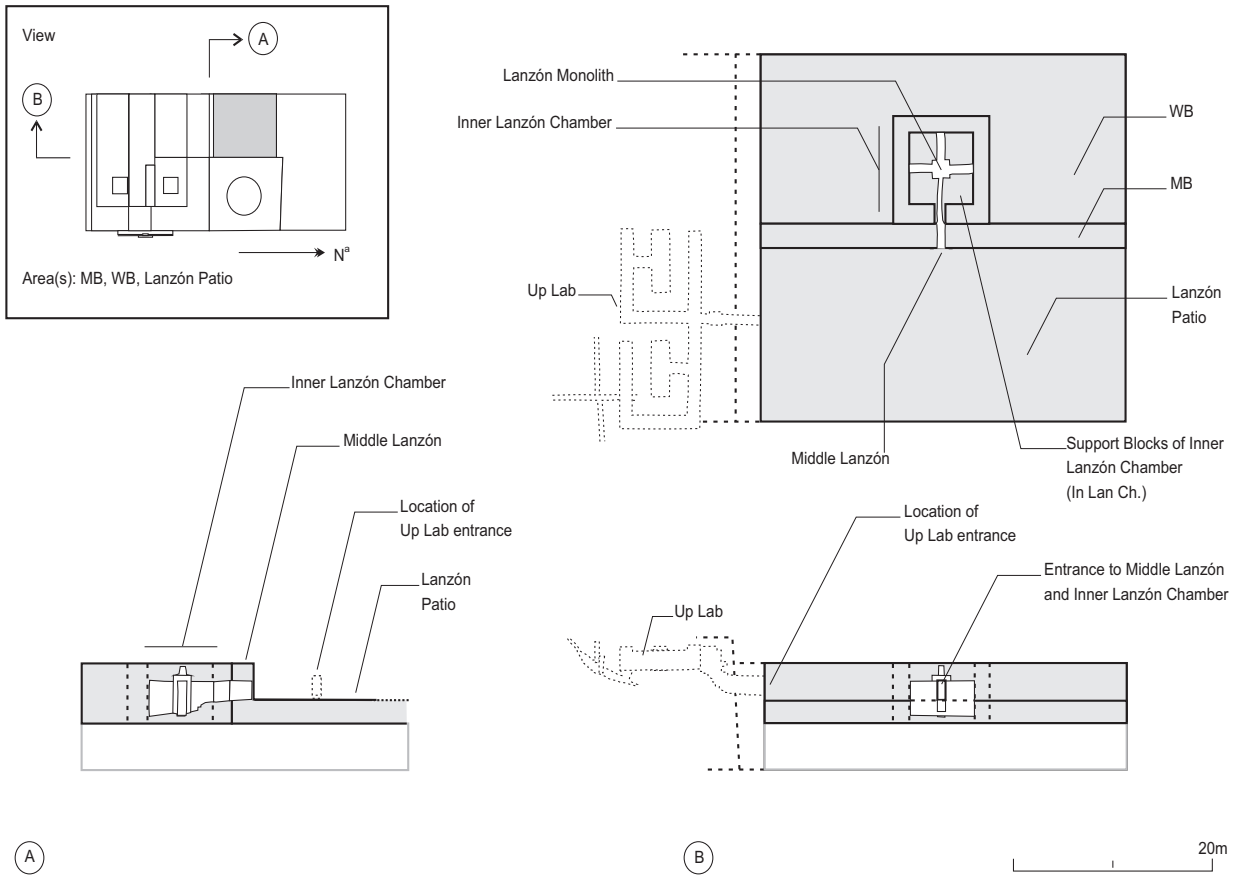


Figure 2.18. Building B Construction Phase 2: WB–MB Phase; plan and architectural north (A**)** and west (B) profile views.

enclosed with the construction of new gallery segments; the height of the building increases, and a centered staircase, the Circular Plaza Staircase, is built, ascending into the east face of the building from the west end of the Circular Plaza. The Circular Plaza Staircase is built together with the Circular Plaza, the surrounding Circular Plaza Terrace, and the galleries within this terrace, including the Ofrendas Gallery; these structures are grouped as the Circular Plaza Atrium Phase and are built at the same time as the third phase of Building B. The Circular Plaza Atrium and the third phase of Building B are thus built and integrated together as one larger construction phase.

To the north of Building B, Building C is constructed in at least two major phases, followed by support constructions; further exploration of the largely buried exterior of this mound may reveal evidence of more construction phases. The East Area—the area to the east of Buildings A, B, C, and the Circular Plaza Atrium—is built in at least two monumental phases, followed by support constructions. Within the East Area, a set of early structures exists as separate mounds, likely spanning the first three stages (see figure 2.10). These structures are included here in the model of the Consolidation Stage (see figure 2.13), as it is the latest possible stage for their construction. Some evidence suggests their construction may have been as early as the Separate Mound Stage, however, and ongoing research promises to provide greater resolution regarding their specific placement within the site's first three stages. Major additions align these buildings with a new axis in the second known phase of the East Area, as part of the Black and White Stage.

A number of primary chronological links exist between contiguous areas and buildings of

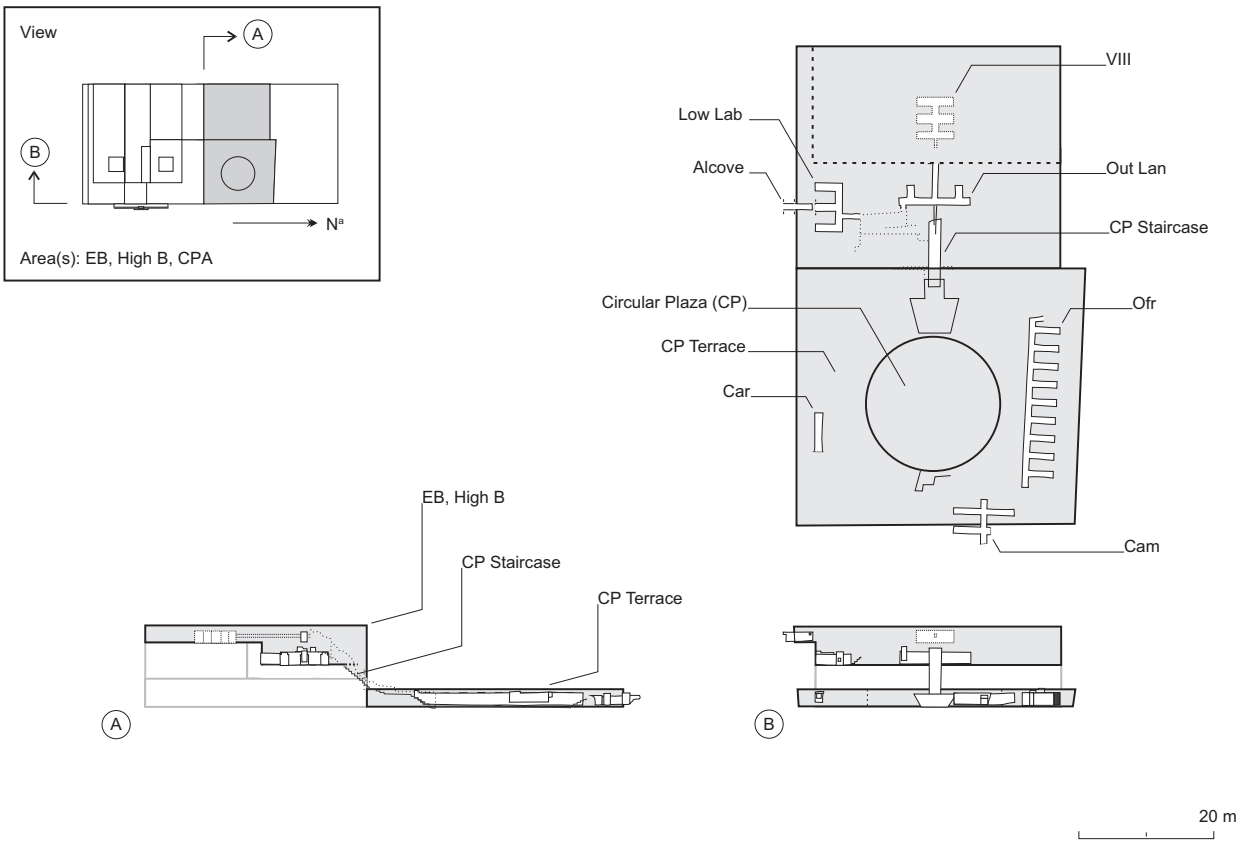


Figure 2.19. Building B Construction Phase 3, with Circular Plaza Atrium: EB–High B–CPA Phase; plan and architectural north (A) and west (B) profile views.

Chavín de Huántar's monumental center. For example, the second phases of Building A and Building B are part of one larger phase that spans and connects the two buildings within the Expansion Stage. Additionally, the Circular Plaza Terrace blocks the early monumental north-facing entrance to the double staircase of the Escalinata Gallery in the NEA (built in the Separate Mound Stage), with the base of the terrace at the level of the NEA's foundation (figure 2.20). Because the Circular Plaza Terrace and the other structures forming the Circular Plaza Atrium were built with the third phase of Building B, these relationships clearly indicate the Circular Plaza Atrium was built well after not only the NEA but also the structures of the Expansion Stage (which include the second phase of Building B), not along with them as part of the "Old Temple."

Another chronological link emerges when changes in the galleries' forms, features (such as niches, vents, and pegs), and construction techniques are considered over time. In the early construction phases the galleries' forms, features, feature placement, and construction techniques are highly variable and frequently elaborate, particularly prior to and during the Expansion Stage. After the Expansion Stage this variability and elaborateness begin to diminish. In the Black and White Stage these characteristics are refined to a simple, standardized set of forms and features constructed in a similar manner. This pattern is here referred to as gallery standardization (figure 2.21).

Standardized galleries take two primary forms, consisting of a single hall with short segments on one or both sides: a hallway with short segments branching off one side, like an "E" or "comb" form, or a hallway with short segments

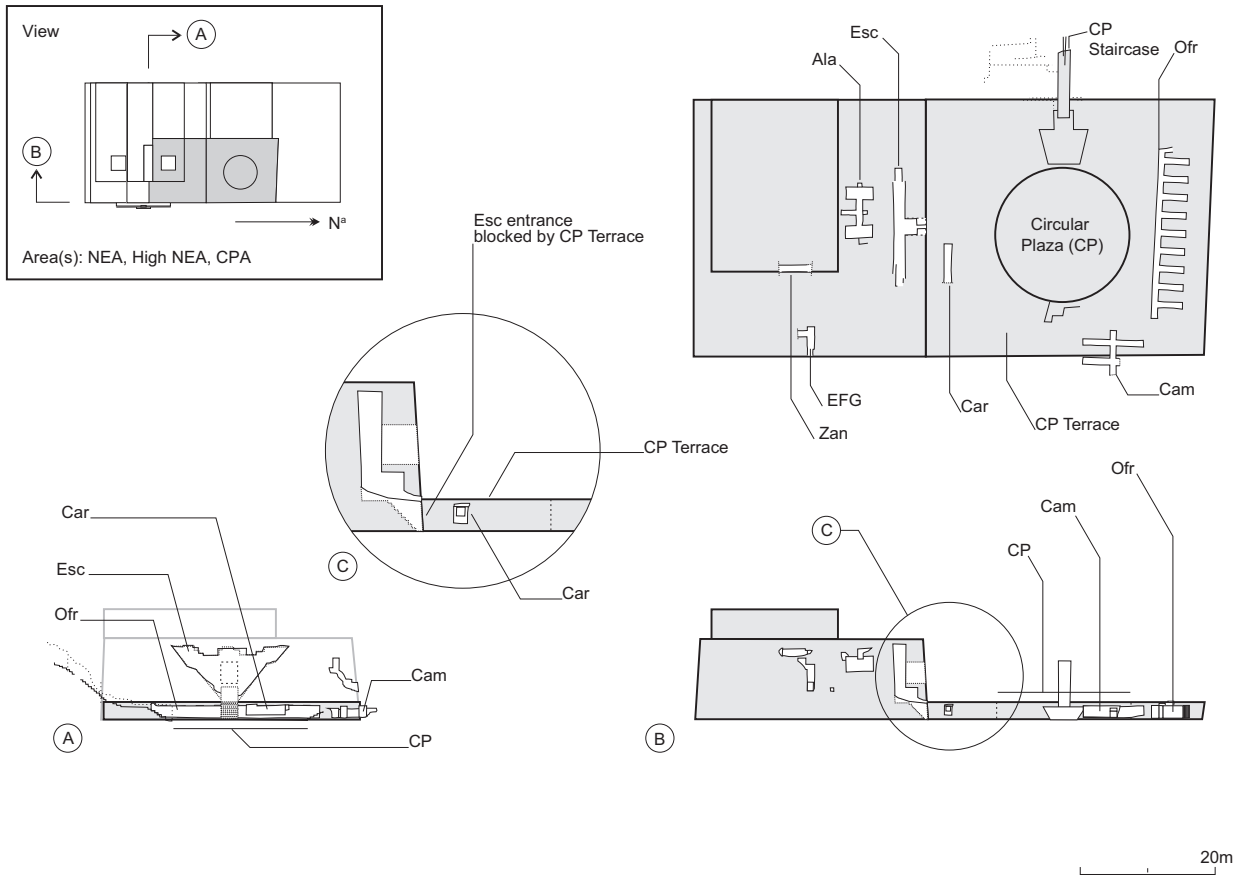


Figure 2.20. The Circular Plaza Terrace and the structures of the Circular Plaza Atrium block the entrance to the Escalinata Gallery (Esc); plan and architectural north (A) and west (B) profile views. The Alacenas Gallery and the Zanja Gallery are not shown in view (A).

branching off both sides, like an "H" form. In both forms the feature set is limited almost exclusively to simple, single vents that directly connect to the exterior. The E-form galleries are oriented such that upon entering the gallery, the segments extend to the left. The H-form galleries appear to be entered from one end, rather than from the middle of the gallery.

The standardized galleries of the Black and White Stage are linked by similar architectural chronology, not necessarily by similar function. For example, the Ofrendas Gallery was filled with offerings in an area of the temple that likely would have seen few visitors—and the form of its entrance suggests it was designed to be sealed (Lumbreras 1993). In contrast, the Outer Lanzón Gallery episode and the Lower Laberintos Gallery episode served as entrance passageways to two primary galleries and likely were frequently visited, not closed or limited to access like the Ofrendas Gallery. This suggests that the similar, standardized E-forms of these galleries are not a result of similar functions.

Gallery standardization forms one of the key chronological links between non-contiguous phases. In particular, gallery standardization establishes a chronological link between the galleries of the final monumental phases of Building A and those in the Circular Plaza Atrium and the third phase of Building B, phases that are physically separated from each other by earlier phases of Building A. Gallery standardization therefore helps to narrow the chronological resolution of the Circular Plaza Atrium and the third phase of Building B in relation to Building A, placing them not simply after the Expansion Stage, but in the Black and White Stage. These and other chronological links form an architectural sequence that accounts for and inte-

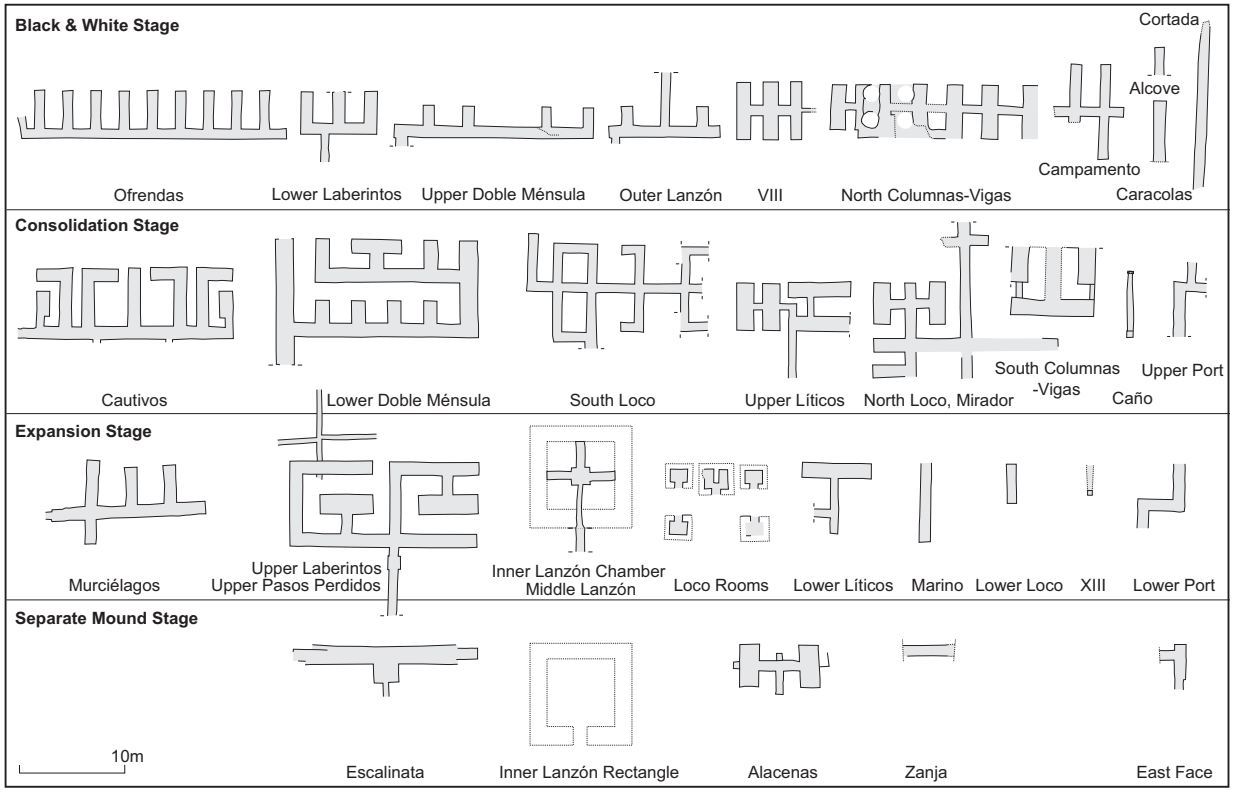


Figure 2.21. Standardization of gallery episode forms, by construction stage. Galleries are viewed in plan and drawn to scale directly from three-dimensional data.

grates the changes and growth that occurred across the site's multiple buildings and areas.

Along with standardized galleries, all of the site's known plazas are built in the Black and White Stage: the Plaza Mayor, the Plaza Menor, and the Circular Plaza. Additionally, during the construction of the Black and White Stage, the gallery patios, such as the Lanzón Patio and the Columnas Patio, are enclosed and converted into standardized galleries. These patterns indicate that the transition from elaborate galleries early in the sequence to standardized galleries late in the sequence corresponds with a switch from the construction of large buildings with relatively small gallery patios to the construction of open areas with surficial structures such as sunken plazas and open staircases. Galleries in the Black and White Stage are reduced to simple forms with minimal features, while the new plazas and other surficial structures, such as the Black and White Portal and the Black and White Staircase, are constructed of fine, largely granite, highly worked and sometimes decorated stonework.

In sum, the early phases of the sequence are characterized by high-volume, high-area constructions that contain galleries elaborate in forms and features, as well as gallery patios. The Expansion Stage epitomizes this mode of construction. In the Black and White Stage, the final monumental stage, emphasis switches to low-volume, high-area, primarily surficial structures with decorated, precisely executed, highly symmetrical external spaces and simple, standardized galleries. The gallery patios are covered and converted into galleries in this stage. While visual emphasis is on the highly decorated exterior spaces, the use of the galleries continues, as indicated by the construction of new yet standardized galleries in the Black and White Stage.

In describing this construction sequence, it becomes clear that the three-phase sequence and terms "Old Temple" and "New Temple" proposed by Rowe (1962, 1967a) are insufficient to describe the richness of the construction history of Chavín de Huántar. The sequence presented here represents a substantially different and more complex pattern of construction. Areas previously thought to be "Old Temple," such as the Circular Plaza Atrium (including the Ofrendas Gallery) and the third phase of Building B, are now shown to be part of the final monumental construction stage, the Black and White Stage. Areas previously thought to be part of the "New Temple," such as the southern portion of Building A, consist of multiple phases and contain more time depth than previously noted, extending back well into the Expansion Stage. This architectural sequence stands alone, independent of other sequences or sources of chronological data, and provides a new foundation for understanding Chavín de Huántar's growth and development.

Architectural Principles and Construction Patterns

Numerous architectural principles and construction patterns that guided Chavín de Huántar's growth emerge in the study of the site's architectural sequence. The following discussion highlights four of the more significant principles, along with gallery construction patterns, that are evident at the site.

Integration of Internal and External Architecture

At Chavín de Huántar internal and external architecture were constructed as part of a single design, with the network of galleries, gallery patios, vents, and drainage canals forming integral components of the site's buildings, terraces, and plazas. For example, galleries were built throughout each stage of the sequence, and gallery doorways were centered within exterior faces or gallery patios, suggesting that galleries were key elements of construction. Similarly, gallery patios, which likely served as transition spaces between internal and fully external spaces, were centered atop individual buildings, indicating that these patios were well integrated within the larger constructions. Vents were intricately incorporated into the architecture as well, particularly within Building A, in which all phases containing galleries were connected to each other by vents, except the first phase of Building A, the NEA. In fact, the very placement and forms of some galleries appear to have been partly determined by both a need to continue vents from older structures through new ones to the exterior and a design in which vents exited at visually significant exterior places. Also integrated within Building A was a sophisticated vertical drainage system that channeled heavy rainy-season runoff from the platform surfaces into a system of a small canals, down stone-lined vertical shafts, and through the temple via carefully constructed, sloped and stepped stone-lined internal canals. Construction of this drainage system consistently followed this intricate internal-external design across phases. In sum, internal architecture was carefully planned along with the external architecture and was constructed as an integral part of the full construction sequence.

Modification and Adaptation of Existing Architecture

Modification of existing architecture was a key element of the construction process at Chavín de Huántar. Modification to earlier phases occurred throughout the sequence, and most frequently served to adapt existing architecture to new additions. Internally, modifications were carried out primarily to maintain access to galleries that would have been blocked or buried by additions. Externally, modifications primarily served to adapt older constructions to the addition of new phases, so that the combined form of old and new phases adhered to architectural principles and construction patterns, such as symmetry, discussed below. Deconstruction was a significant component of the modification process; major portions of architecture were deconstructed and then reconstructed to adapt to the addition of a new phase. Some of these modifications were of local importance, while many had site-wide significance.

Horizontal and Vertical Additions

While Rowe's original sequence suggested that the monumental architecture at Chavín de Huán-

tar grew through a set of horizontal additions, the new architectural sequence presented here demonstrates that the site's architecture grew vertically as well as horizontally. Vertical additions formed a significant portion of the sequence: nine out of fifteen phases built directly on top of an earlier phase. For example, the full horizontal southward extent of Building A was established by the building's second phase; the five subsequent monumental additions were built vertically on top of this form, and many early galleries and internal staircases were extended higher through these vertical additions to maintain access with the exterior (for example, see figure 2.15).

Centeredness, Symmetry, and Asymmetry

The architecture at Chavín de Huántar displays a combination of both planned symmetry and asymmetry; principles of centeredness and symmetry guided the architectural design and growth within the site's buildings, while the construction of buildings in relation to each other followed a pattern of asymmetry. For example, the centered placement of staircases, gallery entrances, and gallery patios is a consistently prominent architectural principle throughout the sequence. To illustrate, in early phases, staircases and entrances in the external faces of Building A were centered within those faces. As later additions were built, new centered staircases replaced those blocked by additions, and existing architecture was deconstructed and adapted to maintain staircase centeredness within the new exterior faces resulting from combined phases (see figure 2.23 and discussion below). Additionally, gallery patios were centered at the top of the buildings in which they stood. In the last half of the sequence, however, centeredness no longer was possible in some cases, due to constraints imposed by earlier phases, so the pattern shifted to include pairs of staircases bilaterally symmetrical around a central point. Exceptions to this pattern were constrained by factors specific to their local construction areas. In contrast, the very buildings containing those centered and bilaterally symmetrical staircases, entrances, and patios were asymmetrically constructed in relation to one another, until some of the highly formal constructions of the Black and White Stage. Even then, however, the buildings of the site as a whole continued to be asymmetrically arranged. This asymmetric arrangement of buildings likely relates to geologic constraints imposed by the site's location (Turner et al. 1999; see Rick, this volume, chapter 1).

Gallery Construction Principles and Patterns

Rather than being built in single, static construction events, many galleries were built in multiple construction episodes and were adapted over time. New gallery segments were frequently added to an existing gallery to extend it through newly constructed phases, maintaining access to that earlier space. Significant modifications to existing galleries were common as well. They occurred largely to accommodate the addition of construction phases and frequently resulted in galleries that span multiple levels.

Gallery architecture followed a detailed set of specific construction patterns (see Kembel 2001 for more details). Analysis of these construction patterns can be used to help decipher how the galleries and their larger construction phases were built, modified, and expanded over time, forming a key tool for determining the site-wide construction sequence.

Analysis of these patterns also indicates that additions and modifications to the gallery system sometimes required massive efforts in design, planning, partial deconstruction of existing architecture, and building of the new structures. The magnitude of these efforts suggests that maintaining access to the galleries over time was extremely important to Chavín de Huántar's architectural designers and builders, perhaps in part because maintaining access to those galleries also meant maintaining access to spaces that in at least some cases were highly sacred, and to the activities or rituals or sacredness traditionally associated with them.

In sum, Chavín de Huántar's architecture demonstrates that designers and builders at the site integrated internal and external architecture as part of the same design; modified and adapted existing architecture as they designed and constructed new phases; expanded the site not just horizontally but vertically as well; shaped it with principles of centeredness and symmetry in staircases, patios, and entrances along with

asymmetry among buildings; and built galleries in multiple episodes following specific construction patterns, maintaining access through new phases to long-used spaces and their associated activities. Together, these principles and patterns suggest that each construction phase was a carefully planned undertaking, deliberately shaped by the site's planners and builders. They designed the architectural features of the new phases to articulate with older phases and selectively adapted older phases, sometimes through great effort, to accommodate and conform to the new architectural contexts and the wider principles imposed with the new phases. These patterns and principles provide guidelines for understanding architectural change across Chavín de Huántar's long and complex architectural sequence, as illustrated below.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN CHAVÍN ARCHITECTURE

Along with many specific architectural changes at Chavín de Huántar that resulted from additions and modifications throughout its construction, broad transformations can also be observed within the site's architectural sequence. The following discussions highlight some of these transformations, examining shifts in antecedent architectural forms, site use, and ways in which builders at Chavín de Huántar appear to have designed the architecture to convey symbolic meaning.

Antecedent Architectural Forms

As earlier studies have noted, Chavín de Huántar's architecture combines antecedent architectural forms to create a new manifestation of monumental architecture: "the Old and New Temples of Chavín bring together and integrate architectural forms that can be traced back in time to expressions in Preceramic monumental construction on the Pacific watershed" (Moseley 1985:48). In particular, Chavín de Huántar has been viewed by scholars as a combination of the U-shaped platform, which originated in the central coast, and the circular plaza, which originated on the north coast (Williams 1980, 1985; Moseley 1985; Burger 1985, 1992a). Williams (1985:238) states, "Whether both the circular pit and the U-shaped pyramid arrived together at Chavín or were successive importations remains an unsolved problem. A better analysis of the architectural structure of the temple and absolute dating of its different stages of construction would help to solve this problem." The construction sequence presented here clarifies the order in which these antecedent forms were incorporated at Chavín de Huántar and also reveals other antecedent forms within the sequence as well as aspects of the architecture that are unique to the site.

As described earlier in this paper, two known U-forms were built at Chavín de Huántar. The first, the contiguous U-form created by Buildings A, B, and C, likely was in place by the end of the Expansion Stage (see figure 2.12). This U-form, however, was highly asymmetrical, with Building A expanded to its full southward extent and the south wall of Building C not parallel to other east–west walls. It is possible that the NEA, B Platform, and an early phase of Building C were configured in a U-form of non-contiguous platforms prior to this, during the Separate Mound Stage, but evidence of such an early phase of Building C has yet to be revealed, given the building's poorly conserved upper area and buried lower portions. The site's second, larger, more formal and symmetrical U-form was constructed in the site's final monumental stage, the Black and White Stage (see figure 2.14). This U-form consisted of additions to the prominent central building (Building A) and long, low mounds to the east. It accompanied construction of the site's three known plazas—the Circular Plaza, the Plaza Menor, and the Plaza Mayor—as well as major constructions in Building B. While this Black and White Stage contains the first evidence we see for plaza building at Chavín de Huántar, it is possible that earlier plazas existed prior to its construction.

Other coastal architectural forms and a coastal orientation became prominent at Chavín de Huántar during its second monumental stage, the Expansion Stage. For example, rectangular stepped platforms similar to those on the coast in the third millennium B.C. (Moseley 1985:44)

were incorporated into Buildings A and B during this stage. Additionally during the Expansion Stage, the orientation of the monumental center formally shifted from north to east. The temple at Chavín de Huántar apparently was not originally oriented approximately east, as it was in its final stages and as Initial Period and Early Horizon U-shaped temples on the coast were (Conklin 1985:144; Williams 1980). The NEA of the Separate Mound Stage was originally oriented to architectural north, with the monumental doorway and relieving window of its grand double-staircase Escalinata Gallery opening to the north. This shift in orientation to the east during the Expansion Stage required significant deconstruction and rebuilding of the east face of the NEA in order to integrate it with new portions of Building A as well as with Buildings B and C, forming an eastward-oriented, contiguous U-shaped complex.

The incorporation of the early U-form, stepped platforms, and an east orientation by the Expansion Stage suggests that coastal influences appeared by this stage, relatively early in Chavín de Huántar's sequence. While the stepped platforms of this stage were filled in over time, the east orientation and the U-form continued into the Black and White Stage, when they were recreated in the East Area at their most formal, along with the construction of the Circular Plaza in the Circular Plaza Atrium. Additionally, in the Black and White Stage a new set of stepped levels was formally constructed, with the graduated descent from Building A east to the two sunken rectangular plazas and their terraces.

While past studies have viewed Chavín architecture as a combination of coastal forms, the new architectural sequence presented here demonstrates that antecedent forms at Chavín de Huántar also stemmed from the local highland Kotosh-Mito culture. Of note, freestanding rectangular structures seen at Chavín de Huántar resemble the rectangular stone chambers that have been identified as a key element of the Kotosh Religious Tradition by Burger and Salazar-Burger (1985). In particular, the Inner Lanzón Rectangle (see figures 2.11, 2.16, and 2.17) strikingly resembles the many rectangular chambers at Kotosh, such as the Templo de las Manos Cruzadas (Izumi and Terada 1972:Fig. 89, Color Plate 1), as well as the rectangular chamber in the south mound at La Galgada (Grieder et al. 1988:Fig. 51). Floor vents are distinctive elements of the chambers in this tradition, and vents are present in the Inner Lanzón Rectangle and the Inner Lanzón Chamber, albeit in the lower portions of walls; the possibility that vents may also exist within the apparently infilled floor of this highly modified space, however, cannot be ruled out. The central fire is also an important component of the chambers of the Kotosh Religious Tradition; as Grieder and Bueno Mendoza (1985:106) state, "within each chamber the position of authority, the focal point, was occupied by the fire and could not be claimed by any person." In the Inner Lanzón Chamber the central position is occupied by the Lanzón itself. One may speculate that in this case, with the transformation of the open Inner Lanzón Rectangle to the enclosed Inner Lanzón Chamber during the Expansion Stage, a central fire may have been replaced or "claimed" by the Lanzón.

Beginning with the construction of the Inner Lanzón Rectangle in the Separate Mound Stage, freestanding rectangular structures were built throughout Chavín de Huántar's sequence. A set of five of these structures, the Loco Rooms, was built atop Building C likely prior to the end of the Expansion Stage. Like the Inner Lanzón Rectangle, these rooms were later enclosed and converted into part of a gallery, in this case with the construction of the rest of the Loco Gallery maintaining access to them through a later addition. In Building B, Gallery VIII (Tello 1960:Fig. 17), built above the Inner Lanzón Chamber and wiped out by the alluvion of 1945, may also originally have been a rectangular structure, centered atop the mound perhaps to replace the enclosed Inner Lanzón Rectangle below, and incorporated as a gallery during the Black and White Stage (see figures 2.16 and 2.19). Freestanding rectangular structures also appeared in the Black and White Stage as the north and south rectangular structures atop Building A (see figure 2.23). The interiors of these rectangular structures were

built in standardized H-forms (see Tello 1960), following the same pattern as galleries at this time. One can speculate that if monumental construction had continued after the Black and White Stage, the freestanding structures atop Building A may have been subsumed into the complex as galleries, with the addition of phases containing new gallery segments to maintain access to them, in a manner similar to the Inner Lanzón Rectangle, the Loco Rooms, and possibly Gallery VIII before them.

Other patterns also indicate highland antecedents for Chavín de Huántar's architecture. For example, additional similarities exist between the galleries at Chavín de Huántar and the rectangular chambers at La Galgada and Kotosh, including plastered and painted internal walls, and multiple niches such as those in the Alacenas Gallery in the NEA. Likewise, similarities exist in both the separate mound-form and the rough stonework at La Galgada and the early buildings at Chavín de Huántar (specifically, those in the Separate Mound Stage and the East Area Pre-Black and White Phase). Finally, the northward orientation of the NEA during the Separate Mound Stage suggests beginnings little influenced by the eastward orientation predominant on the coast, but rather determined by local factors. Together with the freestanding rectangular structures following the Kotosh-Mito tradition, these patterns suggest that the antecedents of the earliest known monumental buildings at Chavín de Huántar lie in local highland forms.

Innovations unique to Chavín de Huántar are also present at the site. In particular, the site's internal architecture—its gallery, ventilation, and drainage systems—forms one of the most characteristic and unique aspects of Chavín architecture. Galleries are present from the beginning of the known architectural sequence in forms and with features more complex than at other sites containing gallery-like forms, such as La Galgada (Grieder et al. 1998) and Cerro Sechín (Samaniego et al. 1985; Maldonado 1992). The highly developed gallery construction methods used in early buildings at Chavín de Huántar suggest that some of this development may have been rooted in possible preceding phases, in galleries within buildings or areas not revealed today, implying further time depth for the site's architectural sequence. For example, the Escalinata Gallery, the large double-staircase within the NEA, was built with some of the most elaborate and sophisticated construction techniques, as well as sheer monumentality, contained within the site's galleries. On a related note, the NEA likely was built prior to or simultaneously with the Inner Lanzón Rectangle, and galleries and rectangular structures were built simultaneously in later phases, suggesting that while the rectangular structures of the Kotosh-Mito tradition were converted to galleries in vertical additions, within the known architectural sequence they may not have been pure antecedent forms to the galleries.

The construction sequence at Chavín de Huántar is thus one of innovation and transformation as well as synthesis. It began with local highland stonework, separate mound forms, and freestanding rectangular structures, based in the highland Kotosh-Mito tradition. These were integrated from the beginning with the site's internal architecture, particularly the gallery system, which is unique to Chavín de Huántar and continued to develop and expand across the sequence. The highland freestanding rectangular structures were built across the sequence and typically were transformed into galleries with the construction of vertical additions in later phases. The separate mound forms transitioned by the Expansion Stage to incorporate coastal orientation and forms, such as stepped platforms and the U-shaped temple configuration. These coastal forms then reached their most formal in the Black and White Stage, along with the construction of the Circular Plaza, Plaza Menor, and Plaza Mayor. In sum, Chavín de Huántar's architectural sequence demonstrates how the site's builders integrated local highland traditions with site-specific innovations and incorporated select coastal forms to create a unique, complex ceremonial center.

Site Use

By understanding how the architecture at Chavín de Huántar grew over time and the relative construction order of antecedent architectural forms, we can gain insight into how the site's designers and builders designed the site to be used and into how that site use may have changed over time.

Internal and External Spaces

Researchers have contrasted the design of Chavín de Huántar's galleries for limited access by individuals or small groups with the design of its plazas and open spaces for easier access by larger groups, citing the transition from the Old Temple with its small circular plaza to the New Temple with its large square plaza (Moore 1996; Burger 1992a). The architectural sequence presented here, however, demonstrates that this shift toward large external spaces was more drastic than previously believed, in that all the known plazas—the Plaza Mayor, the Plaza Menor, and the Circular Plaza—were built in the Black and White Stage, the final monumental stage, although it is possible that earlier plazas may have existed at the site. Additionally, in this same stage the gallery patios were eliminated and converted from open spaces to enclosed galleries, and new galleries became standardized. What do these patterns tell us about concurrent changes in site use?

Prior to the Black and White Stage, the focus on elaborate galleries and small gallery patios suggests that site use did indeed emphasize individuals or small groups using the confined spaces of the galleries and their patios. Additionally, the Black and White Stage, with its elaborate external component of open spaces—such as highly formal and precisely constructed plazas, terraces, flanking mounds, and external staircases—does suggest the addition of activities that could have accommodated more people. This addition of a large external component also corresponds with the incorporation of the coastal components of the large, formal U-shape and the Circular Plaza. This addition, however, does not forsake internal activity in favor of external rites. Rather, these changes, along with the continued construction of galleries during the Black and White Stage, suggest that Chavín de Huántar's designers actively broadened the site's range of appeal to visitors. The architecture became simultaneously more inclusive, with the construction of large plazas and formal open spaces between the buildings, and more exclusive, with the elimination of the gallery patios as well as any visibility of their semi-open activities from below upon their conversion to galleries.

The enclosure of the gallery patios is a key element in this shift. Gallery patios were semi-internal, semi-external spaces, accessible only by those allowed in the temple buildings, yet visible at least in part to those below. With the enclosure of the gallery patios, the distinction between internal and external, and the activities carried out there, became clearly defined. Activities that once took place in the gallery patios, if moved into the galleries, could only be witnessed by those directly involved. Alternatively, if moved to the plazas, those same activities could incorporate many more people.

Along with the construction of the three known plazas and the enclosing of the gallery patios, however, galleries continued to be built and to play an integral role in the functioning of the site. In particular, in place of the Lanzón Patio, the construction of a set of galleries and the internal portion of the Circular Plaza Staircase created a large, interconnected gallery complex that effectively linked the Circular Plaza with the Lanzón monolith. At the same time, in Building A, the Columnas Patio was enclosed by construction of the north part of the Columnas-Vigas Gallery (see figure 2.15). Similarities in construction, form, timing of changes, centralized location within buildings, and relationships to nearby galleries exist between the Lanzón Gallery in Building B and the Columnas-Vigas Gallery in Building A; these similarities suggest that the Columnas Patio and the Columnas-Vigas Gallery formed the Building A counterpart of the Lanzón Patio and Lanzón Gallery and were central to site use. Together these patterns support the idea that the architecture at Chavín de Huántar was designed to appeal to a wider range of audience, becoming more inclusive through the creation of the known plazas, while at the same time becoming more exclusive through the enclosure of prominent, central gallery patios and the construction of new gallery segments in their place. Similarly, the construction of the Circular Plaza directly east of the former Lanzón Patio, and the construction of the Plaza Menor and the Plaza Mayor directly east of the former Columnas Patio, may represent a partial translation of the open patio spaces to more widely accessible levels.

While individual experiences in the galleries still formed a significant component of the site's function, the enclosing of the gallery patios and

the construction of large areas containing new plazas and other surficial features apparently represented a shift in visual emphasis toward an outward-focused component of site use. Early on, the visual emphasis was on buildings with massive volume filled with elaborate internal spaces and small gallery patios for limited numbers of people. Later, the visual emphasis shifted toward surficial external architecture—plazas, terraces, and low mounds connected by staircases—that contained standardized galleries, tied areas together stylistically, and could accommodate many people.

These additions of a large external visual component likely transformed the nature of most visitors' experiences, the roles of the site leaders and visitors, the nature of messages communicated between them, and the nature of the rituals performed in different areas at the site. Emphasis lay on a different component of the architecture, different types of activities, and a different type of audience. In addition to small-group interactions and personal participation in rituals in the small spaces of the galleries, the large open spaces of the Black and White Stage suggest a larger component of more impersonal interactions between a small group of leaders and a potentially large number of visitors, with new rituals able to accommodate many more people. However, the more inclusive nature of the plazas and open spaces may not necessarily mean that increased numbers of people directly participated in activities there; it is possible that the increased visibility was a means used to enhance distinctions between participants and observers, and thus greater inclusivity may have consisted of observing and witnessing rather than participating, in a role more as spectators or passive observers rather than active participants. Similarly, the sheer size of the plazas could have been purposefully used to overwhelm small groups participating in or witnessing activities there. By actively designing changes that made the architecture simultaneously more inclusive in some respects and more exclusive in others, the builders at Chavín de Huántar were able to facilitate, accommodate, and appeal to the likely growing numbers of visitors and initiates at the site, as well as to encourage the likely widening differential access to the activities that took place there (Kembel and Rick 2004).

Hanging Staircases

Another prominent component of site use at Chavín de Huántar is a set of hanging staircases, staircases that descend internally through the buildings and open to exterior faces well above ground level (figure 2.22). Six hanging staircases are evident at Chavín de Huántar, built in its first three architectural stages. Some archaeologists propose that two hanging staircases on the east face of Building A connected with the ground via external staircases or ramps, as part of the Black and White Portal constructed in the site's final monumental stage (Rowe 1962:Fig. 15; Kauffmann Doig and Gonzáles 1993:Figs. 11, 13; Lumbreras 1993:61). No evidence exists for these two external staircases, however, as has been noted elsewhere (Burger 1992a:177), nor for staircases that would have connected the other four hanging staircases to the ground. This, along with a number of other factors—such as the staircases' chronology of construction, their placement relative to other staircases, and the placement of their facade openings up to 10 m above ground level—suggests that that these hanging staircases were entered from above rather than from additional external staircases below (see Kembel 2001).

The form of these staircases may provide some insight into their use. All but one of the hanging staircases are "bent," meaning they descend internally parallel to the facade, turn at a landing, and then descend perpendicularly to open at the facade. This bent form suggests that a person could descend the staircase unseen and then turn and emerge to people watching below, perhaps in a ritual display, as suggested by Burger (1992a:177). Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, in the earliest-built hanging staircase (the East Face Gallery in the NEA), both the short height of its facade opening (1.3 m high) and a ledge (0.63 m deep) at this opening (which is centered in the east face of the NEA) suggest that it originally could have been used to display objects, such as sculptures, ritual objects, or even ancestral mummy bundles. Of course, different hanging staircases may have had different uses, perhaps based on location and height above the ground, and the use of the staircases may have changed over time as well.

Many factors suggest that these hanging staircases were central to the design and use of the site,

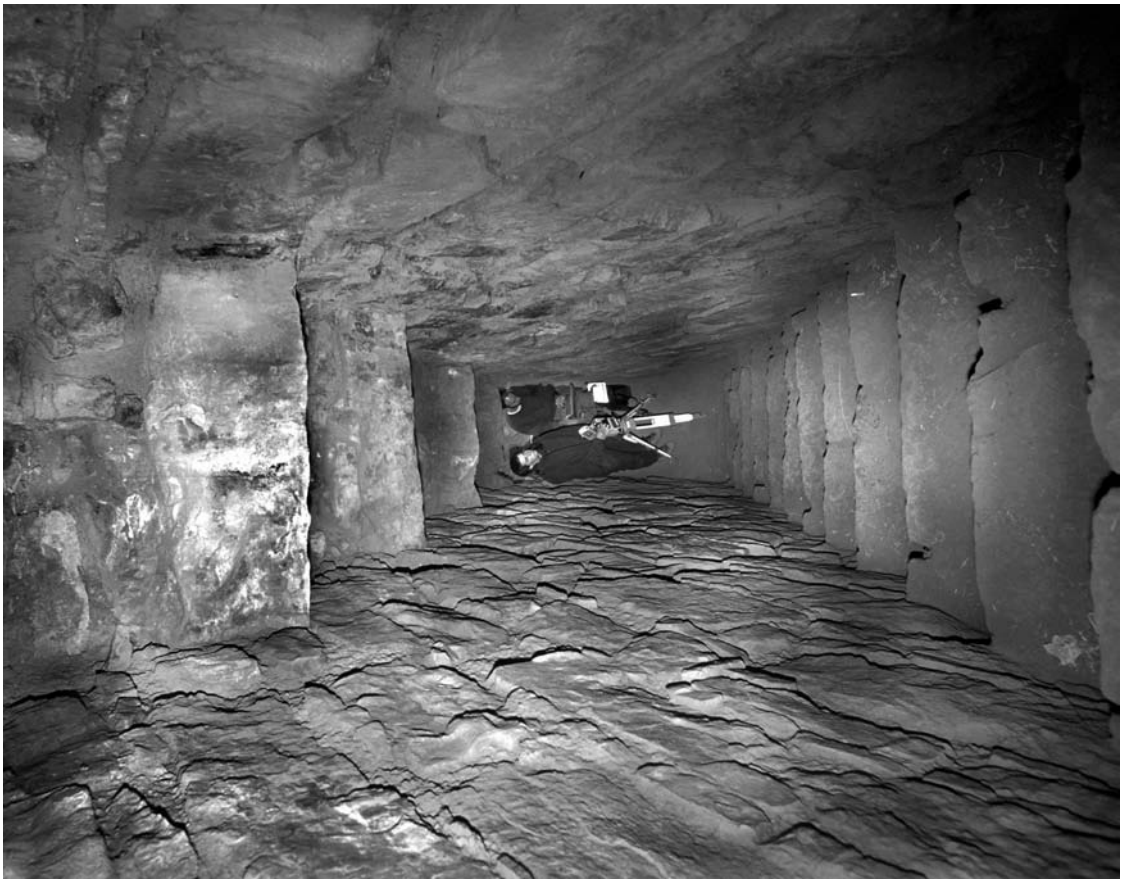


Figure 2.22. Examples of hanging staircases. *(Left):* The East Face South Staircase. This staircase, like other known hanging staircases, was originally internal. *Photo: John Kembel. (Right):* Internal view of the Marino Gonzáles Staircase, a hanging staircase opening to the west face of Building A. *Photo: Carlos Rodriguez.*

including the alignment of site axes to them as well as the major efforts to adapt older constructions to accommodate new staircases (Kembel 2001). For example, in the Consolidation Stage, the axis of Building A was centered north–south within the building, at the center point between two hanging staircases, the East Face Gallery and the East Face South Staircase (figure 2.23). The Columnas Patio was aligned to this axis, centered atop the east face of Building A. An important transformation then occurred in the Black and White Stage: the axis of Building A shifted to the south (Rick et al. 1998), to the center point between a different pair of hanging staircases, the East Face North Staircase and the East Face South Staircase of Building A, forming the Black and White Axis. At the same time, the Columnas Patio was enclosed with the construction of the North Columnas-Vigas Gallery episode, obscuring the patio's centeredness. Meanwhile, new structures of the Black and White Stage were constructed symmetrically about the Black and White Axis, including the two free-standing rectangular structures atop Building A, the Black and White Portal, the Black and White Zócalo, the Plaza Menor, the Black and White Staircase, the Plaza Mayor, and other new structures in the East Area. The dominant role of these hanging staircases in the design of the temple and in the placement of its architectural axes suggests that their use was of utmost importance. These patterns also underscore the prominent design role played by later staircases in the Plaza Mayor and surrounding area (Rick et al. 1998), built in the Black and White Stage. The analysis (below) of the placement of some of these hanging staircases within one particular stage provides further insight into their possible use, roles, and symbolic meaning within the architecture.

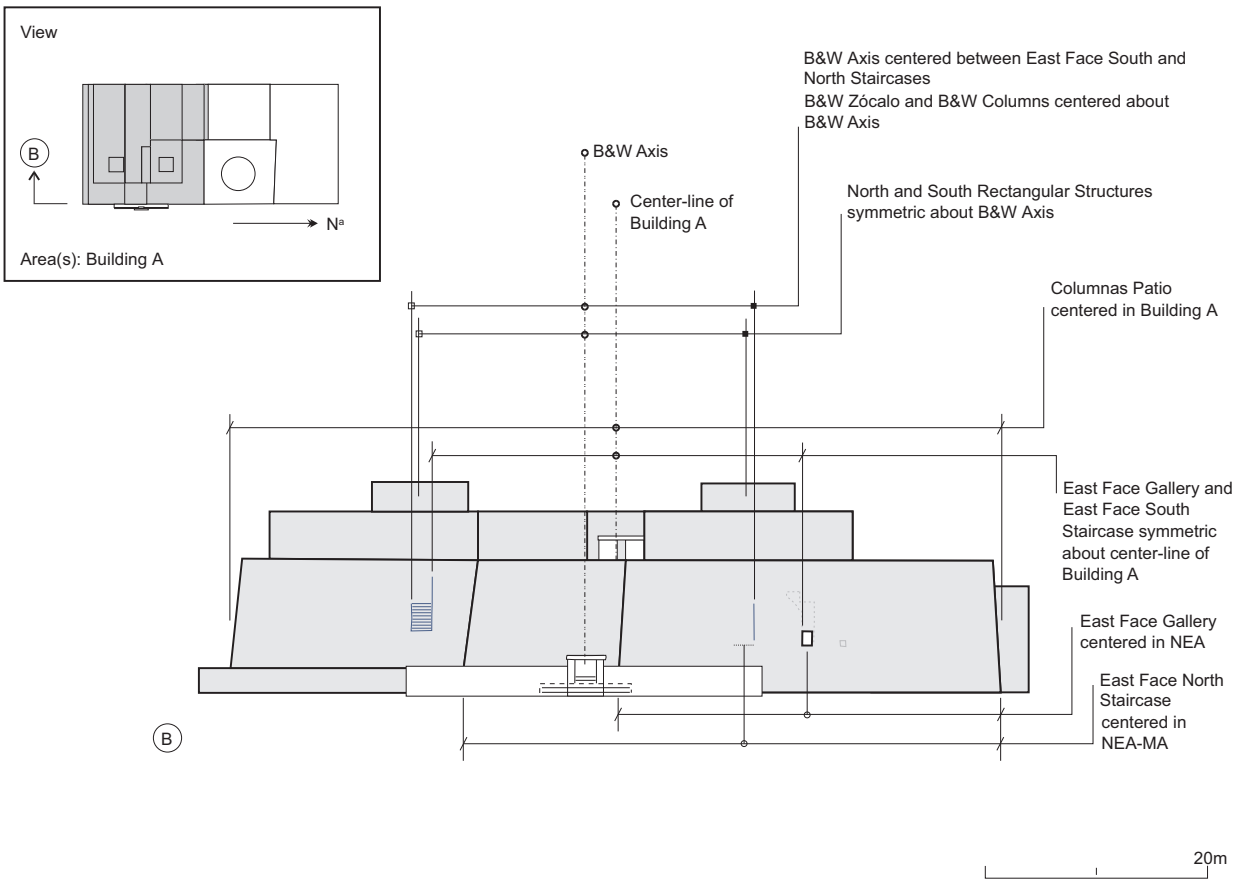


Figure 2.23. Centeredness and symmetry of staircases and architectural features within the east face of Building A

Symbolic Meaning within Chavín de Huántar's Architecture

Just as Chavín de Huántar's architectural growth can provide insight into ways in which the site was designed to be used, so too can patterns in this growth, the resulting changes in forms, and the subsequent changes in possible use over time illuminate ways in which the site's builders may have incorporated symbolic meaning into the architecture. Recognizing patterns in architecture and determining meaning from architecture are very different matters: "In the absence of informants, cultural meanings usually slip through an archaeologist's grasp, but it is possible to examine *how* monuments mean even if we do not know *what* they mean" (Moore 1996:221; emphasis in original). A brief analysis of three examples illustrates this point and provides insight into how builders may have incorporated architectural meaning into the buildings at Chavín de Huántar.

Role of the Lanzón Monolith

Archaeologists have postulated that the Lanzón monolith declined in importance over the site sequence, citing the supposed abandonment of the Old Temple and transition to the New Temple as an indication of the diminished importance of the Lanzón monolith (Rowe 1962, 1967a; Lumbreras 1977). The construction of the Circular Plaza Atrium and the third phase of Building B during the Black and White Stage, however, suggests that the Lanzón monolith did not decline in use and importance over the temple's existence, but rather remained in use throughout the sequence. Indeed, the Lanzón appears to have gained importance during the Black and White Stage, as the constructions of the Circular Plaza Atrium and the third phase of Building B focused attention on the gallery within. For example, the Circular Plaza, with its elaborate procession of figures toward the Lanzón, and the Circular Plaza Staircase, which climbed up through the east face of Building B, channeled people toward the Lanzón Gallery. Likewise, an addition to the Lanzón Gallery (the Outer Lanzón episode) maintained access to the Lanzón monolith in this new phase and connected with a concurrent addition to the Laberintos Gallery (the Lower Laberintos episode), transforming the two galleries into one large gallery complex. Additional gallery segments were added at this time in the upper layer of the building, involving a partial deconstruction of external walls and creating an even more integrated gallery complex throughout Building B. In sum, the highly planned, carefully executed, and integrated constructions in Building B and the Circular Plaza Atrium late in the sequence, and the significant amounts of labor that their construction represents, indicate that the Lanzón monolith and the surrounding structures were important, active symbolic components of the temple's final monumental stage. They also illustrate efforts to maintain access to earlier internal spaces, in this case a space that was sacred and ritually important and that extended back in time to the earliest known constructions at the site.

Relationships between Internal and External Features

A set of relationships between internal and external features helps illuminate the design of architectural meaning at Chavín de Huántar. The first relationship illustrates patterning between structures chronologically linked by the transition to the Black and White Stage. This relationship lies between the columns in the Columnas-Vigas Gallery (figure 2.24), high within Building A, and the columns of the Black and White Portal at the base of the east face of Building A (figure 2.25). The two columns of the Black and White Portal are centered on the Black and White Axis (see figure 2.23), support a decorated lintel, and originally may have been accompanied by a pair of columns farther to the east, fragments of which were found near the Black and White Staircase (Chávez Ballón 1960:30; Burger 1992a:173). It appears, then, that four columns may have stood in or near the Black and White Portal, and that at least the west pair supported a decorated lintel. In comparison, in the Columnas-Vigas Gallery, which sits west of the Black and White Portal in the upper portion of Building A, stand four structural columns, the west pair of which supports a large lintel. These columns stand in the portion of the gallery that originally was an open patio, the Columnas Patio, which was centered north–south atop Building A (see figures 2.15 and 2.23).

Figure 2.24. The west pair of stone-and-mortar structural columns in the Columnas-Vigas Gallery. *(Above):* A large lintel spans the column in the foreground and the column in the background. Additional stonework between the two columns supports the lintel, which supports ceiling structures. *(Right):* The opposite side of the same two columns and lintel. *Photos: John Kembel.*

Figure 2.25. The columns of the Black and White Portal on the east face of Building A. An opening to the Columnas-Vigas Gallery can be seen above and behind the portal. *Photo: John Kembel.*

It seems unlikely that these relatively crude, structural columns stood in the open patio. Rather, they appear to have been built to support roof beams when the Columnas Patio was enclosed with the construction of the North Columnas-Vigas Gallery episode in the Black and White Stage. Highly unusual, these structural columns in the Columnas-Vigas Gallery are the only known curvilinear, non-rectilinear example of structural Chavín architecture; together with the columns of the Black and White Portal, they comprise the primary known examples of columnar, curvilinear architectural forms at the site.

The construction of each set of columns appears to be related to the other. Not only was the Columnas Patio enclosed at the same time the Black and White Portal was constructed, but the Columnas Patio was enclosed likely due in part to the very fact that it was centered in Building A; its enclosure visually erased the patio's centeredness so that the new Black and White Axis could be established off-center, with the construction of the Black and White Portal (see figure 2.23 and discussion above). Consequently, one may speculate that the Columnas Patio originally may have contained four freestanding columns, the west pair perhaps spanned by a lintel, as part of a highly sacred area within the open patio, centered at the summit of Building A. When the patio was enclosed to become a gallery, structural columns were built, perhaps in place of the freestanding columns to symbolically represent them and their unique form while providing support to the new ceiling. At the same time, columns and a lintel were placed in front of the east face of Building A, perhaps as an attempt to transfer some of the meaning of those original columns from the Columnas Patio atop Building A to a lower, more visible focal point, now aligned to the Black and White Axis. A further speculation is that the original columns and lintel from the Columnas Patio could be the feline-avian columns and lintel that stand today in the Black and White Portal on the east face, along with their broken counterparts. These columns and lintel, which are featured in such a prominent place on the east face, could have been originally intended for a more intimate setting, that of a small gallery patio high on the temple summit. In sum, the relationships between these two sets of columns appear to link two architectural stages, illustrating possible ways in which builders at Chavín de Huántar may have adapted and continued architectural meaning across major architectural changes.

The symbolic importance of the Columnas Patio and the Columnas-Vigas Gallery is further highlighted by their parallels with the Lanzón Patio and the Lanzón Gallery. Not only are they structurally the Building A counterparts to the Lanzón Patio and Lanzón Gallery of Building B, but they also potentially may have housed an internal version of the Staff God, the likely Building A counterpart to the Lanzón. To illustrate, the Lanzón or Great Image represents the Smiling God, which is also depicted in a relief slab from the site's exterior (Rowe 1967a:84, Fig. 21). Chavín de Huántar's other primary deity, the Staff God, is represented in an elaborate granite relief slab, the Raimondi Stone (Rowe 1967a:85, Fig. 10). As Rowe (1967a:85) states, the Smiling God slab "serves the purpose of providing a representation of the Smiling God out in the open on a wall of the temple where worshippers who would not be admitted to the inner sanctum where the original image was could see it. . . . [T]he Raimondi Stone is an analogue of the slab representing the Smiling God and thus a representation of another image worshipped in the interior of the temple." Based on the structural patterns, relative construction sequences, and central locations within their buildings that are shared by the Columnas-Vigas Gallery and the Lanzón Gallery, the Columnas-Vigas Gallery appears to be the prime candidate for an internal location for the Staff God at Chavín de Huántar. Consequently, a transfer of the columns from the top of Building A to the front of Building A, whether physically or just symbolically, could have corresponded with the placement of the Raimondi Stone as an external representation of the Staff God. Here it would have been available for more visitors to see as the builders expanded the site to appeal to a broader range of people, while making the former patio areas more exclusive.

A second internal-external relationship, dating to the Expansion Stage, reveals patterning effectively fossilized within one stage, suggesting ways in which the builders constructed the architecture

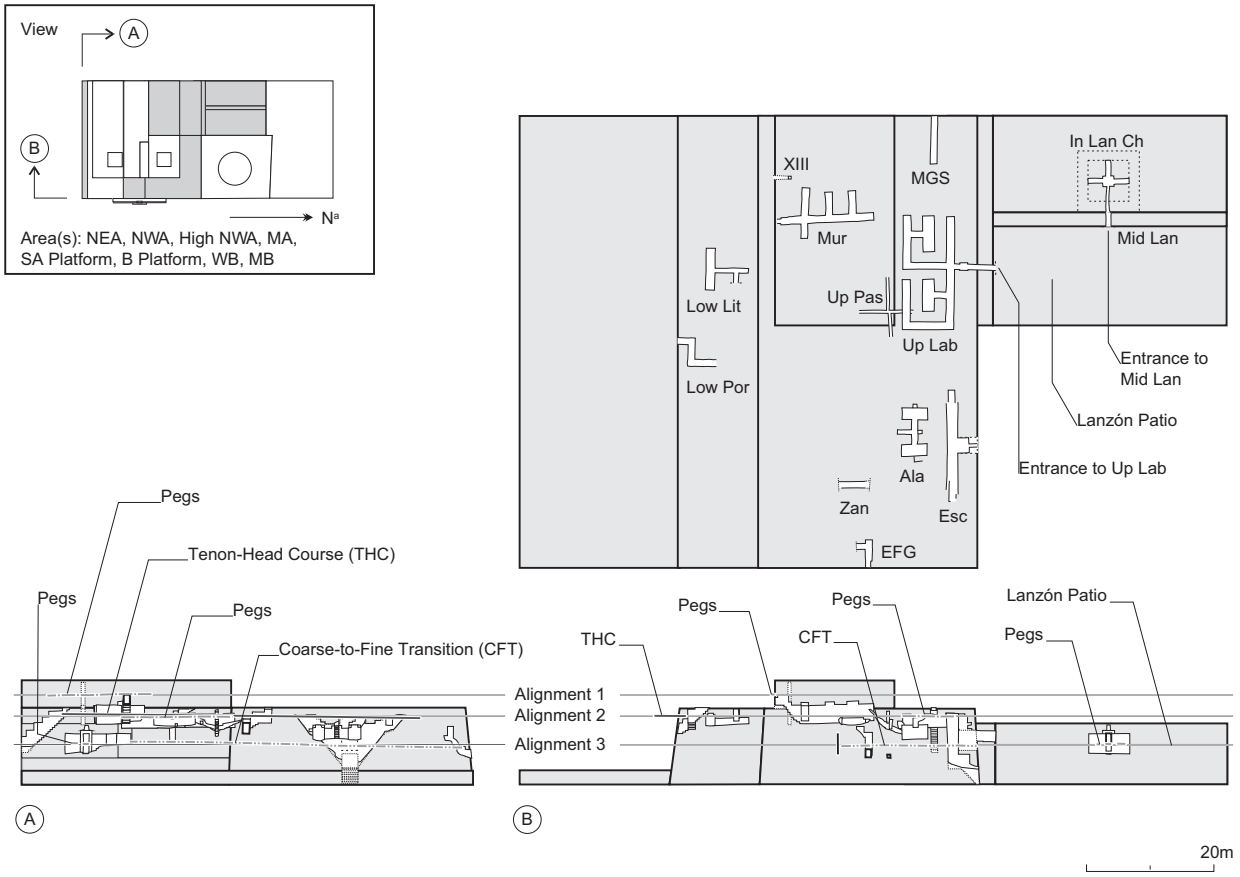


Figure 2.26. Buildings A and B during the Expansion Stage, with galleries and alignments of specific architectural features; plan and architectural north (A) and west (B) profile views. See Figure 2.27 for details of view (B).

to be used and to convey symbolic meaning. This relationship consists of unusual horizontal alignments between external decorative features and rows of stone pegs embedded in the walls of three galleries (figures 2.26 and 2.27). First, pegs in the Inner Lanzón Chamber (see Rick, figure 1.11, this volume) align with the level of the coarse-to-fine transition, the prominent shift between courses of rough stonework and courses of fine stonework visible on the east, south, and west faces of Building A. They also align with the surface of the Lanzón Patio and the waist and feline-head belt of the Lanzón monolith itself. Second, above this level, pegs in the Upper Laberintos Gallery (see figure 2.7) align with the tenon-head course of human-feline heads, stone sculptures that were embedded in external walls of Building A along a single course of stonework. Third, higher still sit pegs currently in the Cautivos Gallery, on the former external wall of the Murciélagos Gallery. External walls no longer exist at the height of the Cautivos pegs, precluding examination of specific alignments with external features. However, these pegs, likely placed during the Consolidation Stage during modification of the former exterior wall containing the entrance to the Murciélagos Gallery into part of the Cautivos Gallery, probably mark the location of an exterior decorative feature that existed above the entrance to the Murciélagos Gallery and elsewhere at this level during the Expansion Stage.

Each of these three alignments sits directly above an external opening to a gallery or hanging staircase present in the Expansion Stage. From top to bottom, Alignment 1, consisting of the Cautivos pegs, sits one course directly above the entrance to the Murciélagos Gallery. Alignment

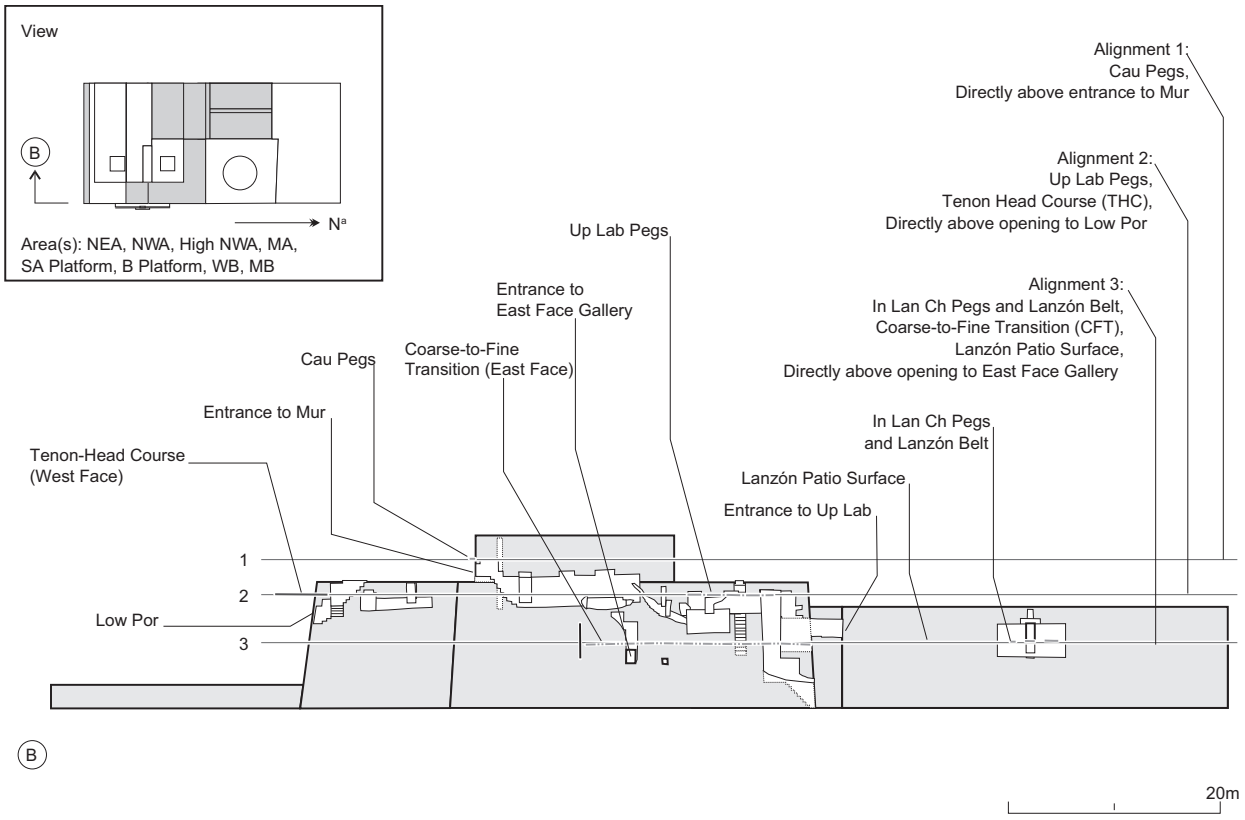


Figure 2.27. Buildings A and B during the Expansion Stage, with galleries and alignments of specific architectural features. Closeup of Figure 2.26 west (B) profile view.

2, the tenon-head course and the Upper Laberintos pegs, sits above the opening of the Lower Portada Gallery on Building A's formerly exterior south face, still visible internally at the location of the later abutment of the Lower Doble Ménsula Gallery. Alignment 3, consisting of the coarse-to-fine transition, the floor surface of the Lanzón Patio and the entrance into the Lanzón Gallery, and the pegs in the Inner Lanzón Chamber, sits one course above the entrance to the East Face Gallery in Building A.

These alignments suggest that the architecture at Chavín de Huántar was divided at three levels, and that these three divisions existed both externally and internally. Internally they were marked by pegs, while externally they were marked by stonework features placed above doorways. The external placement of the alignments in relation to doorways at different levels suggests that the alignments may have been symbolically related to a system of transit and perhaps ritual mediation between the different levels and symbolic relationships associated with them. For example, from the doorway of Murciélagos at the highest level, a person could emerge from the level marked by Alignment 1, walk along the platform surface, and descend to any of the levels below. Through the Lower Portada hanging staircase, the person could descend to the level below Alignment 2 and emerge at the centered opening of this hanging staircase on the south face, 10 m above the people below. Through the East Face Gallery, also a hanging staircase, the person could descend to the level below Alignment 3 on the east face; the person could also descend to this level via the Marino Gonzáles Staircase on the west face of Building A. Through the Escalinata Staircase, the person could descend to ground level on the north face. Alternatively, when standing in the Lanzón Patio, the person would be at the boundary be-

tween levels, perhaps preparing to visit the Lanzón monolith, which spans Alignment 3.

The remains of colored plaster in seams marking the former gallery patio walls (with white plaster found in the Lanzón Gallery's Lan-E-3 seam; see figures 2.4, 2.5, and 2.16) and red plaster found in the Columnas-Vigas Gallery's Col-E-2 seam (see figure 2.15), as well as the fallen plaster in the refuse found immediately above the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras 1977), suggest that some of the external surfaces of the temple were plastered in varying colors, possibly creating even more visual distinctions between levels. Stonework alternates between the three levels as well, particularly in Building A, with rough stonework at the level of the Murciélagos Gallery entrance between Alignments 1 and 2 and below the coarse-to-fine transition at Alignment 3, and fine stonework in the middle level between Alignments 2 and 3. The division of the architecture of the Expansion Stage suggested by these alignments and visual distinctions may have corresponded with the stepped platforms of Building A during this stage as well as with iconography of the sculptures associated with the different platforms and alignments.

These alignments suggest that some of the significant modifications to earlier phases were undertaken in order to communicate meaning through architecture. For example, in the Expansion Stage, part of the original rough stonework of the east face of the NEA was replaced with fine stonework to create the coarse-to-fine transition, which was then incorporated into subsequent constructions in Building A. Also during this stage, the open Inner Lanzón Rectangle was converted into the enclosed Inner Lanzón Chamber, causing this important space and the Lanzón's location to be hidden from the outside observer. The construction of the coarse-to-fine transition at the level of the Lanzón Patio floor and entrance to the Lanzón Gallery, with its distinction between fine and rough stonework, possibly of different colors, would have effectively broadcast across the temple the level and perhaps power of the now internal and hidden Inner Lanzón Rectangle, Lanzón monolith, and their associations. In effect, these markers and alignments may have communicated to outside observers the power and location of internal symbols and activities.

These vertical alignments and distinctions were continued across subsequent additions to Building A. Interestingly, however, when the builders at Chavín de Huántar completed the gradual fill-in of the stepped platforms of Building A by the Black and White Stage, they created and formalized a different set of stepped gradations at a grander scale: the temple buildings at the highest levels, stepping down to terraces, and then down to sunken plazas. In front of Building B and the Lanzón, these levels consist of the Circular Plaza Terrace and the Circular Plaza, with the Circular Plaza Staircase connecting them to Building B. In front of Building A, these consist of the Plaza Menor and its terrace, the Plaza Mayor and its terrace, the Black and White Staircase that connects these terraces, and a set of small staircases that connect each plaza with its surrounding terrace. These terraces and plazas suggest that vertical distinctions within the early temple buildings, marked by the internal-external alignments described above, may have been later formally expanded externally across the site to incorporate an even larger scale of vertically distinct levels. And, as in the temple buildings, these external levels were mediated by staircases spanning and connecting different levels.

Clearly much of this discussion is speculative, building on patterns in the architecture to examine relationships and changes over time at Chavín de Huántar. These relationships between internal and external features, however, highlight ways that Chavín architecture and the manner in which it was used may have held richly symbolic cultural meaning. They also demonstrate the ability of spatial analyses to isolate and examine architectural patterns and stages long since obscured by later constructions, as illustrated by the Expansion Stage, large parts of which today are buried by additions above and around it. By understanding how the builders at Chavín de Huántar designed and changed the site's architecture over time, we can study how site use, architectural meaning, and ideology at Chavín de Huántar may have changed as well—not trying to determine specifically what the architecture

meant to its builders, but rather how it meant, and how it was used.

COMPARISON OF THE ARCHITECTURE SEQUENCE TO OTHER SEQUENCES AT CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR

Beyond looking at changes within the site's construction history, as presented above, the new architectural sequence for Chavín de Huántar enables a reassessment of the relationships between the site's monumental architecture and its radiocarbon, art, ceramic, and occupation sequences (figure 2.28). In the past, these sequences have been linked to the architecture's traditional Old Temple–New Temple sequence, and thus this reevaluation provides a fresh perspective on these relationships and their wide-reaching implications.

Comparisons of the Architectural Sequence to Radiocarbon Dates from the Monumental Center

Radiocarbon dates from the Ofrendas Gallery deposit (Lumbreras and Amat 1965–1966; Lumbreras 1993) have traditionally been viewed as the primary published Chavín-period dates from reliable contexts directly associated with monumental architecture (Burger 1981; Lumbreras 1993). Excavations by Lumbreras (1977, 1993; Lumbreras and Amat 1965–1966) revealed the Circular Plaza and its surrounding galleries within the Circular Plaza Atrium. Based on their location within the U-form of the Old Temple of Rowe's sequence, Lumbreras concluded that these structures, including the Ofrendas Gallery and the ceramics and radiocarbon samples found in it, belonged to the Old Temple. This postulated relationship anchored the ceramics and radiocarbon found in the Ofrendas Gallery deposit within the architectural sequence. The resulting dates were viewed as a chronological frame of reference for the Old Temple and the earliest constructions at Chavín de Huántar (Lumbreras 1977, 1993; Burger 1981, 1984).

In contrast, the architectural sequence presented here demonstrates that the structures of the Circular Plaza Atrium, including the Ofrendas Gallery and the Circular Plaza, were built late in the sequence, in the final monumental stage, the Black and White Stage. This represents a significant change in interpretation of the Ofrendas samples, indicating that they date to the final rather than the first monumental stage of construction at Chavín de Huántar. If the Ofrendas samples date a ritual deposit initiating the Circular Plaza, as argued by Lumbreras (1993:69, 311–315) and as supported by the design and sealing of the gallery's entrance, then they date the completion of construction; if they date the storage and deposition of materials over time, as proposed by others (see Burger 1992a:140), the construction could have been completed earlier.

Many past discussions of radiocarbon chronology for Chavín de Huántar have been based on uncalibrated dates (Burger 1981, 1984; Lumbreras 1989, 1993; in contrast, see Bischof 1994 and Burger 1992a). Because calibration of radiocarbon dates is an established science and is critical for accurate chronological comparisons due to changes in atmospheric ^{14}C production and resulting variations of the calibration curve (Stuiver et al. 1998; Stuiver, Long, and Kra 1993; Stuiver and Kra 1986), however, dates discussed here will be presented both in radiocarbon years (B.P.) and associated ranges of calibrated years (B.C.). These ranges represent the radiocarbon date's equivalent spans on the calibration curve, and each range is accompanied by the probability that the range includes the accurate calibrated age for the sample. All calibrations and corresponding probabilities presented here were calculated by Herbert Haas (personal communication, 2004) using OxCal Program v. 3.5, based on atmospheric data in Stuiver et al. (1998). For calibration of the samples that were excavated by Lumbreras in the late 1960s and 1970s, stable isotope correction information was not available. However, because these samples were not reported as maize, stable isotope correction for the samples would not likely have exceeded 3 per mil, meaning that calibrated dates including such correction would vary no more than 45 years from the dates presented here (Haas, personal communication 2004). The lack of correction therefore has minimal impact on the calibrated dates and interpretations presented here.

Revised Architectural Sequence		Art Sequence Anchor Points (Rowe 1967)	Chavín Ceramic Sequence (Burger 1984)	Chavín Ceramic Sequence (Lumbreras 1989)	Chavín Ceramic Sequence (Mesía 2007)
Chavín Construction Stages	High-Level Pattern				
reoccupation collapse abandonment	Post-Monumental Construction		Janabarriu (390-200 B.C.) and Chakinani (460-390 B.C.)	Janabarriu and Chakinani (600-200 B.C.)	
Support Construction Stage					Janabarriu (800-500 B.C.)
Black & White Stage	Monumental Construction	Phase D	Urabarriu (850-460 B.C.)	Ofrendas and Urabarriu (1200-600 B.C.)	
Consolidation Stage					
Expansion Stage		Phase AB			Urabarriu (1200-800 B.C.)
Separate Mound Stage					

Radiocarbon Dates Associated with Monumental Architecture at Chavín de Huántar					
Sample	C14 Date B.P. (age ± 1 sig)	Calibrated age ranges B.C.	Prob (%)	Provenance	Excavator
ETH-20740	2260 ± 55	400-350 300-230 220-200	37.1 55.0 7.9	CPA-Level H	Rick
HAR-1105	2380 ± 70	760-690 550-380	23.0 77.0	CPA-Level H	Lumbreras
ETH-20741	2395 ± 55	760-700 540-390	20.1 79.9	CPA-Level H	Rick
ETH-20739	2455 ± 55	760-410 in 5 small ranges	100.0	Bldg A West Face support	Rick
ETH-20737	2640 ± 55	900-870 860-780	13.9 86.1	B&W Zócalo	Rick
ETH-26378	2656 ± 51	900-790 in 3 ranges	100.0	Circular Plaza	Rick
ETH-26379	2672 ± 57	900-870 865-795	23.5 76.5	Circular Plaza	Rick
ETH-20738	2695 ± 55	900-805	100.0	B&W Zócalo	Rick
GX-1128	2700 ± 85	970-950 930-790	4.8 95.2	Ofrendas	Lumbreras
TK-18	3050 ± 120	1440-1120	100.0	Ofrendas	Lumbreras
Dates for these construction stages, as well as additional dates for the Black & White Stage, are currently being analyzed.					

Figure 2.28. Relationships of Chavín de Huántar's new monumental architectural construction sequence and associated radiocarbon dates from the monumental center to its art and proposed ceramic sequences. The placement of Rowe's relative art sequence in relation to the new construction sequence and its associated radiocarbon dates is based on associations of his art sequence anchor points with the architectural sequence. The placements of the different proposed ceramic sequences in relation to the new construction sequence and its associated radiocarbon dates are based on associations of ceramics with architecture within the new construction sequence and on radiocarbon ranges given by the sequences' originators. Note that Mesía (2007) argues that Chavín de Huántar's ceramic sequence is more complex than a binary Janabarriu-Urabarriu distinction and that, in the future, both phases likely can be split into more phases based on analyses of their different component styles. Source for Lumbreras radiocarbon samples: Lumbreras 1993. Rick's radiocarbon samples were collected in excavations led by Rick (Rick et al. 1998, and chapter 1, this volume); Rick and Kembel collaboratively determined excavation locations and funded the processing of resulting samples. Calibrations and corresponding probabilities were calculated by Herbert Haas using OxCal Program v.3.5, based on atmospheric data in Stuiver et al. (1998).

Similarly, because radiocarbon dating was well established when these dates were processed, "short-scale" and "long-scale" issues pertinent to dates processed prior to approximately 1962 (Rowe 1967b) are of minimal relevance to these discussions. Finally, the limitations of the radiocarbon calibration curve for the middle of the first millennium B.C. do not appear to reverse the major trends seen in the radiocarbon dates discussed.

The two radiocarbon samples associated with the Ofrendas Gallery deposit are GX-1128, dating to 2700 ± 85 B.P., and TK-18, dating to 3050 ± 120 B.P. (Lumbreras 1993:418). These dates have traditionally been referenced as uncalibrated absolute dates of 750 B.C. for GX-1128 and 1100 B.C. for TK-18 (Lumbreras 1993:418). Calibration provides two ranges of 930–790 B.C. (probability 95.2%) and 970–950 B.C. (probability 4.8%) for GX-1128, and one range of 1440–1120 B.C. (probability 100%) for TK-18. Based solely on these two dates, then, the construction of the Ofrendas Gallery during the Black and White Stage thus likely occurred around 1440–1120 B.C. or 930–790 B.C. The University of Tokyo Lab, which processed sample TK-18, however, had uncertain quality in its early years, and thus the date returned for this sample may be less reliable (Haas, personal communication 2004).

Additional radiocarbon samples help to narrow the time of construction for the Black and White Stage; these and the other new samples reported here were collected in our recent excavations led by Rick (Rick et al. 1998, Rick, this volume, chapter 1), the locations of which were based in part on collaborative analyses of our developing CAD models, in efforts to better understand the site's growth. Two samples from within the Black and White Zócalo near the base of the A-E-1 seam (see figure 2.2) return similar dates: ETH-20737 dates to 2640 ± 55 B.P., with two calibrated ranges of 860–780 B.C. (86.1% probability) and 900–870 B.C. (13.9% probability), and ETH-20738 dates to 2695 ± 55 B.P., with a calibrated range of 900–805 B.C. (100% probability). These samples date the construction of the Black and White Zócalo, which was built against the east face of Building A as part of the structures of the Black and White Portal, blocking the base of the seam. Traditionally viewed as New Temple constructions, the Black and White Zócalo and the rest of the Black and White Portal were built in the Black and White Stage. Similarly, samples ETH-26378 and ETH-26379, dating the construction of the Circular Plaza which traditionally has been viewed as part of the Old Temple, return respective dates of 2656 ± 51 B.P., with calibration spanning 900–790 B.C. in three ranges (probability 100%), and 2672 ± 57 B.P., with two calibrated ranges of 865–795 B.C. (probability 76.5%) and 900–870 B.C. (probability 23.5%). These dates suggest that the Circular Plaza and the Black and White Zócalo were built at approximately the same time. They also correspond with the calibrated ranges for the Ofrendas Gallery GX-1128 sample but are not consistent with the calibrated range for the TK-18 sample. Together, the five samples from the Black and White Zócalo, the Circular Plaza, and the Ofrendas Gallery (sample GX-1128), areas previously thought to belong to both Old Temple and New Temple contexts, suggest that the Black and White Stage, Chavín de Huántar's final monumental stage, was undergoing construction around 900 to 780 B.C. Current work to directly date Chavín de Huántar's architectural sequence promises to refine this range (see below).

Other samples postdate monumental construction at Chavín de Huántar. One of these was collected in an excavation by Rick at the base of the A-W-1 seam of Building A (see figure 2.2; see also Rick et al. 1998, and Rick, this volume, chapter 1), from support construction fill built up against the west face clearly after Building A had reached its full south extent, and apparently after the construction of the Black and White Stage of the temple was complete. The sample, ETH-20739, dates to 2455 ± 55 B.P., calibrated to 760–410 B.C. across five small ranges (probability 100%). While this range is wide due to the relatively flat radiocarbon calibration curve at this time, it does postdate the ranges of dates associated with the Black and White Stage, supporting the conclusion that support construction fill on the west face of Building A very likely followed monumental construction at the site.

Additional samples postdating monumental construction yet associated with monumental architecture come from Level H in the Circular Plaza Atrium. Level H sits directly above the

Circular Plaza floor and parts of the Circular Plaza terrace, and represents the abandonment of the Circular Plaza Atrium (Lumbreras 1977: 9–10; 1993:65–66, 315). Level H was comprised of refuse and plaster that had fallen from the faces of the surrounding structures, was sealed by collapse from the temple, and was associated with a support wall abutting the temple facade. Radiocarbon sample HAR-1105 from Level H dates to 2380 ± 70 B.P. and is associated with ceramics assigned to the Janabarriu phase (Lumbreras 1977: 10, Figs. 8–14; 1993:417–418). It is traditionally given an uncalibrated absolute date of 430 B.C. (Lumbreras 1993:417–418), but calibration provides two ranges of 550–380 B.C. (77% probability) and 760–690 B.C. (23% probability). From excavations by Rick of Level H, sample ETH-20741 returned a date of 2395 ± 55 B.P., with two calibrated ranges of 540–390 B.C. (79.9% probability) and 760–700 B.C. (20.1% probability), and sample ETH-20740 returned a date of 2260 ± 55 B.P., with three calibrated ranges of 400–350 B.C. (37.1% probability), 300–230 B.C. (55.0% probability), and 220–200 B.C. (7.9% probability). Together, these samples suggest that abandonment of ceremonial activity and physical collapse of the Circular Plaza Atrium likely were underway by the fifth century B.C., and perhaps earlier. Additionally, the presence of Janabarriu ceramics in Level H suggests that the physical collapse of the Circular Plaza Atrium may have been contemporary with Janabarriu occupations.

Lumbreras (1977:10; 1993:65) proposed that Level H and the abandonment of the Circular Plaza Atrium were contemporaneous with the use of the New Temple and the final occupation of Chavín de Huántar, and represented a drastically diminished importance of the gods of the Old Temple (that is, the Lanzón) and the marginalization and diminished use of the Old Temple itself. The construction sequence presented here supports a different interpretation. It demonstrates, in contrast, that the Circular Plaza itself is part of the final monumental construction stage, the Black and White Stage. The samples from Level H therefore postdate the Black and White Stage, suggesting they were deposited after monumental construction at the site had ceased. From this it can be concluded that the abandonment and collapse seen in the Circular Plaza Atrium likely extended across the site as a whole. The construction of support walls and fill in each area of the site after the Black and White Stage corresponds with this interpretation: examples include support structures seen in Level H in the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras 1977; Rick, this volume, chapter 1); a large wall supporting the full northern half of the Plaza Menor Terrace wall in the East Area (Kembel 2001); and support walls and massive fill found repeatedly in Rick's 1996–2001 excavations at Buildings A, B, C, the Circular Plaza Atrium, and the terraces west of the A-B-C complex (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1; Rick et al. 1998). Similarly, as discussed above, the construction of the Circular Plaza, its surrounding terrace, and the galleries in that terrace during the Black and White Stage indicates not the abandonment of the Lanzón, but rather its continued and likely increased importance during this final stage of monumental construction.

Considered together, the correspondence of the architectural sequence with associated radiocarbon samples suggests that the final monumental stage at Chavín de Huántar was undergoing construction around 900 to 780 B.C. It also suggests that around the fifth century B.C., following the final monumental stage, the site underwent a series of efforts to support and stabilize walls. Finally, it suggests that soon afterward the temple complex fell into disuse, was physically collapsing, and no longer functioned as it had during the preceding periods of monumental construction.

In sum, the architectural sequence presented here stands alone, independent of other chronological data, and places the Ofrendas Gallery and its established dates in the final rather than the first monumental stage of construction. These and additional dates suggest the final monumental stage, the Black and White Stage, was undergoing construction around 900 to 780 B.C., and was later followed, by 500 B.C., by periods of support constructions and physical collapse. This represents a significant shift in the site's chronology, placing the end of Chavín de Huántar's monumental construction efforts significantly earlier than the previously proposed 390–200 B.C. time frame. This shift holds major implications for understanding Chavín de Huántar's ceramic, art, and occupation sequences, as well as the site's role in prehistory, as discussed below.

Preliminary results from our 2004 dating project to establish an absolute chronology for Chavín de Huántar's architectural sequence support this view (Kembel et al. 2005). We are currently analyzing 33 radiocarbon dates from samples collected directly from monumental architectural contexts, specifically wall mortar inside the galleries. These samples span the full known monumental construction sequence. Thirty-two of the dates are pre-500 B.C., with 27 of these clustered between approximately 1200 and 800 B.C., and 5 extending as late as 500 B.C. (all calibrated 1-sigma ranges). These dates initially suggest that the monumental buildings at Chavín de Huántar were built over approximately 700 years, between approximately 1200 and 500 B.C., with most of the construction completed within the first 400 years; along with the previously discussed dates, they suggest that physical collapse was underway by the fifth century B.C. In our ongoing analysis in preparation for publication, we are considering factors that may affect these preliminary results. For example, an old wood effect does not appear to be influencing these dates (Haas and Kembel 2005). Additionally, evidence of remortaring suggests that in some cases the carbon samples, collected from the outer surface of the mortar, may date later maintenance events rather than original construction. As such, these samples would return "no-later-than" dates, meaning that original construction likely would date even earlier (Kembel et al. 2005). Currently, then, preliminary analysis of these new dates suggests that monumental construction at Chavín de Huántar both began and ended significantly earlier than the previously proposed range of 900–200 B.C.

Relationships of the Architectural Sequence to the Ceramic Sequences

Both Lumbreras and Burger have proposed relationships between their ceramic sequences for Chavín de Huántar and Rowe's three-phase architectural sequence, linking these relationships to radiocarbon ranges. Lumbreras (1989:23, 186) associates the Old Temple with the Urabarriu (1200–800 B.C.) and Ofrendas (800–600 B.C.) phases of his chronology, and the New Temple with the Chakinani (600–400 B.C.) and Rocas-Janabarriu (400–200 B.C.) phases. Burger (1981; 1984:229–245; 1992a:165) suggests a similar relationship of architecture to ceramics, associating the Old Temple with the Urabarriu phase of his chronology (850–460 B.C.), the first addition with the Chakinani phase (460–390 B.C.), and the full New Temple with the Janabarriu phase (390–200 B.C.). Burger (1984:230) states that the "Urabarriu ceramics pre-date or are contemporary with the earliest pottery of the Ofrendas Gallery."

These proposed detailed relationships of ceramics and architecture, however, were based primarily on two direct associations between ceramics and Rowe's architectural phases. The first was the placement of Ofrendas ceramics in the Ofrendas Gallery. Because the Ofrendas Gallery was discovered within the atrium of what Rowe had called the Old Temple, it was concluded that the Ofrendas ceramics, like the gallery's radiocarbon samples, also were directly associated with the Old Temple (Lumbreras and Amat 1965– 1966; Lumbreras 1977, 1993). In contrast, within the new architectural sequence proposed here, the construction of the Ofrendas Gallery in the Black and White Stage and the deposit of the Ofrendas ceramics at or following the gallery's completion place the Ofrendas ceramics in Chavín de Huántar's final monumental architectural stage. The second direct association between ceramics and architecture was the presence of Janabarriu ceramics in Level H of the Circular Plaza Atrium, the level that marks the abandonment of the Circular Plaza Atrium (Lumbreras 1977:10, Figs. 8–14; 1993:417–418). Previously, Level H was interpreted as marking a switch to the construction and use of the New Temple that was concurrent with the abandonment of the Old Temple. As discussed above, however, within the new architectural sequence Level H corresponds with the Support Construction Stage and later physical collapse, following monumental construction and associated with the site's decline.

Initial comparisons of the new architectural sequence with these ceramic associations suggested a much different relationship between Chavín de Huántar's architecture and ceramic sequences than previously proposed. They suggested that the Urabarriu ceramic phase was associated with Chavín construction stages prior to and perhaps including the Black and White Stage, the Ofrendas phase was directly associated with the Black

and White Stage, and the Janabarriu phase and likely the Chakinani phase were associated with the site after the Black and White Stage, after its monumental construction and activity had stopped and the site had declined (see figure 2.28) (Kembel 2001; see Kembel and Rick 2004).

Recent investigations in and around the monumental center, however, have greatly expanded the corpus of Chavín de Huántar's dated ceramics, suggesting a new relationship between Janabarriu ceramics and the architectural sequence presented here (Mesía 2007; Contreras 2007; Wolf [see Rick, chapter 1, this volume]; and Rick, personal communication 2007). In particular, excavations of contexts radiocarbon dated to approximately 800–500 B.C. and 1200–800 B.C. include Janabarriu ceramics and Urabarriu ceramics, respectively (see Mesía 2007). Paired with the dates discussed here for the Black and White Stage as well as the recent set of direct architectural dates briefly outlined above, these new data suggest that Janabarriu ceramics may in fact be associated with the Black and White Stage, the final monumental construction stage, at Chavín de Huántar (see Mesía 2007 and Contreras 2007). Additional associations of Janabarriu ceramics with the post-monumental contexts of Level H of the Circular Plaza Atrium as well as with the Caracolas Gallery and the terraces west of the A-B-C complex (Rick, this volume, chapter 1) suggest a continued use of Janabarriu ceramics during the site's decline and physical collapse. In this new comparison, the association of Urabarriu ceramics with construction stages prior to the Black and White Stage remains, as does the association of Ofrendas ceramics with the Black and White Stage, suggesting that Ofrendas and Janabarriu ceramics were at least partly contemporary. Further refinement of both Janabarriu and Urabarriu ceramic phases and clarification of the Chakinani phase are the subject of ongoing work (see Mesía 2007; and Wolf, personal communication 2007), promising to reveal more detailed chronological relationships between the ceramic and architectural sequences.

Relationships of the Architectural Sequence to the Art Sequence

Rowe's architectural sequence formed the foundation for his influential art sequence (Rowe 1962, 1967a). This art sequence is directly associated with the architecture at Chavín de Huántar in two of four art phases. The sequence's primary anchor point is the Black and White Portal, defined by Rowe as Phase D. Its second anchor point is Phase AB, which includes the Lanzón monolith and cornice blocks from Building A (Rowe 1962:12). These two anchor points maintain their relative positions in the architectural sequence presented here, with the Lanzón in place early, by the Expansion Stage, and the Black and White Portal built late, in the Black and White Stage (see figure 2.28). Additionally, the architectural sequence presented here provides another anchor point for the art sequence: the Circular Plaza artwork. Because the structures of the Circular Plaza Atrium were built in the Black and White Stage, the Circular Plaza artwork should belong to the same art phase as the Black and White Portal sculptures—Phase D—assuming both sets of artwork were carved for these purposes and not reused from earlier contexts. The correlations of the architectural sequence with the radiocarbon dates discussed above suggest that Phase D likely corresponds to around 900–780 B.C. and that Phase AB likely dates significantly earlier.

If, however, the columns and lintel of the Black and White Portal were moved from an earlier original location to the east face of Building A upon the construction of the Black and White Stage, as discussed previously, then the Phase D artwork on the columns and lintel would predate the actual physical construction of the Black and White Portal. If the Columnas Patio was the original location for the decorated columns and lintel, as speculated above, then Phase D would date to the late Consolidation Stage, predating and likely belonging to a different art phase than the Circular Plaza artwork of the Black and White Stage.

Initial efforts to integrate the Circular Plaza artwork into Rowe's stylistic sequence were built on the idea that the Circular Plaza was constructed as part of the Old Temple (Roe 1983:3; Burger 1992a:149; Bischof 1994). The Circular Plaza artwork was therefore proposed to be Phase B of Rowe's sequence, dividing his original Phase AB and categorizing the Lanzón as Phase A (Roe 1983: 3; Burger 1992a:149) In contrast, the architectural

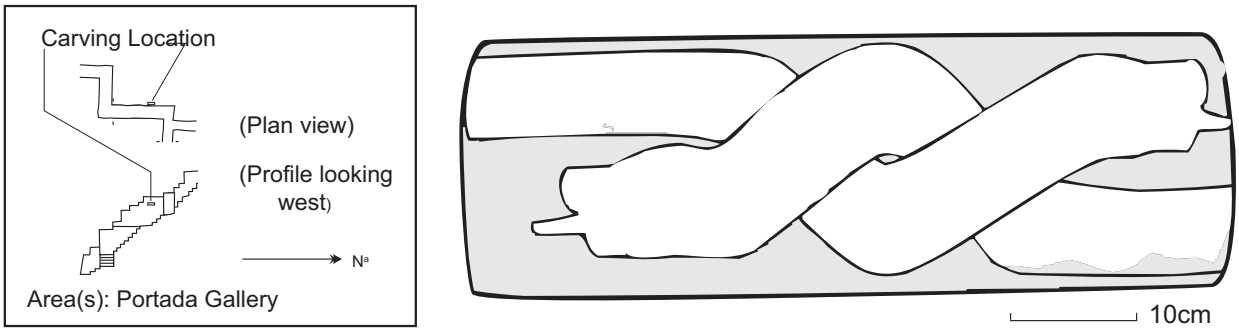


Figure 2.29. Carving of intertwined snakes located in the west wall of the Upper Portada staircase. Block measures 60 × 21 cm.

sequence presented here indicates the Circular Plaza artwork and the Lanzón monolith are widely separated in time, located at opposite ends of the architectural sequence. This architectural evidence is supported by Bischof's (see this volume, chapter 4) recent conclusion that decorations on Ofrendas ceramics are stylistically distinct from and later in time than the Lanzón. Further addressing the composition of Rowe's earliest Chavín art phase, Bischof (this volume, chapter 4; 1994) proposes that Phase AB be subdivided by assigning the Lanzón to Phase B and assigning art stylistically earlier than the Lanzón, as seen at sites other than Chavín de Huántar, to Phase A.

In relating Chavín de Huántar's art, ceramics, and architecture, Burger (1984:244–245) postulated that the few examples of Phase D iconography on Janabarriu ceramics represented a chronological link between Janabarriu ceramics and the New Temple, the construction phase in Rowe's sequence with which Phase D sculpture was associated (Rowe 1962, 1967a). These iconographic examples formed the primary link between the ceramic sequence and the New Temple. The construction sequence presented here demonstrates that Phase D sculptures are indeed associated with the final monumental construction stage at Chavín de Huántar; their chronological association with Janabarriu ceramics, however, appears to be valid but remains to be confirmed, depending on the chronological placement of Janabarriu ceramics as discussed above.

Rowe's (1962:9) stylistic evidence that older sculptures were reused in additions and that damaged slabs were replaced is consistent with the architectural sequence presented here. Sculptures on external walls of phases that were to be covered by the abutment of a new phase may have been removed and transferred to the new structure. Such a process may extend back to the earliest additions, removing any sculptures from the south and west faces of the NEA and placing them onto the walls of the Expansion Stage platforms, and then moving them to the final south, west, and east faces of Building A during the Consolidation Stage and the Black and White Stage. This may explain how a Phase AB sculpture appears on a late building phase, such as the cornice on the southwest corner of Building A. Similarly, Rowe's report (1962: 9) of a cornice slab with the most advanced style next to a much earlier one near the base of the old south wing (the NEA) could represent the replacement of an earlier slab due to damage or perhaps to "update" or "retrofit" part of the area to correspond with the Black and White Stage structures near this area, such as the Circular Plaza or the Black and White Portal. This process is consistent with the patterns of deconstruction and modification seen across the sequence.

Another example of how artwork may have been moved and reused exists in the Upper Portada Gallery. In this case, however, the artwork appears to have been reused as building material rather than as artwork. Embedded in the west wall of the Upper Portada Gallery is a 60-cm-wide × 21-cm-tall stone block carved with two intertwined snakes, documented during mapping in the 1998 season (figure 2.29). The face of the stone is quite eroded but clearly displays two snakes facing opposite directions, each with a protruding tongue. This carved image is one of four examples of art found in situ in the galleries, the

others being the two carved ceiling beams in the Vigas Ornamentales Gallery and the Lanzón monolith. It may be the carving documented by Bennett (1942:Fig. 28), which is listed without provenience.

The erosion of the snakes suggests that the stone was reused from an earlier structure, as does the manner in which the snake bodies are not entirely contained within the block face but rather continue off its edges, as if they were originally part of a larger image. Similarly, the image likely was obscured from view by plaster covering the gallery walls, suggesting it was not meant to be seen and was not designed for the space. The possibility this stone was reused should therefore be considered when studying how this double-snake image fits into the known corpus of Chavín art styles and their sequence; it probably was carved well before the construction of the Upper Portada Gallery in the High MA Phase of the Consolidation Stage.

Relationships of the Architectural Sequence to Occupation Patterns

The new architectural sequence also affects the interpretation of occupation patterns around the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar. Through excavations outside the monumental center and surface explorations in and around the monumental center, Burger (1984) studied occupation patterns at Chavín de Huántar. He determined that Urabarriu-phase occupations were located principally in the monumental center and also were found in a small adjacent area along the north shore of the Rio Wacheqsa, in a small area of occupation 0.5 km to the north, and at an Urabarriu-phase wall of megalithic boulders spanning the valley floor, near the north edge of the modern-day town (Burger 1984:221–231, Map 2). Burger (1984:224–226, 247) postulates that this wall helped to regulate trade and access to the monumental center, and that no more than a few hundred people lived in these areas in the Urabarriu phase. In the subsequent short-lived Chakinani phase, the megalithic wall and northern area were abandoned and the population around the monumental center grew: "There was a major change in settlement pattern in Chavín after the Urabarriu phase. The northern or lower barrio was abandoned, and the occupation became concentrated around the Temple area on both sides of the Huachecsa" (Burger 1984:231, Map 3). The Chakinani occupation "was centered about the Temple precinct, with inhabitants living in the area immediately surrounding the Temple and in the zone closest to the Temple on the north side of the Huachecsa" (Burger 1984: 233). Population increased, likely not exceeding 1000 people (Burger 1984:247). In the Janabarriu phase, the megalithic wall remained abandoned, and the area of the occupation, centered around the Temple, increased to approximately four times that of the Urabarriu-phase occupation and three times that of Chakinani-phase occupation (Burger 1984:235, Map 4). The estimated population increased to between 2000 and 3000 (Burger 1984:247).

Burger hypothesizes that these occupations, which correspond with the dates of their respective ceramic phases, also correspond with Rowe's three construction phases for the monumental center: the Urabarriu occupation (850–460 B.C.) with the construction of the Old Temple, the Chakinani occupation (460–390 B.C.) with the construction of the first addition, and the Janabarriu occupation (390–200 B.C.) with the construction of the full New Temple (Burger 1984: 229–245, 277; 1992a:165). The movement of population toward the monumental center and away from the megalithic north wall during the Chakinani phase, and the increased growth during the Janabarriu phase, are interpreted as indicators of increased power, prestige, and centralization of the leadership of the monumental center along with greater economic opportunities that the center provided (Burger 1984:233–234; 1992a:165).

Because these interpretations of Chavín de Huántar's occupation patterns are based on the site's old architectural sequence, a reconsideration in relation to the new architectural sequence helps frame an evolving picture of the site's settlement history. The construction of the final monumental stage at Chavín de Huántar, underway around 900 to 780 B.C., and the apparent physical destabilization of the temple followed by evidence of physical collapse, disuse, and changes in the nature of its function by around the middle of the first millennium B.C., suggest differing

interpretations of these population patterns depending on the chronology of the site's ceramic sequence. Linking the new architectural sequence with Burger's ceramic sequence and chronology suggests that the Urabarriu occupation corresponded with the construction and use of the monumental center, while the Chakinani and Janabarriu occupations corresponded with the period after the site had physically collapsed. In this scenario, the abandonment of the Urabarriu-phase megalithic wall north of the monumental center during the Chakinani and Janabarriu phases could correspond with the disuse of the temple and related needs to maintain the wall. Similarly, the move of the population toward the monumental center and the drastic increase of this population in the Chakinani and Janabarriu phases could represent the influx of people from the surrounding area to settle in and around the perhaps previously restricted monumental center in the wake of diminished temple functioning (see Kembel 2001). Linking the new architectural data with the new ceramic data outlined above, however, presents a very different picture. This newly emerging scenario, in which Chavín de Huántar's ceramic sequence shifts back in time along with the architecture and art sequences, suggests that a reevaluation of surrounding occupation patterns and their chronology is necessary to understand whether they shift back in time as well. This is essential for an accurate understanding of their relationships to the growth and functioning of the site's architecture and resulting sociopolitical implications. Again, ongoing refinement and dating of the ceramic sequence promise to help elucidate the relationships of changing settlement patterns to the history of the monumental center (see Mesía 2007; Contreras 2007; Wolf, personal communication 2007; Rick, personal communication 2007).

Implications for Chavín de Huántar's Time Depth

The timing of the earliest occupations at Chavín de Huántar and the first monumental constructions at the site have long been considered. Regarding Chavín de Huántar's time depth, Burger (1981:593–596; 1984) has argued that the Urabarriu-phase ceramics found in his excavations outside the monumental center were from the earliest settlement at Chavín, due to their stratigraphic location above sterile ground and the lack of earlier ceramics found by prior investigators. In contrast, Lumbreras (1993:354) argues that Urabarriu-phase ceramics are not well known and likely can be subdivided into more phases. He suggests that remains dating to the Initial and Preceramic periods may exist underneath the modern town and the monumental center, hypothesizing that construction of the monumental center began earlier than the Urabarriu and Ofrendas ceramic phases (Lumbreras 1993:353–354).

In addition to the new architectural radiocarbon dates currently under analysis, outlined above, many factors suggest that the chronology of the monumental center extends significantly back through the Early Horizon (900–200 B.C.) and into at least the Initial Period (1800–900 B.C.): the length and complexity of the sequence prior to the final monumental stage, which was under construction around 900 to 780 B.C.; the complexity and scale of the early gallery constructions of the first known stage, particularly the monumental Escalinata Staircase in the NEA, suggesting a prior developed expertise in constructing galleries and internal staircases; the highland Preceramic antecedents of architectural forms present in the earliest known construction phases; and the strong possibility, based on patterns seen in the known phases, that earlier structures may have been covered by or deconstructed to accommodate the earliest known buildings. These points are consistent with the architectural radiocarbon dates extending into the Initial Period and suggest that earlier monumental structures at Chavín de Huántar remain to be identified.

Significantly, excavations led by John Wolf in 2003 in the La Banda area, across the Mosna River to the east of the monumental center, discovered the clear presence of Preceramic and possible early Initial Period occupations (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1). This evidence for early, pre-Chavín occupations near the monumental center supports the idea that construction of the monumental center may have begun much earlier than previously believed and corresponds

with the presence of traditional highland architectural antecedents within the earliest known architectural forms in the monumental center.

Implications for Understanding Chavín de Huántar's Relationships with Other Sites

The shift of Chavín de Huántar's construction sequence back in time suggests that the site's relationships with other centers need to be reevaluated. With its final monumental stage undergoing construction around 900 to 780 B.C., and destabilization and physical decline underway likely by the fifth century B.C., the pattern at Chavín de Huántar corresponds with the pattern of decline of many coastal centers by 500 B.C. (see Burger 1981). This suggests that Chavín de Huántar coexisted with many other centers of the late Initial Period and the early Early Horizon and declined around the same time as these sites as well. This conclusion modifies the conclusion reached by Burger (1981) that Chavín de Huántar's postulated apogee and construction of the New Temple between 390 and 200 B.C. followed and may have been stimulated by the decline and collapse of coastal sites such as Haldas, Caballo Muerto, and Ancón by the fourth to fifth centuries B.C. Evidence presented here suggests that Chavín de Huántar coexisted with these sites during the early Early Horizon and the late Initial Period, and that its significant decline by the middle of the first millennium B.C. was roughly contemporaneous with theirs. Neither a precursor to the monumental centers of the late Initial Period and the early Early Horizon, nor the late consequence of their collapse, the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar appears to have been coeval with these centers and part of a network of centers that declined by the middle of the first millennium B.C. (Kembel 2001).

Recent data from excavations on the coast appear to support this conclusion. When comparisons between Chavín de Huántar and sites within the proposed Manchay culture (Burger and Salazar, this volume, chapter 3) are based on Chavín de Huántar's new architectural sequence and chronology rather than the Old Temple–New Temple sequence as a frame of reference, they indicate that the final monumental constructions of sites such as Manchay Bajo and Cardal overlapped chronologically with the final monumental stage at Chavín de Huántar, the Black and White Stage. Because the decline of these Manchay sites also seems to have occurred by the middle of the first millennium B.C. (Burger and Salazar, this volume, chapter 3), thus appearing to have been roughly concurrent with that of Chavín de Huántar, and because Chavín de Huántar's sequence prior to the Black and White Stage likely corresponded at least partly with the functioning of these sites, the sites of the Manchay culture appear to have coexisted with Chavín de Huántar during the late Initial Period and the early Early Horizon.

These fundamental changes in Chavín de Huántar's chronological placement and its relationships with other formative Andean sites require reexamining the nature and development of Chavín de Huántar's religious authority and social organization, the meaning of the Chavín horizon, and the broader context of Chavín de Huántar's relationships with other sites. Accordingly, they suggest that Chavín de Huántar's interactions with other sites occurred within a large interaction sphere involving many peer or near-peer centers, rather than as a late center whose dominance resulted from the collapse of other centers. Leaders of sites within this interaction sphere seem to have competed and actively developed their growing religion-based authority by building ever bigger and more complex convincing centers to attract followers and their resources (Kembel and Rick 2004). Similarly, changes in architectural forms and layout at Chavín de Huántar reveal shifts in site use and ideology over time as well as increased integration with other sites and architectural traditions. These and other patterns suggest that over the centuries leaders at Chavín de Huántar purposefully designed, modified, and expanded the site to serve, shape, and correspond with changes in the nature and scope of their evolving authority. For example, the incorporation of the formal, second U-shaped temple along with the Circular Plaza in the site's Black and White Stage suggests that these coastal-influenced additions were strategically designed and integrated by builders at Chavín de Huántar, in order to appeal to and attract a wider range of initiates, to whom

these familiar forms would communicate messages of power and authority (Kembel and Rick 2004).

Along with this and a range of other strategies (Kembel and Rick 2004), the designers at Chavín de Huántar apparently used architectural continuity to enhance their own evolving authority, through the strategic and purposeful inclusion of key elements of the site's older architecture in the design and construction of new phases. Rather than burying older structures through temple entombment (Onuki 1994), as seen at many other Formative sites such as Kuntur Wasi (Onuki 2001b), La Galgada (Grieder and Bueno Mendoza 1985; Grieder et al. 1988), and Kotosh (Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972), builders at Chavín de Huántar went to extreme lengths to keep significant portions of the older architecture accessible while integrating old and new structures into a coherent whole. While the conversion of rectangular structures and patios into galleries could be seen as a form of entombment, in contrast to the pattern at other sites the builders at Chavín de Huántar maintained access to these structures and in many cases designed the new phases to focus attention on and serve as access points for the newly enclosed spaces. Similarly, the continued appearance of the traditional highland rectangular structures, even as older versions were subsumed into new growth by being converted into galleries and even amid adoptions of coastal forms, suggests that Chavín de Huántar's architectural designers wanted to maintain the highland form and its associations that reached far back into the past. These patterns suggest that through strategic and selective architectural continuity—integrating older architecture within new designs, maintaining access to important earlier spaces, and creating new representations of traditional highland forms even while integrating coastal ones—Chavín de Huántar's architectural designers drew on, claimed, and even advertised the accumulated authority represented by the architecture itself.

With a clearer picture of the absolute dates of the final monumental stage at Chavín de Huántar, we can also better understand possible interactions between Chavín de Huántar and other sites. For example, at the highland site of Kuntur Wasi at the beginning of the Kuntur Wasi phase, 800 to 500 B.C. (based on uncalibrated dates), the site was completely redesigned, with the burial of previous constructions and the introduction of a U-shaped temple, a circular plaza, and terraces formed by containing walls made of very large stones (Onuki 2001b:113–116; Kato 1994:201–203). The design and construction of this phase appears to have occurred closely in time to the strikingly similar changes of the Black and White Stage at Chavín de Huántar, whose construction was underway around 900 to 780 B.C. and followed by the site's decline by approximately 500 B.C.; in this stage, the second, large and formal U-shaped temple was constructed at Chavín de Huántar, along with the Circular Plaza as well as additional terraces formed of stone walls. Previously, construction of Chavín de Huántar's Circular Plaza was thought to correspond chronologically with these changes at Kuntur Wasi, but the final U-shaped temple at Chavín de Huántar was thought to follow them centuries later, between 400 and 200 B.C. In this new scenario, however, we see at two dominant Formative highland sites the nearly simultaneous incorporation of a suite of architectural forms traditionally and strongly associated with powerful temples from the coast. This correspondence holds significant theoretical implications, suggesting that builders at both sites were actively and strategically incorporating these traditional forms from both the north and central coasts in order to compete for more constituents, to whom these forms were familiar, and to convince them of their growing authority.

These and other comparisons suggest that sites within the proposed interaction sphere communicated and competed by selectively adopting and sharing key elements of material culture while keeping others site-specific. For example, sites including Kuntur Wasi (Onuki 2001b), centers within the Manchay culture (Burger and Salazar, this volume, chapter 3), and Chavín de Huántar adopted the circular plaza from the north coast relatively late within their sequences, at roughly the same time, but they also developed and maintained unique features, such as, at Chavín de Huántar, the extensive internal architecture system. Likewise, sites shared key iconographic elements amid local art traditions and

variations (Bischof, this volume, chapter 4), with images that could be widely recognized, such as representations of a circular plaza form in horizontally oriented textiles (Conklin, this volume, chapter 10). Similarly, it appears that diversely originated Ofrendas-style ceramics were present at a number of sites that maintained their own local styles. For example, Ofrendas-style ceramics appear in the Ofrendas Gallery during the Black and White Stage at Chavín de Huántar, in the Kuntur Wasi phase at Kuntur Wasi (Inokuchi 1998), at San Jacinto during its Phase 3 (approximately 900 to 500 B.C.) (Carrión Sotelo 1998), and at Manchay Bajo in upper layers with dates comparable to those of the Ofrendas Gallery (Burger and Salazar, this volume, chapter 3). This sharing or selective adoption of key features amid local variations suggests additional avenues through which sites communicated and competed as peer or near-peer centers within a larger interaction sphere.

Comparisons of construction and chronology between sites also can provide insight into social development in the Formative north-central Andes. For example, at Kuntur Wasi, during the construction of the U-shaped temple and circular plaza there at the beginning of the Kuntur Wasi phase, seven elite burials accompanied by elaborate grave goods were incorporated within the top of the central mound of the U-shaped temple, as part of its construction, rather than as later incursions into the building (Onuki 2001b: 115–116; Kato 1994:213). This suggests that construction of this massive phase was at least partly in recognition of the people who were buried in the tombs. While no Chavín-period burials have yet been found at Chavín de Huántar, the parallel between chronology and construction of formal U-shaped temples at Chavín de Huántar and Kuntur Wasi implies that similar social circumstances could have inspired major constructions, particularly the Black and White Stage, at Chavín de Huántar.

Implications for Interpretation and Reevaluation of the Chavín Horizon

The Chavín horizon has been defined as the period of panregional exchange, technological innovations in textiles and metallurgy, and widespread Janabarriu-related ceramics, dating to between 490 and 200 B.C. (Burger 1988, 1992a, 1993a:54–55). Burger has postulated that this period corresponds with the peak of a "Chavín cult" and the apogee of New Temple construction and functioning of the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar. The correlation of Burger's ceramic sequence with the new architectural sequence, however, presents a scenario in which Janabarriu ceramics are not associated with the peak in construction and functioning of the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar, but rather appear after the center has physically destabilized and fallen into disuse, and the nature of its function has significantly changed. In this scenario, the widespread Janabarriu-related ceramics, panregional exchange, and technological innovations that appeared between 490 and 200 B.C. would appear to be a post-decline phenomenon that does not represent a "Chavín cult" associated with the functioning of the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar (see Kembel 2001).

Significantly, however, because the recent investigations at Chavín de Huántar by Mesía (2007), Contreras (2007), Wolf (personal communication, 2007), and Rick (personal communication, 2007) date Janabarriu ceramics to approximately 800–500 B.C., largely contemporary with the Black and White Stage, a new scenario must be considered. The pairing of this new ceramic data with the new architectural sequence suggests that a new chronological model more accurately reflects sociopolitical development at the site, a model in which Chavín de Huántar's ceramic sequence shifts back in time along with its art and architecture sequences, concluding around the middle of the first millennium B.C. This new model, the dates and other data supporting it, and their implications for understanding the Chavín horizon are the subjects of current analyses.

CONCLUSION

The new architectural sequence summarized here incorporates abundant chronological data from the internal and external architecture at Chavín de Huántar. Analysis of this data indicates

that the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar was constructed in a complex sequence of at least fifteen phases within five larger stages, significantly different from a simple Old Temple– New Temple distinction. Within this sequence, internal and external architecture were planned and constructed as part of a single design. Growth, both horizontal and vertical, was guided by principles of centeredness, symmetry, and asymmetry, and incorporated frequent modifications to adapt existing architecture to new constructions.

This new sequence also demonstrates that known monumental construction at Chavín de Huántar began with highland architectural forms and only later incorporated the coastal forms of the U-shaped temple and the Circular Plaza by which the site is traditionally identified. In particular, freestanding rectangular structures following highland building traditions formed an integral part of Chavín de Huántar's construction. They were present from the first monumental stage, were built throughout the sequence, and were transformed into galleries with the addition of subsequent phases. Access to these and other important spaces was maintained through later additions, despite significant effort and sometimes drastic modifications to existing architecture. Coastal forms were incorporated by the site's second monumental stage and reached their most formal in the site's final monumental stage, the Black and White Stage, with the construction of a second, large U-shaped temple and the Circular Plaza.

Along with this incorporation of traditional architectural forms from both the highlands and the coast, a number of developments are unique to Chavín de Huántar. The site's unique gallery system was present from the beginning of the known architectural sequence and continued to expand throughout the sequence, with gallery construction becoming standardized by the final monumental construction stage. While gallery patios apparently served as transition spaces between galleries and the exterior, hanging staircases played an important role as well, perhaps as mediating spaces between symbolically distinct levels of the temple. Changes to the architecture reflect some of the ways in which the builders at Chavín de Huántar shaped the site's use, designed its symbolic patterning and meaning, and created a wider range of appeal over time. They also reflect the continued importance of the Lanzón monolith through the site's final monumental stage.

The new architectural sequence for Chavín de Huántar forms the foundation for reevaluating relationships between the site's architecture and its other sequences. The final monumental structures at Chavín de Huántar shift back in time, with construction underway around 900 to 780 B.C. and periods of support constructions and physical collapse underway by the middle of the first millennium B.C. This is a major shift in Chavín de Huántar's absolute chronology, placing the site's final monumental constructions substantially earlier than the previously proposed period of 390 to 200 B.C. As a result of this shift, the two anchor points of Chavín de Huántar's art sequence maintain their relative positions in the architectural sequence, but, along with the architecture, their absolute chronology gets pushed back in time. Ofrendas ceramics, which previously had been associated with the Old Temple, are associated with the Black and White Stage, or final stage of monumental construction. Understanding of the relationship between Janabarriu ceramics and the site's monumental buildings continues to evolve due to the recent emergence of new ceramic data and associated radiocarbon dates. Initially, in relation to the old architectural sequence, Janabarriu ceramics were thought to correspond with New Temple construction. When comparisons of the new architectural sequence and the ceramic sequence are based on earlier-published ceramic dates, Janabarriu ceramics appear to postdate monumental construction and to be associated with physical decline and abandonment of the monumental center, followed by its post-monumental reoccupation. When relationships between the architectural sequence and the ceramic sequence are based on newly emerging ceramic data and associated radiocarbon dates, however, Janabarriu ceramics appear to be largely contemporary with the site's final monumental construction stage as well as its physical decline. The articulation of occupation patterns with the architecture and ceramic sequences and their radiocarbon dates remains to be clarified. In sum, then, the comparisons between the architectural sequence presented here

and Chavín de Huántar's radiocarbon, art, and ceramic sequences indicate that the architecture and art sequences stay linked but get pushed back in time; the final viewpoint on the architecture-ceramic relationships remains to be clarified, but at this point the ceramic sequence appears to stay linked with the architecture and art and shift back in time as well.

These changes represent a significant reevaluation of the monumental center at Chavín de Huántar, with profound implications for understanding how the site relates to other centers of the Initial Period and the Early Horizon. The shift of Chavín de Huántar's architectural sequence back in time suggests that Chavín de Huántar was neither the origin site of Andean civilization nor a later center flourishing in the aftermath of the collapse of other monumental centers. Rather, Chavín de Huántar appears to have been coeval with many monumental centers that existed during the late Initial Period and the early Early Horizon and that declined by the middle of the first millennium B.C.

Within a network or interaction sphere of these contemporary monumental centers, leaders appear to have competed by designing and building ever bigger and more complex sites, in efforts to convince followers of their evolving authority. At Chavín de Huántar, this process included adapting new architectural forms and maintaining strategic, purposeful access to and continuity with older ones, integrating old and new structures to form a coherently designed whole. Within this interaction sphere, site designers at different centers appear to have communicated with one another and their followers by adopting similar architectural forms and incorporating a common iconography, while each site maintained its own unique innovations and combination of elements.

Building on the work of past investigators, recent research at Chavín de Huántar provides new data and insights that suggest a different understanding of the site's place and role in prehistory. Ongoing and future research promises to clarify the many issues raised by this work, investigating the monumental center's full time depth, its relationships with nearby settlements, its relationships with many other monumental centers across the north-central Andes, and the role of Chavín de Huántar in the development of authority and social complexity in the Andean Formative period.

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Part II
The Predecessors of Chavín

3.

The Manchay Culture and the Coastal Inspiration for Highland Chavín Civilization

Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar

The relationship of the early cultures of the central coast to the famous temple at Chavín de Huántar has been a subject of interest since Julio C. Tello identified the presence of highland Chavín influence at the coastal shellmounds of Ancón (Tello 1930, 1942, 1943). Because Max Uhle (1913) had concluded that the primitive cannibalistic fisher-folk were responsible for the remains at Ancón in the Chillón drainage and similar shoreline sites, Tello's position constituted a radical reconsideration of both the complexity of the early coastal culture and its relationship to the culture of highland neighbors. Subsequently, Tello's protégé, Rebeca Carrión Cachot (1948), concluded from her excavations that Ancón was a Chavín "colony," although she specified that the empire she had in mind was based on religion rather than imperial conquest.

Investigators continued to assume throughout the 1950s and 1960s that the early ceramic cultures of the central coast were Chavín-related, and archaeologists such as Jose Casafranca and Toribio Mejía Xesspe identified large platform mounds associated with black pottery such as La Florida and Garagay as the products of Chavín influence (Burger 1987). This misconception began to be rectified by the chronological work of Edward Lanning (1961, 1967) and Thomas Patterson (Patterson and Moseley 1968), but even in 1970 Harry Scheele still framed his study of U-shaped centers in the Lurín Valley as the result of Chavín influence, as indicated by the title of his unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Chavín Occupation of the Central Coast of Peru" (Scheele 1970).

In 1981 Burger argued in an *American Antiquity* article entitled "The Radiocarbon Evidence for the Temporal Priority of Chavín de Huántar" that the existing ^{14}C measurements and ceramic chronologies implied that most so-called Chavín-related sites along the central and north coast of Peru were earlier than Chavín de Huántar and could not be explained in terms of "Chavín influence." This observation provided part of the foundation for the more general hypothesis that the coastal cultures of the central, north-central, and north coast of the second millennium B.C. provided significant sources of inspiration for the creation of the highland civilization known as Chavín (Burger 1981, 1985, 1988, 1992a). This hypothesis posits that there is no single source for Chavín culture but rather a diversity of coastal, highland, and eastern lowland sources that were creatively drawn upon, transformed, and added to by the highland peoples of the Mosna Valley through innovative cultural developments at Chavín de Huántar itself.

Burger's identification of the critical role of early coastal cultures in the formation of Chavín culture had early antecedents in the writings of

Rafael Larco Herrera (1941), but it rejected Larco's view that Chavín de Huántar was established by Cupisnique colonists from the north coast and that Chavín culture was a straightforward introduction or emulation of Cupisnique cultural patterning. On the contrary, Chavín culture was viewed as a unique tradition invented by creatively drawing upon earlier Initial Period cultural traditions from the coast, highlands, and eastern lowlands (Burger 1985, 1992a, 1993a). It should be noted that some scholars, most notably Carlos Elera (1993), continue to advocate a variant of the Larco hypothesis (compare Inokuchi 1998).

When the 1981 *American Antiquity* article was written, the information available from Initial Period and Early Horizon coastal sites was limited, and it was difficult to link the available ^{14}C measurements and ceramic sequences to the monumental architecture of the coastal sites being proposed as potential antecedents. Two decades have now passed, and enough new information has been produced from the intervening investigation on the coast and at Chavín de Huántar to justify reconsidering the observations and hypothesis proposed a quarter-century ago. Some of the most intensive research has been carried out in the Lurín Valley in a project that the authors have directed since 1985, and this chapter focuses on the relevance of the results from the central coast for evaluating earlier ideas.

Noteworthy efforts also have been made by other investigators on the north coast on cultural expressions sometimes known collectively as Cupisnique (e.g., Elera 1983, 1993; Tellenbach 1986; compare Zoubek 2001) and on the north-central coast (e.g., S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987, 1998, 2002; Vega-Centeno et al. 1998; compare Daggett 1984). All of these are relevant in addressing the hypothesis of coastal sources of inspiration for Chavín de Huántar, but given the constraints of time at the Dumbarton Oaks Roundtable that inspired this volume, our remarks were confined to the cultural expressions we refer to as the "Manchay culture" that extended along the 100 km of coast from the Lurín Valley on the south to the Chancay drainage on the north. This includes both the lower and middle valley areas and encompasses approximately 5000 km^2 of Peru's central coast.

At the Dumbarton Oaks Roundtable, two papers were presented summarizing the results and implications of the Stanford University investigations at Chavín de Huántar, and these papers have been included in this volume. The content and conclusions of these essays were sufficiently important to require modification of our essay. In these and other recent essays, Rick and Kembel claim that Chavín de Huántar is much older than Burger concluded and that the early buildings at the site can be considered coeval with middle Initial Period (1200–1500 B.C.) coastal developments. In our opinion this conclusion is poorly supported by the evidence presented in their publications. It should be treated as an alternative hypothesis that requires additional investigation and evidence before it can be accepted.

NAMING AND DEFINING THE MANCHAY CULTURE

We refer to the Initial Period cultural manifestation along Peru's central coast as the Manchay culture, to differentiate it from the unnamed Initial Period culture on the north-central coast expressed at sites such as Sechín Alto, the Cupisnique culture of the north coast expressed at sites such as Caballo Muerto, and the Chavín culture in the northern highlands (Burger 2003). The decision to assign a name for the shared cultural expression of Peru's central coastal societies was foreshadowed in the writings of the architect Carlos Williams (1971, 1985) in which he identified the central coast as being characterized during the Formative by U-shaped pyramid complexes (figure 3.1). Williams argued this pattern extended from Mala to Pativilca, although it was centered in the valleys of Chancay, Chillón, Rimac, and Lurín, and he concluded that "[t]he central coast of Peru was an integrated cultural area with common cultural traits and a shared evolutionary trajectory" (Williams 1985:227).

The decision to name the central coast cultural pattern was likewise foreshadowed by Thomas C. Patterson's coining of the term the "La Florida Social Formation" to distinguish the distinctive sociopolitical organization of the groups on the central coast during the Initial Period from those

Figure 3.1. Aerial photograph of U-shaped temple complex of Cardal, Lurín Valley. *Photo: Proyecto Lurín*.

preceding and following them (Patterson 1983). Patterson's name, however, refers to the Marxist concept of social formation rather than an archaeological culture and consequently is not comparable to either Chavín or Cupisnique.

As has been noted, from a formal perspective the sites with U-shaped architecture in the lower Lurín, Rimac, Chillón, and Chancay valleys can be viewed as manifestations of a single, previously unnamed pre-Chavín culture that extended along the central coast during the second millennium B.C. (Burger 1992a:60–75). Until the late l960s, this culture was known best from excavations at shoreline villages such as Ancón and Curayacu (Engel 1956; Lanning 1960; Matos 1968; Patterson 1971; Willey and Corbett 1954), but information on this culture has been gradually accumulating on larger inland centers with research at San Jacinto in Chancay (Carrión Sotelo 1998), at La Florida, and Garagay, in Rimac (Patterson 1985; Ravines and Isbell 1976; Ravines 1984), and at Huacoy and other Initial Period sites in Chillón (Ludeña 1970, 1973; Silva 1998), and at numerous early sites in Lurín (Scheele 1970). There is also evidence that indicates that the distinctive U-shaped public centers of this culture extended beyond the shoreline and lower valleys into the narrow mid-valley zones of most or all of these valleys (Scheele 1970; Mesía 2000; Silva and Jaime 2000; Julio Zegarra, personal communication).

The realization that the U-shaped centers of the central coast are not products of the Chavín culture produced a terminological impasse that has impeded discussion. Rather than continuing to wrestle with the problem by referring to this culture with ambiguous terms such as "the pre-Chavín or Initial Period culture of the central coast" or "the Initial Period culture with a tradition of U-shaped architecture," we decided to overcome a general reluctance to coin new terms and propose the name "Manchay culture" for this newly recognized archaeological phenomenon. In our view the Manchay culture is roughly coeval

with the distinctive Cupisnique culture of the north coast. Its final phases during the late Initial Period/early Early Horizon overlap with Chavín culture in the Mosna Valley of Peru's northern highlands.

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the Manchay culture, but its definition is based on numerous shared features, particularly those of public architecture. These were summarized by Carlos Williams (1985): terraced, flat-topped, U-shaped platform complexes decorated by unbaked clay friezes; public complexes oriented north–northeast; an open space between at least one of the non-symmetric arms of the U and the central platform; an inset atrium in the central platform pyramid fronted by a large staircase that originates in the central plaza; and a massive, leveled rectangular plaza flanked by the terraced lateral platforms of the U (figure 3.2). The Manchay culture is also characterized by pit burials with few grave goods and a distinctive iconographic style that is found on temple walls, ceramics, and perishable objects of wood and other materials.

In the central Andes, cultures have traditionally been defined using ceramic styles, but this

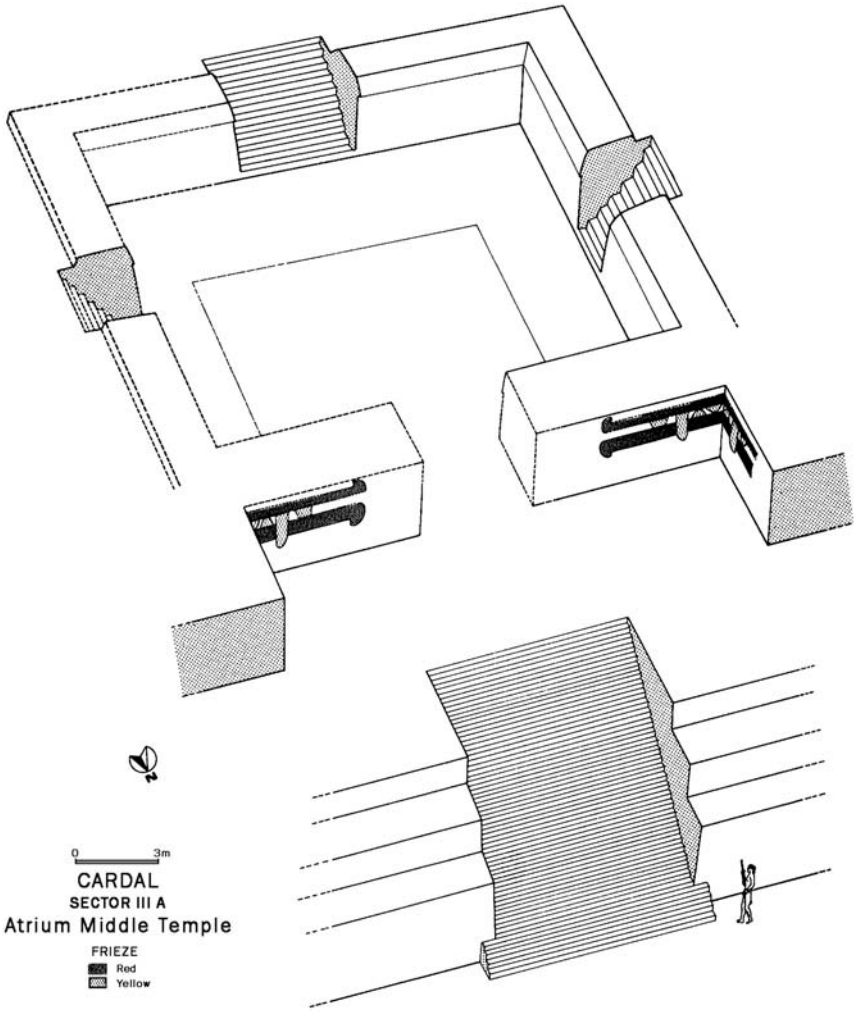


Figure 3.2. Isometric reconstruction of the central staircase and atrium at Cardal, indicating the placement of the unbaked clay frieze of a fanged mouth band. *Drawing: Bernardino Ojeda*.

has proved difficult for the Initial Period and the Early Horizon. Because elaborate interments were not an important feature of the Manchay culture (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991), we lack a sample of complete ceramic vessels such as the one for the north coast that Larco used in his initial definition of the Cupisnique culture. Recent evidence from the north coast, however, suggests the existence of many coeval pottery styles in these northern valleys rather than just the "classic" Cupisnique style recorded by Larco for the Quebrada de Cupisnique and the neighboring Chicama Valley (compare Alva 1986a; Burger 1992a; Lapiner 1976). The pottery style of the Manchay culture varies both within and between valleys, but it was dominated by simple shapes, especially bowls with convex sides, single-necked bottles, jars with concave curving necks, and neckless cooking vessels. Most pottery was left unpainted or slipped with an overall red wash, although it was sometimes darkened by reduction or decorated with bichrome painting and several types of surface modification, particularly incision (e.g., Patterson 1985:Fig. 5; Burger 1987).

There are recognizable stylistic and paste differences between the assemblages of coeval sites within the Lurín Valley, as well as more striking contrasts between the Lurín assemblages and those in Rimac, Chillón, and Chancay. Nonetheless, there are some distinctive features of Central Coast pottery worth mentioning, particularly the prominence of shallow bowls with incised interior decoration in Chillón and Rimac, and the popularity of various modes of zoned bichrome painting on bottles and bowls in Rimac and Lurín. The reason for this ceramic diversity, and the resulting lesser utility of pottery in cultural definitions for this time, may be a function of the socioeconomic context of pottery production during the Initial Period. A technical study by Trisha Thorme (1999) of pottery paste from the Lurín Valley demonstrated that pottery was being produced at multiple centers in the valley rather than at a single valley or regional center. Thorme concluded that each site may have been producing its own pottery, a hypothesis that was first proposed by Thomas Patterson (1983) on purely theoretical grounds. In 1999 the excavations at Manchay Bajo succeeded in locating a zone of ceramic manufacture to the northeast of the site's central plaza, thereby providing the first empirical evidence for the production of ceramics at one of the civic-ceremonial complexes of the Manchay culture.

While pottery may be of limited value in defining a distinctive Manchay culture, this can be accomplished utilizing over two dozen public centers of the Manchay culture whose shared features were first summarized by the architect Carlos Williams. The work in Lurín has also revealed new patterns that may eventually be incorporated into a definition of the Manchay culture. In both instances in Lurín where we have done selective clearing of the back of the central pyramid, the presence of a large rear stairway has come to light, and back staircases may be characteristic of the central mounds of the U-shaped complexes. In terms of the topographic location of these public complexes within a valley's settlement pattern, our research suggests the placement of these centers on the edge of cultivated lands at the time they were established. The presence of multiple coeval centers in a single valley is likewise typical of the Manchay culture. The materials utilized in the construction of the monumental architecture of the Manchay culture includes adobe brick, wattle-and-daub (*quincha*), and quarried stone; there are no known cases in which cut and polished masonry blocks (ashlars) are utilized. And while the exterior of public architecture was sometimes decorated with modeled, incised, and/or painted clay sculptures, there is no evidence that stone carvings were ever employed. With the exception of Cerro Sechín, this pattern seems to be true for the entire Peruvian coast during the Initial Period. The importance of cut-stone masonry and exterior stone sculpture at Chavín de Huántar contrasts sharply with the situation at the Manchay culture centers.

In addition to a distinctive pattern of public architecture and ceramic styles, the iconography that adorns the temples and, in some areas, the pottery, is likewise an identifying marker of Manchay culture. Unfortunately, the full breadth of this symbolic system remains to be revealed and

analyzed. This limitation is due to many factors, including (1) the absence of decoration on many structures, (2) the scarcity of excavations in those portions of the centers where adornment is usually encountered, (3) the absence of religious iconography on the pottery of many sites of the Manchay culture (for example, Cardal and Mina Perdida), and (4) the scarcity of whole vessels in those areas (such as Ancón) where iconography on pottery is plentiful.

Despite these limitations, it is possible to highlight a few of the distinctive themes that characterize the symbolism of Manchay culture. One of the most recognizable motifs is a geometric symbol combining a wave and a mountain motif (figure 3.4). Variants of this design are repeated on the interior of the atrium walls of Garagay's Middle Temple (Burger 1992a:64, Fig. 43) and on the exterior walls of the atrium on Cardal's northeast platform (Scheele 1970). Even more striking and pervasive in the religious imagery is a strong preference for beings with eccentric hemispherical eyes, bow-shaped mouths, and curved upper fangs which overlap the lower lip (figure 3.3). Such mouths are perhaps best known from the Middle Temple at Garagay, but they also appear in the painted friezes at Cardal and Manchay Bajo.

Additional examples of the central themes of Manchay culture iconography exist on the incised pottery from Ancón, Curayacu, Garagay, and Manchay Bajo. A distinctive feature of these fangs on the pottery are parallel diagonal lines on the upper section of the fangs (compare Burger 1992a: 66, Fig. 46). This depiction of large upper fangs adorned with parallel diagonal incisions is also shared with the so-called Ofrendas-, Dragoniano-, and Chavín-style vessels from the Ofrendas Gallery (Lumbreras 1993:Pls. 279, 282, 291, 296, 298–300, 303, 306–308, 310, 311, 313, 314, 318, 320, 321, 354, 355, 360, 361). The distinctive fanged mouths of the Manchay culture were utilized in the figurative representations of supernaturals, regardless of whether the supernatural has human, feline, avian, turtle, arachnid, or other dominant attributes. Many of these elements can be seen together on the large religious

Figure 3.3. Unbaked clay polychrome frieze from Garagay, Rimac Valley, depicting the fanged head of the arachnid supernatural. *Photo: William Isbell.*

image with a gourd body discovered in 1994 near the summit at Mina Perdida (plate 3.1). Another interesting and distinctive aspect of the iconography is the apparent importance of arachnids, judging from friezes at Garagay and Cardal (figure 3.4). The spider is absent from religious iconography of Chavín de Huántar, but it can be found on stone ceremonial vessels produced by the roughly coeval Cupisnique culture on the north coast (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983).

Some simplified motifs on the Manchay culture pottery at sites such as Ancón can be related to the more complex iconography on the temple walls and ritual paraphernalia. For example, disembodied fanged mouths are common, as are wave motifs and stepped block motifs that relate to water and mountains. The prominence of the guilloche motif on the pottery of Ancón and some other Manchay culture sites may be understood in terms of its relationship with the spider web and associated arachnid deity, as expressed in the friezes at Garagay. While there are many distinctive elements in the iconography of the Manchay culture, it shares the emphasis on the triad—Snake, Jaguar, and Bird—with Chavín de Huántar and many other Formative cultures (Tello 1923; Carrión Cachot 1959; Morales 1980).

In the central Andes, the selection of a name for a prehistoric culture is almost always arbitrary, since the original name of the culture, if one ever existed, has been lost forever. The value of an assigned name derives solely from its heuristic value as a tool in archaeological discussion. Nevertheless, we believe that some terms are better than others, and there are a number of considerations that make the "Manchay culture" a good choice. Most importantly, it has not been used previously and is consequently free of confusing older associations. The name was taken from one of the U-shaped centers in the Lurín Valley, Manchay Bajo (PV48-147), initially investigated by Harry Scheele (1970) and later by ourselves (Burger 2003).

Unlike the other Initial Period centers in Lurín, Manchay Bajo continued to be viewed by the local population as a source of religious power, long after its abandonment as an Initial Period public center. The longevity of the site's prestige was confirmed archaeologically during the 1998 and 1999 field seasons at Manchay Bajo (figure 3.5). Our excavations unearthed a series of Late Horizon offerings of whole *Spondylus* shells, metal artifacts, and necklaces of perforated seeds; these had been placed along the axis of the central stairway of the Initial Period temple. Clearly, the Late Horizon inhabitants of the Lurín Valley considered Manchay Bajo to be a *huaca* of special power, and highly valued items were offered to ensure the cooperation and support of the supernatural forces still associated with the monumental complex, despite its abandonment for two millennia.

Various forms of the term *manchay* appear in the colonial Quechua dictionary prepared by Diego González Holguín (1989[1608]:228). *Manchay cachani*, for example, is defined as "To walk with fear as in a time of plague" ["Andar con temores como en tiempo de peste"], and *Manchay manchay* is said to mean "A frightening and terribly fearsome thing" ["Cossa espantable terrible temerosa"]. Clearly, in the early seventeenth century the term *manchay* conveyed a sense of awe-inspiring fear beyond that experienced in daily life. Three centuries later it still holds this significance for native Quechua speakers; in the contemporary Quechua of Ancash (Parker and Chávez 1976:99), for example, *mantsay* signifies "fear, fright, terror"

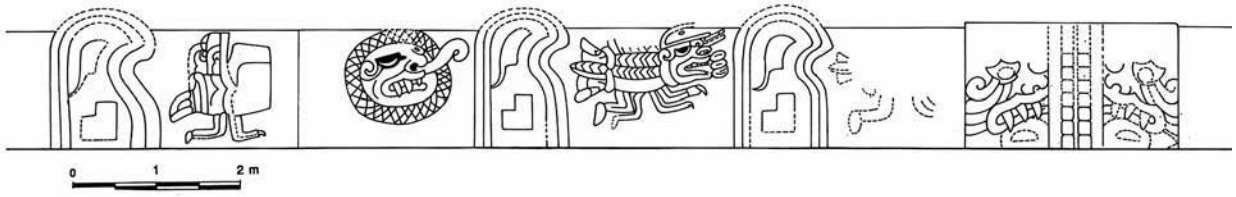


Figure 3.4. Unbaked clay frieze from the atrium at Garagay, Rimac Valley

Figure 3.5. Central mound of Manchay Bajo, Lurín Valley, during excavation. *Photo: Richard Burger*.

[miedo, susto, temor, terror] or "to be afraid, to be frightened" [temer, tener miedo a]. Given the iconography of the unbaked clay wall friezes of Cardal, Manchay Bajo, and Garagay and the religious effigy of Mina Perdida, with its focus on supernaturals with large fangs and other characteristics of fierce carnivores, the name "Manchay culture" seems particularly appropriate.

Chavín de Huántar's Antiquity and the Implications of the Separate Mound Stage

Before considering the role of the Manchay culture as a source of inspiration for the Chavín culture, it is necessary to clarify the chronological relationship between the two. Was the Manchay culture temporally antecedent to classic Chavín civilization as embodied by the temple at Chavín de Huántar? Burger (1981, 1984, 1992a) argued elsewhere that the ceremonial complex at Chavín de Huántar was first built during the late Initial Period. A rough idea of the date of these beginnings in uncalibrated radiocarbon years can be gleaned from the earliest of the measurements associated with Chavín de Huántar's Urabarriu phase, the earliest of the ceramic phases documented for the site (see Burger 1998:Ap. G). The oldest measurements from excavations in the surrounding settlement—2900 ± 150 B.P. (ISGS-493), 2770 ± 75 B.P. (ISGS-486), and 2715 ± 100 B.P. (UCR-694)—are consistent with the 2700 ± 85 B.P. (GX-1128) measurement from the Ofrendas Gallery, a structure traditionally linked to the Old Temple. A single measurement, 3050 ± 120 B.P. (TK-18), also from the Ofrendas Gallery, suggests the possibility of an earlier date for the Old Temple, but dates made at this time at the University of Tokyo laboratory were notoriously erratic. Moreover, if the Ofrendas Gallery represents a short period of use, as Lumbreras (1993) concluded in his final report, it is difficult to reconcile the very early date with the other measurement from the Gallery as well as with the Urabarriu

measurements. Thus, based on published evidence, an uncalibrated age of 2900 B.P. would seem a reasonable estimate for the initiation of the Old Temple. If calibrated, this would place the founding of the temple at slightly before 1000 B.C.

As described elsewhere in this volume, the mapping and excavations beginning in 1994 at the ceremonial complex of Chavín de Huántar directed by John Rick have suggested a more complex architectural sequence than that proposed by Rowe (1962). The new sequence includes constructions said to predate Rowe's Old Temple construction phase (Rick 1998 et al.). In the Kembel and Rick construction sequence, the constructions are organized in a series of fifteen phases which can be grouped into five higher stages "according to site-wide patterns" (Kembel, this volume, chapter 2). These stages are the Separate Mound Stage, the Expansion Stage, the Consolidation Stage, the Black and White Stage, and the Support Construction Stage. Vertical additions are recognized as having been underappreciated (but see prescient observations by S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987), and "nine of the fifteen phases were built directly on top of an earlier phase" (Kembel, this volume, chapter 2). The development of a more detailed architectural sequence, as well as a more accurate and comprehensive map of the monumental architecture, are welcome additions to the scholarly literature.

In terms of the current discussion, the crucial stage identified by Kembel and Rick is the hypothetical Separate Mound Stage. This mound is seen as predating the U-shaped configuration previously known as the Old Temple, and it is tentatively dated as lasting from 1200 to 1500 B.C. (Rick 2005: 75). Moreover, it is viewed as offering evidence that the early structures at Chavín de Huántar were related to the Kotosh Religious Tradition and that the antecedents for these constructions were the local highland Kotosh-Mito culture.

The idea that elements of the late Preceramic highland masonry tradition could be seen as part of the multiple sources of Chavín is not a new idea (Grieder and Mendoza 1985; Grieder et al. 1988; Burger 1992a). What is new is the idea that the earliest buildings at Chavín de Huántar could be seen as a variant of the temples built in the Kotosh Religious Tradition. Neither Kembel nor Rick offers convincing evidence of this, however. The crucial distinguishing feature of a temple in the Kotosh Religious Tradition (KRT) is a central sunken hearth, sometimes attached to subfloor flues to ensure complete burning of offerings (Burger and Salazar 1980). No evidence of such a hearth has been found in the Separate Mound Stage constructions at Chavín de Huántar, and although a stone-lined vent was documented, it is in the wall rather than the floor and its function would have been unrelated to that in the KRT temples. Other common features in KRT temples, such as the sunken "key-shaped" floor and the cultural pattern of repeated temple entombment of the ceremonial hearth, are also missing in the Separate Mound Stage. In short, none of the major diagnostic features of a KRT temple complex have been documented by Rick and Kembel's work at Chavín de Huántar.

The presence of a freestanding rectangular building on a terraced platform that Kembel and Rick identify for the Separate Mound Stage is a configuration not limited to the KRT but, on the contrary, is a generic pattern found on many parts of the coast and highlands in Late Preceramic and Formative times. Moreover, the identification of this pattern for the earliest stage at Chavín de Huántar is less than completely convincing. The isometric reconstruction of Stage 1 (Kembel's figure 2.11, this volume) shows a large platform to the south flanking the central platform on which the freestanding building sits. This pattern is unlike any of the architectural layouts for highland KRT sites. Since Kembel and Rick argue that buildings dated to the Separate Mound Stage were buried beneath later constructions, one wonders whether another undetected lateral platform dating to this phase may not exist to the north, thereby forming the U-shaped layout that characterizes the rest of the Chavín de Huántar sequence.

The poorly understood Separate Mound Stage is the basis for Rick and Kembel's argument that the chronology of the monumental center may extend back into the middle of the Initial Period. Unfortunately, no ceramic style is associated with the supposed Separate Mound Stage, nor can it be linked to radiocarbon dates with reliable

contexts. In fact, no radiocarbon dates from Chavín de Huántar fall into the 1200–1500 B.C. period posited for the Separate Mound Stage. In addition, the Separate Mound Stage is not linked to any Chavín sculptural style, since the Lanzón is seen as having been introduced into this building complex in a later renovation.

Lacking any conventional sources of evidence for positing antiquity, Kembel (this volume, chapter 2) argues that considerable pre-900 B.C. antiquity is implied by the prior developed expertise in "the length and complexity of the early gallery constructions" and "based on patterns seen in the known phases, that earlier structures may have been covered by or deconstructed to accommodate the earliest known buildings." However, the complexity of the earliest buildings need not imply a lengthy pre-900 B.C. sequence at Chavín de Huántar, particularly if the construction experiences at La Galgada, Kotosh, and other sites were drawn upon. The second argument—that earlier constructions exist but have yet to be found because they are deeply buried, or that they cannot be found because have been destroyed—are speculations, not evidence.

Even if one accepts the poorly understood Separate Mound Stage, the architectural evidence presented would not require positing a pre-1000 B.C. date for Chavín de Huántar's initial ceremonial constructions, nor does it demonstrate that the constructions of the Separate Mound Stage are typical of the Kotosh Religious Tradition. On the contrary, at this point the available evidence suggests that the early constructions at Chavín de Huántar differed significantly from the centers of the local highland Kotosh Religious Tradition found in the Callejón de Huaylas and the Huallaga drainage.

The desire to ascribe great antiquity to Chavín de Huántar was central to Lumbreras's original interpretation of the site (Lumbreras 1971), and we view the Rick/Kembel arguments as an attempt to revindicate his earlier position. In Burger's original argument in favor of dating the earliest monumental constructions to the Urabarriu phase, he noted that the archaeological deposits at Chavín de Huántar were frequently disturbed by the numerous construction episodes. As a result, there are few intact deposits, a situation that makes dating of constructions a considerable challenge. One by-product of these repeated disturbances is that mixed deposits, including materials of the site's different chronological phases, are often encountered. As part of his ceramic study, Burger (1984:159–187) reviewed these pottery collections recovered from the Temple zone, including those of Julio C. Tello and Wendell Bennett. It is significant, in this light, that while Urabarriu ceramics were frequently recovered in the ceremonial core, no pottery style predating the Urabarriu phase was encountered.

Rosa Fung (1975) raised the possibility that a pre-Urabarriu phase characterized by the Kotosh style typical of the Huallaga drainage might exist at the site, but no evidence of this has been published. Occasional Kotosh sherds were recovered by Fung, Tello, and other investigators but, since Kotosh ceramics were found by Burger in clear association with Urabarriu-phase pottery (Burger 1984), it seems more likely that the sherds that inspired Fung's comments were imported late Initial Period pottery from the Huallaga drainage rather than testaments of an unknown local ceramic phase. On the basis of comparative stylistic features, as well as the ^{14}C measurements associated with the pottery outside the temple, the Urabarriu-phase material is typical of the late Initial Period and shares many features with highland and coastal assemblages of the same time. In addition, Burger's excavations (1984) recovered rare imported sherds in the late Initial Period styles of the Casma Valley, the Cupisnique drainage, the Moche Valley, Cajamarca, Pacopampa, and, as already mentioned, Kotosh. An analogous pattern of imported pottery was encountered by Lumbreras (1993) in the Ofrendas Gallery, but with a somewhat different representation of imported coastal and highland wares. Thus, judging from the pottery excavated at Chavín de Huántar, there was an important late Initial Period occupation at the site, but there is no evidence that the site was occupied prior to this time.

Given the focus of this chapter, the chronological claims by Rick and Kembel for a 1200–1500 B.C. occupation at Chavín de Huántar are crucial since they bear directly upon the question

of sources and emulation. It should also be noted that the main features of coastal inspiration for Chavín de Huántar—the terraced, flat-topped platform, the U-shaped layout, the sunken circular plaza, and large rectangular plaza—all have their roots in the Late Preceramic, although they continued to develop through the early and late Initial Period on the coast. Thus, even if one accepted the existence of a Separate Mound Stage going back well into the second millennium B.C., it would still be difficult to argue against a coastal inspiration for these specific architectural features.

The Chavín de Huántar Chronology in Broader Context

By positing an occupation at Chavín de Huántar that predates the Urabarriu phase, Kembel and Rick rely on lack of investigation to account for the absence of supporting ^{14}C and ceramic evidence. It is interesting, therefore, to compare the situation of Chavín de Huántar with its northern neighbor, Kuntur Wasi, a monumental center in the upper Jequetepeque Valley. Since 1988 Yoshio Onuki and his colleagues have intensively studied the highland site of Kuntur Wasi and developed a ceramic and radiometric chronology for this early center (Onuki and Kato 1993). This chronology is based on extensive investigations that spanned over a decade, and they involve larger and more comprehensive excavations than have ever been undertaken at Chavín de Huántar, as well as analysis of a larger sample of stratified pottery. Given the intensity of research at Kuntur Wasi, the resulting construction chronology and ceramic associations can be assumed to be reliable.

Significantly, the earliest architecture and ceramics at Kuntur Wasi are assigned to the El Ídolo phase, a late Initial Period occupation that is dated by a single uncalibrated ^{14}C measurement of 2860 ± 60 B.P. (TK-906). As at Chavín de Huántar, the florescence of public construction and sculpture at Kuntur Wasi occurred in subsequent phases. The following Kuntur Wasi phase is dated by five measurements, spanning from 2710 ± 80 B.P. (TK-913) to 2410 ± 50 B.P. (TK-910), and the following Copa phase is dated by two measurements: 2330 ± 40 B.P. (TK-915) and 2260 ± 40 B.P. (TK-914). Based on the pottery style rather than the ^{14}C measurements, the later portion of the Kuntur Wasi phase and the Copa phase would appear to be coeval with the Janabarriu phase. Thus the sequence of construction at Kuntur Wasi, with its many Chavín-related features, spans the first millennium B.C., beginning in the late Initial Period and continuing through the Early Horizon (Onuki and Kato 1993:82–88, Inokuchi 1998: 178). As posited by Burger (1984) for Chavín de Huántar, cultural disruption occurs at the end of the Early Horizon following the Janabarriu-related style, and as at Chavín de Huántar, the late Initial Period constructions constitute the beginning of temple building but not the bulk of the monumental constructions. No Late Preceramic or earlier Initial Period constructions were found buried deep beneath the El Ídolo constructions. The broad-brush chronology hypothesized for Chavín de Huántar in the early 1980s by Burger (1981, 1984) can now be seen as paralleling the sequence of monumental construction developed subsequently by the University of Tokyo for the northern highland site of Kuntur Wasi.

A similar pattern of development has been documented for the northern center of Pacopampa, with constructions beginning in the late Initial Period, known locally as the Pacopampa Pacopampa phase, and with the public construction and the ceremonial core reaching its maximum extent during the Early Horizon, known locally as the Pacopampa Chavín phase (Seki et al. 2006; Rosas and Shady 1970, 1974; Morales 1998). In both the Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa cases, there was evidence for earlier cultural development at small sites nearby, but these differed significantly from the large public complexes that were established in the late Initial Period.

How do the patterns of development at Chavín de Huántar, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa differ from the situation on Peru's central coast? Before our work in the Lurín Valley, the only dates with a good stratigraphic context from a U-shaped pyramid complex of the Manchay culture came from Huaca La Florida (figure 3.6) in the Rimac Valley (Patterson 1985). Three ^{14}C measurements taken from deposits at this major complex are cited: 3660 ± 170 B.P. (N-87), 3645 ± 120 B.P. (GX-04456), and 3680 ± 85 B.P. (GX-1210) (Patterson 1985:64). If these dates are calibrated

Figure 3.6. Aerial photograph of Huaca La Florida, Rimac Valley. *Photo: Servicio Aereofoto Nacional, Lima.*

to make them comparable with those cited by Rick and Kembel, it suggests that the U-shaped platform in Rimac already had been built by 2100 to 2000 B.C. These measurements were associated with a pottery style belonging to the beginning of the Initial Period (Patterson 1985: 64, Fig. 5) based on comparisons with the Ancón sequence. The pottery in question was a thin, poorly made ware whose dominant forms were skeuomorphs of cut bottle gourds. Patterson concluded that the 17-m-high central platform was under construction before 2000 B.C. (calibrated) or 3680 B.P. (uncalibrated radiocarbon years) and that an early Initial Period pottery style was in use when the northern wing of the complex was built (Patterson 1985:64). Taken at face value, Patterson's findings seemed to confirm that the U-shaped layout, along with a basic ceramic assemblage of dark, thin, incised pottery, had been established seven centuries or more before the establishment of Chavín de Huántar. A drawback of the Huaca La Florida data was that the architectural contexts of the samples were not part of a more general architectural sequence for Huaca La Florida and that the site could not be confidently fit into the larger developmental pattern for the valley.

Also in Rimac's lower valley, the excavations by Rogger Ravines and William Isbell at Garagay in the central, 23-m-high northern mound unearthed evidence of a long architectural sequence, as visible in numerous superimposed public constructions in both terraced platform mounds. The ceramics illustrated from the site likewise suggested a multiphase occupation spanning the Initial Period and perhaps the early Early Horizon (Ravines et al. 1984). The uncalibrated radiocarbon measurements published for this Manchay-culture pyramid complex range from 3340 ± 70 B.P. (TK-178) to 2730 ± 70 B.P. (CU-09) (Ravines et al. 1984:135). Taken as a group, these dates seem to confirm the impression that construction at Garagay had a long history spanning the middle and late Initial Period, with its origins dating back to before 1600 B.C. (calibrated). As at La Florida, the dates suggest that the complex was functioning many centuries before the earliest known constructions at Chavín de Huántar. Unfortunately, the contexts of the published ^{14}C samples from

Garagay are poorly understood and not linked to a comprehensive architectural sequence.

Manchay Culture in the Lurín Valley and Its Temporal Relation to Chavín de Huántar

Our research at three major pyramid complexes of the Manchay culture in the Lurín Valley has provided a radiocarbon chronology linked to architectural sequences at these U-shaped centers. As will become evident below, these findings are consistent with the aforementioned patterns from La Florida and Garagay in the neighboring Rimac Valley. In Lurín, there are six centers of the Manchay culture in the lower valley with the distinctive U-shaped layout (figure 3.7). An additional U-shaped complex was recently identified in a secondary lateral *quebrada*, and at least two more have been found in the middle valley (Krzystof Makowski, personal communication; Mesía 2000; Scheele 1970).

Mina Perdida is the largest of the nine centers of the Manchay culture in the valley, and we have hypothesized that it was the first public center of the Manchay culture to be established in the drainage (figure 3.8). It is located 100 m above sea level on a natural terrace on the southern side of the river, approximately 8 km inland from the Pacific shore. The site covers some 30 hectares, and its central pyramid reached a height of 22 m as a result of dozens of cumulative building phases. A lengthy architectural sequence was developed through the cleaning and selective excavation of a deep looter's trench which nearly cut the mound in two. This sequence was tied to 17 radiocarbon measurements made on samples from the excavations (table 3.1). Some sense of the construction sequence can be gathered from the stratigraphy of the pyramid's central staircase which displayed six different superimposed stairways (figure 3.9), the earliest being built of cubical adobes directly on subsoil and the latest built of roughly quarried stone blocks on layers of intentional fill (Burger and Salazar-Burger 2008; Burger and Gordon 1998). A ^{14}C sample associated with the oldest central staircase yielded a measurement of 3520 ± 100 B.P. (Beta-8035), while the final public constructions of the site proved to be no later than 2870 ± 90 B.P. (I-14,252). Thus, the beginning of the Mina Perdida pyramid complex dates to the beginning of the Initial Period, roughly 1800 B.C. (calibrated). The lengthy sequence of ^{14}C dates from Mina Perdida spans the remaining portion of the second millennium, ending just about the time that the highland sites of Chavín de Huántar and Kuntur Wasi were being established.

Cardal, a second, smaller U-shaped pyramid complex in the Lurín Valley, is located 3 km farther inland from Mina Perdida at 150 m above sea level. Our work there yielded evidence of a lengthy building sequence, although shorter than the one at Mina Perdida (figure 3.10). Four superimposed central staircases were documented for the 12-m-high central pyramid at Cardal, all made of stone plastered with thick mortar. Additional yet unidentified central stairways probably exist buried within the pyramid core. The 26 ^{14}C measurements from Cardal indicate that construction of the public architecture was underway by 3120 ± 90 B.P. (I-14,130) and ended around 2730 ± 90 B.P. (I-14,247) in uncalibrated radiocarbon years. While this suggests that Cardal was founded long after Mina Perdida, it nonetheless indicates that the complex was functioning a century or two prior to the temple complex at Chavín de Huántar. It also suggests some overlap between some of the U-shaped complexes of the Manchay culture in the Lurín Valley and the early public constructions at the famous highland center in the Mosna Valley.

Manchay Bajo is the third site of the Manchay culture that we have investigated in the Lurín Valley. It is located 140 m above sea level on the northern edge of the river floodplain, immediately across the valley from Cardal, a mere 1.7 km away. The U-shaped complex is slightly larger than Cardal, and its central pyramid measures 13 m high. In 1999, during the second season of investigations at Manchay Bajo, we documented eight superimposed central staircases and three superimposed atria, a pattern that again suggests a long history of public construction. Ten radiocarbon samples were analyzed from the site, but we do not yet have measurements associated with the earliest construction phases. A sample taken from the closure of the second atrium produced an AMS date of 3010 ± 60 B.P. (AA

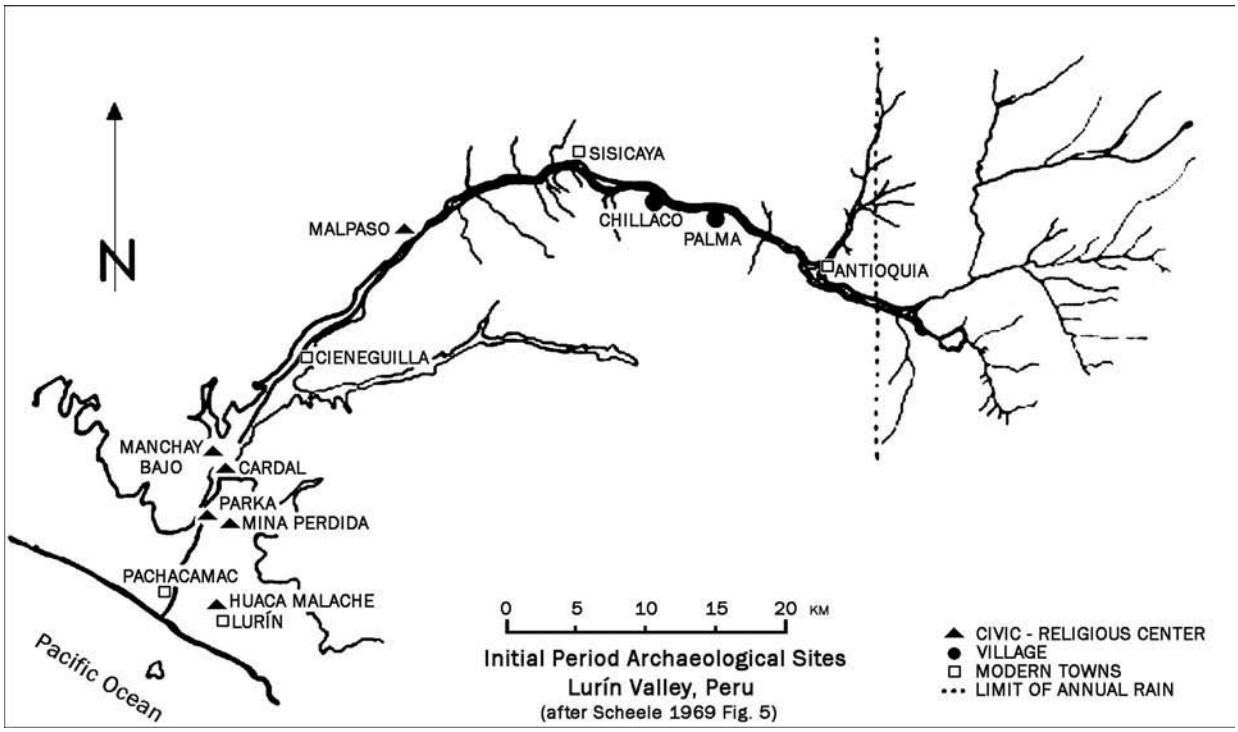


Figure 3.7. Location of select Initial Period centers in the Lurín Valley. *Drawing: Bernardino Ojeda*.

Figure 3.8. Aerial photograph of Mina Perdida and the now destroyed U-shaped complex of Parka. *Photo: Servicio Aereofoto Nacional, Lima.*

Table 3.1. Mina Perdida ^{14}C Measurements

Lab No.	Provenience	Uncalibrated ^{14}C Measurements
Beta-100302 (AMS)	Sector IIIA, squash seed from gourd effigy, between M-76 & M-73	3010 ± 50
I-17,973	Sector IIIA, central mound, units 109–110, silo 12, on floor	3120 ± 130
I-14,253	Sector IIIA, central mound, shicra bag from fill under modern cross	2900 ± 90
Beta-80345	Sector III A, central mound, unit 85, floor 5 beneath fill 5, wood	3040 ± 40
I-14,254	Sector IIIA, central mound, from burning associated with room 1	3120 ± 90
I-17,974	Sector IIIA, unit 94, layer b on floor	3100 ± 100
I-17,975	Sector IIIA, unit 80, beneath fill 4b on floor 4	3020 ± 100
Beta-100303	Sector IIIA, central mound, sticks and cordage from Room of the Niches	3140 ± 60
I-16,762	Sector IIIA, central mound, shicra bag from transition between adobe and stone architecture	3400 ± 90
Beta-77374	Sector IIIA, central mound, floor at base of staircase 6	3520 ± 100
I-14,252	Sector IIA, east mound, shicra bag from fill beneath leveled surface	2870 ± 90
I-16,762	Sector IA, west mound, shicra bag in fill covering M-52	2870 ± 90
I-15,577	Sector IA, west mound, shicra bag in fill behind M-52	2960 ± 90
I-17,977	Sector IIIB, habitation refuse, unit 142, layer c	3030 ± 100
Beta-77674	Sector IIIB, habitation zone, unit 158, layer c', ash pit in floor 2a	3040 ± 50
I-17,976	Sector IIIB, habitation zone, unit 503, layer c/d from hearth in NE corner	3090 ± 100
I-117,978	Sector IIIB, habitation refuse, unit 129–130, layer d	3070 ± 100

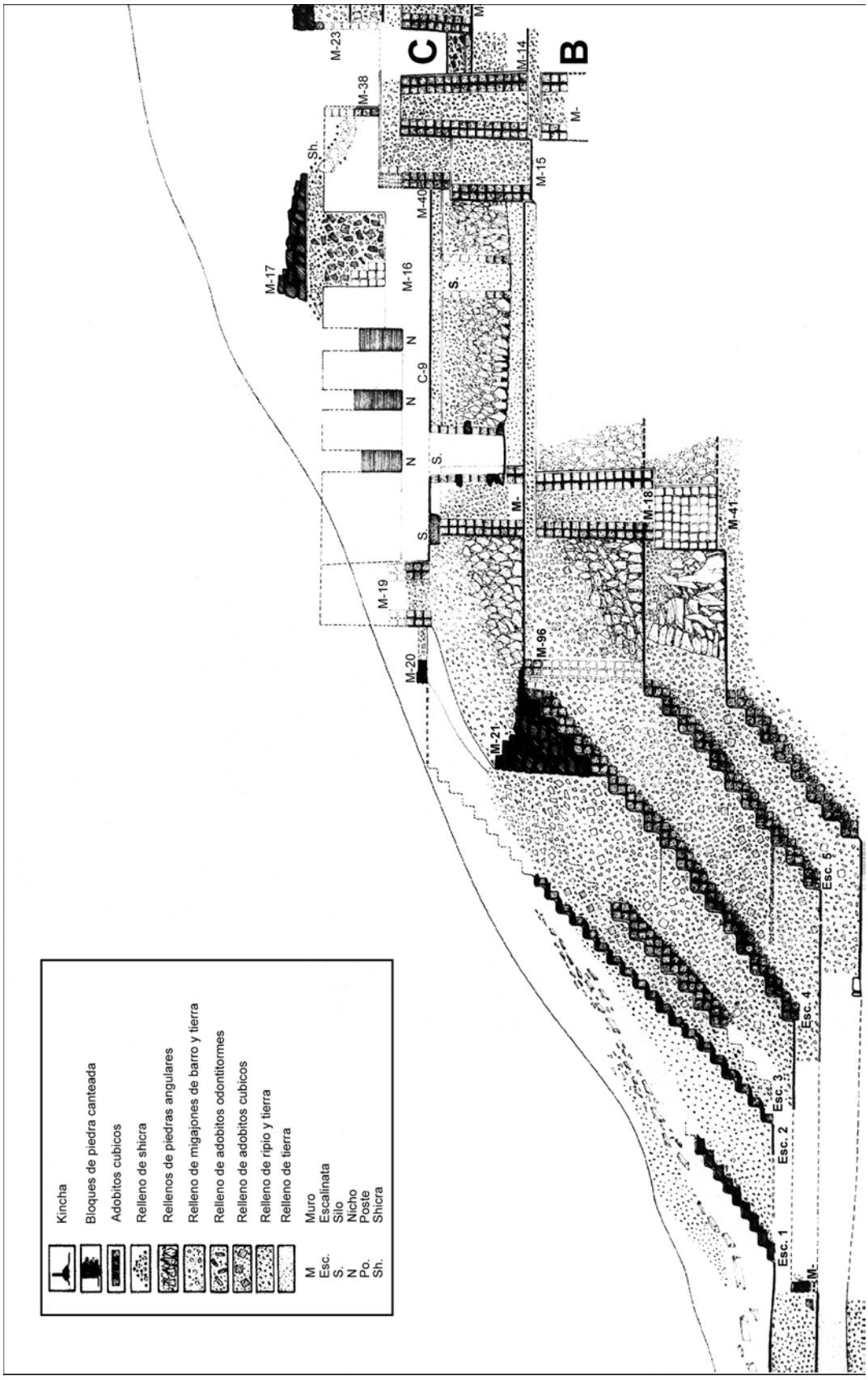


Figure 3.9. Drawing of multiple superimposed central stairways at Mina Perdida, Lurín Valley. *Drawing: Bernardino Ojeda.*

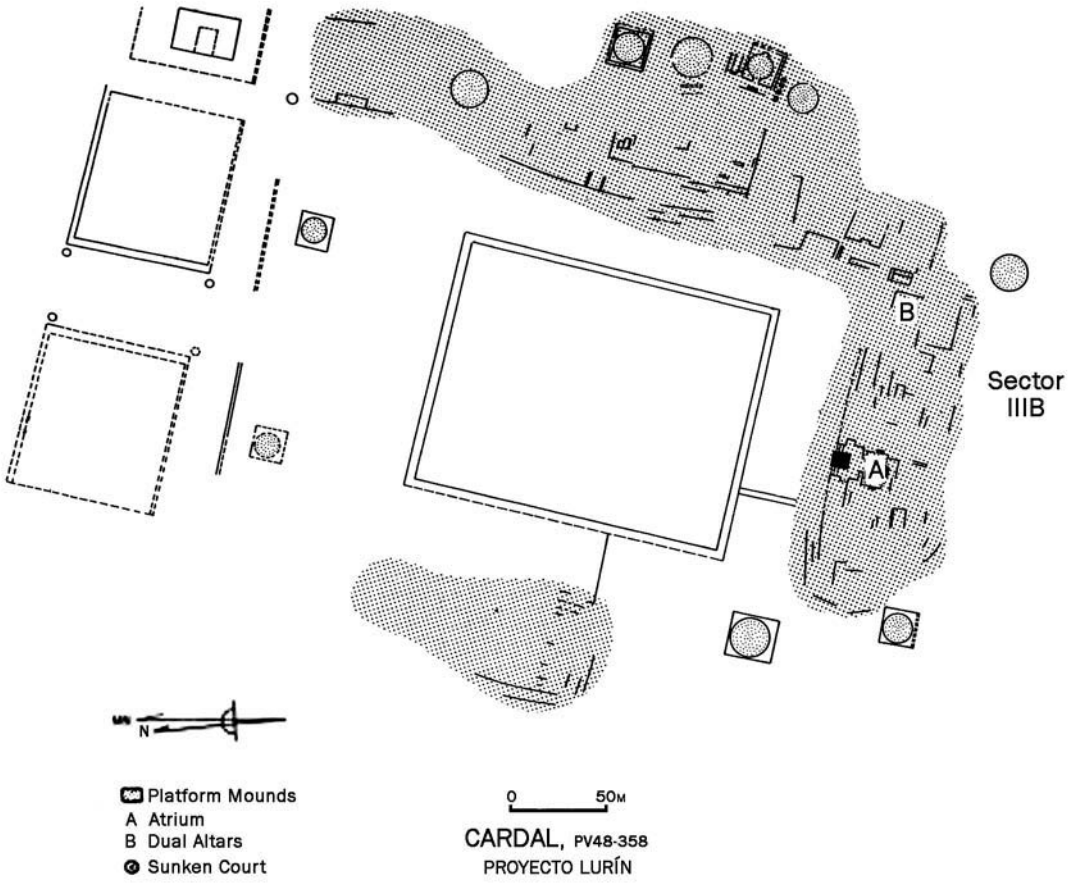


Figure 3.10. Ground plan of U-shaped complex of Cardal, Lurín Valley. *Drawing: Bernardino Ojeda.*

3442). Given the amount of construction built prior to this atrium, it is likely that the creation of the earliest atrium at Manchay Bajo was initiated two or more centuries before (that is, prior to 3200 B.P.) or by 1500 B.C. (calibrated).

In contrast to Mina Perdida and Cardal, the pottery recovered from the uppermost construction phases at Manchay Bajo resembles the finely polished black incised ceramics sometimes identified as related to the Lurín Chavín style, and some pieces show a notable resemblance to pottery recovered from the Ofrendas Gallery at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 2003:Fig. 4). These upper layers with Ofrendas-like pottery have yielded AMS radiocarbon measurements of 2560 ± 50 B.P. (Beta-122683) and 2600 ± 50 B.P. (AA 34441) (Burger 2003: 95). These results are roughly in line with the 2700 ± 85 B.P. (uncalibrated) date already mentioned from the Ofrendas Gallery.

What conclusion can be drawn from the radiocarbon dating of the three U-shaped pyramid complexes of the Manchay culture studied thus far for the Lurín Valley? The 53 radiocarbon measurements now available from the Lurín Valley present a coherent picture of an early Initial Period establishment of the inland-oriented agricultural Manchay culture by 1800 B.C. (calibrated), and its subsequent development through the establishment of additional U-shaped centers as the second millennium B.C. progressed. By the end of the Initial Period, roughly 2800 B.P. in radiocarbon years or 1000 B.C. (calibrated), these centers experienced difficulties and began to be abandoned over the following centuries. Some centers

like Manchay Bajo continued to function and survived for several centuries into the beginning of the Early Horizon. The cultural and temporal patterning described for the Lurín Valley seems to be paralleled by that found at the U-shaped centers of the Manchay culture in the adjacent Rimac and Chillón valleys and, although the situation there is less well understood, it is also consistent with the results of excavations at San Jacinto in the Chancay drainage by Lucénida Carrión Sotelo (1998).

These findings have clear implications for understanding the emergence of the Chavín de Huántar temple. They indicate that the earliest public centers of the Manchay culture were established some six centuries prior to the temple at Chavín de Huántar and that the development of the central coast's Manchay culture occurred during the second millennium B.C., centuries before the emergence of Chavín culture in the Mosna Valley. Judging from the evidence from Manchay Bajo and Cardal, the findings in Lurín confirm that an overlap probably of two or three centuries occurred between the Manchay culture and Chavín de Huántar's Old Temple (or Rick and Kembel's Expansion and Consolidation Stages). During this time, approximately 2900 to 2600 B.P. (uncalibrated), the builders of Chavín de Huántar could have visited at least some of the U-shaped centers of the central coast while they were still functioning.

Moreover, residents from the central coast may have made the long journey to the new highland center in the Mosna Valley. We believe that the pottery of the Ofrendas Gallery offers proof of the direct contact between the religious centers of the Manchay culture and the Old Temple of Chavín de Huántar. The so-called Dragoniano- and Ofrendas-style ceramics recovered by Luis Lumbreras in the Ofrendas Gallery (1993) strongly resemble the pottery of the Manchay culture in their vessel forms and iconography and differ from the locally produced Urabarriu and Chakinani-phase pottery. Additional research on pottery paste and mineral inclusions is needed to confirm that this pottery was in fact imported as gifts or tribute. But whether these pieces were imported or produced locally by emulation, they confirm the interaction with representatives of the Manchay culture during the formative stages of the Chavín center.

In summary, the chronological data now available from the Lurín Valley is consistent with a model in which the architectural, artistic, and other features were developed by the Manchay culture on the central coast during the second millennium B.C. before they were selectively incorporated by the creators of Chavín de Huántar.

THE IMPACT OF MANCHAY CULTURE ON CHAVÍN CIVILIZATION

Despite some formal similarities in the architecture or art style, the Initial Period culture of the central coast, now referred to as the Manchay culture, should be considered as distinctive and not conflated with the highland Chavín culture (Burger 1988, 1992a, 1993a; Burger and Salazar 1991, 1998). To conflate the Manchay culture with the Chavín culture would be analogous to conflating the Greek and Roman cultures because of their superficial similarities and historical ties. This is not merely a question of nomenclature; rather, these cultures were fundamentally different in all but a few formal attributes.

If the argument is accepted that a distinctive cultural pattern dubbed the Manchay culture developed in the centuries prior to Chavín de Huántar, and that, additionally, a temporal overlap between the Manchay and Chavín cultures existed which would have allowed direct emulation, there still remains the question of what, if any, elements in the Manchay culture were adopted by the creators of the Chavín de Huántar center. At this time this question defies a definitive answer, particularly given the paucity of information available from the other coastal cultures. Some of these coastal contemporaries may have shared characteristics with the Manchay culture and could have been alternative sources of inspiration.

It is premature to offer a comprehensive assessment of the role of the Manchay culture in the formulation of Chavín civilization, but we will offer three examples of how the new information available today allows us to begin reaching empirically based answers to the question of Chavín origins. The first example we would like to consider is inspiration for Chavín de Huántar's small sunken circular court with wedge- or fan-shaped

stairways. The Circular Plaza at Chavín de Huántar is a prominent architectural feature of the Old Temple area, although its position in the building sequence is now under debate (see chapters 1 and 2 by Rick and Kembel, respectively). There are few documented highland antecedents. A circular plaza or patio was uncovered at the architectural complex of La Galgada, although its location at only 1000 m above sea level in the dry Tablachaca Valley makes it environmentally more coastal than highland (Grieder and Bueno 1985; Grieder et al. 1988). This 18-m plaza appears to date to the Late Preceramic, but it is a crude affair constructed of water-worn boulders. It also lacks the wedge-shaped entrance stairways present in the Chavín de Huántar circular patio (Grieder et al. 1988:24–27, 195). One of the rare highland examples of a sunken circular plaza was located by Gary Vescelius and Hernan Amat at Huaricoto in the adjacent valley of the Callejón de Huaylas, but upon excavation we demonstrated that it was built during the Capilla phase of the Early Horizon (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1985:123) and was roughly coeval with the Janabarriu phase at Chavín de Huántar. Similarly, the circular court at Kuntur Wasi was constructed in the Early Horizon during the Kuntur Wasi phase (Onuki and Kato 1993:87). Thus, of the three scarce "highland" cases of circular plazas, two were built too late to serve as antecedents and one bore little resemblance to the Chavín de Huántar example.

In contrast to the highlands, the sunken circular court is widespread at early coastal sites. Such features are found on both the north-central coast and the central coast during the Formative, although they are more common in the former than in the latter (Williams 1985). It is noteworthy that while circular courts on the north-central coast are placed on the site's central axis in front of the central pyramid, on the central coast they are rarely placed on the site's centerline. In some cases, such as that of Cardal, they are mainly located on the periphery of the pubic architecture. At Cardal we had the opportunity to investigate four of the site's ten sunken circular courts. In all of those studied the stratigraphy indicated that the circular courts had been added to the center's ground plan a century or more after the founding of the center (Burger 1987; Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991) and covered earlier features such as rectangular rooms or stone-lined causeways (figure 3.11). The evidence available from the investigations at centers of the Manchay culture suggest that the circular courts here were a late introduction to the original ground plan, probably emulating the prestigious Initial Period centers of the north-central coast such as Sechín Alto. The sunken circular courts on the central coast differed from the Circular Plaza at Chavín de Huántar and those on the north-central coast in fundamental ways, most notably their location in relation to the central mound and the absence of fan-shaped stairway entrances. This is true as well for the sunken circular court excavated by Rogger Ravines at Garagay (Ravines and Isbell 1976). Thus, evidence from the Lurín and Rimac valleys suggests that the circular courts of the Manchay culture cannot be considered as a source of inspiration for that architectural feature at Chavín de Huántar.

As already noted, pyramids with circular plazas are widespread at centers on the north-central coast from Chao to Supe, and they usually occur along the site's centerline. Moreover, research at Late Preceramic sites on the north-central coast such as Walter Alva's work at Salinas de Chao, and more recently Ruth Shady's excavations at Caral, have confirmed that the circular court was widespread in this region at least 1000 years before the Circular Plaza at Chavín de Huántar was constructed (Alva 1986b; Shady 1997). Judging from the work by Tom and Sheila Pozorski in Casma, this architectural feature continued to be popular throughout the ensuing Initial Period (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1998, 2002). The sunken circular courtyards at sites such as Las Haldas, Taukachi Kan-Kan, and Sechín Alto bear a striking resemblance to the form of Chavín de Huántar's Circular Plaza, and their radiocarbon dating suggests that they could have served as a direct inspiration for the plaza at the highland center (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 2002).

Unlike centers on the north-central and central coasts, sunken circular courts do not appear to have been built at the public centers of the Cupisnique culture (Burger 1992a). Thus, based on the

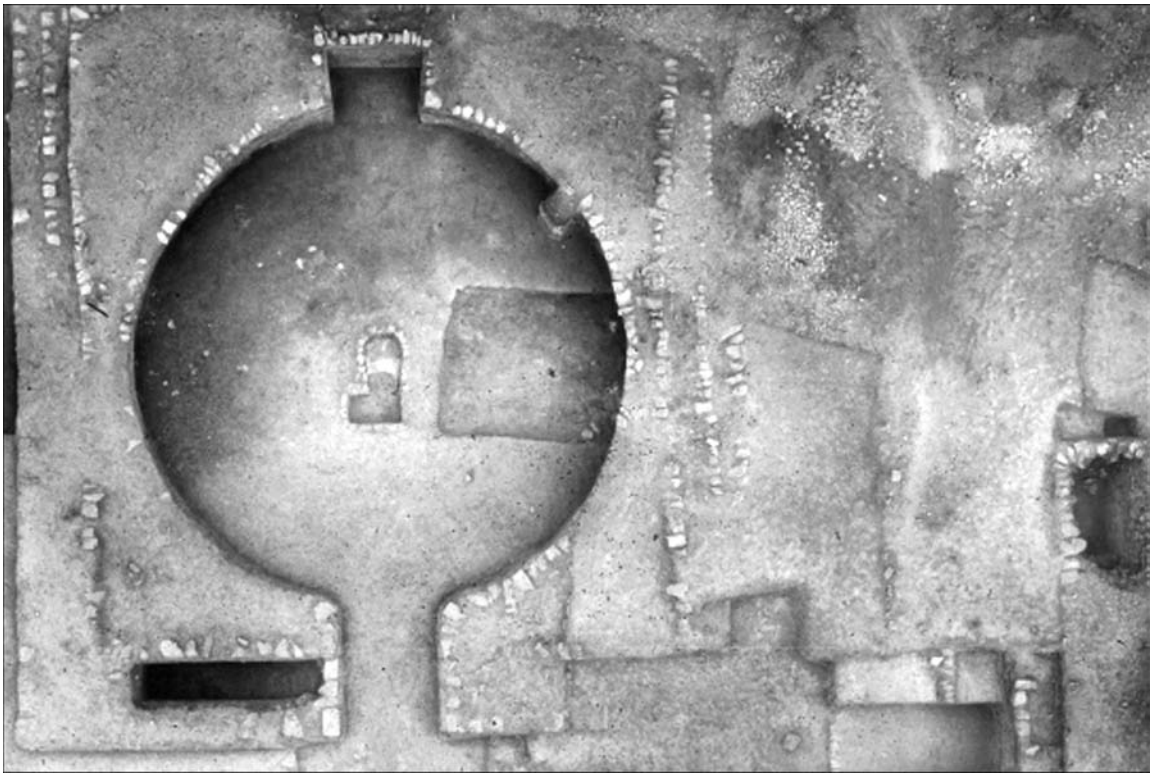


Figure 3.11. Balloon photograph of a circular court at Cardal, Lurín Valley. *Photo: James Kus.*

present evidence, it would appear that the builders of Chavín de Huántar drew upon the unnamed Initial Period culture of the north-central coast rather than that of the Manchay or Cupisnique culture when they decided to construct a sunken circular courtyard in front of the U-shaped stone pyramid referred to by Rowe (1962) as the Old Temple. At the present time, however, no circular court outside of Chavín de Huántar is known to have been decorated with a sculpted stone frieze, and this aspect of the construction can be viewed as a possible highland innovation.

A second example worthy of consideration is the U-shaped platform that constituted the core of the Old Temple's ground plan; and even in the temple's later modifications, an enlarged single platform complex remained the focus of ceremonial activity. Whether one utilizes the architectural sequence proposed by Rowe or the revised sequence described in this volume by Kembel and Rick, the U-shaped configuration defined by stone-faced platforms was central to the Chavín de Huántar temple complex. This unitary pattern contrasts with the two best-known centers of the Cupisnique culture, Caballo Muerto and Purulén (Alva 1988; T. Pozorski 1975, 1983). The Caballo Muerto site is actually a composite of eight different mound complexes, while Purulén is comprised of fifteen separate mound complexes. Few other public centers of the Cupisnique culture have been studied, but these two sites suggest a pattern fundamentally different from that of Chavín de Huántar.

Unlike on the north coast, on the central coast a single mound complex dominates each public center during the Initial Period. As already described, the use of massive platforms organized in a U-shape around an open plaza is characteristic of the Manchay culture from the outset of the Initial Period, as seen at sites such as Huaca La Florida. This pattern appears to have its antecedents at the Late Preceramic center of El Paraíso in the Chillón Valley (Quilter 1985; Moseley 1975). This is not true of Initial Period sites on the north-cen-

tral coast, where a freestanding central platform usually dominates the complex. At sites such as Cardal and Manchay Bajo, the lateral arms of the U approach the central platform in height; even at Mina Perdida the topography elevates the right arm so that it appears to rival the central mound. This pattern is similar to that of the Old Temple, where the arms of the U are roughly the same height as the platform apex. While U-shaped configurations exist elsewhere, such as at Huaca de los Reyes, the lateral platforms are not only completely separate from the main mound but also so low as to give a very different sense of space and volume. In these sites the U-shaped layout is often more evident when viewed in the ground plan than when experienced on the ground. Thus, the Manchay culture would seem to be a plausible source of inspiration for Chavín de Huántar's U-shaped platform configuration.

A final aspect of the relationship between the Manchay culture and the Chavín culture that bears consideration is whether the iconographic style of the former could have been a source for the symbolic system of the latter. In many respects the iconography from the pottery, adobe sculpture, and other materials of the Manchay culture more closely resembles the style of early Chavín iconography than does the better-known Cupisnique style. The prominence of large upper fangs in Rowe's Phases AB and C is particularly close to the iconographic tradition of the Manchay culture. The Tello obelisk, in particular, has strong links to the Initial Period imagery of the central coast. This topic is an important one, and it will be more fully developed in future publications.

On the other hand, the prominence of tropical forest themes at Chavín de Huántar remains a distinctive feature of the site and continues to suggest the tropical forest as a source of inspiration for its myths and religious cosmology (Tello 1923; Lathrap 1971, 1973, 1985). The prominence at Chavín de Huántar of the cayman, anaconda, and the harpy eagle, as well as the jaguar, suggests a special relationship of Chavín de Huántar's religious system with the cosmology of the tropical forest (Burger 1992a; Roe 1982a). Given the location of Chavín de Huántar and its link to Yauya in the Yanamayo drainage (Burger, this volume, chapter 6), which is located even closer to the selva, a direct link with an eastern lowland source of esoteric knowledge, hallucinatory drugs, medicinal plants, and colorful feathers seems more likely than trying to derive it from tropical forest habitats on the far north coast (Elera 1993).

As the foregoing discussion suggests, we should not expect to find a unitary source for the artistic and architectural manifestations of early Chavín civilization. The renewed efforts by some scholars to derive it solely from Cupisnique have no more basis now than they did when the idea was first proposed by Rafael Larco. This does not imply that nothing was drawn from Cupisnique culture; for example, several of the artistic conventions, such as anatropic design and the prominence of cylindrical columns, may have their source in this region (Burger 1992a). Similarly, some aspects may have been inspired by centers closer to the highlands. As Terence Grieder and Alberto Bueno originally suggested and others have reiterated (Lumbreras 1993; Rick, this volume, chapter 1; Kembel, this volume, chapter 2), the cut and polished masonry as well as the interior passageways and subterranean rooms that characterize the sequence of public architecture at Chavín de Huántar may have been inspired by the subterranean passageways and burial chambers at La Galgada.

We are clearly a long way from understanding the origins of Chavín, but there seems little doubt that the sources of Chavín architecture and art were multiple. Moreover, the process through which they were melded together at Chavín de Huántar to produce a distinctive culture probably more resembles the process of ethnogenesis with its "invented" traditions, rather than the site unit intrusion (or migration) process which informed the models of Uhle, Tello, and Larco (Burger 1993a:54). While further research is required to fully establish the Manchay culture as a source of inspiration for the Chavín culture, the new information available makes it increasingly probable that it did play a contributing role in this process. In trying to untangle the complex cultural legacy that informed the builders of Chavín de Huántar, the importance of chronological control for this unique site on the Mosna and its multiple sources in the coast and highlands will be essential.

4.

Context and Contents of Early Chavín Art

Henning Bischof

Introduction

Early Chavín art, as discussed in this paper, involves the small but growing sample of finds that show significant elements of the Chavín style and iconography but, according to present evidence, precede the Lanzón sculpture in the development of Chavín art. Both of these conditions are best expressed by the term "Chavín A" as used by the present author (Bischof 1994:169), following the farsighted decision of John H. Rowe (1962:12) to name his oldest period "Chavín AB" in order to facilitate its later subdivision. On the north-central coast, at least one site shows Chavín A art to be associated with Early Guañape-related pottery, while in the Jequetepeque Valley, Chavín A motifs can occasionally be found on Tembladera-type bottles. In the Chavín de Huántar region, there may be some overlap with Urabarriu, which includes potentially older Kotosh-like ceramics, as recognized by both Burger (1998:158–159, 178:Fig. 99) and Lumbreras (1993: 353–354).

As a matter of fact, except for the work of Rogger Ravines (1984), the present author (Bischof 1985, 1994, 1995b, 1998), and Rafael Vega-Centeno (1995, 1998, 1999), there have been no attempts to define pre-Lanzón art in stylistic and iconographical terms, and no consensus has yet been reached on the temporal and cultural relationships of the various sites that yield relevant information. Before addressing the question of contents, it might be useful to have another look at the sites for which a pre-Chavín status was claimed 20 years ago (Burger 1981). Sites that are important for the present discussion are reviewed in another chapter in order to establish archaeological contexts (figures 4.1–4.8). The mural sculptures found at two of those sites, Pampa de las Llamas and Garagay (figures 4.9–4.10), permitted the identification of other samples of Chavín A art by their shared features. For most of these objects, proveniences are known in geographical terms—ranging from the Chiclayo region to Chavín de Huántar and the Casma Valley—while their specific archaeological contexts may be unrecorded (figures 4.11–4.18). Finally, attention is called to what appears to be a regional north-central-coast tradition sometimes associated with Chavín A art (figures 4.19–4.20), and Chavín A antecedents are illustrated by a few selected examples (figure 4.21). The sequence of figures is arranged according to this outline, and the author apologizes for any inconvenience this may imply when cross-referencing individual features.

Precocious Chavín Features Abroad: A Reappraisal of the First Approximation

In his frequently quoted 1981 paper, Richard L. Burger drew attention to some elements of the Chavín civilization that appeared to be present at

several coastal sites earlier than at Chavín de Huántar itself, a position shared by the present author (Bischof 1985:442) until the Pampa de las Llamas reliefs were published (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1986). The point made in Burger's seminal paper remains valid even though the specific cases to which he referred need to be reconsidered. Twenty years ago it was still normal in Andean archaeology to place faith in the validity of ^{14}C measurement as the primary dating tool. By now it should be common knowledge that the mere quoting of ^{14}C assays is no substitute for a chronology based on the observed stratigraphical relationships of archaeological finds and features, the evaluation of their formal similarities or differences, and their spatial distribution on the local and regional levels. Of course, ^{14}C measurement retains its importance as the only method currently available in the central Andes to approximate chronology in calendrical terms, if its fundamental properties and limitations are taken into account (Velarde 1998a, 1998b; 1999; Ziólkowski et al. 1994; Ziólkowski and Woloszyn 1996). Clearly aware of these facts, Burger (1981:600) took care to note the "contradictions or inconsistent measurements" in his sample and the "need for critical review [of his paper, H.B.] . . . as well as a future evaluation using new radiocarbon

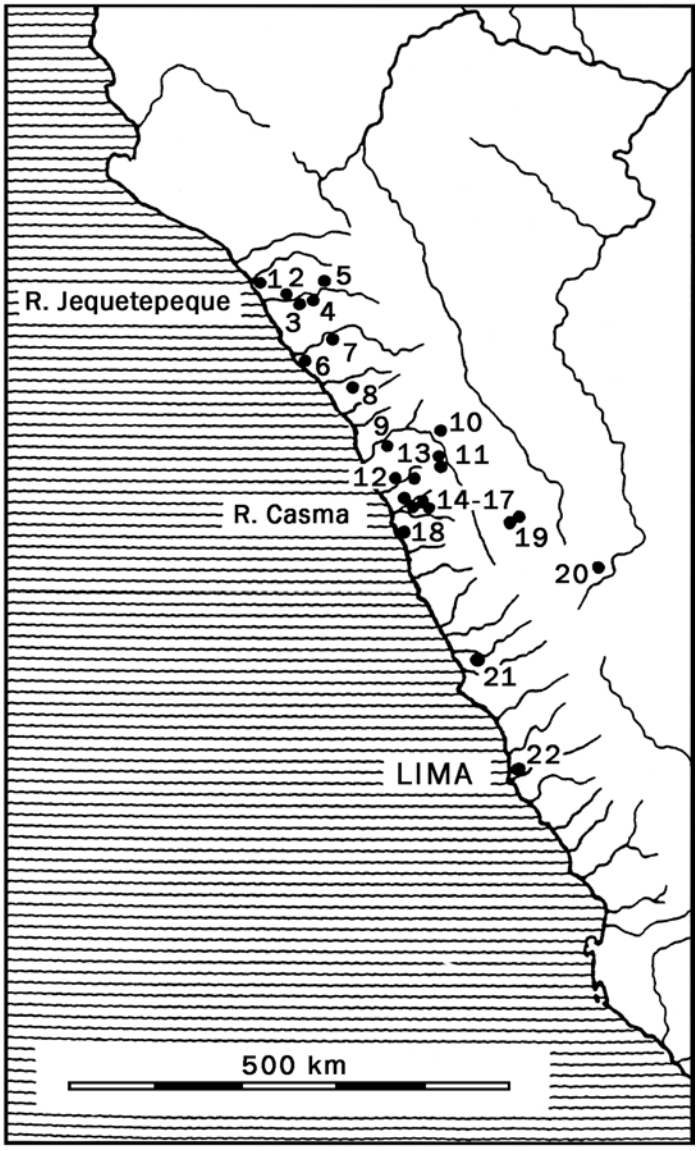


Figure 4.1. Chavín A and related sites in central and northern Peru. In alphabetical order:

Alto de la Guitarra: **8**
Barbacoa: **7**
Caral: **21**
Cerro Sechín: **15**
Chavín de Huántar/Yurayaku: **19**
Chupacoto/Incapaq'amanan: **11**
Garagay: **22**
Las Haldas: **18**
Huaca Prieta: **6**
La Pampa: **10**
Limoncarro: **2**;
Pampa de las Llamas/Moxeke: **16**
Pallka: **17**
Punkurí: **12**
Purulén: **1**
Quebrada del Felino: **4**
Quindén: **5**
Sechín Bajo: **14**
Shillacoto: **20**
Siete Wakas: **13**
Suchimán: **9**
Tolón: **3**

Drawing by Henning Bischof.

measurements." Still, the high priority accorded to a set of radiocarbon data turned out to be something of a problem when the data were checked against the archaeological contexts and other cultural units defined in central Peru (Lumbreras 1989:106–110), especially as some basic evidence had been reported rather unevenly by the original authors (Burger 1998:258–259). As more unambiguous archaeological contexts become available, investigators should be ready to revise previous evaluations, where necessary, rather than construct ad hoc hypotheses such as postulating extensive "aceramic" occupations during the time period here considered (T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1999).

Burger (1981) discussed four sites: Haldas, Caballo Muerto (specifically, Huaca de los Reyes), Garagay, and the Garagay-related part of the early Ancón pottery sequence. According to present data, the earliest monumental architecture at Haldas may indeed predate that at Chavín de Huántar as it was known at that time (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:21–30). At Caballo Muerto, the second site, at least one mound—Huaca Herederos Chica—is associated with pottery that does not show specific Chavín-style features (T. Pozorski 1983). The two ^{14}C measurements from this platform mound differ by several centuries, but both support the ceramic evidence that points to an age coeval with or older than the beginnings of monumental architecture at Chavín de Huántar. Things are more complicated at Huaca de los Reyes, another ceremonial building at Caballo Muerto upon which Burger (1981:598–599) focused his main attention. In his own architectural analysis of that structure, William J Conklin (1985:146–152, 154) proposed a long sequence of construction stages, the oldest of which (1–3) are not specifically associated with Chavín-style art. The four published ^{14}C assays from Huaca de los Reyes (Tx-1972, -1973, -1974, -2180) all refer to the first stage (Ziólkowski et al. 1994:439, 442; compare T. Pozorski 1975:218; 1995:338), and what has been said about Huaca Herederos Chica might also be true here.

Most authors instead applied these measurements to the later construction stages of Huaca de los Reyes, which in terms of their murals and associated ceramics are closely related to other sites conspicuous for their Chavín-style art, from Carhua in the south to Kuntur Wasi in the north and beyond, including Chavín de Huántar itself. The formal correspondences are undisputed (Lumbreras 1974; T. Pozorski 1976; Roe 1978:7; Conklin 1985:154, 158, 161; Lumbreras 1989: 110; 1993:343–344; Burger 1995:92; Kaulicke 1994:292; Bischof 1997). Specific links do exist with ceramics from the Ofrendas Gallery and—according to Peter Roe (1978:7)—Phase D or early EF Chavín de Huántar stone sculpture.

However the time span covered by the construction sequence at Huaca de los Reyes is assessed, it would certainly be wrong to assume that the ^{14}C measurements for the first construction stage of Platform F necessarily refer to the later, clearly Chavín-related stages. If this were the case, three of the four measurements would be incompatible with the cultural sequence established by the radiocarbon data from sites with unambiguous archaeological contexts in north coastal Peru (figure 4.2), evaluated in terms of what Lumbreras (1993:314) has called a *cadena de contrastabilidad* (setting off by contrast) (Bischof 1998, 2000). There is some internal evidence that largely invalidates the ^{14}C data: the samples were reportedly taken from a single cane construction which must have been extraordinarily durable because the results are spread over some 800 years. If any of them were to be selected, it should be the latest one (Tx-2180, 2800 ± 60 B.P.)[1] which was measured separately from the other three and corresponds well with the conclusions based on the specific similarities in style and iconography that do exist between Huaca de los Reyes and other Chavín-related sites. The associated ceramics (T. Pozorski 1983) are akin to Chavín/Cupisnique pottery from the Zaña Valley (Alva 1986a) that should postdate the Purulén pottery used in the same region around 3100 B.P. (see below).

At Garagay, the situation again is ambiguous. The material evidence consists of at least three well-recorded sets of murals. One set embellishes the atrium of some intermediary building stage of the central mound ("Pyramid B"; Ravines and Isbell 1976); the other two are associated with the first and second construction phases of the lateral Northeast Mound ("Pyramid A"; Ravines 1984; Burger 1995:65). Both Lumbreras (1993:361) and

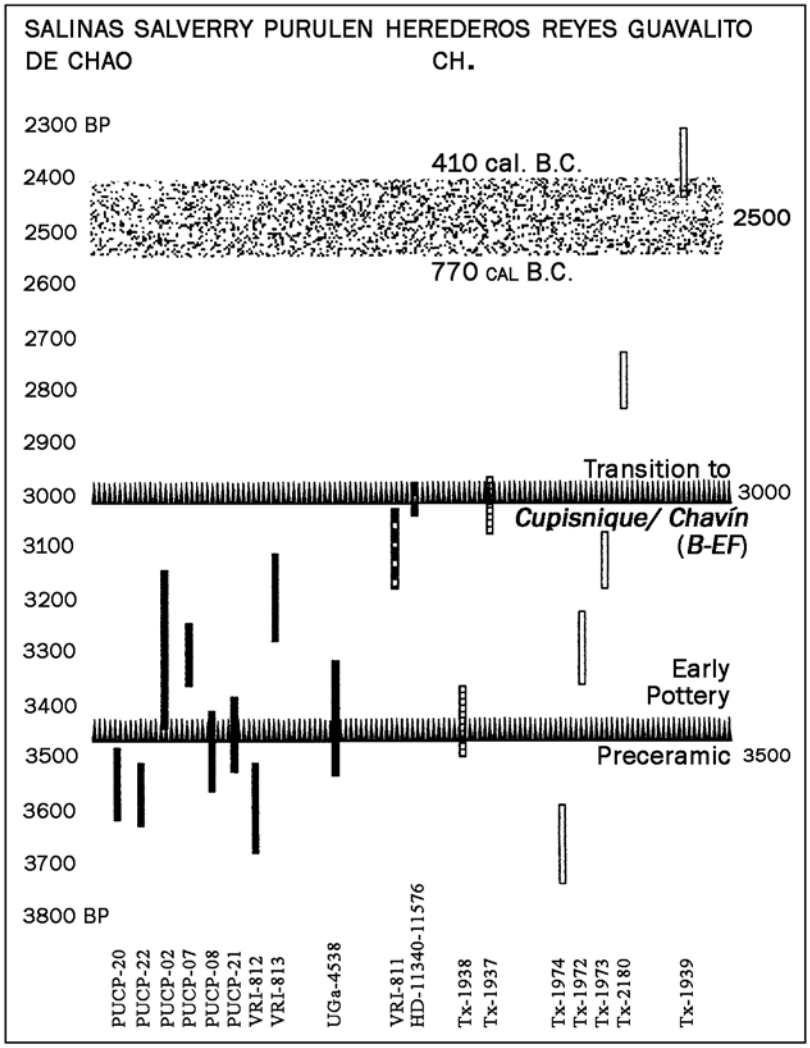


Figure 4.2. Radiocarbon measurements from north coastal Peru. Archaeological contexts indicated by bars:

Solid Black = Late/Terminal Archaic (Preceramic)
Hachure = Early Pottery
Black-and-White = Purulén site and pottery
White = Chavín/Cupisnique culture

Drawing by Henning Bischof

Burger (1998:171–172) link the polychrome clay reliefs of the central mound with the "Dragon" iconography of the Ofrendas Gallery. Indeed, at least one ^{14}C measurement from some unspecified context at Garagay (PUCP-9, 2730 ± 70 B.P.) is compatible with the time span suggested by Burger for those materials at Chavín de Huántar itself.

The construction phases of the Northeast Mound and their murals (Ravines 1984; Burger 1995:65) unfortunately cannot be correlated with any specific construction phases of the central mound. The murals do not resemble the central mound atrium reliefs nor most art from Chavín de Huántar but are close to early sculptures from the north-central coast (Ravines 1984:36–37; Bischof 1994, 1998). The older set of painted clay reliefs is composed of a naturalistic net and two shield-carrying dancers or warriors (figure 4.10a) in a pose resembling the well-known Alto de la Guitarra petroglyph, Moche Valley (Ravines 1984:36; Roe 1974:Fig. 27). Their upper bodies were destroyed by the second construction phase, with its pilaster reliefs of three mythical heads on each side of an atrium (figure 4.10b–d), which share significant traits with the Pampa de las Llamas murals and other finds from Casma (figures 4.9, 4.11). Both sets of murals support Burger's claim insofar as they precede classic Chavín art, but there is at least one Chavín de Huántar stone sculpture that points to the presence of coeval buildings at that site which are as yet unidentified (figure 4.16c). The murals may well represent the time range covered by three other ^{14}C assays obtained at Garagay

(PUCP-49, 3170 ± 80 B.P.; TK-177, 3090 ± 70 B.P.; TK-178, 3340 ± 70 B.P.). However, it is still impossible to gauge the consistency of the whole series and the specific significance of individual measurements because their architectural and archaeological contexts remain unpublished (Ziólkowski et al. 1994:391, 396, 426). Under these circumstances, the radiocarbon evidence for Garagay must be considered inconclusive, in contrast to the important links with other sites and regions that can be established by archaeological standard methods based on similarity and the recurrence of trait associations.

Finally, until the details of the early ceramic stratigraphy at Ancón are published, there is no way to clarify some inconsistencies noted by Lumbreras (1993:334).

Twenty years after Burger's 1981 paper, there can be little doubt that quite a few coastal sites and individual buildings indeed predate most of the architecture at Chavín de Huántar, among them Haldas, Garagay (Northeast Mound), and probably Caballo Muerto (Huaca Herederos Chica). As far as Chavín-style art is concerned, however, I am not aware of anything that proves the central mound atrium reliefs at Garagay (Pyramid B) or those at Huaca de los Reyes to be appreciably older than their stylistic counterparts at Chavín de Huántar itself—mostly ceramics—and this of course is also true of the associated construction phases. Until more sensitive archaeometric dating techniques become available and there is some progress in comparative interregional studies of classic Chavín art history and ceramics, both ensembles are best regarded as roughly contemporary with those stone sculptures and ceramics at Chavín that are the most similar in terms of their features. Complex art styles do not remain unchanged over any extended period of time, after all.

A SURVEY OF SITES

In order to establish the archaeological context of the materials here used to define the first stage of the Chavín style, the relevant stratigraphical, spatial, and chronological data are summarized for each major site. Another topic is the relationship of those sites with others that appear to represent contiguous stages in the development of central and north Peruvian art styles.

Chavín de Huántar

The straightforward rendering of the Lanzón body features and apparel, which largely eschews nonfunctional embellishments and employs *kennings* (here: visual metaphors) quite sparingly, exhibits a deceptive simplicity that can easily be mistaken for a newly established art convention. With its seamless blend of human and animal features and its human gestures and well-balanced proportions (except for the heavy head), the imposing if threatening image perfectly achieves what Max Uhle (1918/59:45–47) many years ago called "mythical realism" in his discussion of the Raimondi stela. Because no sculptures from older architectural contexts were known and there were no criteria for stylistic extrapolation, the question of what its precursors should look like could not be answered from local evidence. Peter G. Roe's (1974) seriation was thus based on the assumption that all Chavín de Huántar stone sculpture followed the Lanzón in time. However, some older sculptures or at least carving traditions can now be identified in the Chavín de Huántar region on the basis of their stylistic and iconographic crossties with early coastal sculptures from dated contexts (figures 4.16–4.18, among others; Bischof 1994:188). Whether any of those sculptures were associated with the early construction phases recently discovered at Chavín, such as the NEA mound or other early buildings of the Separate Mound Stage, is not yet clear (Kembel 2001:253, 258–259; Kembel, this volume, chapter 2).

None of the ceramics published from Chavín de Huántar appear to represent stylistic features that could be linked to the Lanzón specifically.[2] The Urabarriu assemblage described by Burger should be roughly contemporary but offers few glimpses of complex iconography, perhaps due to the small size of most fragments. The only reasonably complete motif, a mythical head on a "Raku"-type bottle fragment, is of a distinctly north coast cast and may have been imported (Burger 1998:173–174, Fig. 100). On the other hand, a similar dichotomy between

ritual art and ceramic design can be observed at other sites.

Shillacoto, Huánuco: Tomb 4

A good example is tomb 4 at Shillacoto, excavated in the late 1960s by Chiaki Kano of Tokyo University (Izumi et al. 1972:69). At least three of the bone objects found among the tomb furnishings were carved in a version of the Chavín style that is close to the Lanzón in its forceful simplicity (Izumi et al. 1972:Fig. 16, Pl. 44; Bischof 1994: Fig. 21d). Because some details differ, they probably originated in a region outside the immediate vicinity of Chavín de Huántar, if not made locally. Other associated bone carvings do not share Chavín style affiliations at all (Izumi et al. 1972: 69, Pl. 45). The same is true of the pottery vessels that do not show Chavín style features (Izumi et al. 1972:Pls. 27, 28:1–2) but in some cases would fit rather well into any Urabarriu assemblage within the larger body of Kotosh-related ceramics, especially one bowl with zoned punctate decoration (Izumi et al. 1972:Pls. 27:3, 47:3; compare Burger 1998:Figs. 66–69, 78–85, 99). The single-spout "trophy head" bottle and the incised bottle (Izumi et al. 1972:Pl. 27:1–2) represent a shape frequent in early coastal pottery from La Florida (Patterson 1985:Fig. 5d) to Tembladera (figure 4.14b), probably derived from gourd bottles of a similar shape such as have been found at Late/Terminal Archaic Huaca Prieta (Chicama).

At least one of the broken bone objects with Chavín-related designs, and possibly two (Izumi et al. 1972:Pl. 44, Fig. 16), seem to belong to a type of perforator or spatula also known from Haldas (figure 4.11a). Leaving aside the differences in style and iconography, the feline motif found on both the Shillacoto and Haldas specimens suggests their ritual, perhaps sacrificial use which is also implied by other elements of the Shillacoto grave goods, such as two large jet mirrors and a small stone tray as well as some seashells (Izumi et al. 1972:Pls. 41:12; 42:1; 43:5; 46:1–2). Neither the Shillacoto site nor tomb 4 in particular have yielded Chavín A–style objects, which perhaps had not reached the Huánuco region at that time. A notched eye like those on the Shillacoto bone carvings can be found on one of the Chupacoto stone reliefs (Bischof 1994:Fig. 21a), a correspondence that may be chronologically significant. This eye form, however, does not occur at Cerro Sechín (Cárdenas 1995:59–60, Fig. 12) nor in our Chavín A sample. One of the Shillacoto felines is holding a human head in his teeth, a motif repeated on a stone relief from some site in the Callejón de Huaylas (Bischof 1994:Fig. 21c) which predates classic Chavín art according to the stylistic features of the feline figure: plain outline, eye form, and round paws (compare Bischof 1994:Fig. 14).

In summary, the first manifestations of Chavín-style art at Chavín de Huántar and Shillacoto are restricted to monumental sculpture and ritual paraphernalia, respectively, a pattern that is repeated on the coast, as will be seen. The question of temporal precedence cannot be decided at present by stylistic comparisons nor by artifact associations, which incidentally have not yet been published for the Lanzón.

Moxeke/Pampa de las Llamas

The Casma Valley offers unique opportunities for the study of early monumental art in the central Andes. Within a few kilometers' distance, no less than four sites have yielded major clay sculptures, figurative wall reliefs, and graffiti: Moxeke-Pampa de las Llamas, Sechín Alto, Cerro Sechín, and recently, Sechín Bajo.

The first set of mural sculptures was discovered in 1937 by Toribio Mejía Xesspe and Julio C. Tello on the third step of the Moxeke pyramid: four major niches in a curved facade wall, each containing a large anthropomorphic clay bust, as well as two smaller niches with human head sculptures (Tello 1956:60–66). Because the snake accessories of one bust correspond in type to the snakes seen on the Lanzón (Tello 1956:Fig. 30), and three of the busts show pleated skirts like the one on the Lanzón (Tello 1956:Fig. 27; compare Bischof 1994:Fig. 17), the Moxeke sculptures should be close to the Lanzón in time (Roe 1974: 33–34). The highly conventionalized zoomorphic motif repeated on the intervening wall sections (Tello 1956:Figs. 27–28) is foreign to the Chavín tradition, however (figure 4.19b).

Almost 50 years later, Sheila and Thomas G. Pozorski (1986:Fig. 5; 1994:Fig. 5.1–2) uncovered another two sets of monumental clay reliefs at Huaca A, the central building in the Pampa de las Llamas sector of the same site, some 1300 m northeast of Moxeke. As far as can be seen from the surviving lower sections, the northeast panels represent two supernatural beings modeled as mirror images on both sides of the central doorway (figure 4.9a–b). Each of them has a large tail-like appendage ending in an elaborate snake or feline "feral" head different from the ones on the Lanzón or at Moxeke. The little that is preserved of the two panels at the southwest entrance suggests another kind of supernatural being or even part of a figurative scene (figure 4.9c). As to other finds, a small carved stone was deposited at the side of the southwest entrance after the building had started to decay (T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1988). On one of its sides there is the life-size make-believe "imprint" of a human hand, on the other a "Smiling Snake" with a double body. While this carving may have been brought in from elsewhere, the Pampa de las Llamas clay murals are significant as the first dated in situ works of what I consider to be Chavín A, early Chavín-style art.

Pottery of the "Tortugas" type (Fung 1972b), a local version of Early Guañape, was widely used at Pampa de las Llamas (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:Figs. 17–18, 26), although none has been reported from Huaca A specifically. Its decoration mainly consists of impressed ribs that actually may have formed zoomorphic designs, as the more complete Cerro Sechín examples show (Fuchs 1997:Fig. 9), but bears no trace of any Chavín-style iconography. Both the ceramic evidence and the three ^{14}C assays obtained for Huaca A indicate the early position of the Pampa de las Llamas sculptures at ca. 3400–3100 B.P. (Bischof 2000:Fig. 4): 3515 ± 70 B.P. (UGa-5462), 3185 ± 60 B.P. (UGa-5794), and 3105 ± 30 B.P. (UGa-5873; S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1992: 852). These figures cover the time-range represented by most other Pampa de las Llamas assays,[3] placing the site squarely within the Early Formative Period, 3400–3000 B.P. according to the uncalibrated ^{14}C time scale (Kaulicke 1994:284).

If the Chavín snake head iconography is taken as a diagnostic, the Moxeke sculptures should be more recent than the ones at Pampa de las Llamas. Even so, and whatever their precise relationships, the new architectural chronology for Chavín de Huántar still leaves ample space to accommodate the Moxeke and Lanzón sculptures in the time lapse between Chavín A–associated Pampa de las Llamas, ca. 3400–3100 B.P., and the Black and White Stage at Chavín associated with the style period Chavín D, ca. 2800–2600 B.P. (Kembel 2001:252–253, 256, 259; Kembel, this volume, chapter 2). The interlocking background "filler" elements of the northeast atrium reliefs at Pampa de las Llamas could then be considered as the antecedents of the conventionalized zoomorphic relief panels associated with the Moxeke busts. Earlier building stages contemporary with the Pampa de las Llamas reliefs presumably exist within the Moxeke pyramid, in view of its large size and obviously complex construction history.

Garagay

This early architectural site in the Rimac Valley of central Peru has been reviewed in chapter 1. Especially relevant for the present discussion are those composite mythical heads of the second construction phase of the Northeast Mound ("Pyramid A") which share several features with the Pampa de las Llamas panels (figure 4.10). Their position on the wall segments between some large niches recalls the Moxeke frieze (Ravines 1984:37).

Cerro Sechín

Less than 5 km from Pampa de las Llamas, a long sequence of construction phases and mural art has been established at the ceremonial site of Cerro Sechín (Tello 1956; Samaniego et al. 1985; Maldonado 1992; Fuchs 1990, 1997). During the fourth construction phase, a massive two-step platform was built of stone, covering the previous adobe architecture. It once supported a building of which all traces have disappeared since Tello's time (Fuchs 1997:Fig. 5). A veneer of stone reliefs set into the lower part of the first step of the platform displays a two-column procession of notables clearly associated with acts of

human sacrifice (Samaniego and Cárdenas 1995: folded figures). Some sculptures had been taken from previous architectural contexts, though, and were reused in a damaged condition or re-carved on top of the older images (Tello 1956: 121; Bischof 1985:Fig. 54; 1995a:Fig. 20; Cárdenas 1995:89, Figs. 40–41, 45; Samaniego and Cárdenas 1995:Fig. 294).

Ritual at Cerro Sechín must have changed dramatically when the rear half of the procession frieze was covered by 3 m of fill during the Periods of Final Use (figure 4.3), implying that the sculptures had lost most of their relevance by then. A passageway was left open from the south portal of the central building to what remained of the South Plaza. This passageway gap interrupted the former circuit around the central building. According to present evidence, the newly elevated floor level could only be reached from the main plaza in the north by staircases in both the east and west corridors. When the rest of the South Plaza was filled in, a stairway built in front of the south portal led up to the new floor level and the hypothetical central staircase of the South Platform beyond. Eventually, the stairway in the west corridor was replaced by the massive retaining wall dismantled during the 1971–72 excavation campaign, except for some of its foundation stones (Samaniego et al. 1985:Fig. 6, center right). The wall rendered the southern part of the west

Figure 4.3. Excavation of the south corridor Period of Final Use fill at Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, 1984. At the lower left, the southwest corner of the central platform is shown with stone reliefs. *Photo: Henning Bischof.*

corridor inaccessible from the north (figure 4.4), creating a somewhat secluded corner, although the human tracks in the clay floor show that there was still some traffic on the upper floor level. Perhaps not by coincidence, this spot was chosen for a burial (E-223), dug into the newly elevated west corridor floor shortly before a major El Niño event put an end to the use of the central building (Fuchs 1997:148–152).

The four fragmentary pottery vessels recovered from this burial correspond to the type reported from Pampa de las Llamas, as far as can be determined on the basis of the few finds published so far (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:Figs. 17–18). The modifications of the Cerro Sechín ground plan during the Periods of Final Use and its final abandonment may therefore well have had something to do with the rise of Pampa de las Llamas, Sechín Alto, Sechín Bajo, and other ceremonial centers nearby. It should be kept in mind, however, that around the northern half of the central building, the earlier, lower Phase 4 floor level continued to be used by later occupations, among them Formative Period squatters who left behind hearths, potsherds, and broken ceramic figurines in direct contact with the foot of the carved stone facade (Samaniego 1973:Fig. 3).

While the adobe reliefs of Cerro Sechín are clearly set apart and represent events in a way not seen at Chavín (Bischof 1995a), the stone sculpture is more difficult to assess. The procession theme itself was also important at Chavín (Rick, this volume, chapter 1): a procession of mythical personages is shown above a file of felines on the north wall of the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras 1989: 161–174), and there are several slabs that once formed part of other sculptural ensembles that are now dispersed (for example, figures 4.17b– 4.18). In their general appearance, the anthropomorphic participants at Chavín resemble those of Cerro Sechín (Bischof 1996:Fig. 8), but the only specific features shared by Cerro Sechín and Chavín sculpture are the excentric eyes of the Sechín dignitaries and the "Bloodshed Symbol" composed of three parallel stripes ending in set-off tips (Bischof 1995b:163–167). The scope of comparisons is limited, however, because no images of "composite" supernatural beings have yet been found at Cerro Sechín to match the Chavín de Huántar sample.

In any scientific investigation, it is the first task to establish the sequence of events in order to trace possible relationships. The late Preceramic, or in the terminology of Peter Kaulicke (1994:242), the Terminal Archaic date of Cerro Sechín, has been questioned by Rafael Vega-Centeno (1999:17–19). Answers to his reflections can be found in the publications of Lorenzo Samaniego et al. (1985:179–184) as well as Peter Fuchs (1997:157–159) who quoted the original B.P. values of all ^{14}C measurements from Cerro Sechín and their stratigraphic proveniences.[4]

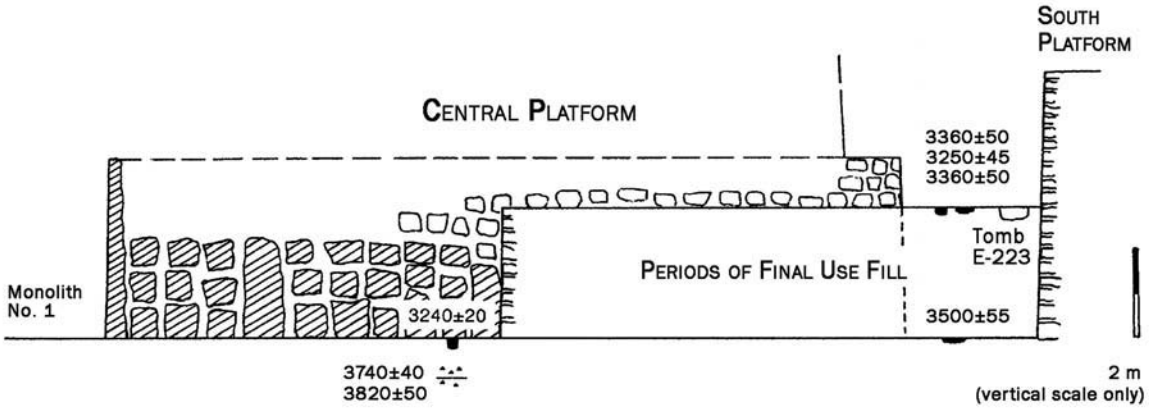


Figure 4.4. Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley. Architectural contexts of ^{14}C assays from the west and south corridors; stone reliefs of the central platform facade hachured. Horizontal distances not to scale. *Drawing: Henning Bischof.*

If Vega-Centeno's proposal that Cerro Sechín 1–4 was contemporary with Pampa de las Llamas were correct, this would indeed have to be taken into account in any discussion of early Chavín art. The series of Cerro Sechín ^{14}C measurements indicates otherwise, however (figures 4.4–4.5). Two samples clearly refer to construction activities of the earlier adobe building phases: 3740 ± 40 B.P. (H-6958) and 3820 ± 50 B.P. (H-6959). On the other hand, a sample taken from a burned feature in the latest Phase 4 south corridor floor, buried below the Period of Final Use fill, reads 3500 ± 55 B.P. (H-11278). When this floor was prepared, the wall containing the famous stone reliefs was already in place.

Another reading of 3240 ± 20 B.P. (H-6977) was obtained from a composite wood-and-cane column in front of the retaining wall that closed the west corridor during the late Period of Final Use, demolished in 1971–72 as already discussed. Like H-11278, the sample *postdates* the wall containing the stone reliefs. If the column from which it was taken was more or less contemporary with the original Phase 4 corridor floor into which its base had been dug, the time covered by construction phases 1–4 would extend to some 550 years. However, the column may well have been erected at a later date, because in that section, the Phase 4 floor level had remained basically unchanged. Stratigraphically as well as radiometrically, the ^{14}C age of the composite column tallies with two assays from burnt features in the floor that covers the Periods of Final Use fill in the south corridor, 3360 ± 50 B.P. (H-11291) and 3250 ± 45 B.P. (H-11292). Whether located on top of that fill or in front of its western retaining wall, these samples all share the same stratigraphical position. An additional ^{14}C sample taken from tomb E-223, excavated into the same fill, also reads 3360 ± 50 B.P. (H-11290), indicating that the center of Cerro Sechín was now considered a suitable place for graves.

As far as the ceramic evidence is concerned, the four vessels from tomb E-223 are the oldest ceramics recovered from any stratigraphic context at Cerro Sechín, in spite of the sifting of some 180 m^3 of the Periods of Final Use fill in the south corridor (Bischof 1995b:162). In terms of stratigraphy, they constitute a grave lot intrusive into the last Period of Final Use floor, which completely covered the Phase 4 stone reliefs in that section, long after they had been carved. During the very last days of Cerro Sechín as a ceremonial or indeed major architectural center, the vessels may or may not have been used in any activities at the site as hypothesized by Vega-Centeno (1999:18), but they do not date its stone reliefs. Unless older ceramics can be proven to occur elsewhere in the Casma region, both the ^{14}C measurements and the "Tortugas" type of pottery actually found indicate that the absence of ceramics in older stratigraphic contexts at Cerro Sechín is not due to culturally sterile fills, some putative rule of ritual cleanliness, or the oversight of excavators; rather, it is because the four main construction phases of Cerro Sechín date to the last centuries of the Preceramic or the Late and Terminal Archaic periods (Kaulicke 1994: 235–236, 282; Kaulicke and Dillehay 2000:11; Bischof 1998, 2000).

The chronological position relative to Pampa de las Llamas is established by two facts. First, according to the published archaeological evidence, Pampa de las Llamas is a fully ceramic site, whereas at Cerro Sechín, the same kind of pottery appears only in a context that postdates the main construction phases and their associated art. Second, if all published ^{14}C measurements for Pampa de las Llamas are taken into account (figure 4.5), most of them are later than those obtained for the main construction phases of Cerro Sechín, indicating an occupation of unknown length around 3400/3100 B.P.

Ruth Shady, Marco Machacuay, and Rocío Aramburú (2000) have recently published a geoglyph at Caral which represents a Sechín- or Early Chavín-style severed head outlined by a stone pavement on the natural ground surface. Suggestive as that may be in view of the extensive Late Archaic occupation nearby, the geoglyph cannot actually be proven to be contemporary with the domestic or monumental architecture of Caral. In terms of radiocarbon measurements, the most recent building phases at that site predate Cerro Sechín by 100 to 200 years (Shady et al. 2001:726, Table 1),[5] demonstrating the volume

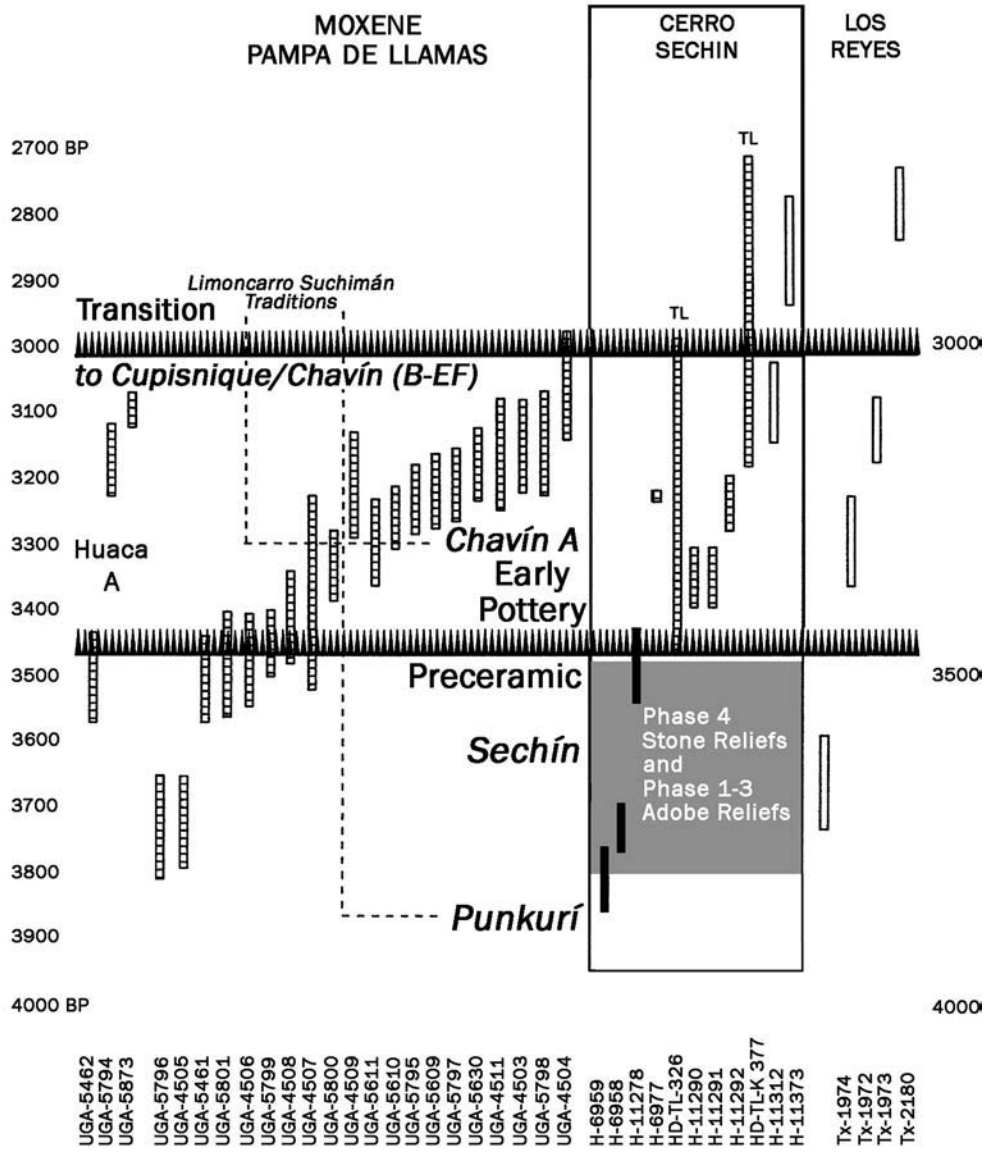


Figure 4.5. Radiocarbon measurements from Cerro Sechín and Pampa de las Llamas, Casma Valley, compared with those from Huaca de los Reyes, Moche Valley, and their relation to the cultural traditions and art styles of north-central Peru. *Drawing: Henning Bischof.*

and sophistication achieved by Late/Terminal Archaic (late Preceramic) architecture in coastal Peru, as already envisioned by Edward P. Lanning (1967). Sites like Cerro Sechín, Punkurí, and La Galgada elaborate on this tradition (Samaniego et al. 1985; Vega-Centeno 1999; Grieder et al. 1988; Bischof 1985, 1994).

Punkurí

The adobe-built platform mound in the lower Nepeña Valley, about 30 km north of Casma, had been sampled in 1929 by John B. Harrison and four years later by Julio C. Tello (Daggett 1987). The reliefs of the first, and the feline sculpture of the second main construction phase (figures

4.6–4.7, 4.21b) are among the most impressive examples of early monumental art in Peru. If the feline sculpture is close in time to the feline paintings of the first construction phase at Cerro Sechín, as has been proposed on stylistic grounds, the polychrome reliefs of the preceding construction phase at Punkurí should also be the oldest, reaching back into Late Archaic times (Bischof 1985:398, 406, n. 39; 1994:173). As the development of the feline motif is not yet known in sufficient detail, however, the Punkurí feline sculpture could also be contemporaneous with one of the later construction phases at Cerro Sechín. In any case, Víctor Falcón Huayta (2004) has been able to establish, on the basis of Tello's excavation records, that no pottery was associated with the early architecture at Punkurí. The copies of his original photographs preserved in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia archive prove Julio C. Tello's (1944:Pl. 3) published drawing of the main mural to be a reliable source (figure 4.21b).

The recent cleaning of Punkurí by Lorenzo Samaniego (Chimbote) revealed an additional painted clay relief in the northwest corner of the mound (Samaniego 1999), which appears to postdate the two other construction phases although it is cut in its turn by a later wall in the north. Its subject is a human head oozing blood, like so many severed heads at Cerro Sechín (figure 4.8).

At the foot of the Stairway of the Feline, a person of considerable importance had been buried in the latest or penultimate platform fill. Among the associated objects were a carved stone mortar with its carved pestle and a carved *Strombus* trumpet, as well as a large quantity of stone beads (Tello in Daggett 1987:137, 139; Tello 2005). For 70 years, only the stone mortar was known from a published drawing (Tello 1943:Fig. 17a). Falcón et al. (2005) have now succeeded in locating the long-missing *Strombus* trumpet in the collections of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia. It is incised with the outline of a human hand. The stone artifacts, alas, do not seem to have entered any public collection, and their present whereabouts remain unknown. This is also true for the carved stone mortar from Suchimán in the Santa

Figure 4.6. The north facade of Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, in 2000. Painted clay. *Photo by Henning Bischof.*

Figure 4.7. The Staircase of the Feline at Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, in 2000. Painted clay. *Photo: Henning Bischof.*

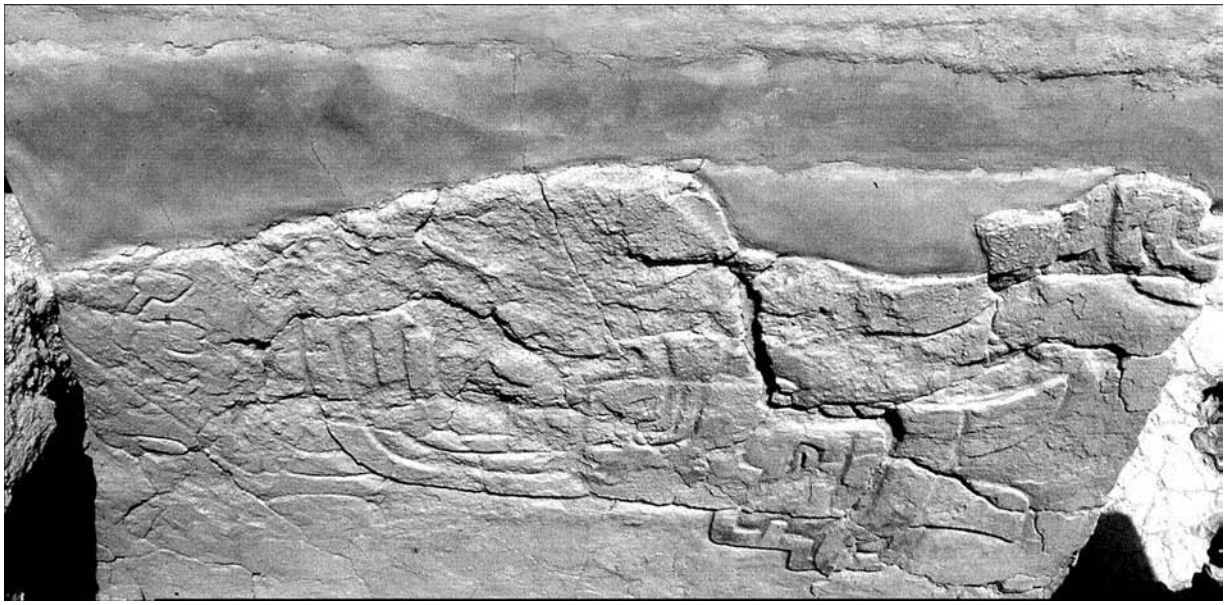


Figure 4.8. Painted clay relief at Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, in 2000. Severed human head oozing blood. *Photo: Henning Bischof.*

Valley, which Tello liked to compare to his finds from Punkurí (figure 4.20a–b).

Other Sites

The recent discovery of a large body of incised graffiti at the Sechín Bajo platform mound has significantly amplified the sample of Chavín A iconography (Fuchs et al. 2003), emphasizing the importance of the Casma region, which is also shown by three carved bone objects from Haldas (figure 4.11a–c; plate 4.1), the incised bone spatula from Pallka (figure 4.11d), and a stone mortar fragment from Pan de Azúcar (León 1995; figure 4.20d). Still within the same general region, the sculptured lintel or doorstep at La Pampa in the Callejón de Huaylas, with its intriguing combination of features, initially stimulated my research into art historical developments and relationships between the Late Archaic and Chavín (figure 4.15b). The potential of the nearby Chupacoto site (Huaylas) is demonstrated by two large stone reliefs that conform to early Chavín rather than Sechín-style norms (Bischof 1994: Fig. 21a–b); they do not show specific Chavín A features, though.

Farther north, a Chavín A carved bone spatula was recovered from tomb 867 dug into the Late/Terminal Archaic midden at Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley (figure 4.17a). Another focus of early Chavín art was located in the Jequetepeque/Zaña region. Excellent but largely unpublished fieldwork has been conducted by Walter Alva (1988) at Purulén in the lower Zaña Valley, a promising site that is rarely mentioned when Chavín or "Cupisnique" origins are being discussed. In the Zaña region, ceramics of the Chavín/Cupisnique type abound (Alva 1986a). The broad line-incised, well-polished orange-fired monochrome Purulén pottery is different, however, and represents an earlier time level marked by two near-identical ^{14}C measurements for features on platform mound 18 at Purulén, the only one extensively excavated: 3120 ± 80 B.P. (VRI-811) from a "combustion shaft below pyramid" (Ziólkowski et al. 1994:479), and 3025 ± 35 B.P. (HD-11576; Bischof 1995b:176) from a burnt *quincha* wall (wattle-and-daub) on top of the platform.[6] The most elaborate vessel fragments were found on the west side of the building, in a trash dump that resulted from ceremonial activities conducted on top of the main platform (Alva 1988:Fig. 4; Tellenbach 1997:Fig. 2). In addition to such general Chavín features as the excentric eye, the S-scroll, and what appears to be the beak of a raptorial bird, specific early features can be recognized, like the "Smiling Snake" heads, similar to those on the La Pampa lintel and the three pointed bands of the "breath of power" symbol (Alva 1988:Fig. 8). Other Chavín A elements are missing so far.

In terms of ceramic and decorative technique as well as style and iconography, Purulén pottery is quite distinct from the polychrome postfired-painted and incised "Tembladera"-type vessels of the Jequetepeque region that occasionally represent Chavín A motifs (figure 4.14). These are much more frequent on finely carved ritual stone vessels, a number of which are reported to have been found in the context of some ceremonial architecture near Limoncarro, Jequetepeque Valley (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:216). Several undocumented objects have been attributed to the same site (figure 4.13) but may well have been found elsewhere, like the vessels from the Chicama Valley (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:214–215) or the Chiclayo region (figure 4.12b). Of these, one was found in a well-recorded context at Barbacoa (Chicama), tomb 3, together with a plain stone beaker, an undecorated bone spatula, and a necklace of animal teeth modified into bird shapes (Larco 1941:218, Figs. 144–145, 283–284). The "failure . . . to conform to Chavín artistic conventions" (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1996:89) unfortunately makes it very difficult at present to distinguish authentic early stone carvings from creative replicas of modern times that have appeared on the art market, especially as the documented finds from Limoncarro have never been studied in detail.[7]

Finally, a few major petroglyphs should be mentioned, such as those at Tolón and Quebrada del Felino in the Jequetepeque Valley (Pimentel 1986:Figs. 13, 59), Alto de la Guitarra in the Moche Valley (Roe 1974:Fig. 27), and Incapaq'amanan near Huallanca in the upper Santa Valley (Kauffmann Doig 1993:443). These in situ works

of art are important because they demonstrate the geographical range of specific Sechín and Chavín A features.

Substantiating Early Chavín Art (Chavín A): Finds, Motifs, and Design Elements

Several appraisals of Chavín art have been published since John H. Rowe (1962, 1967a) presented his famous study. Its early expressions can be expected to carry on inherited features, but at the same time, the basic patterns of classic Chavín art should already be recognizable. The materials discussed in the following section appear to meet both requirements. The simultaneous presence of features of different derivation and prospects is normal in complex works of art, as George Kubler pointed out long ago (Silverman 2004:14), but does not by any means render stylistic analysis ineffective as a dating tool. Actually, seriation as a method depends on that fact.

After Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891), more than a century of Old World experience in a wide variety of settings also has proven conclusively that stylistic analysis still remains the most precise dating tool available, after dendrochronology and written historical dates, both of which are absent or not yet operational in pre-Columbian Peru. Making use of the different components that might be discernible, stylistic analysis on a higher level of sophistication may allow us to trace the dynamics of conceptual and formal developments, or in Kubler's words, the "network of incoming and outgoing influences" (quoted in Silverman 2004:14). In addition, there are the artists' preferences and creative contributions to be considered, both as individuals and as groups that, for a time, share some aims and conventions. It is difficult to see why any of this should discourage the use of stylistic analysis in its various fields of application.

Stylistic analysis also has a high predictive potential which can be profitably used for generating testable hypotheses. The pre-Lanzón stone sculpture at Chavín de Huántar indicated the presence of major Early Formative or even Terminal Archaic architecture at this site (Bischof 1994:188), years before it was actually located (Kembel, this volume, chapter 2). The late position of the Ofrendas offering deposit became evident as soon as its publication by Luis G. Lumbreras (1993) permitted it to be evaluated in terms of ceramic style development (see note 2). Diligent research into the Castillo construction sequence showed that this was also true for its architectural context, including the Circular Plaza (Kembel, this volume). Complicating factors such as regional variation and archaism were already taken into account by the pioneering work of John H. Rowe and his group (Menzel et al. 1964; Proulx 1968; Rowe 1971), to which the present author is much indebted.

On the other hand, if it is to go beyond typological speculation, stylistic analysis needs some fixed historical reference points. In the nonliterate Andes, we do not have artists' signatures and written dates, but for at least some of the artwork, relative sequences can be established by the stratigraphic context and, especially, the associated construction phases of complex monumental architecture. This was the approach chosen by Rowe (1962, 1967a). His proposal, however, suffered from the mobility of stone sculpture at Chavín and basically provided only two fixed points: the Lanzón and the Black-and-White Portal sculptures—assuming the latter were specifically crafted for the architectural setting in which they were found. Mural art in clay offers much better proof, as Punkurí, Cerro Sechín, and Huaca de los Reyes (Conklin 1985) show. As regards the present topic, the early chronological position of at least some of the Early Chavín/Chavín A samples has been independently established by archaeological dating evidence.

In the following sections, emphasis is placed on making explicit the reasons for linking diverse finds on the basis of their shared features and stylistic modes. Many images are relevant for several of their associated features, however, which leads to repetitive references.

If we set aside the question of whether or not the Cerro Sechín stone reliefs might still be encompassed in Early Chavín art—the contemporary images of mythical personages remain unknown, after all—the best documented and dated Chavín A samples are the wall reliefs of Huaca A at Pampa de las Llamas (Casma). They

were obviously created together with their architectural context, and their early date is proven both by ceramic associations and archaeometrical data. For this reason, they constitute the best starting point available for establishing the inventory of early Chavín art motifs, design elements, and modes of execution. The two northeast atrium reliefs (figure 4.9a–b) represent some mythical personage, which Sheila and Thomas G. Pozorski (1986:Fig. 5) have reconstructed as a feline side view, a proposition that is highly unlikely. According to the published drawings, the state of conservation did not even permit the determination of whether the two feet of each personage actually faced the same direction, as assumed by the authors. Besides, those feet do not show the claws befitting a feline. On one of the panels (figure 4.9b), the three tongue-like triangles of a "breath of power" symbol are preserved in a central position. They indicate the former presence of a now-destroyed central belt mask or agnathic face appendage as on the "Dumbarton Oaks" stone plate from the Jequetepeque region (figure 4.13a)—a feature that never appears in a feline

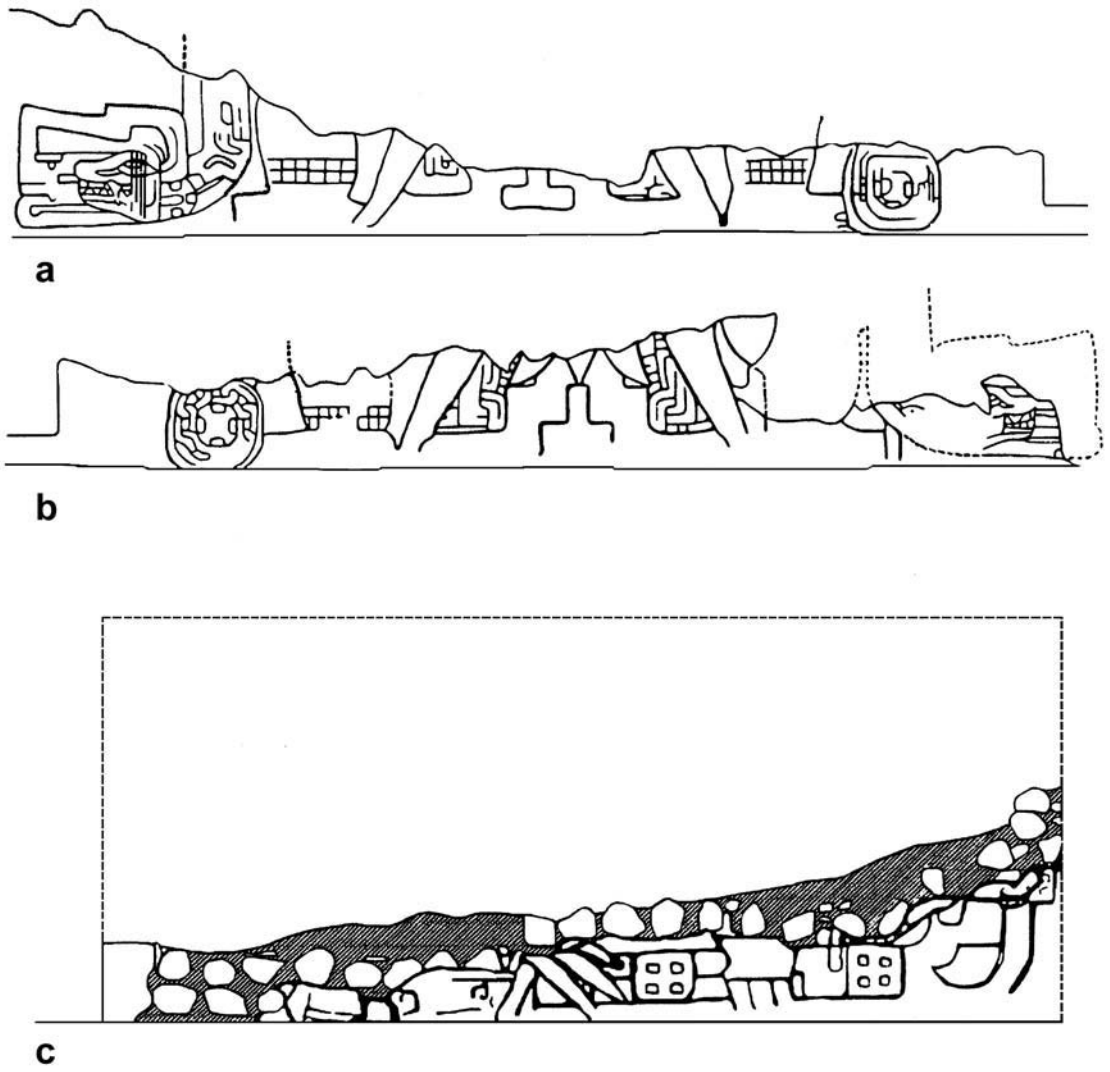


Figure 4.9. Mural clay reliefs of Huaca A at Pampa de las Llamas, Casma Valley. (*a–b*): Northeast entrance panels *(S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1986:Fig. 5)*. (*c*): Southwest entrance, east panel *(T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1994:Fig. 5.2)*.

side-view. Both panels rather represent anthropomorphic if mythical personages in an upright position, not unlike that of the winged being on the north column of the Black-and-White Portal at Chavín de Huántar (Rowe 1962; 1967a:Fig. 8).[8] On one side of each figure there is an embellished version of the disk ornament that can be seen at the lower end of the ceremonial staffs or clubs of Cerro Sechín warriors. Whether the Pampa de las Llamas disks were attached to similar clubs is impossible to know because the upper wall sections are missing. On the opposite side, a "feral" head combined with a Stepped Block symbol forms the end of a snake-like body that probably emanated from the main personage, somewhat as on a La Galgada textile (Grieder et al. 1988:Fig. 149) or the redone Huaca de los Reyes clay relief F 7 (T. Pozorski 1975:Pls. 11–12, 14, Fig. 37). Among the significant design elements there are the bicorned snake eye, the interlocking pattern on the snake body, the Stepped Block symbol, and the triple-tongue "breath of power" symbol. At the same time, the interlocking background pattern indicates the presence of a different art tradition.

Two of these elements are again associated at the Northeast Mound of Garagay (Rimac Valley). The Stepped Block symbol is appended to the base of the neck of an anthropomorphic head associated with the second construction stage, while a snake head with a bicorned eye occupies the position of its nose (figure 4.10d). As at Pampa de las Llamas, only half of the snake eye is shown. Its pupil is circular and centrally placed, but that need not concern us here. Two other features of the main head can be added to the inventory of contemporary design elements: its subrectangular eye—closed, in this case—of which only one tear duct is shown, and the agnathic mouth of the snake head "nose." Of the two companion heads, one has the perfectly drawn conventionalized head of a raptorial bird for a nose and shows an inverted subrectangular excentric eye that is open. What may be a paw, a multi-spiked club-head-like object, and another Stepped Block symbol are appended to the neck (figure 4.10c). Images with open and closed eyes—indicating alive vs. dead personages?—are also associated on the Moxeke facade. Both heads are important as

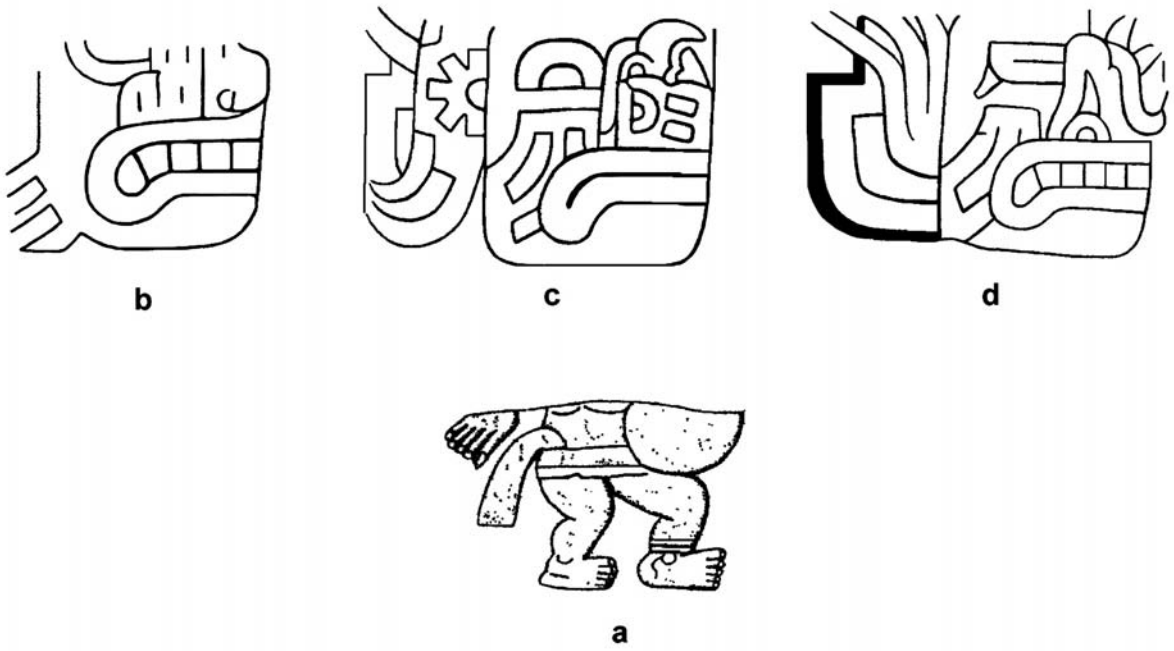


Figure 4.10. Mural clay reliefs of the Northeast Mound/Pyramid A at Garagay, Rimac Valley (not to scale). (*a*): Shield carrier of the first construction phase. *Drawn after Ravines 1984:Fig. 17*. (*b–d*): Composite mythical heads of the second construction phase in arbitrary sequence. *From Ravines 1984:Figs. 20–22*.

some of the earliest known images composed of both human and zoomorphic elements, a salient feature of Chavín art.

The third head at Garagay (figure 4.10b), associated with a fin-like element, is close to the Cerro Sechín heads and the single one known from Sechín Alto (Bischof 1994:Fig. 16e). These heads differ little from each other and are related as a group to the "Yurayaku" type of anthropomorphic images discussed below (figures 4.17–4.18; Bischof 1994:Figs. 18–19). Unfortunately, no specific dating evidence has been published for the Garagay structure that contains these sculptures.

The four bone carvings mentioned above from two sites in the Casma region clearly belong to the same group of images, but their archaeological contexts do not furnish independent dating criteria. They all represent the first important category of Chavín A images—that is, animal motifs. A single bicorned "snake" eye combined with a phytomorph element can be recognized on what appears to be a carved bone fragment from the Haldas stratigraphy, reworked as a pendant (figure 4.11c; Bischof 2000:48). Here, drug consumption is suggested because the vein pattern of the leaf and its combination with an "eye" strongly remind one of the *Brugmansia* plant (Torres, this volume, chapter 9). On the Pallka cayman spatula (figure 4.11d), the bicorned "feral" eye and the interlocking body pattern known from Pampa de las Llamas are both present. The "Feathered (Flying ?) Cayman" on a spatula found at Haldas (figure 4.11b; plate 4.1; Engel 1988:Pl. 25, No. 1824) has a different kind of bicorned eye, but its head and body are quite close to the Pallka specimen. In both chronological and iconographical terms, these central coast images can be considered as the early predecessors of the caymans on the Tello obelisk and, ultimately, the "dragon" designs on Ofrendas pottery vessels.

An awl- or spatula-like bone implement also found at Las Haldas was probably used for ritual drug consumption or as a sacrificial perforator, as indicated by an incised feline figure with the well-known interlocking body pattern (figure 4.11a; Engel 1988: Pl. 10, No. 2084).[9] Its bicorned eye belongs to the concentric circular variety present on the Garagay snake head (figure 4.10d), the anthropomorphic figure at Siete Huacas (Nepeña Valley; Bischof 1994:Fig. 16g), two rock carvings in the Jequetepeque Valley (figure 4.15a; Pimentel 1986:Fig. 59), the carved lintel at La Pampa, Santa Valley (figure 4.15b), a stone beaker in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1996:Pl. 12, Fig. 27), the Yesopampa Period mortar from La Pampa (Mound 8, R-11; Terada 1979:Pl. 124,1), and last but not least, two stone reliefs from Chavín de Huántar (figure 4.16a–b). Both Chavín sculptures also carry a

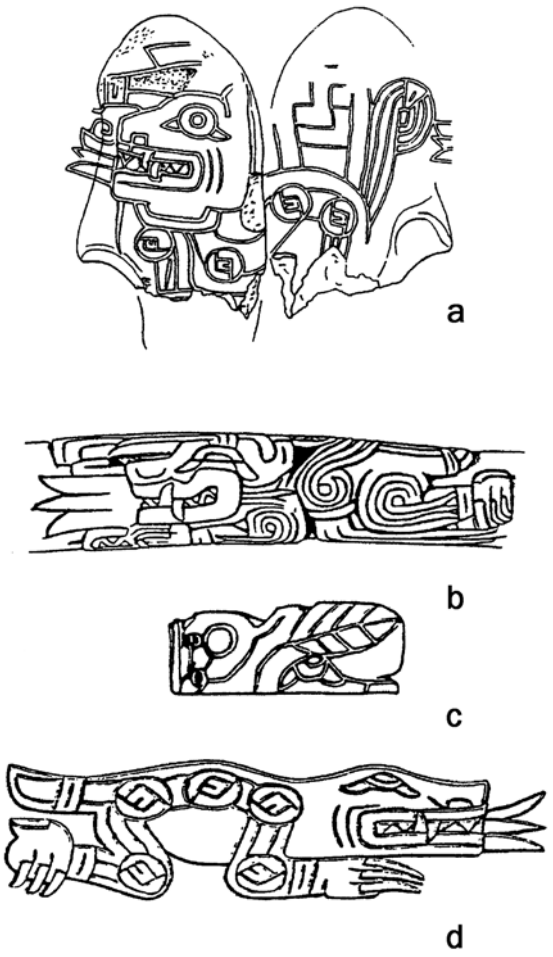


Figure 4.11. Chavín A ritual bone artifacts from the Casma Valley. (*a*): Handle of spatula or ritual perforator, Haldas. *Drawing: Henning Bischof.* (*b*): Carved center of spatula, Haldas. *From Disselhoff 1961:Fig. 10.* (*c*): Pendant, probably recarved, Haldas. *From Fung 1972a:Fig. 22f.* (*d*): Carved center of reconstructed spatula, Pallka. *From Tello 1956:Fig. 22 (compare Tello 1956:Pl. 2E).*

Stepped Block symbol on their backs, which on the Dumbarton Oaks beaker (figure 4.12a) is associated with a scroll like that on the Haldas perforator (figure 4.11a).[10]

Perhaps due to the limitations of our sample, it is only on fine stone vessels from the north coast and related Tembladera ceramics that we encounter images as complex as the Pampa de las Llamas clay reliefs (figures 4.12–4.14). These include an anthropomorphic figure with a fanged mouth and a raptorial bird's beak (figure 4.12b), one with a fanged mouth combined with spider mouth pincers (*chelicerae*) and a second pair of spider legs on the back (figure 4.13), a double-headed spider (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Fig. 2–6),[11] a raptorial bird with a feline head behind its beak (figure 4.12a), a fanged anthropomorphic head with two connected feline-headed snake

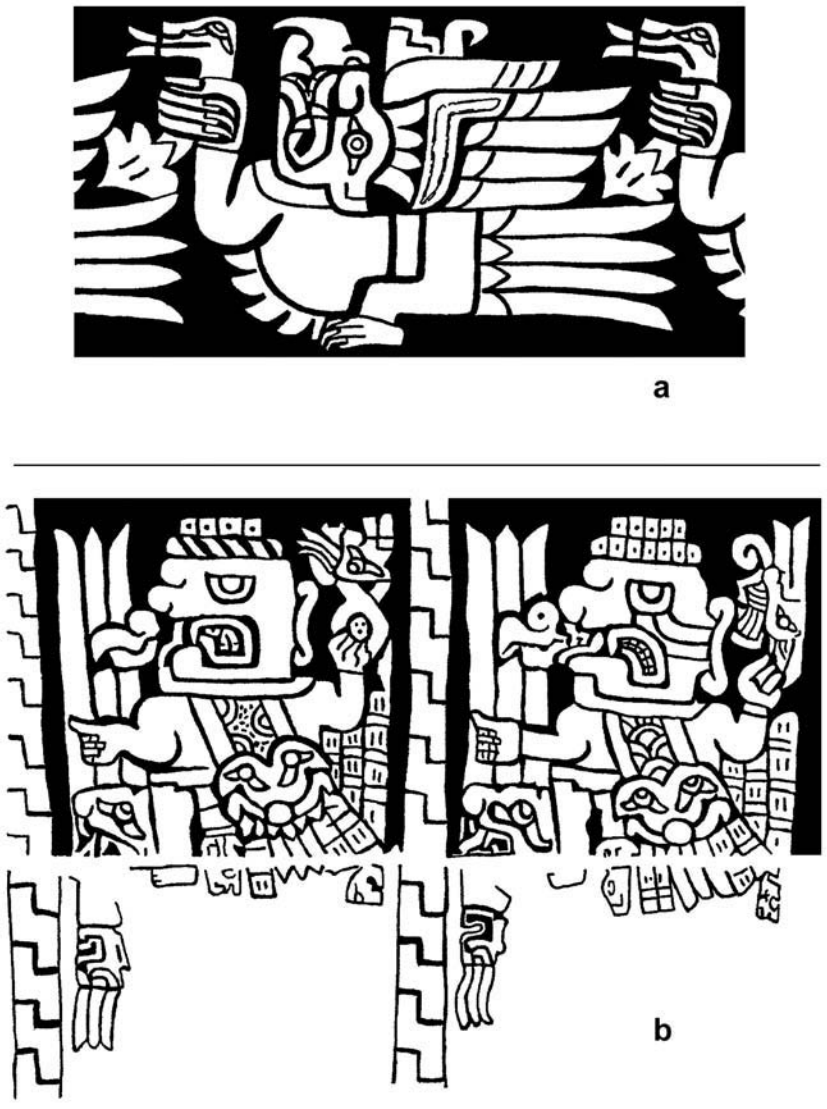


Figure 4.12. Carved miniature stone beakers from the Jequetepeque and Chiclayo region. (*a*): Composite mythical animal. *After Salazar-Burger and Burger 1996:Fig. 27.* (*b*): Mythical anthropomorphic beings on the "Rondón cup." *After Kroeber 1944:Pl. 33c–e. Drawings: Henning Bischof.*

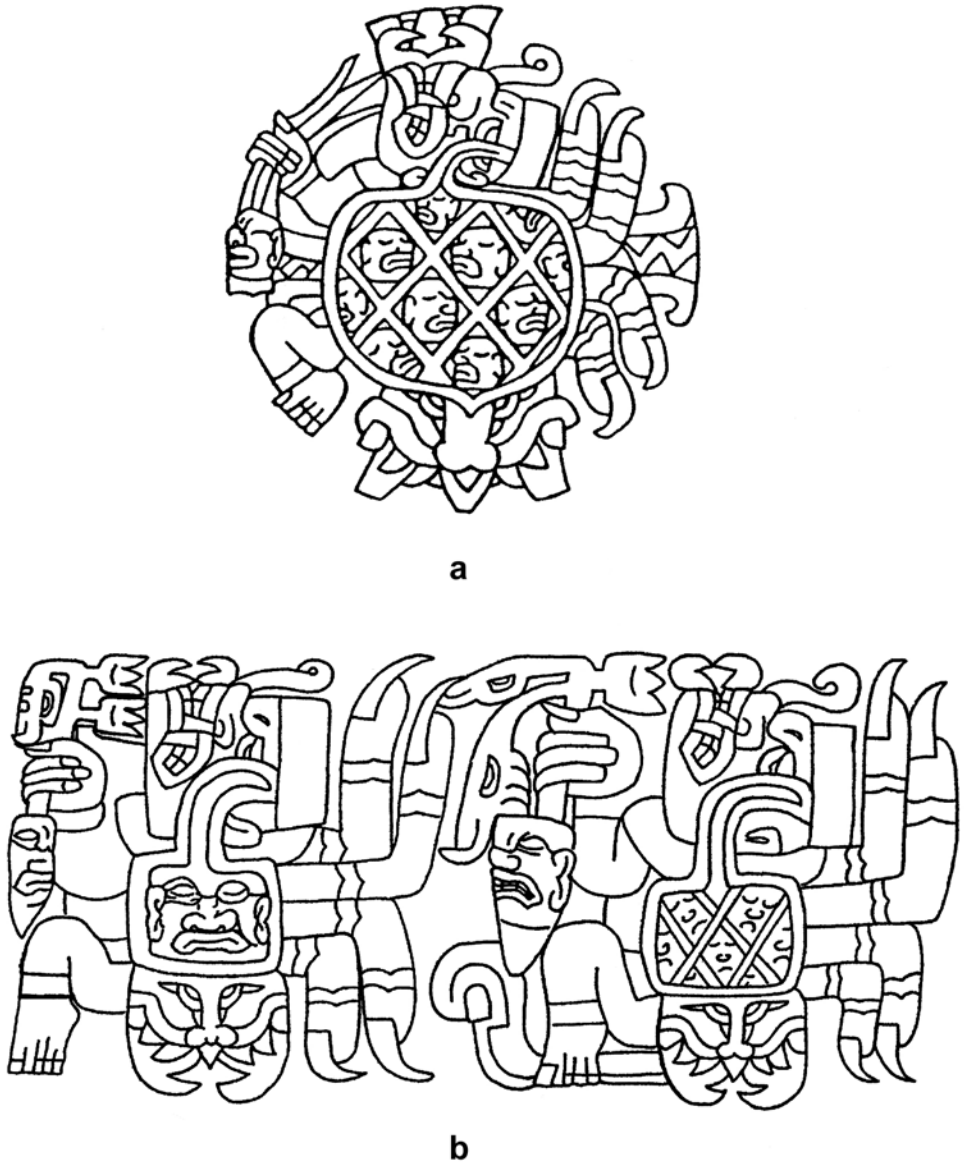


Figure 4.13. Spider motifs on carved stone vessels from the Jequetepeque region. (*a*): The "Dumbarton Oaks plate." *From Bischof 1998:Fig. 7a*. (*b*): The "Limoncarro beaker." *From Cordy-Collins 1992:Fig. 6 (photo in Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Fig. 7)*.

bodies (figure 4.14a), and a feathered agnathic head with a subsidiary feline head (figure 4.14b). Unfortunately, all of these specimens lack precise provenience data.

Individual Elements: Eye Forms

Shifting our attention to individual features and motifs, the "bicorned eye," whether on felines, caymans, snakes, or spiders, may actually be the most ubiquitous feature of Early Chavín figurative art and clearly contrasts with the arched eye forms found on classic Chavín snake images beginning with Moxeke and the Lanzón.[12] There are several basic forms probably differing in their temporal and spatial bounds as well as in terms of meaning. Only two of them and some of their variants

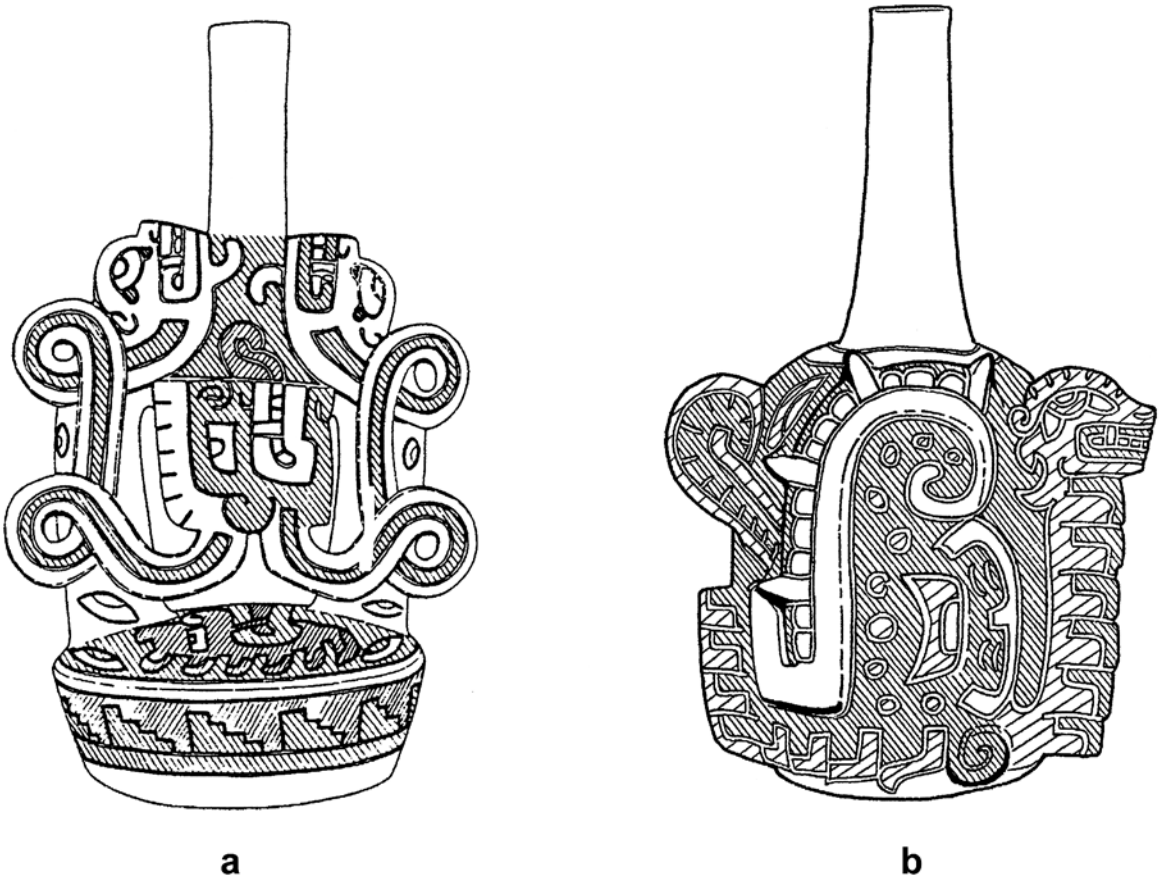


Figure 4.14. Chavín A motifs on Tembladera-type ceramic vessels from the Jequetepeque region. (*a*): Stirrup-spout bottle. Zoned postfired red and yellow paint. Quindén, Jequetepeque. *From Alva 1986a:116, No. 91 (by permission of the Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie, Bonn)*. (*b*): Long-necked bottle. Zoned postfired red and yellow paint. *Drawing: Henning Bischof after Lavallée and Lumbreras 1985:Fig. 38*.

will be considered here. The lifelike type 1, variant 1a, has a circular pupil inside a pointed oval outline resembling the shape of the human eye; it is mainly documented in contexts earlier than Chavín A, except for one example on the main figure of the Brooklyn Museum plate (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Fig. 11). More important for the present paper is variant 1b, a geometricized version of the "bicorned eye" with a large eyeball depicted as a circle or pair of concentric circles, sometimes surrounding a central dot. The lateral angles added on opposite sides can be quite narrow and may be reduced to horizontal lines. In variant 1c, the eyeball tends to be enclosed within the outline of the eye as in variant 1a, but the corners are large and inflected, as on the Late or Terminal Archaic Punkurí feline (figure 4.21c). This variant, which may indeed predate Chavín A, considering the other recorded occurrences, is present on at least two Chavín de Huántar stone reliefs from unknown contexts (figure 4.16a; Bischof 1994:Fig. 14e).

The more conventionalized type 2 has a wide geographical distribution, but its time span seems to be more restricted. Two curved lines define the excentric pupil and the oval or circular eyeball which has two triangular corner appendices. This "feral" eye type can be found on the Pampa de las Llamas wall reliefs and several bone carvings in the Casma Valley (figures 4.9a–b, 4.11c–d) but

even more frequently on the north coast, especially on fine stone vessels like the Rondón beaker from the Chiclayo region (figure 4.12b), the Dumbarton Oaks plate believed to come from Limoncarro in the Jequetepeque Valley (figure 4.13a; Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983, 1996), and the Brooklyn Museum plate (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:Fig. 12).[13] One feline "of the backward glance" (Cordy-Collins 1988) on a Chavín de Huántar stone relief has precisely the same "feral" eye, differing in this respect from all other feline images known from that site (figure 4.16c).

In their important study of the north Peruvian stone vessels and related materials, Lucy Salazar and Richard Burger (1983:242) correctly noted some similarity to the Cerro Sechín stone reliefs showing dignitary figures and severed human heads. They also recognized the intermediary position of the stone vessel imagery between Cerro Sechín and Chavín de Huántar sculpture, an observation that can now be understood in terms of chronology (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:243). Future studies should be able to define some geographical or chronological variants within this group but will also have to deal with modern imitations, of which there appear to be many. On the basis of present evidence, the "bicorned eye," type 2, can be taken as diagnostic of Early Formative Chavín A, adding to the arguments for an early date of the Limoncarro-type stone vessels and the two Tembladera-type ceramic bottles on which it appears (figure 4.14). Iconographically, it is a "subsidiary-figure eye form" (Roe 1974:11) frequently associated with another eye form on the main figure of the same image. The eye of the main figure, usually subrectangular in outline with an excentric pupil hanging on the top edge, if not inverted, is one of the most widely recognized Chavín style diagnostics in spite of its earlier presence at Cerro Sechín (Roe 1974:Feature 7). A unique combination occurs on the Las Haldas bone spatula where two corner appendices were added to what is basically an inverted subrectangular eye (figure 4.11b). In the Jequetepeque region and the nearby highlands around Pacopampa, several highly stylized eye forms derived from the "bicorned eye," type 2, attest to the continuity of the local design tradition (Alva 1986a:Figs. E–G, Nos. 140, 142, 171–172, 175–176, 180–181).

Feet and Paws

Other potentially diagnostic style elements are the feet or paws, but the evidence is slender as far as Chavín A–style specimens are concerned. The felines on the Las Haldas perforator and a Chavín de Huántar stone relief (figure 4.16c) do not have their feet preserved, while the quadrupeds on the Las Haldas and Pallka spatulae may be caymans rather than felines, a distinction that could be significant iconographically. The agnathic animal figure from Chavín, already noted for its concentric bicorned eye and associated Stepped Block symbol, has a front paw like the Las Haldas and Pallka cayman figures, its hind paw being round (figure 4.16b) like the one on the well-known exceptional feline stone relief from Chavín (Tello 1960:Fig. 62) and another one from some site in the Callejón de Huaylas (Bischof 1994:Fig. 21c). The agnathic creature on the La Pampa lintel in the Santa Valley (figure 4.15b), however, does show the rounded paws with a double-arch wrist design known from early feline images at Punkurí and Cerro Sechín (Bischof 1994:Figs. 14a–d, 23a). In contrast to these animal images, the feet of the Pampa de las Llamas mural figures are basically rectangular like those of some anthropomorphic images, as noted above (Bischof 1994: Figs. 17f, 19b). Finally, both the front and hind paws of the felinoid harpy eagle on a Chavín A Dumbarton Oaks beaker (figure 4.12a) approach those of the Lanzón (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1996:95–96). This is not surprising, as some of the materials should be closer in time to the Lanzón than others.

Agnathic Head

A mask-like agnathic face worn at the end of a sash is frequently associated with the main figures, linking the carved stone vessels (figures 4.12b, 4.13) to Jequetepeque Valley rock art (figure 4.15a), the La Pampa lintel farther south (figure 4.15b), and probably the northeast panels at Pampa de las Llamas (figure 4.9a–b). On the Brooklyn plate, it is superimposed on the anthropomorphic face of the main figure, a highly un-

usual combination at best (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Fig. 11), although there may be some kind of parallel in the agnathic "nose" of a Garagay head (figure 4.10d).[14] Whether those masks refer to any of the full-fledged agnathic creatures that are represented elsewhere is not quite clear—for example, the spiders on a Limoncarro-type stone vessel from Chicama (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Figs. 2–3; 1996: 89–91), the convoluted quadruped with an upturned head on a Chavín de Huántar stone slab (figure 4.16b), or the agnathic beings on the La Pampa lintel and its petroglyph counterpart at Tolón (figure 4.15), which have only their heads and paws represented like the figures on a ceramic bottle from the Jequetepeque Valley (Alva 1986a:No. 1). Besides the upturned agnathic head on a Tembladera-type bottle (figure 4.14b; compare Alva 1986a:No. 63), there is another fully garbed agnathic figure on another Tembladera-type bottle from Quindén (Alva 1986a:No. 66) with "smiling snake" appendages like those on Purulén pottery and the double-bodied La Pampa lintel. A monochrome ceramic bottle from Caliza de Talambo, Jequetepeque Valley, which represents a squatting anthropomorphic figure with an eye form like that of the Tolón petroglyph, should also be mentioned. The figure seems to hold the handle of an agnathic or stepped-block mouth mask (Alva 1986a:No. 343).

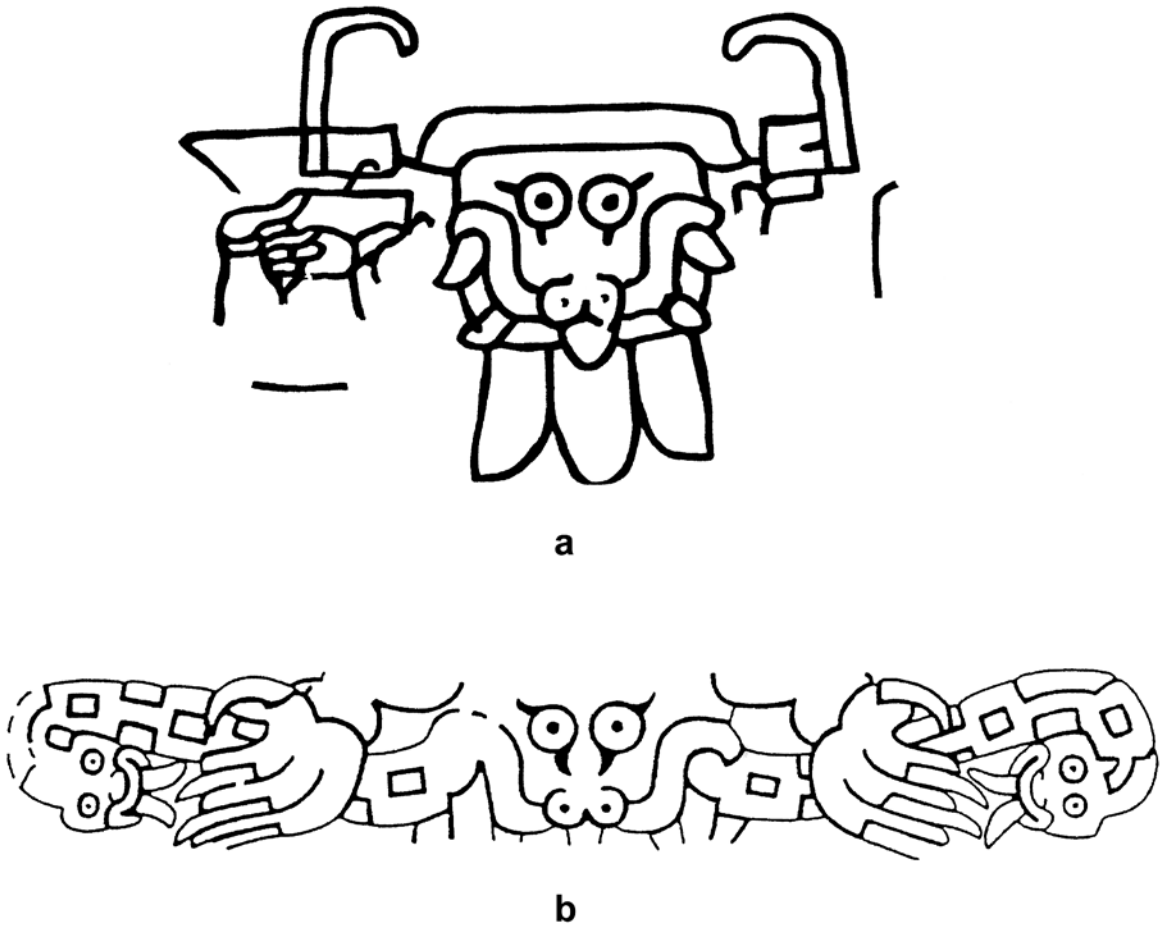


Figure 4.15. Agnathic beings. (*a*): Petroglyph at Tolón, Jequetepeque Valley. *From Pimentel 1986:Fig. 13 (by permission of the Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie, Bonn)*. (*b*): Stone lintel from La Pampa, Santa Valley. *Drawing: Henning Bischof after Terada 1979:Pl. 129*.

Double-Bodied Snake

A widely diffused Chavín A motif that can be traced back to Terminal Archaic Cerro Sechín in terms of its probable symbolic contents consists of two serpent bodies united by a central head. Except for their putative predecessors, the still *kenning*-less non-biomorphic Cerro Sechín examples, the type of central head varies—"smiling snake" (Burger 1989b), agnathic, or anthropomorphic (figures 4.14a, 4.15b; Alva 1986a:No. 66)—and the serpent bodies may end as tails or in separate heads, either "smiling snake" or feline. In all cases, the basic concept appears to be the same. Most of the stone reliefs are associated with the entrances of important ritual buildings, as at Cerro Sechín, Pacopampa, and, in a way, Pampa de las Llamas, while the La Pampa relief, removed from its former architectural context, was executed on a lintel-type stone slab. On the strength of the Cerro Sechín ensemble, the present author has interpreted this motif as a symbol intended to counterbalance the dualistic bias of central Andean society—a figurative "call for unity" launched at a focal point of ritual activities (Bischof 1994:180, n. 12; 1995a:149). If the Cerro Sechín design is a belt, as proposed by Arturo Jiménez Borja and Lorenzo Samaniego (1973:22), the kenning-embellished Chavín A versions may well constitute the antecedents of the conspicuous "snarling god" belt with serpents attached to each end.[15] The main portion of the Lanzón belt vaguely resembles a row of agnathic heads, while the Raimondi stela sticks to the traditional model of an agnathic belt mask, in this case equipped with paired serpents.

The Trifid "Breath of Power" Symbol

Most agnathic personages and other supernaturals, as well as powerful animals like felines or caymans, are associated with the "breath of power" symbol which consists of three narrow tongue-like triangles that emanate from their mouths. In later Chavín art, this symbol persists in modified forms (Rowe 1967a:Fig. 17 top; Roe 1974:Fig. 12; Ravines 1984:Fig. 32). Similar graphic conventions were used in early iconography for long hair, feathers, and the fiber or hair strands that decorate garments (Bischof 1996:Fig. 6). Design elements such as these are liable to be converted later on into kennings, like the ubiquitous serpent heads, feral—often agnathic—faces, fanged mouths, and eye modules. Constantino Manuel Torres (this volume, chapter 9) interprets the incised mouth emanations of a Chavín animal relief (figure 4.16b) as *Brugmansia* fruits, which raises the question whether the upturned head position of several animal images might be related to sensations experienced under the influence of drugs (figures 4.12a, 4.14, 4.16a–b; see also Alva 1986a:Nos. 1, 3, 5, 89, 93, 126, and others). While this may be true as far as concerns the position of the head, the unusual configuration noted by Torres could also have been caused by other factors.[16]

Stepped Block Symbol

As is evident from various images described, another frequent accessory in Chavín A iconography is the Stepped Block symbol, with either straight or curved sides, sometimes associated with a staff-like "curved element" (figures 4.9a, 4.10c–d, 4.11a, 4.12a, 4.16a–b, 4.18a). According to the late Donald W. Lathrap (1973:93–94), stepped ("notched") stelae were highly significant religious symbols, the most prominent examples being the Lanzón and the Tello obelisk.

On the other hand, there appears to be an iconographic link between the Yurayaku-type winged being on a Chavín de Huántar stone slab (figure 4.18a) and the stepped wings of the well-known "cactus bearer" on the Circular Plaza wall at Chavín.

Marine Mollusks

In a few cases, the marine mollusks so important in later Chavín ritual and art are represented as parts of some ceremonial objects handled by mythical personages—for example, the oldest known depiction of a *Spondylus* shell, at the lower end of a curved snake-headed staff in the hands of a "felinoid harpy eagle" (figure 4.12a), and a possible *Strombus*, again combined with a snake head, held high by the second figure on the Rondón cup (figure 4.12b). Marine mollusks had been important in north-central coast ritual for some time, as the Punkurí *Strombus* shows.

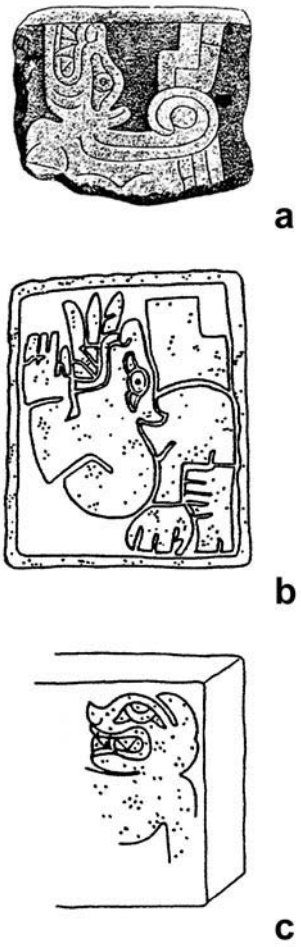


Figure 4.16. Felines and agnathic animals on Chavín de Huántar stone reliefs, Chavín A or earlier. (*a*): Mythical animal with feline head. *From Tello 1960: Fig. 72 (compare Bennett 1942:Fig. 5)*. (*b*): Agnathic animal. *Redrawn after Kauffmann 1978:237,5*. (*c*): Feline. *Redrawn after Lumbreras 1977:Fig. 55*.

Composite Mythical Personages

Even more importantly, the Chavín pattern of representing mythical personages by a combination of human and zoomorphic features is already present on Limoncarro-type stone vessels. In some cases, there may only be different mouth types of human, feline, avian, spider, or crayfish origins superimposed on each other, but occasionally, the "double identity" of some personage is also indicated by two sets of legs, one human, the other of spider or crayfish derivation (figure 4.13). Quite often, the beak of a bird of prey is placed in front of a feline mouth (figures 4.12, 4.18a), creating a "raptor" which continues to be an important theme in later Chavín art and religion (Roe, this volume, chapter 7). One stone relief at Chavín de Huántar (figure 4.18a) can be considered the prototype of the winged beings ("angels") most elaborately sculpted on the Black and White Portal columns, because it is based on the early type of anthropomorphic representations discussed in the following paragraph.

Yurayaku-type Anthropomorphs

Another large group of Chavín A figures comprises the "Yurayaku-type anthropomorphs" which can be tied to the Limoncarro stone-vessel imagery by their specific configuration shared with some mythical beings that have anthropomorphic bodies (figure 4.12b). Like the animal images, the figures are mostly free of *kennings* or complex appendages and represent a design tradition at least as old as the Cerro Sechín stone reliefs. On Limoncarro-type stone vessels and bone carvings from northern Peru, the figures tend to become even more pudgy, the shape of their heads approaches a rounded-off square with no hair shown, an oval with a central dot represents the eye, and a "wrinkle of wrath," probably related to a feline snarl, appears above the bridge of their pug noses (figure 4.17). This wrinkle actually becomes one of the iconographic stereotypes of classic Chavín sculpture, including the Lanzón. The many severed heads designed with these same features emphasize the basically human nature of this group and are associated *en miniature* on the Limoncarro beaker and the Dumbarton Oaks plate with other elements of this early iconographic inventory (figures 4.12b, 4.13a). In terms of accessories, the Cerro Sechín pillbox hat gives way to many different types of headgear, and the Cerro Sechín–type belt is mostly replaced by plain rectangular forms or the Chavín-type triangular breechcloth (Bischof 1994: Fig. 20). Most of the figures are shown as participants in ritual. Activities include dancing, chanting or shouting, blowing the *Strombus* trumpet,

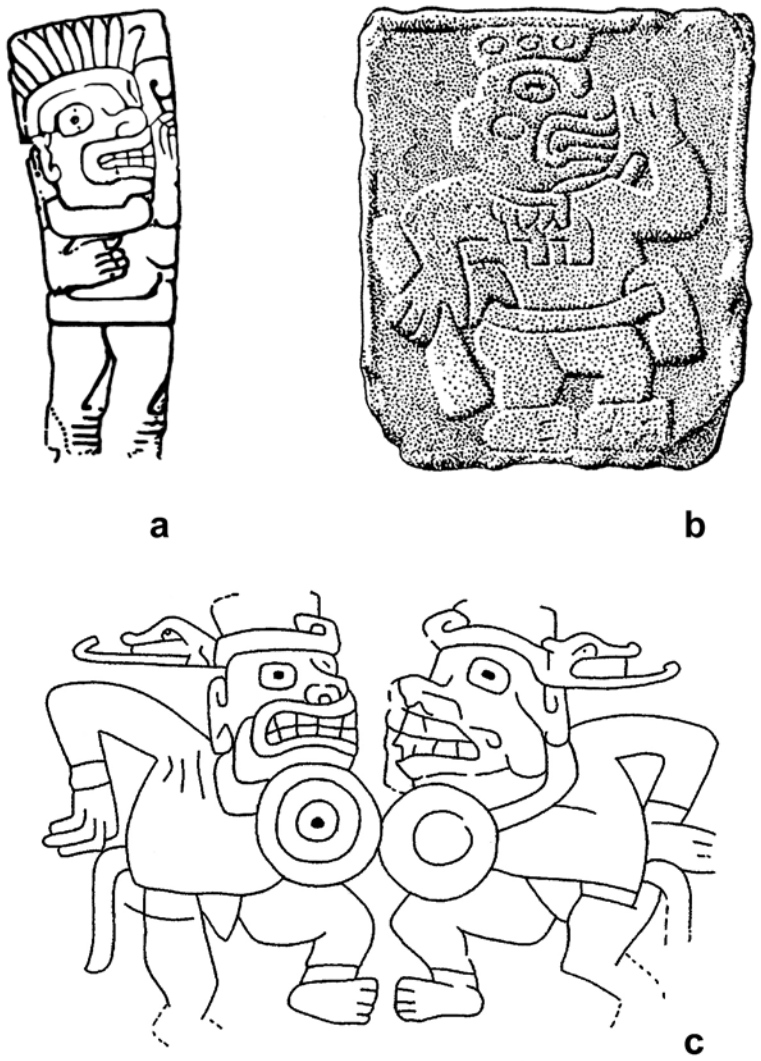


Figure 4.17. Yurayaku-type anthropomorphs, Chavín A. (*a*): Carved bone spatula from Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, burial 867. *Courtesy of Robert McK. Bird*. (*b*): Stone relief from Chavín de Huántar. *From Tello 1960:Fig. 82*. (*c*): Petroglyph at Alto de la Guitarra, Moche. *From Roe 1974:Fig. 27*.

and carrying offerings such as severed human heads, but scenic depictions like those in Cerro Sechín or Moche art are missing (Goetzke 1990; Bischof 1995a: 150), except for the pair of shield dancers on the well-known Alto de la Guitarra petroglyph (figure 4.17c).

This kind of anthropomorphic image is also found on stone reliefs at Chavín de Huántar and other nearby sites such as the eponymous Yurayaku, where its influence on later sculpture is quite notable. At least two figures show non-human features such as wings or a fanged mouth (figure 4.18), and it is difficult in these cases to decide whether they represent lower-echelon supernaturals or masked and metaphorically supercharged humans—"brave as felines," "soaring eagles."

Considering the noticeable differences in execution, probably not all of the Chavín de Huántar sculptures were created at the same time, and some of them could well have been carved in later periods following earlier models (figure 4.18b).

The same is true for the Jequetepeque/ Zaña region, where some Yurayaku-type severed human heads were incised on polished monochrome pottery bottles (Alva 1986a:No. 354). In contrast to the representations on Tembladera-type bottles, however, Yurayaku-type severed heads never do seem to be associated with specific Chavín A features on monochrome vessels, and the relationship between the two types of fancy pottery remains to be defined. In terms of ceramic and decorative techniques, the Tembladera-type bottles are related to the incised and postfired painted ware from the Cajamarca highlands, while the monochrome ceramics are closer to Purulén pottery from which they may ultimately have been derived.

Figure 4.18. Yurayaku-type mythical personages. (*a*): Chavín A winged being. Stone relief, Chavín de Huántar. *Redrawn after Ayres 1961:Fig. 17*. (*b*): Headhunter, possibly winged, with a fanged mouth. The influence of earlier Yurayaku-type images is strongly notable. Stone relief, Yurayaku near Chavín. *From Tello 1960:Fig. 81*.

Both the well-dated Purulén pottery and Tembladera far surpass in technological and artistic competence the Guañape-related ceramics associated with Chavín A art at a site like Pampa de las Llamas. Strange as this might appear at first glance, it is healthy to remember that the time range involved covers several centuries (ca. 3400–3100 B.P.). We are still far from understanding the patterns of cultural development and interaction during these centuries in the various regions involved. The Urabarriu pottery ensemble as described by Richard Burger (1998:49–80, 376–395) attests to a very similar situation: as already noted, the only complex iconography occurs on a bottle probably imported from the north coast (Burger 1998:84, Fig. 100). During the much later Ofrendas period, the situation was still not very different, as the studies of Luis G. Lumbreras (1993) and Michael Tellenbach (1999) have shown.

High sculptural quality and a realistic depiction within the framework of current symbolic conventions are the hallmarks of Chavín A murals, bone carvings, Limoncarro-type fine stone vessels, and Tembladera-type ceramic bottles. Even when body parts of different species are joined in an image or symbolic elements added, the functional structure of the human or animal bodies is kept clearly recognizable. In the absence of geometric or curvilinear designs that are merely decorative in purpose, this art tradition is focused on the representation of supernatural beings and their human or animal attendants.

Associated Art

While this kind of images is found over much of central and northern Peru, a number of mural clay reliefs and stone vessels from the Santa, Nepeña, and Casma valleys attest to the continuing presence of a different art tradition on the north-central coast of Peru. Here the images are

rendered in a strictly two-dimensional, geometricized fashion, dominated by abstract symbols such as groups of slender triangles, fillets, and concentric patterns. Heavily stylized body parts of human or animal origins sometimes appear in a context of interlocking design elements which, to the uninitiated, look like disjointed and convoluted arrangements.

Two examples of this tradition are directly associated with Chavín A and later mural sculpture at the site of Pampa de las Llamas/Moxeke—the first, as filler elements between the legs of the main figures at both sides of the northeast entrance of Huaca A (figure 4.9a–b), and the second in a more prominent position as separate design panels on the wall sections between the niches of the Moxeke frieze (figure 4.19). The design elements on the southwest panels of Huaca A and their arrangement—a "breath of power" or hair strand symbol, two squares with quadruple perforations, what may be a hand or paw element, and a possible snake neck similar to the La Pampa lintel (figure 4.15b)—belong to the same stylistic convention (figure 4.9c). Another clay relief closer to Chavín A style norms was discovered recently at Punkurí (Samaniego 1999), representing a bleeding anthropomorphic head (figure 4.8) remarkably similar to the image on a stone mortar from Mato, Huaylas, in the upper Santa Valley which shows a kneeling mythical personage with several appendages (figure 4.20c; Kauffmann Doig 2002, 2:205–206). A detail like the raised hand or paw calls to mind the Moxeke reliefs. Two other stone mortars can in turn be linked to the Mato mortar; for one of them, the Virú Valley is given as a provenience (Vega-Centeno 1998:Fig. 5e, i). The most prominent example of this type of carved stone mortars, said to come from Suchimán in the Santa Valley, was only known from two partial illustrations (figure 4.20a–b) until Víctor Falcón (2004) located a rollout drawing in the Julio C. Tello Archive of San Marcos University.

Suchimán-type mortars differ from Limoncarro-type stone vessels in shape as well as style. While the main shapes of Limoncarro-type ves-

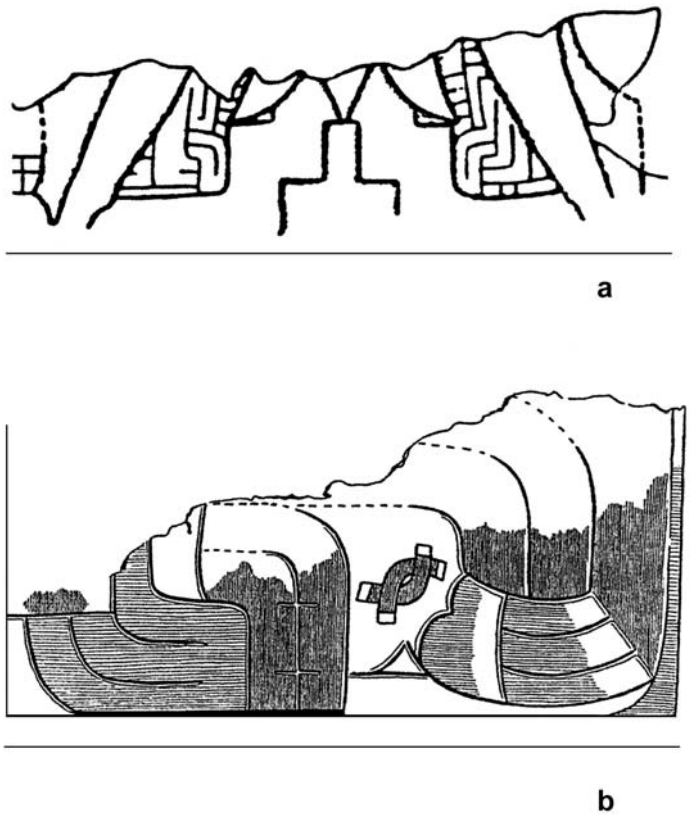


Figure 4.19. Regional style elements on Casma Valley clay reliefs. (*a*): Detail of panel at Huaca A, Pampa de las Llamas, northeast entrance. *From S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1986:Fig. 5.* (*b*): Polychrome panel at Moxeke Pyramid. *From Tello 1956:Fig. 28.*

sels are plates, restricted-rim bowls, and cylindrical beakers, often miniature in size, only one shape is known for Suchimán: a relatively large, flat-bottomed cylindrical bowl with a thickened rim already present in the Late Archaic of Caral (Shady 2003:21), in the Late and Terminal Archaic of Salinas de Chao (Alva 1986b:Fig. 19D) and Punkurí (Tello 1943:Fig. 17a), as well as the two Brüning Museum specimens without known contexts (Vega-Centeno 1998:Fig. 5g–h). One decorated fragment was found among several plain ones at Early Formative Pampa de las Llamas (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:40–41, Fig. 19).

The origins of this art tradition can be traced at least as far back as the mural clay reliefs of the first construction phase at Punkurí (figure 4.21b) and the stone vessel from a grave associated with

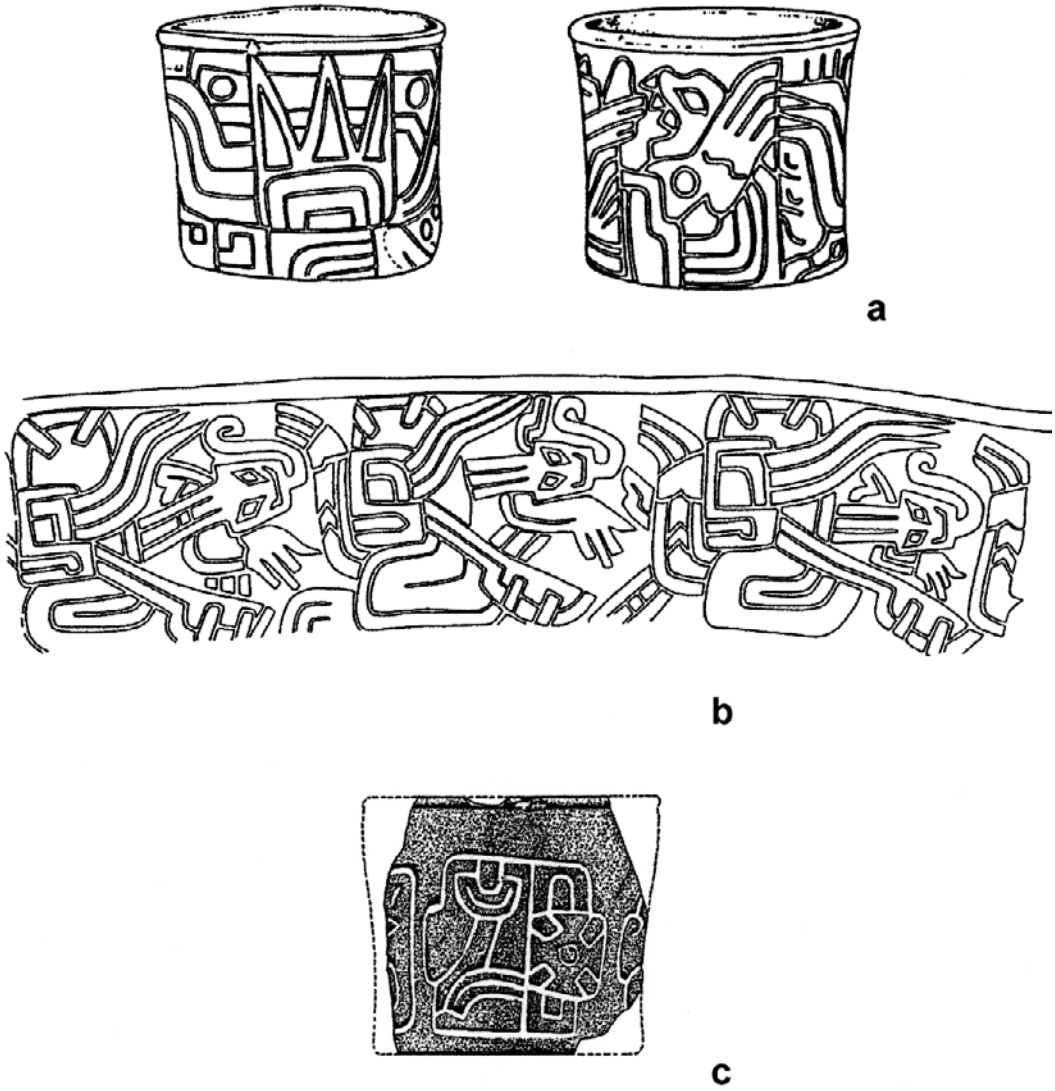


Figure 4.20. North-central coast regional style on Suchimán-type stone mortars. (*a*): Suchimán, Santa Valley. *Drawings: Henning Bischof after photo at Tello Archive, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia, Lima, and Tello 1943:Fig. 17b*. (*b*): Mato, Huaylas. *From Kauffmann Doig 1989: Fig. 6*. (*c*): Pan de Azúcar, Casma Valley. *From León 1995:Fig. 2*.

the second construction phase, which formed the basis for the recognition of the Punkurí style (Bischof 1994:179). On the other hand, the carved stone vessel from Pan de Azúcar, Casma Valley (figure 4.20c), incised with what were probably four mask-like heads, can be considered the work of a local carver rendering Chavín A motifs in a way quite distinct from the Limoncarro school (León 1995:Figs. 2–4). Outside of the north-central coast there seems to be no record of comparable designs, and they were not transmitted to later Chavín sculpture. Apparently we are dealing here with one of those regional traditions (Burger and Salazar, this volume, chapter 3) that coexisted with the rather uniform Chavín A iconography spread over much of central and northern Peru.

Origins

At issue here is not the origins of the Chavín civilization as a sociopolitical system or its specific formation in the economic history of the central Andes. This paper rather intends to identify and describe the first visual manifestations of the belief system that motivated and legitimized Chavín's rise and historic trajectory. Its art as well as its age has made Chavín stand out among the many Andean cultures from the very beginnings of modern research in the second half of the nineteenth century (Goetzke 1990:183). In premodern societies, sculptural or graphic art is a major means of communication, providing a "code common to the community" (Lévi-Strauss 1990:1) which in some ways also helps to create that society by becoming part of its self-definition and identity. As one of the most influential media, figurative art visualizes the contents of a belief system for the general public with reaffirmative or proselytizing aims. At the same time, part of its meaning may be kept hidden from the uninitiated. This double intention perfectly corresponds to what we see in Chavín de Huántar architecture throughout its history (Rick, this volume, chapter 1; Kembel, this volume, chapter 2). On the other hand, visual art helps to stabilize the conventional value system by providing orientation in terms of socialization and elite behavior. From this point of view it may be relevant that Chavín art, from its beginning, is replete with symbols of violent power, emphasizing one of the three basic constituents of religious experience, the *mysterium tremendum*, "trembling" awe in the presence of numinous power (Mensching 1959:130).[17] Later Chavín architecture was striving to enhance this effect and is even suspected to have proceeded from an initial phase of "rapture" to that of "instrumentalization" (Rick, this volume, chapter 1), to paraphrase the venerable language of Leo Frobenius (1921).[18] Whether any such dynamics were actually at work at Chavín, of course, is highly debatable.

The symbols chosen were mostly derived from powerful predator animals, which at the same time give some hints about geographical origins by their natural habitats. In this respect, the feline motif does not provide specific information, although it may be significant that only the puma (*Felis concolor*) is seen in the present early sample, rather than the spotted cats found in classic Chavín art—a change that might imply a stronger emphasis on tropical forest topics later on. Some of the quadruped images actually seem to refer to animals other than felines. The snake design at Pampa de las Llamas (figure 4.9a) does not permit us to identify species, whether Andean or from the tropical forest, and the same is true of the spider image on the Dumbarton Oaks plate (figure 4.13a). On the other hand, an intriguing bird image is shown on a Jequetepeque region stone beaker that appears to be genuine although it has not been independently authenticated (figure 4.12a). Its crown of feathers strongly suggests it to be a predecessor of the "jaguaroid harpy eagle" discussed by Peter G. Roe (this volume, chapter 7), and in this case a tropical forest background is probable.

What appears to be a cayman motif on a bone carving from Pallka, Casma Valley (figure 4.11d) even more clearly indicates the multiple regional roots of Chavín A symbology. Daniel Morales Chocano (this volume, chapter 5) and Peter G. Roe (this volume, chapter 7) would see this as a link to the upper Amazon, but the tropical Guayas region in south coastal Ecuador is a plausible alternative. This is the oldest cayman image now known in the central Andes, a motif that

came to occupy a central position in classic Chavín art and religion, as shown by the Tello obelisk and the Yauya stela (Burger, this volume, chapter 6). It might be speculated whether the enigmatic figure on a polychrome clay relief at Punkurí (figure 4.21b), variously interpreted as an aquatic or avian being, was replaced by the cayman when the latter became known as a real-life equivalent. The cayman and the "jaguaroid harpy eagle" in Early Formative Chavín A iconography, as well as a somewhat later Chavín de Huántar monkey relief which may have Late or Terminal Archaic antecedents, as will be seen, at present are the only archaeological evidence for any tropical forest contributions to the formation of the Chavín belief system. In contrast, a pair of ritually important mollusks, the *Spondylus* and the *Strombus*, provide a firm link to the coast. The *Strombus*, at least, is also already present in the Late Archaic, on one of the Brüning Museum stone mortars (Bischof 1994:Fig. 12d), and an actual specimen is preserved in the Punkurí tomb, as noted earlier.

The habitat of the animals that became part of Chavín iconography, however, should not be confused with the origins of the belief system itself, nor with the art tradition in which those beliefs are represented. A recent find of engraved bone flutes at Late Archaic Caral has substantially added to our knowledge of early art in coastal Peru previous to the Chavín A period (Shady 1999:Fig. 1; 2003:7, 34). The bird, monkey, and probably dolphin, drawn in simple, elegant outlines (figure 4.21a), clearly belong to the "Heraldic style" found on non-textile media in many Late and Terminal Archaic sites (Bischof 1994: 178). They compare well with images from Asia,[19] El Paraíso (Bischof 1994:Figs. 10, 11a), and significantly, the subsidiary figures at Punkurí (figure 4.21b), showing at the same time some affinity to the feline murals of Late/Terminal Archaic Cerro Sechín (figure 4.21e).

In view of their antiquity, ca. 4400–4100 B.P., it is quite surprising to find the "bicorned eye," variant 1a, painstakingly engraved on the Caral flutes. In a Terminal Archaic context, this variant can be found on some anthropomorphic head reliefs of the Cerro Sechín stone facade (Samaniego and Cárdenas 1995:267, ficha 3). Some of the Caral eyes are carved in slightly divergent modes that anticipate "bicorned eye" variants 1b and 1c as on the Punkurí and Cerro Sechín felines. Few though they are, given the general scarcity of artwork at Archaic sites (Bischof 1999:102–103), these occurrences serve to bridge the chronological gap between Late Archaic Caral and Early Formative Chavín A. Equally important is the overall quality of design and execution achieved in the Caral engravings. They all exhibit what can be called a considerable degree of artistic skill (Urton, this volume, chapter 8), foreshadowing later developments.

Two other design elements seem to have kept their significance over a considerable stretch of time. One is the Stepped Block symbol present in several versions at Late Archaic Punkurí (Bischof 1994:Fig. 3a, d), on one of the Late/Terminal Archaic Brüning Museum stone mortars (Bischof 1999:Fig. 25b), and on the Terminal Archaic stone facade of Cerro Sechín, construction phase 4 (figure 4.21f). One of the subsidiary quadrupeds on the Punkurí relief actually carries two Stepped Block symbols on its back, calling to mind Haldas and Chavín de Huántar images (figures 4.11a, 4.16a–b). The second element is a circle with four rectangular insets, known from the second Late/Terminal Archaic Brüning Museum stone mortar (Bischof 1994:Fig. 12d), the Terminal Archaic stone facade of Cerro Sechín (figure 4.21f), and the Early Formative northeast panels of Pampa de las Llamas (figure 4.9a–b) as well as the Pan de Azúcar stone mortar (figure 4.20d). These occurrences could be interpreted as indicating contemporaneity but may also be considered in seriational terms (Roe 1974), as features that occupy contiguous spaces in time, a position preferred by the present author.

In contrast to the animal motifs, which can be traced back to the Late/Terminal Archaic "Heraldic Style" via the Sechín Style, the only known precursors of the anthropomorphic images that constitute the second important category of Chavín A iconography are the adobe and stone reliefs of Late/Terminal Archaic Cerro Sechín on the north-central coast of Peru and a stylistically related, perhaps earlier Brüning Museum stone mortar. The figures preserved on

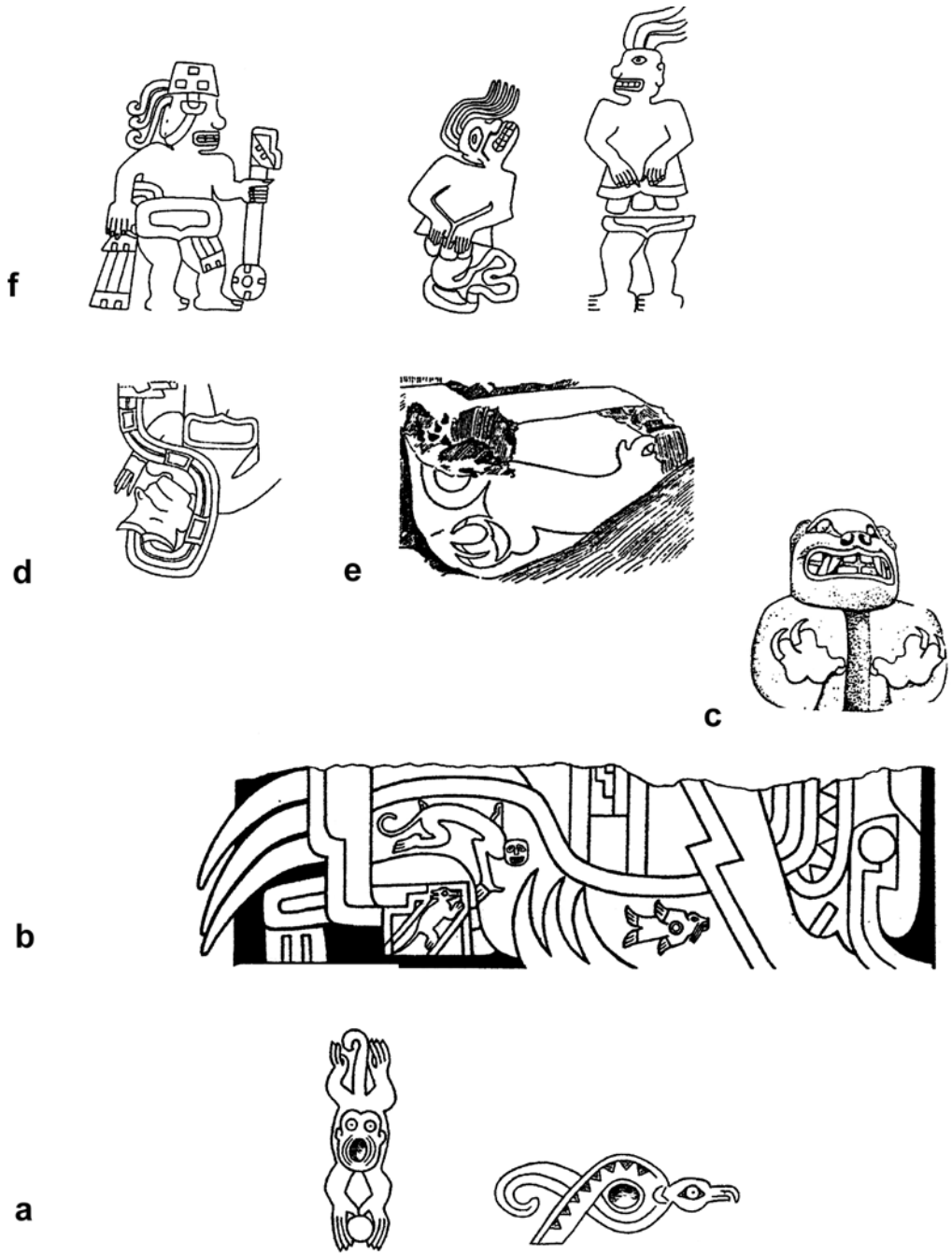


Figure 4.21. Chavín A antecedents—Late and Terminal Archaic figurative art from the north-central coast of Peru. (*a*): Heraldic-style animal motifs engraved on bone flutes. Caral, Supe Valley, Late Archaic. *Drawing: Henning Bischof after photograph and artist's rendering in Shady 2003:34.* (*b*): Punkurí-style mythical being associated with three Heraldic-style subsidiary animals. Polychrome clay relief. Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, construction phase 1, Late/Terminal Archaic. *Adapted from Tello 1944:Pl. 3*. (*c*): Feline image. Polychrome clay sculpture. Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, construction phase 2, Terminal Archaic Sechín style. *From Bischof 1994:Fig. 3b*. (*d–e*): Relief of sacrificial victim and feline painting. Polychrome colors on clay. Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, construction phase 1, Terminal Archaic Sechín style. *From Jiménez and Samaniego 1973:Fig. 2, and Tello 1956:Fig. 109 (paw design questionable: compare Samaniego et al. 1985:Fig. 9)*. (*f*): Participant in a sacrificial procession and victims. Stone reliefs at Cerro Sechín, construction phase 4, Terminal Archaic Sechín style. *From Bischof 1994:Fig. 7a, e, g.*

Huaca Prieta and La Galgada textiles, however, raise the distinct prospect that more Late or Terminal Archaic anthropomorphic images will eventually be found, including mythical beings composed of different species such as man and serpent (Grieder et al. 1988:Fig. 149) that figure so prominently in later Chavín iconography.[20]

CONCLUSIONS

Within a vast and diversified area, the functional context of early Chavín art is much the same: the sacred images are restricted to ritual equipment and the walls of public structures built to project religious and/or secular power. In northern Peru, a few of these images were transferred to elaborate ceramic vessels of the Tembladera type, which can also be supposed to have been used in a ritual or ceremonial context. The severed Yurayaku-type human heads represented on monochrome north coast pottery may eventually give us a clue about the continuity of this tradition.

Most major constituents of Chavín art are represented even by the limited sample now available from its initial period: the imagery of powerful animal predators that is also emphasized by Peter G. Roe (this volume, chapter 7), composite representation of supernaturals with an emphasis on feline and avian features, agnathic and winged beings as well as conventional details like the excentric eye, the "wrinkle of wrath," and the fanged mouth—agnathic or otherwise. Rogger Ravines (1984:37) even proposed that the composite mythical heads of Garagay could be the precursors of the Chavín de Huántar tenon head sculptures. Kennings as seen on the Garagay heads were not yet used very much, however. It is quite instructive to compare the handling of snake images on the Lanzón with that on the Runtu obelisk carved under the influence of Yurayaku-type conventions and therefore probably the older of the two (Tello 1960:Figs. 83–84). If the sacred images and the accompanying anthropomorphic or feline figures are compared, it becomes evident that Chavín A art to some degree continued to be stylistically bimodal, like Late Archaic art (Bischof 1994:178). Furthermore, drug use (*Brugmansia?*) is strongly suggested by paraphernalia as well as iconography.

There can be little doubt that we are dealing here with a set of religious concepts that from the Rimac Valley to Chiclayo were expressed by a rather uniform iconography (figure 4.1). At present, the more complex and accomplished manifestations appear to be centered in the north, where they are almost exclusively restricted to fine lapidary and ceramic art. On the other hand, from Garagay (Northeast Mound) to Pampa de las Llamas and La Pampa, this iconography is represented by monumental art associated with large-scale public architecture. Chavín de Huántar and its surroundings participated in these developments, as is proven by its exceptional stone reliefs which evidently formed part of this early tradition. Although executed on regular-sized stone slabs, they differ from the coastal images or the La Pampa lintel in being restricted to single anthropomorphs or mostly quadruped animals, with a minimum of symbolic elements added (figures 4.16–4.18). Almost all of them probably once belonged to sculptural ensembles conceived to create ritual environments suitable for approaching higher-ranking supernaturals. The new construction sequence established by John Rick and his team for the Chavín de Huántar "Castillo" provides a glimpse of their possible former architectural settings in the Separate Mound Stage (Rick et al. 1998:Fig. 9; Kembel, this volume, chapter 2).

Before Pampa de las Llamas and the sculptures at the Northeast Mound of Garagay were discovered, this kind of iconography would have been described as part of a "Cupisnique Tradition" which, however, has yet to be defined in terms of contents, developmental stages, and frontiers. While there are some clues as to the cultural dynamics in the northern highlands centered on Kuntur Wasi, Huacaloma, and Pacopampa (Onuki 2001a; Morales, this volume, chapter 5), the nature of "Cupisnique" relationships with the Chavín de Huántar area is totally unclear. Equally unresolved is the derivation and exact chronological position of the Chavín-style bone carvings found associated with Kotosh pottery at Shillacoto. On the other hand, the Punkurí/Suchimán tradition of the north-central coast

provides at least a glimpse of one of those groups that came to share Chavín A art and religious concepts with its neighbors but in other respects maintained its own identity.

The archaeological evidence from Cerro Sechín and Pampa de las Llamas, supported by recent work at Sechín Bajo (Fuchs et al. 2003), permits us to date the materials reviewed in this paper to 3400–3100 B.P.—around the middle of the second millennium B.C. in the calibrated time scale. Their temporal precedence relative to classic Chavín art can scarcely be doubted, even if some of the motifs and design elements were still being reproduced in later times. In view of the prominent elements of the Chavín style and iconography that could be observed, the term "Chavín A" was chosen to emphasize the continuity of this art tradition (Bischof 1994:182). The awesome but artistically somewhat restrained Lanzón, the main representative of what then would be "Chavín B," can now be seen as the beginning of a trend toward geometric conventionalization and the repetition of intricate stereotypical images that characterizes later Chavín art—in striking contrast to those pudgy fellows full of vibrant energy and action that embody the founding spirit of earlier times.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to the support from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft which is gratefully acknowledged here, I was able to attend the Dumbarton Oaks Roundtable on Chavín in Washington, DC. Research at Cerro Sechín, Peru, was supported from 1979 to 1984 by the Volkswagen Foundation (Wolfsburg) and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (Lima), thanks to the continuous efforts of Professor Dr.-Ing. Hans Leussink (Karlsruhe). The preparation of the manuscript was facilitated by the Apple Macintosh equipment donated by Klaus Dieter Thannhuber of the Deutsch-Peruanische Archäologische Gesellschaft, Munich. I also owe much to the continuing discussions with Peter Fuchs (Freie Universität Berlin), Director of the Sechín Bajo Project (Casma), and Michael Tellenbach (Mannheim) who directed the excavations at Montegrande (Jequetepeque) and published a detailed study of the Ofrendas Gallery ceramics (Tellenbach 1999).

NOTES

1. All ^{14}C measurements quoted in this paper, as well as the summary dates of individual periods or sites, are given in uncalibrated conventional B.P. values unless otherwise stated.
2. The Circular Plaza reliefs and Ofrendas ceramics need not be discussed here, although they were long considered to be close to the Lanzón in time. In terms of style development, the figurative designs on most Ofrendas "Dragon style" ceramics are "deconstructed" late images analogous to "Proliferous" or "Disjunctive" Nasca. This art historical evaluation (Bischof 1996:73) has since been confirmed by the architectural evidence that shows the Circular Plaza and its associated galleries to be one of the last major construction efforts at Chavín de Huántar (Kembel 2001:259). The immediate predecessors of the Ofrendas "Dragon style" imagery have not yet been identified—whether on local or central/north coast ceramics—but there can be little doubt that it was ultimately derived from Chavín A motifs like those on figure 4.11.
3. The cultural context of two deviant radiocarbon measurements of midden charcoal from elsewhere at Pampa de las Llamas (UGa-4505, 3735 ± 75 B.P.; UGa-4510, 4655 ± 95 B.P.; Ziólkowski et al. 1994:469–70) and from some charcoal found within domestic architecture (UGa-5796, 3745 ± 85 B.P.; S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1992:852) is unknown. There may be an "old [reused] wood" problem involved (Burger 1989b:479–480), but on the other hand, some kind of previous occupation might in fact have existed at the site.
4. The calibrated values given by Bischof (1995b: 163), according to the then-current conversion tables (Stuiver et al. 1993), were obviously intended as an approximation to "solar" B.C./A.D. dates for the benefit of the general reader and remain basically correct (Ziólkowski et al. 1994:298–302).
5. A second series of 13 radiocarbon measurements compatible with the first was kindly elaborated by Dr. Bernd Kromer at the Institut für Umweltphysik der Universität Heidelberg – ^{14}C-Labor.
6. I wish to thank Dr. Bernd Kromer for this result, obtained at the Institut für Umweltphysik der Universität Heidelberg–^{14}C-Labor. Provenience data: Purulén ceremonial center, Prov. Chiclayo,

Dep. Lambayeque, Peru. Lat 06° 55'S, Long 79° 35'W, altitude 45 m a.s.l. The sample consisted of cane and other plant materials from a burnt quincha wall on top of platform 18 and was collected in situ at Walter Alva's suggestion by Henning Bischof on August 28, 1983, and submitted to the laboratory. The result has been fractionation corrected ($^{13}C = -27.67$).

7. In view of the flourishing Trujillo art scene specializing in fanciful replica production, all pieces with unrecorded archaeological contexts should be most critically examined before being used as sources for pre-Columbian art history. Due to the high learning potential of the modern sculptors and their familiarity with most relevant publications, obvious iconographical errors like that on the "Plato Poli" are not likely to occur often. Some objects discussed in the present paper are not exempt from doubt either and should be further authenticated (figures 4.12a, 4.13).
8. The Pampa de las Llamas images are preserved to the middle of their thighs (ca. 1.50 m). Assuming their proportions to have been similar to those of the north column figure of the Black-and-White Portal at Chavín, a total height of some 6.50 m can be calculated, well within the original wall height estimated as 4–7 m (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1986:386). Using the proportions of Chavín A, if small-scale figures, a wall height of even less than 6 m would result.
9. Its shape corresponds to the object shown in Engel 1988:Pl. 27, No. 2044, with the tip broken off.
10. As the Haldas perforator was first published in 1988 (Engel 1988:Pl. 10), this detail on the beaker at Dumbarton Oaks can scarcely have been copied from there.
11. This author has long interpreted these images as crayfishes but now accepts the spider identification proposed by Lucy Salazar and Richard Burger (1983:220–222). However, there is a question whether the specimens that appeared on the art market later than their counterparts might be modern replicae, especially the "Limoncarro" and "Dumbarton Oaks" beakers (figure 4.13b; Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:Figs. 4–6; compare the "Larco plate," Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Figs. 2–3).
12. The term "bicorned" is preferred to "double-winged" (Roe 1974:18) to avoid confusion with eyes that actually feature added wings, as in Wari iconography. The Chavín A design refers to the corners of the eyes or possibly to the pelt markings quite notable in some feline species.
13. Central feline head, and head of the snake emerging from a *Strombus* shell. This eye type is indistinct on the published drawing (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1983:Fig. 11) which also appears to be accidentally inverted to the left.
14. After the "bicorned eye," variant 1a, this is the second unusual feature on the Brooklyn Museum plate, acquired from an art dealer in 1971. In addition, there are the four curious appendices to the neck of the central feline head, which rather look like misunderstood teeth of the agnathic mouth mask frequently carried as a pendant by supernaturals on Limoncarro-type stone vessels. A close technological inspection of this specimen is warranted.
15. See Roe (this volume, chapter 7) for a more correct substitute for "smiling god."
16. These elements indeed look similar to the *Brugmansia* fruit as drawn in a botanical illustration (Torres, this volume, chapter 9), an impression caused by some short incised lines that cross the individual strands emanating from the mouth. However, the present author prefers the alternative interpretation that a trifid "breath of power" symbol was executed on top of some unerased previous design in this corner of the slab. The short subsidiary incisions could also have been added later for whatever reasons. This interpretation is supported by the presence of the same motif on Jequetepeque ceramics, with plain trifid emanations (especially, Alva 1986a:No. 5).
17. The other two being the *mysterium fascinans* and the *mysterium augustum*, according to Rudolf Otto (1917).
18. Frobenius developed this kind of terminology within the framework of his anthropomorphizing Paideuma cultural philosophy (Frobenius 1921).
19. On a bone bullroarer from Asia (Bischof 1994: Fig. 10b), monkeys handling trumpet-like instruments are associated with music, as on the Caral flutes.
20. With all due respect for the surprising discoveries that Late and Terminal Archaic sites may still yield, this author regards with considerable reserve the dating of two pyro-engraved gourd fragments recently found near Pativilca (Haas and Creamer 2004:48–49, Fig. 3.2). The design on the major fragment points to a much later origin, probably in the Late Intermediate Period. As it clearly represents a well-established art tradition, similar images can be expected to be found sooner or later in undisturbed archaeological contexts, which would permit us to confirm or correct their proposed age.

5.

The Importance of Pacopampa Architecture and Iconography in the Central Andean Formative

Daniel Morales Chocano

Introduction

The Formative Period in the central Andes is marked by the emergence of elaborately built ceremonial centers such as Caral, Cardal, El Paraíso, and many others which were important social, economic, and religious complexes (Morales 1995). The architecture of such sites has been commonly linked to expressions of asymmetrical dualism and to binary opposition in general (Burger and Salazar 1994). While such dual divisions are indeed present and common at such sites and in Andean architecture and ideology in general, tripartite organization is often overlooked.

As an example of these architectural formats and their cultural relations, this paper presents information on the ceremonial center of Pacopampa (plate 5.1) in the Cajamarca Valley of the northern highlands of Peru. This site was the northernmost Initial Period major center, covering the crest of a large hill, at the low elevation of 2140 m. The site continued to be modified and used into the Early Horizon. Thus, Pacopampa's location and occupation span are important both for the examination of issues concerning the nature of Initial Period centers and, for the purposes of this volume, the nature and origin of Chavín.

Since Chavín was first scientifically investigated in the 1930s, the roles of the coast, the highlands, and the tropical forest in its origins and development have been and continue to be of much interest and discussion. In this chapter I first review some issues on the Formative Period. I then discuss the theories of the coastal and Amazonian origins of Chavín and also of the introduction of ceramic technology to the central Andes. I then discuss these issues in light of the art, architecture, and archaeology of Pacopampa, suggesting how analysis of this site may shed light on these other large issues in the prehistory of the Andes.

The Formative Period

The Archaic Period which preceded the Formative is characterized by the gradual adoption of sedentary life-styles and the domestication of most of the major plants and animals that characterize later Andean societies, which were all well under way by 2500 B.C. Between that date and about 1500 B.C., ceramics eventually were adopted in the central Andes. This technological change is likely linked to changing economics, social structure, and religious thinking and practice. The forms of expression and behavior accompanying the adoption of ceramics took different forms, however, on the coast, in the highlands, and in the tropical forest.

In the sierra the first widespread use of ceramics occurred with the development of the Kotosh Religious Tradition (Burger and Salazar 1993).

This ritual complex is characterized by the presence of square enclosures with rounded or rectilinear corners surrounding an offset double floor with a central ventilated hearth. The interior walls may contain niches or display other elements, such as the friezes of crossed arms found at Kotosh. This tradition, with certain local variants, spans the north-central area of Peru, from the site of Huaca Loma, in Cajamarca, through to Kotosh, in Huánuco. Burger and Salazar (1980) note that the incineration of the hearth offerings is the key feature of the architecture and the rites held within it. Bonnier (1987) suggests that the hearth and floor combined acquired the characteristics of an altar.

On the coast the emergence of monumental architecture appears early and apparently was of greater scale and complexity than the first shrines of the highlands. The north, north-central, and central coasts each supported distinct subtraditions. On the north coast the architectural pattern consisted of terraced platforms with circular sunken plazas, such as may be seen at Alto Salaverry and Salinas de Chao.

The most complex early architecture appeared on the north-central coast and included circular sunken plazas and pyramidal mounds, often accompanied by elements of the highland tradition, such as at Huayuna, in Casma (T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1994). This apparent mixing of coastal and highland forms has become more visible in excavations recently carried out by Ruth Shady (1997) at Caral, in the Supe Valley, and related sites. In addition to pyramids and sunken plazas there are enclosures at Caral with hearths in both public structures and residential zones as well as *huancas* (pillar-like stones) in plaza centers and other public spaces. The apparent precociousness of cultural developments in the Supe region suggests that it may have been the origin of a new religious tradition directly connected to new social systems and economies.

The architecture of the Late Archaic to Early Formative of the central coast is not altogether clear despite the fact that the region is considered the homeland of the U-shaped ceremonial center. El Paraíso has been frequently cited as a classic U-shaped complex dating to this time, although Scheele (1970), Moseley (1975), and Silva (1984) have questioned whether the site was truly Preceramic. Quilter's excavations (1985) revealed that the last occupation of the site may have been at a time when ceramics were in use in some parts of Peru but that the site was aceramic, a period he refers to as the Terminal Preceramic. The presence of a prepared plaster floor with hearths at the corners may be a variant of the Kotosh Religious Tradition or, perhaps, a different cult altogether.

The critical issue is that the architecture of El Paraíso appears to consist of numerous rooms and passageways along the major arms of the U-shape, as well as in smaller buildings. These resemble the earlier sites of Caral and Aspero and are quite different from later Initial Period U-shaped structures such as La Florida, Garagay, and Cardal, with atria, painted friezes, and relatively few ceremonial chambers along their arms. It thus may be that El Paraíso represents a kind of transition between earlier architectural and social forms and later ones.

Architecture bears great importance in the Late and Terminal Preceramic periods and continues to retain its role through the Early Formative, an era of great dynamism. Great energies were invested in increased agricultural activity, as seen in the shift of ceremonial centers from close to valley mouths toward the inner parts of valleys where access to water and land could be controlled. It is at this same critical time that ceramics with regional characteristics appear on the scene and, in the final moments of this era, iconography linked to anthropomorphic beings dramatically increases in quantity and importance.

Early Ceramics and Architectural Change

In the northern sierra, Peter Kaulicke's 1974 research in the Pacopampa region led to the definition of the Pandanche style (Kaulicke 1975; Morales 1982). With a date of 1600 B.C., these would appear to be the oldest ceramics known for the central Andes (figures 5.1, 5.2). The pottery sherds associated with this date were found on a platform in a quadrangular enclosure built over a sealed hearth of the Kotosh Religious Tradition. The same style was found at Huaca Loma Temprano, in Cajamarca, atop a quadrangular enclosure with a hearth in its center. So too, at La Galgada, in the Quebrada Chuqicara, a tributary of the Santa, and at the highland sites

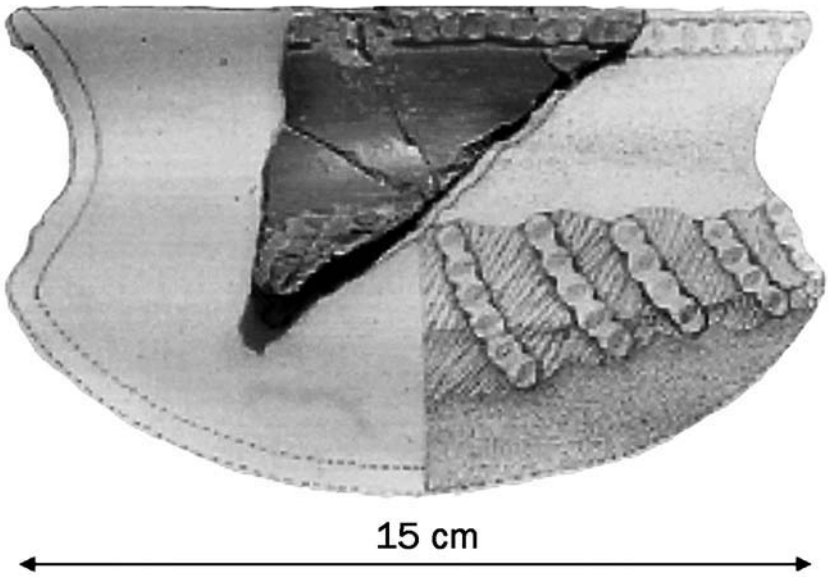


Figure 5.1. Reconstruction of a Pandanche bowl

Figure 5.2. The Pandanche ceramic style

of La Pampa and Cerro Blanco, similar ceramics were present atop Preceramic architecture.

On the coast, the Pandanche style occurs at the sites of Montegrande, Jequetepeque, Guañape Temprano, and Morro de Eten. The style also is present in the tropical forest, as at Bagua in its Morerillo phase (Shady 1987), and features of it were found at Chambira (Morales 1992) in the Amazonian Basin. In short, Pandanche constitutes an early pottery style that may be found in

all three major Peruvian environmental zones of coast, highlands, and tropical forest. The introduction of ceramics co-occurred with a break in ceremonial architectural traditions emphasizing subquadrangular rooms with hearths and the establishment of modest architectural features of squared platforms with quadrangular plazas, such as were also observed in excavations on the north coast at Montegrande-Jequetepeque (Ravines 1982; Tellenbach 1986).

From this background the Pacopampa ceremonial center of the northern sierra emerged with an altogether new architectural format of terraced platforms and quadrangular sunken plazas with access stairways. It also contained the remarkable feature of an atrium with 12 stone columns, the earliest example of such architectural engineering in the New World. The associated ceramic style is known as Pacopampa Pacopampa (figure 5.3), which becomes dominant throughout the Cajamarca Valley.

As these processes were taking place, the north coast apparently participated in an interaction sphere with the sierra where Formative sites

Figure 5.3. The Pacopampa ceramic style

such as Huaca Lucia and Huaca de Los Reyes, in the Moche Valley, share the columnar atrium and the same Pacopampa Pacopampa ceramic style which, together with Pandanche, contributed to the origin of the Cupisnique style.

In the north-central coast the Early Formative in the Casma Valley played an important role, as the highland architectural style of enclosed quadrangular areas with niches continued, as can be seen at Huayuna and Huaca A at Pampa de las Llamas (T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1994). According to the Pozorskis, the U-shaped form is evident at this site. It should be noted, however, that the exterior wall of Cerro Sechín, with its large stone slabs resembling huancas, appears to represent the end of the Kotosh Religious Tradition and the beginnings of the evolved huancas of Chavín de Huántar which become obelisks, stelae, and "lanzones" with complex anthropomorphic iconography derived from the tropical forest.

The next phase of the Early Formative at Kotosh is particularly interesting. As the square enclosures with central hearths were deliberately buried, pottery of a new style, Kotosh Wairajirka—different from Pandanche—appeared. The style is dramatic in its use of wide incisions forming geometric figures with fine-line hatching. This style is typical of Amazonian pottery and was found also at Cueva de la Lechuzas and in the central Ucayali by Donald Lathrap (1970), who termed it Early Tutishkaino. It is widespread throughout the Amazonian region and is the same style that Betty Meggers refers to as Achurado Zoned (Meggers and Evans 1961), which she locates, in its initial Ananatuba phase, on Majaró Island, where the Amazon flows into the Atlantic thousands of miles from Kotosh and temples follow a distinctly non-Amazonian format.

The two earliest dates for the Preceramic Period Mito phase are 1950 ± 100 and 1950 ± 900 B.C. These do not differ substantially from the dating of Wairajirka pottery, between 1850 ± 100 and 1800 ± 90 B.C. (Onuki 1994). All remaining dates for Mito and Wairajirka are younger than 1800 B.C. (Onuki 1994). It is my belief that Wairajirka ceramics had an Amazonian affiliation. Onuki has noted that the closing of the temples at Kotosh was accompanied by the spreading of burning ashes in them, as they were sealed. This replicates the techniques of slash-and-burn agriculture and further supports the proposal that the rituals in the temples, as well as ceramics in them, were linked to Amazonian traditions.

On the central coast, El Paraíso was apparently abandoned sometime after 1500 B.C., as true U-shaped ceremonial centers with anthropomorphic friezes in their atria, such as Garagay and Cardal, rose to prominence. Although these sites are extensive, well developed, and firmly within the Initial Period tradition, ceramics at these sites are scanty and have limited forms and decorations. The pottery style is known as Ancón-Curayacu but has no resemblances to Pacopampa, Wairajirka, or Cupisnique.

Onuki (1994) has put forth the concept of a "coastal blank" for the Middle Formative there, referring to an absence of archaeological evidence perhaps brought about by the abandonment of the older ceremonial centers. But in the north-central and north coast areas, Cupisnique appears to have had an influence. It certainly had a strong influence on the pottery of the sierra region surrounding Cajamarca, and Lumbreras (1989) has noted north coast ceramics as deposits in the Gallery of the Offerings at Chavín de Huántar. So too, the Kuntur Wasi style exhibits Cupisnique influence, while in the Casma Valley, Pampa de Rosario and San Diego also exhibit ceramics with Cupisnique influences (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1998).

Agreeing with Bischof (2000), I believe that there is no "coastal blank." The presence of ceramics suggests a continuation of populations. Ceremonial sites do appear to have been abandoned, however, although some references exist to complexes in the inner valleys, such as Huachipa Jicamarca (Silva 1979).

Pacopampa reached its maximum development in the Middle Formative, and other, smaller ceremonial centers emerged in the surrounding area at this time. These centers followed Pacopampa patterns but in rustic, local versions (Morales 1998b). Among them are the sites of Cerro La Jalca, in Huambos; Paratón and Calucan in Cutervo; and Rocoto, Melonpukio, and El Rollo.

In regard to architecture, during the Middle Formative the use of Pacopampa-style columns

(huancas) may have inspired the New Temple at Chavín. So too, the engraved huancas of Cerro Sechín also were expressed in Chavín, where they were converted into transcendental icons of a religious ideology linked to the jaguar.

In Huánuco, in the central highlands, the Chavín-Kotosh style appears at old sites and at new ones such as Paucarbamba and Sagra Pata (Onuki 1994), and these do not exhibit U-shaped architecture. Little is known of this region for the period. It may be that, despite its name, Chavín-Kotosh is not directly related to Chavín, the same being true of Kuntur Wasi in Cajamarca.

The implication of my argument, to this point, is that the ceremonial complex at Chavín de Huántar is a synthesis of architectural elements: the circular sunken plaza of the north coast and the U-shaped pattern of the central coast. It is important to note, however, that the Old Temple at Chavín bears greater resemblance to Huaca de Los Reyes, of the north coast, with its U-shape, but with articulated arms; and it is only the New Temple that resembles central coast ceremonial centers with disarticulated arms. The columnar facade, as seen in the Black and White Portal, may constitute an influence from the north highland Pacopampa style.

THE AMAZON AND CHAVÍN ORIGINS

Even prior to World War II there was a long-standing debate regarding the origins of Chavín. Rafael Larco Hoyle, with his extensive knowledge of Cupisnique, Moche, and other coastal cultures, saw the origins of Chavín on the coast. Alternatively, Julio C. Tello, a *serrano* by birth and a pioneer of Chavín studies (1942), saw civilization's origins as emanating from the tropical forest but reaching full expression in the highlands. Starting in the 1980s Richard Burger (1989a, 1993b) reexamined the issue, defining the Kotosh Religious Tradition as being prior to the construction of large architectural complexes. This, combined with increased investigations of Transitional Preceramic and Initial Period ceremonial centers on the coast, has resulted in a current perspective of greater cultural dynamism in the origins of Peruvian civilization on the coast, leaving the role of the sierra uncertain and, generally, of secondary importance.

In such discussions the role of the Amazonian tropical forest is often relegated to unimportance, despite a number of North American scholars who conducted research on the topic, such as John Rowe, Donald Lathrap, Scott Raymond, and Warren DeBoer, who were following the suggestions of Tello on the importance of the region in early cultural developments. I suggest, however, that the region is of great importance—in fact crucial to any formulation of Chavín's origins.

A critical aspect of reconsidering the role of the tropical forest in this process is the reformulation of what constitutes the frontiers of Formative cultures in northeastern Peru, particularly in the Amazon watershed. The region includes the large ceremonial site of Pacopampa as well as Pandanche, with its earliest ceramics in the central Andes. This zone was a locus of cultural interactions with the northern and central highlands as well as the Amazonian plain. Important sites in this focal region which have received varying degrees of study include Bagua (Olivera 1998; Shady 1987), Huayurco in Jaen (Rojas 1969), Chinchipe (Miasta 1979), Tabaconas (Kauffmann Doig 1990), and Moyobamba (Shimada et al. 1982), as well as Chambira (Morales 1998a), which is fully within the Amazonian plain. Although the connections among these sites are not clear, common features of ceramics suggest strong links to the Amazon region.

I believe that the iconographic richness of the Formative Period reflects an ideology with the same elemental features as may be seen in recent and contemporary Amazonian shamanism. There is no unaltered Amazonian substratum that influenced Chavín and other Formative cultures, but there are enough continuities and similarities between ancient and contemporary Amazonian practices and Formative symbolism to make the use of ethnographic evidence in interpreting archaeological data worthwhile.

My research at Pacopampa and vicinity over many years focused on three areas of study. The first concerns the paleoenvironmental conditions at the time of the florescence of Andean civilization, between 5500 and 2500 years ago. Second,

I have been interested in the introduction of pottery into the central Andes, at about 3600 or 3500 years ago. Finally, I have been interested in the social structure and ideology of the inhabitants of Pacopampa of about 3200 years ago. I address each of these issues in the following.

Paleoenvironmental Aspects at the Dawn of the Formative Period

While archaeologists have become increasingly aware that contemporary landscapes do not necessarily exhibit their features of centuries earlier, there has been too little attention to issues of environmental change since about 3000 B.C. in the Andean-Amazonian landscape. This is especially important given the fact that cultural modifications, such as cutting, slashing, and burning of forests for agricultural purposes, were already under way at that time.

In both the Andean and Amazonian regions it is quite clear that between 2500 and 5000 years ago, particularly in the earlier portion of the prelude to the Formative, a considerable decrease in temperature took place. Cardich (1980) noted that between 4500 and 2000 years ago there was a relapse of colder conditions in the Andes, a stage he terms the "Andean Neo-Glacial." According to him, these conditions would have especially affected the Amazon through a pronounced decrease of rainfall, thus bringing about a reduction of forested areas and an increase in savanna areas with sheltered pockets of forest land (figure 5.4) For the same period, zoogeographer Paul Müller (1979) concurs that between 4500 and 2300 B.C. there was an expansion of rangelands from their location in the present-day Andes into the Amazonian rainforest. During this arid phase there nevertheless occurred genetic exchanges between the Andean-Amazonian rangelands and the plains of Venezuela and central Brazil.

The arid phase gave way, around 2000 B.C., to a humid period during which the forests once again spread. The later humid period has continued to the present day (Müller 1979:119). The view of this

Figure 5.4. Map of South American forests during the Holocene

trend is also supported by Meggers (1981; Meggers and Evans 1976), who attempted to support it through an examination of the distribution of linguistic, ethnic, and archaeological groups within the Amazon. Her study revealed ample, widespread dispersion and uneven distribution and other patterns which, in conjunction with gloto-chronological and radiocarbon dates, seem to correlate with estimates of the duration of the jungle refuges and sheltered areas. This analysis suggests that the biogeographical model is useful for prehistoric cultural interpretation of the Amazon.

We utilized these perspectives on environmental changes in our analysis of remains from archaeological sites along the Chambira River, a tributary of the Marañon, in the department of Loreto. Excavations yielded the oldest known pottery (ca. 2000–1000 B.C.) in Amazonian Peru. There was a high percentage of bottle-shaped ceramics (figure 5.5). In modern Amazonia where there is an abundance of water, this type of bottle would not be needed, but in a drier climate they would have been of great use for water storage. Therefore, we considered that Chambira may have been a culture of an arid savanna (Morales 1998a).

It is also worth mentioning that Chambira ceramics also included various forms of double-spouted vessels with bridge handles, as well as fired clay figurines (figure 5.6). The figurines are female, with tabular erectus or bilobular cranial deformation depicted. The figures are also unclothed, with necklaces, bracelets, and anklets. The head deformation is typical of later Amazonian cultures, while the vessel forms later become popular in the Formative cultures of the central Andes, particularly the Paracas culture of South Coastal Peru.

It is quite probable that as the tropical forest was transformed into arid savanna with jungle refugia, a great displacement and mobilization of human groups took place which, in turn, initiated migrations from the northern Andes into the Amazonian area and from the Amazon watershed toward the Andean foothills, or eastern Yungas, where climatic conditions were more favorable, especially for early agriculture. Thus, the aforementioned sites in northeastern Peru, including Kotosh, situated in the eastern Yungas, became privileged zones for the development of a tropical agriculture consisting of maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, peanuts, squash, and others. Perhaps this is also the reason why early Formative Period sites are located in the eastern Yunga zone, a pattern termed "the adaptation of the Formative to the Yunga" by Onuki (1994).

Taking the role of lowered temperatures into account also provides a basis for speculating about Formative sites above 2500 m, such as Chavín de Huántar. Their establishment, after about 600 B.C., might be partly explained as the result of a warming trend, when climatic conditions resembling those of today were reestablished, offering better opportunities for the development of agriculture and human life at higher elevations, in general.

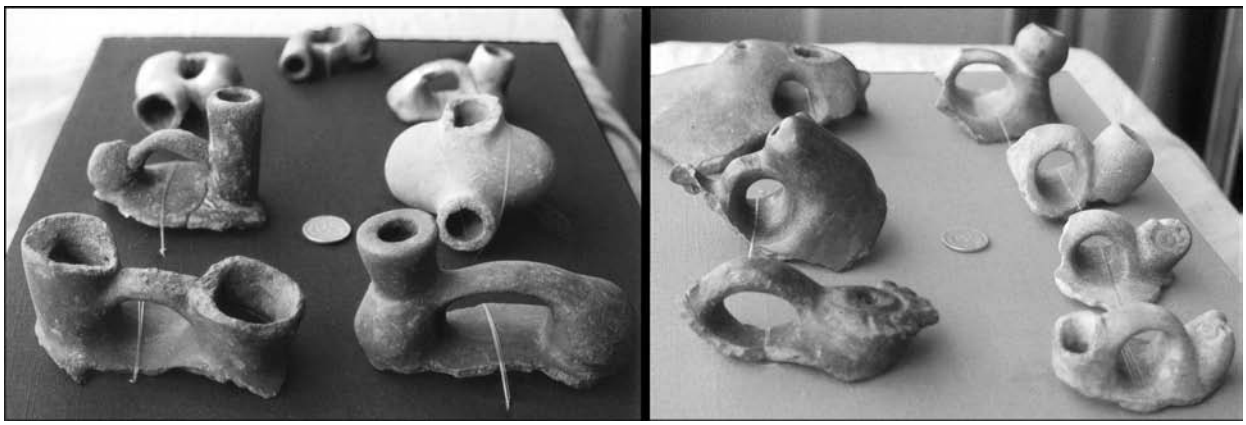


Figure 5.5. Forms of Chambira-style pottery

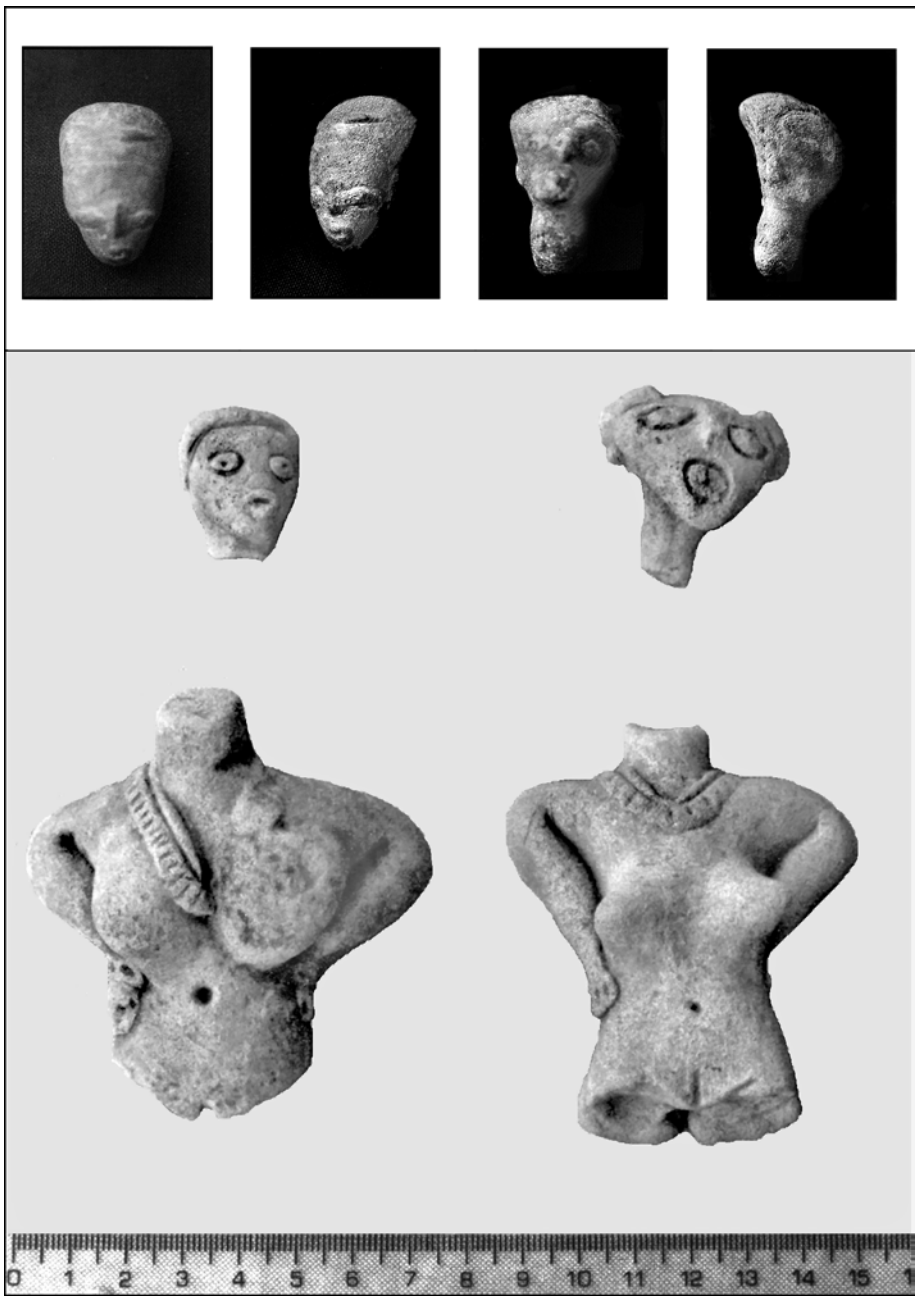


Figure 5.6. Forms of Chambira-style ceramic figures

In regard to the abandonment of ceremonial centers, Moseley (1975) suggested El Niño events, while Bird (1948a; Bird et al. 1985) suggested a tsunami. Richard Burger (1989a), however, suggested that the abandonment may have been due to increasing cold in the sierra, which would have lowered and reduced the upper limits of grazing land. In Cusco, the last of such lowered temperatures dates to ca. 2830 ± 70 B.P.

The northeastern region of Peru, where Pacopampa is located, enjoys an environment of distinct characteristics. First, the Andean cordillera descends considerably here: Porculla Pass is at only 2138 m above sea level and lies on the continental divide, allowing the Amazonian ecosystem to advance here due to the absence of mountainous barriers. Second, in this region the puna environment, known farther south, is not

present. Instead, on account of higher humidity, the corresponding altitudes (between 2500 and 3600 m above sea level) support *jalca*, characterized by cloud forests somewhat similar to that found in the Chachapoyas region near Kuelap. This jalca zone extends down the eastern slope and merges into the Amazonian tropical forest. Third, the cutting and burning of forests over the centuries has "highlandized" zones due to decreased vegetation diversity, though some isolated forest remnants still remain. I have termed these "Amazonian archipelagos" (Morales 1993).

The degree to which the shifting and different environmental zones may have been in operation in antiquity is uncertain, but the key geographical characteristic is a low pass to the Amazon. Amazonian references, such as the jaguar as a predominant motif, are found in the art of Formative Period Pacopampa, as is also the case in Chavín. Certainly Pacopampa's locale would have made it easily accessible to direct contact with tropical forest peoples.

The Introduction of Ceramics into the Central Andes

The issue of the earliest ceramics in the central Andes has long been a contested topic. Since other areas have yielded earlier ceramics than the oldest dated examples from the central Andes, it has generally been accepted that pottery arrived there via the process known as *diffusion*. This case has been strongly argued by Betty Meggers (1987, 1997), who noted that the two regions with the longest and earliest ceramic sequences are the north coast of Ecuador and the northern coast of Colombia, where the initial ceramics appear, suddenly, at the sites of Valdivia and San Jacinto, respectively, around 6000 years ago.

Many issues of how and when ceramics were introduced into the central Andes have not been fully addressed. Lathrap (1970) suggested diffusion throughout the New World from a cultural hearth in northwestern South America, while Lumbreras (1981) advanced an Amazonic route. I have previously noted (Morales 1995) that similarities between the ceramics of the central Andes and those of the southern Andes are due to a contact mediated by the Amazonian region. This kind of contact has become more evident with the identification of two early pottery styles in the central Andes that are clearly linked to the Amazon: the Pandanche style and the Wairajirka-Tutishkaino. In addition to these, there is a third element constituted by the Chambira figurines with cranial deformations (figure 5.6) and double-spout-and-bridge vessels, as mentioned above (figure 5.5).

My research leads me to propose that ceramics from the northern Andes were introduced to the southern Andes via the Amazonian watershed. This is evident by Pandanche-style ceramics throughout the coast, highlands, and tropical forest of northern Peru. There are also stylistic links of Pandanche pottery to Valdivia Phase C ceramics, as described by Kaulicke (1975), especially in the decoration of applied fillets on a smooth vessel surface and in Amazonian vessel forms that included beveled profiles between base and body, similar to early Tutishkaino pottery from the central Ucayali and from Kotosh Wairajirka in Huánuco.

The Wairajirka-Tutishkaino style is characterized by a decoration of wide incised lines, forming panels that define areas filled with fine incisions, often hachures. Decoration includes the use of paint applied in the incisions after the firing process. Distinctive forms include neckless vessels, and bowls combining different profiles such as with both straight and concave walls. In the central Andes this style is restricted to the Huánuco Valley but is widely found throughout the Amazon. Seiichi Izumi (1963) discovered the style in Huánuco at the sites of Kotosh and Wairajirka. Chiaki Kano (1971) also found it present in Shillacoto and attempted to prove its evolution into the Chavín style, although this hypothesis has not received widespread support.

Between 1960 and 1970 Donald Lathrap (1970) also found the same style, which he termed Tutishkaino, in various sites along Lake Yarinacocha in the central Ucayali watershed and in Cueva de la Lechuzas in Tingo María. The style is the first of a long ceramic sequence for the zone. He also pointed out the close relationship between Tutishkaino and Kotosh-Wairajirka.

Prior to Lathrap, Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans (1961) had described the same style for the

oldest ceramic phase on the island of Marajó, at the confluence of the Amazon River and the Atlantic Ocean. The widespread distribution of ceramics of this type throughout the Amazon region led them to identify this as the Zonal Hatchured Horizon. Meggers (1987, 1997) argued that the origins of this style were in Jomon, Japan, first appearing in Puerto Hormiga and San Jacinto, in Colombia, and Valdivia, Ecuador, due to trans-Pacific diffusion, after which it eventually spread throughout South America, including Marajó.

The date for the introduction of ceramics into the central Andes is probably sometime between 1600 and 1400 B.C. As noted earlier, I believe that the appearance of ceramics at this time is due to climate changes that caused displacements of Amazonian groups already using pottery with northern Andean stylistic components. Andean migratory groups would have followed the waterways of the tributary rivers of the Marañon to headwaters where they would have encountered groups or settlements that included Pandanche and Pacopampa.

It is important to note that neither Valdivia nor Pandanche ceramics exhibit distinct Amazonian iconography. The process of diffusion of Amazonian styles only begins in the Formative Period. At that time, the double-spout-and-bridge vessels and figurines, as mentioned above from the Chambira River sites (figures 5.5, 5.6), entered into the repertoire of central Andean ceramic styles.

Social Structure and Ideology at Pacopampa

Two architectural traditions with different formal elements and underlying ideological concepts emerged in the proto-Formative: the architecture of the Kotosh Religious Tradition in the highlands, and the architecture of the coastal tradition. The Kotosh Religious Tradition, with its kiva-like structures, sunken floors, central hearths, and fundamentally egalitarian format has been described in detail elsewhere (Burger and Salazar 1993). While discussions of coastal architecture have been presented at various times, I wish to note here that, as a whole, the coastal tradition has a longer chronology and greater architectural complexity than the Kotosh Religious Tradition. The coastal architectural tradition includes at least three differing subtraditions: (1) platforms with circular sunken plazas typical of the north coast; (2) a mixture of platforms and circular sunken plazas with elements of the Kotosh Religious Tradition; and (3) the pattern of U-shaped ceremonial centers of the central coast.

In the early or initial Formative, Pacopampa participated in the second of these subtraditions. By 1200 B.C. it and other sites in the Cajamarca Valley utilized a pattern of ceremonial centers of elongated form with quadrangular sunken plazas on terraced platforms, atop hillsides (plate 5.1; figure 5.7). At about the same time, in the north-central coast, especially the Casma Valley, the elements of the highland traditions are maintained side by side with the coastal tradition. On the central coast, the pattern of U-shaped ceremonial centers can be clearly observed at sites such as Huaca La Florida, Garagay, and Cardal.

In the Middle Formative (ca. 900 B.C.) there is a tendency toward formalizing the U-shaped ceremonial centers, particularly on the coast. In the northern sierra, however, elongated ceremonial centers on hilltops, in the style of Pacopampa, continue. Thus, from this period forward, two patterns of ceremonial centers are common in the central Andes: the elongated Pacopampa type and the U-shaped pattern.

In addition to the patterns discussed previously, there is still another. This is the format of two mounds separated by a plaza. Lathrap et al. (1977) claimed that the oldest example of this is at Real Alto, Ecuador, and that, first developed in the northern Andes, it eventually spread into Central America where it achieved one of its most elaborate manifestations at sites such as the Maya city of Tikal. For most scholars, therefore, this pattern, emphasizing a threefold structural organization, is commonly thought of as Mesoamerican. It is also thought to stand in contrast to the common dual division of the Andes. Nevertheless, tripartite organization and dualism may be found at Pacopampa, and it is these symbolic principles and their architectural manifestations to which I devote the next section of this presentation.

Figure 5.7. Steps up to the middle-level plaza at Pacopampa

DUAL AND TRIPARTITE ORGANIZATION AT PACOPAMPA

The ceremonial architecture of Pacopampa (Morales 1995) includes symbolic representations of serpentine, feline, and avian forms. Their representations and locations constitute a symbolic representation of the principle of dualistic sexual opposition and complementarity in three separate plazas (figure 5.8). These three iconographic pairs express simultaneous opposition and complementarity (figures 5.9–5.11), and the three levels of the platforms form three symbolic spaces in the heart of the ceremonial center of the site. Both duality and tripartite division are important ideological concepts manifest in these sculptural and architectural forms.

A number of scholars (Burger and Salazar 1994; Dillehay 1998; Isbell 1976) have stressed the importance of dualism in reference to the lateral structures that form the arms of the U-pattern of early ceremonial architecture on the central coast. It is important to emphasize, however, that these two forms are united by the principal temple mound at the base of the U. Thus, these ceremonial centers are configured not solely on a dual basis but on a tripartite one as well.

In the case of Real Alto, Ecuador, Lathrap et al. (1977) have noted the dualistic formation of structures, suggesting that the site is the earliest known source for the architectural form of ceremonial centers in both Peru and Mesoamerica. But in Central America and Mexico, not only dualism but also threefold organization is common, as expressed in the Popol Vuh, according to Raphael Girard (1977).

This pattern is widespread in native America, as Claude Lévi-Strauss (1973:118) noted in his study of Amazonian kinship, particularly among the Bororo of central Brazil. Below apparent symmetrical dualism in kinship relations lies a deeper tripartite and asymmetrical system: in cross-cousin marriage relations there are at minimum three different groups involved in arranging marriages. Among the Bororo a tri-level system of upper, middle, and lower statuses comprises endogamous relations (figure 5.12). Those in the upper ranks marry each other. Those in the middle marry each

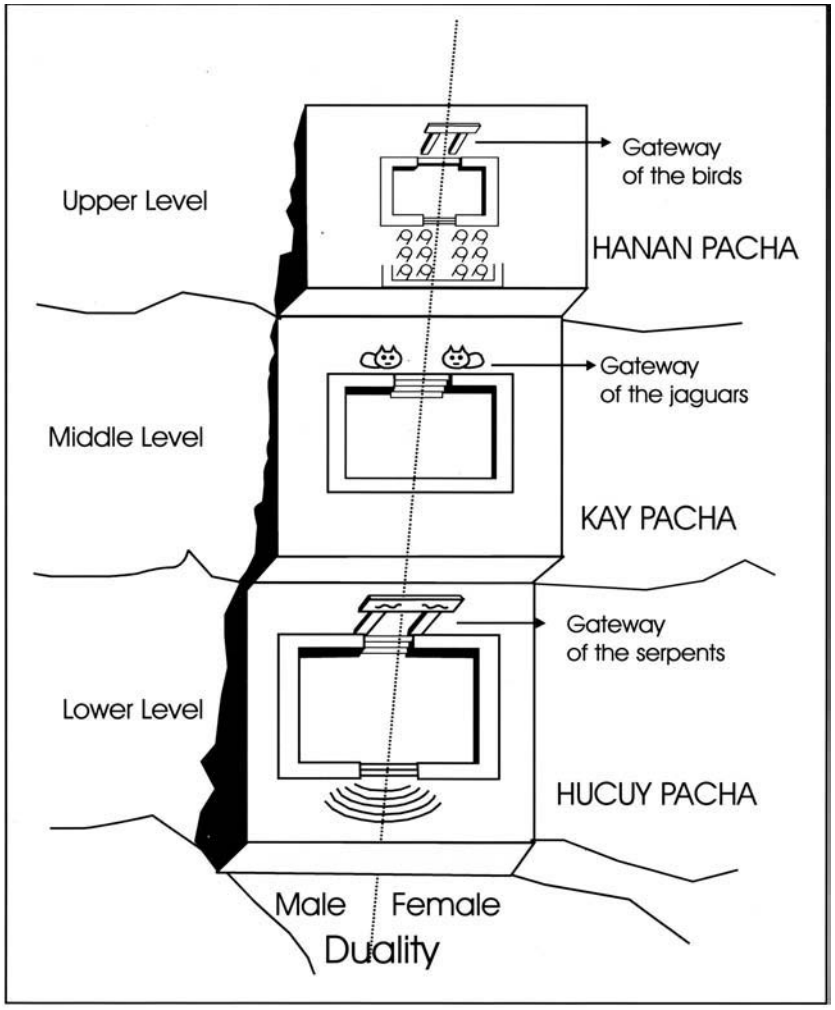


Figure 5.8. Diagram of the Pacopampa temple

Figure 5.9. The architrave of the serpents

Figure 5.10. The jaguar of Pacopampa

Figure 5.11. The architrave of the stylized birds

other and members of the lower rank, while those in the lower rank marry each other. The same practices are carried out among the Sherente and Timbira. For this reason Lévi-Strauss claimed that dual and triadic systems were inseparable. The apparent dualism of "above and below" imperfectly refracts the threefold system of the upper world (sky), the earth, and the watery depths.

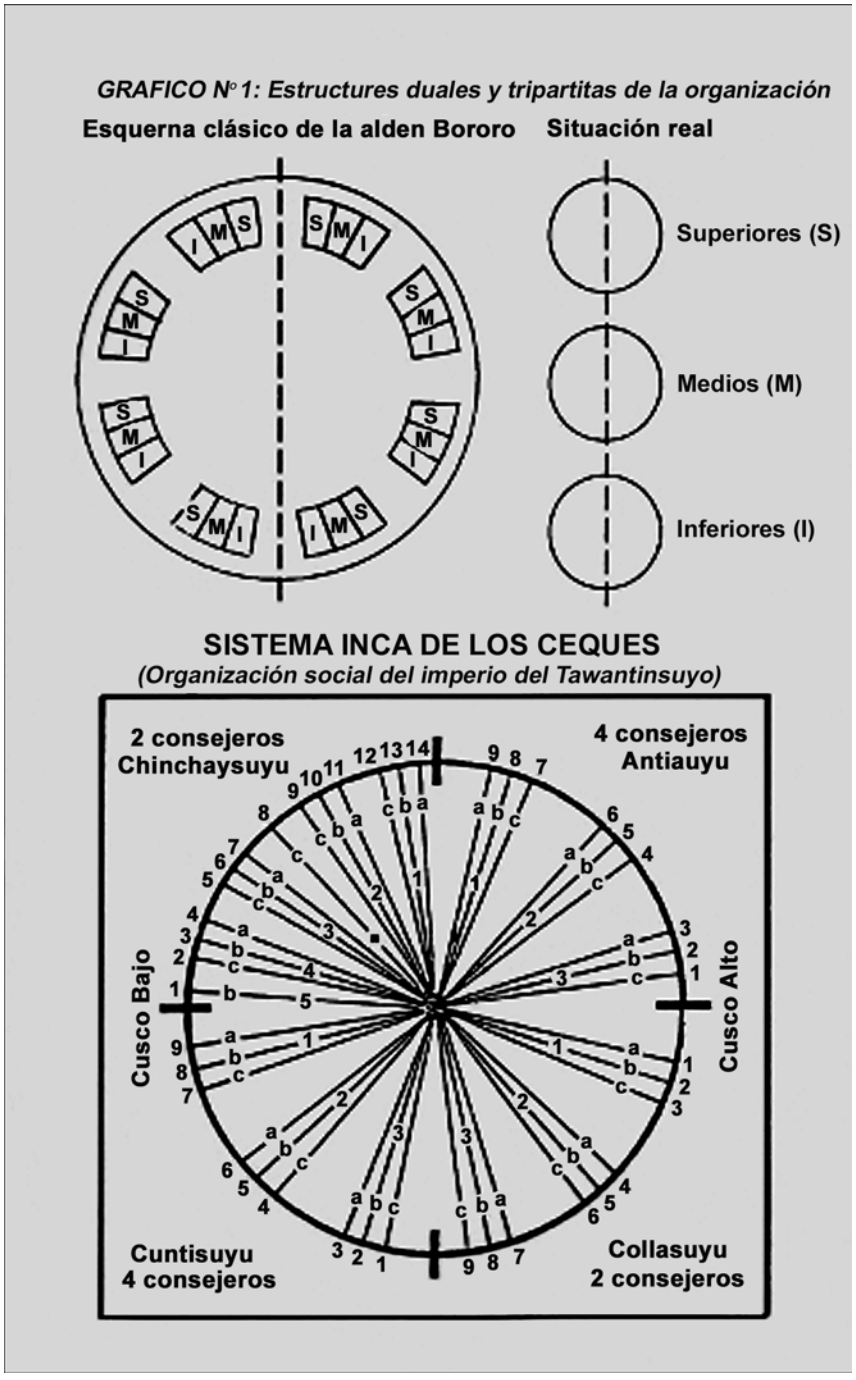


Figure 5.12. Diagrams of duality and tripartition

This triadic system may also be represented in U-shaped ceremonial centers following the same pattern as at Pacopampa. At the latter site each plaza carries its own distinct icon: the aquatic serpent, the terrestrial jaguar, and the celestial bird. The water/earth and serpent/feline appear to represent a symmetrical pair, with the sky/bird existing as the asymmetrical component.

Dualism, tripartition, and quatripartition in Andean art and thought appear to have been ancient and widespread. Tom Zuidema (1989) has used a variety of sources, including ethnohistory, ethnography, and archaeology, to demonstrate their use in the case of Pucará-Chiripa, early in prehistory (figure 5.12). The architectural patterns at such sites appear to reflect an organizational system quite similar to that of the Bororo of Brazil. Similarly, Lathrap et al. (1977) argued that the arrangement of structures at Real Alto was similar to the residences of the Ge of Brazil and may also be reflected in the circular structures of Puerto Hormiga, Colombia. These systems of organization appear to have been deep ideological constructs expressed not only in architecture and social organization, but also in many other aspects of life and belief.

IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The ideological structure underlying the architecture of the three Pacopampa plazas may be approached by reference to long-standing Andean concepts (figure 5.8). The serpent of the lower platform, denizen of the watery depths, may be associated with the Andean term *Hucay Pacha*, signifying the lower world. The central realm of the feline, with its strong supernatural powers as expressed in Formative Period art, may have been the most important, representing the fecundity of the earth. *Kaypacha* is the term for the world inhabited by human beings and jaguars. The upper platform bears the falcon with outstretched wings, in an attitude of flight, dominating the air. A possibly related Quechua term is *Hananpacha*, or the world of above where the forces of nature reside.

The iconography at Pacopampa and other ceremonial sites thus expressed an organic ideology that incorporated all of the separate iconographic elements and their representations. Society and the cosmos were organized in an interactive hierarchy that maintained cosmic and social order, secured their perpetuation, and guaranteed reproduction and continuity.

Many studies of Formative iconography, especially that of Chavín, have attempted to find the grammar of its underlying ideology. Many such studies focus on one or two images separated or decontextualized from the ceremonial architecture. Studies of the Tello obelisk, the Lanzón, and the Raimondi stela have attempted to probe the origins of Chavín, its chronology, and the religious aspects of this ancient cult center and the society that built and maintained it. Methodological approaches also have varied. Some have approached the art through identification of flora and fauna. Other studies have traced details of stylistic change. Still other studies have attempted to use ethnohistoric data to interpret the art of the cult and its use.

The work of Julio C. Tello (1923) remains seminal in embracing the richness of Chavín iconography in relation to Amazonian myths and early Spanish sources on native religion. After Tello's death these kinds of studies have not been vigorously pursued, such as Tello's insistence on the feline as a fundamental base of Andean thought. It is following Tello's thought on this matter that I have proposed the feline as the most important element in the triad represented in the Pacopampa plazas.

I have conducted a study of feline representations in Pacopampa ceramics (Morales 1979–80). The depiction of a feline with a headdress or an Inca royal fringe (*mascaypacha*) appears to be a predominant theme in this art (figures 5.13, 5.14). The headdress and royal fringe are both elements that add an anthropomorphic aspect to jaguar depictions, thus designating this creature as a divinity and also linking it with tropical forest practices in which shamans transform themselves into jaguars (Reichel Dolmatoff 1978). While we may recognize long-term continuities in jaguar symbolism and see the Feline God of Pacopampa (Morales 1979–80) as one manifestation of it, we

must also remember that the symbolism was not static. Particular interpretations and symbolisms of the jaguar certainly must have varied through time, even if certain elements have remained constant.

Figure 5.13. A Pacopampa anthropomorphic feline

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this essay I have reviewed issues regarding the roles of populations in different Peruvian environmental zones in early prehistory. I have noted that the beginnings of the construction of monumental architecture were coeval with distinct environmental changes linked to population increases and movements as well as with the introduction of the use of ceramics. These changes also occurred as ideological systems using dual and tripartite organizational principles become manifest in the archaeological record.

At the beginning of the Formative, a cool period may have been favorable for the development of a number of cultural innovations. This, combined with population movements out of the Amazon, may have helped initiate the use of agriculture and construction of large-scale architecture, especially in the north-central Andes and the nearby areas of the northern Andes and the Amazon, as evidenced in numerous sites. Many of the first central Andean ceramics appear to have Andean origins or roots. The Pandanche style is one example and is found in the tropical forest, highlands, and coast. The Wairajirka-Tutishkaino

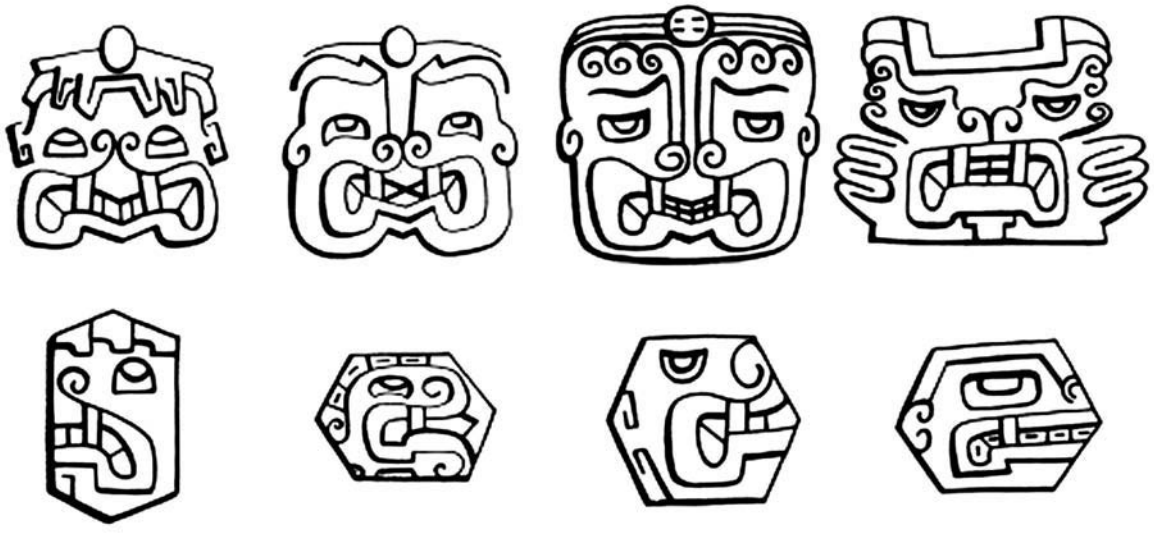


Figure 5.14. Stylized felines in Pacopampa ceramics

style has a wide Amazonian distribution but is limited, in the highlands, to the upper Huallaga Valley, suggesting some kind of limited intrusion of the style from tropical regions. The double-spout-and-bridge vessel as well as cranial deformation practices may also have been Amazonian imports to the central Andes.

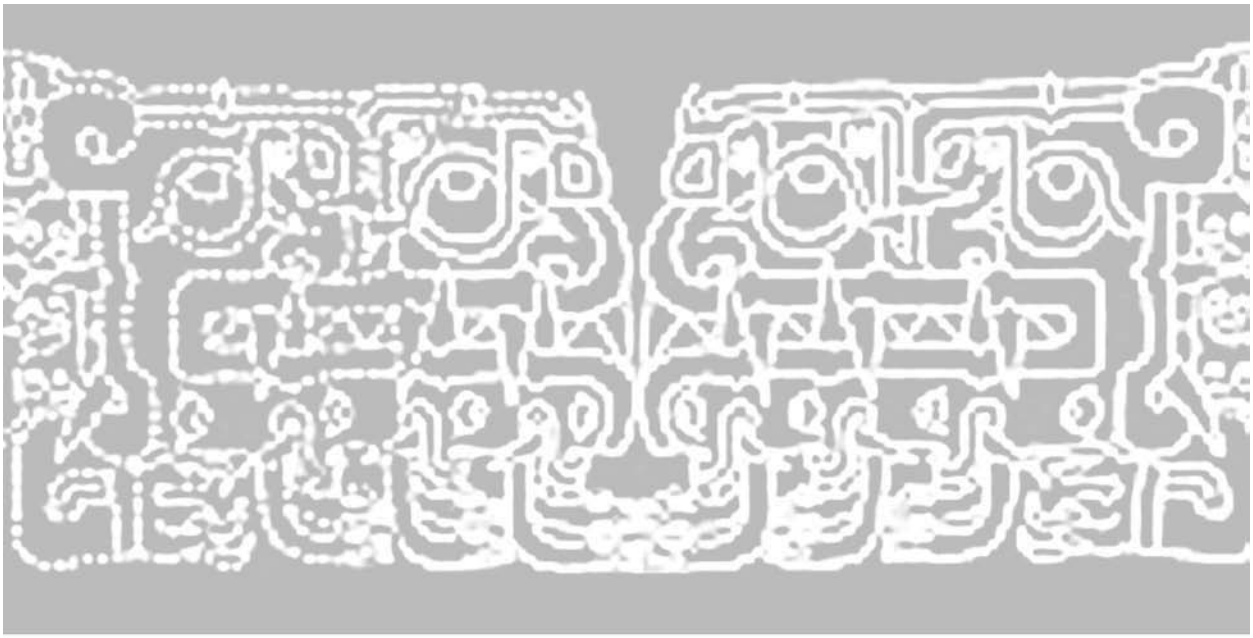
In the Late Archaic—or, as I prefer, the Proto-Formative—there were two very different architectural traditions: double-floored chambers with central hearths (the Kotosh Religious Tradition) in the highlands, and pyramids/platforms with sunken circular plazas on the coast, apparently intruding on or overriding the other tradition.

In the Early Formative, terraced platforms with sunken quadrangular plazas and an atrium of stone columns appeared in the northern sierra. On the north coast, the U-shaped architectural pattern was followed, although the colonnaded atrium was shared with the highlands. In the north-central coast (*Norte Chico*), U-shaped architecture also was used, and the concept of a small chamber with a central hearth was shared with the highlands. Finally, it was on the central coast that U-shaped ceremonial centers with a central pyramid and two lateral pyramids most clearly developed. This pattern apparently never was adopted in the highlands, where variations of the Kotosh Religious Tradition continued for some time.

By the Middle Formative two major ceremonial center patterns had developed. One, practiced in the northern sierra, is represented at Pacopampa, with its terraced platforms on the side or top of a hill. The other is U-shaped architecture on the coast. A third tradition of separate mounds or pyramids, separated by a plaza, developed in the northern Andes but was never widely utilized farther south.

Dual and tripartite concepts were widespread in the Formative. At Pacopampa and perhaps elsewhere, the feline played a primary role in symbolism. The jaguar itself and the myths and rituals associated with it are all tropical forest in origin.

In this chapter I have attempted to show some of the broad patterns of the Formative Period at the same time that I have emphasized the importance of the tropical forest. I have barely mentioned Chavín, but I have discussed its antecedents and early contemporaries at length. While Chavín de Huántar will always remain a site of great importance in our understandings of the past, and while its magnificent art and symbolism will always attract us, we will be better able to understand and appreciate the site and its art by developing better knowledge of the larger world of which it was a part and the precedents upon which it was built.



Part III
The Art of Chavín

6.

The Original Context of the Yauya Stela

Richard L. Burger

The Yauya stela is one of the largest and most impressive Chavín-style stone sculptures known to archaeologists. Discovered by Julio C. Tello in 1919, it has played a central role in discussions of Chavín style, culture, and cosmology for almost a century. Despite its renown, it remains uncertain at which archaeological site this sculpture was originally erected and what cultural processes led to its creation. This article presents an account of my efforts to resolve this question. It draws upon my trips to Yauya in 1974 and 2001, as well as the findings of other investigators who have grappled with this problem. One of the by-products of my 2001 efforts was the rediscovery of an additional fragment of the Yauya stela, a description of which is provided here. Perhaps more important than the documentation of this sculpture fragment, the 2001 research led to the formulation of a plausible explanation of the original cultural context of the Yauya stela and its subsequent history.

Geographic Location

The town of Yauya is the capital of a district of the same name in the province of Carlos Fermín Fitzcarrald, department of Ancash (figure 6.1). Situated at 3258 m above sea level (masl) on steep mountain slopes, Yauya is located high above the deeply incised Maribamba River, located over 1100 meters below (figure 6.2). The Maribamba River is an affluent of the Yanamayo River, which is a tributary of the Marañon River. The lands around Yauya are devoted to typical highland crops such as potatoes, olluco, broad beans, and barley; the lands surrounding the Maribamba are much lower and protected from frosts and consequently well-suited for maize, tropical fruit, and other cultigens adapted to warmer, more sheltered environments. It is a relatively short journey from Yauya to areas of coca cultivation, and some residents of Yauya worked seasonally in these areas during the coca boom. While the immediate environment of Yauya is alien to the animals and plants of the Amazon, the village is only 18 km from the tropical habitats bordering the Marañon where many of these animals flourish. In terms of special natural resources, the Yauya area has silver deposits that were actively mined until the beginning of the twentieth century.

There are no large or well-known archaeological sites at Yauya, but the Inca road that runs across the lower edge of the *puna* lands above the modern town has attracted a fair amount of attention (Ravines 1996:31). Chavín de Huántar, a site with which Yauya is often linked, is located 50 km to the south.

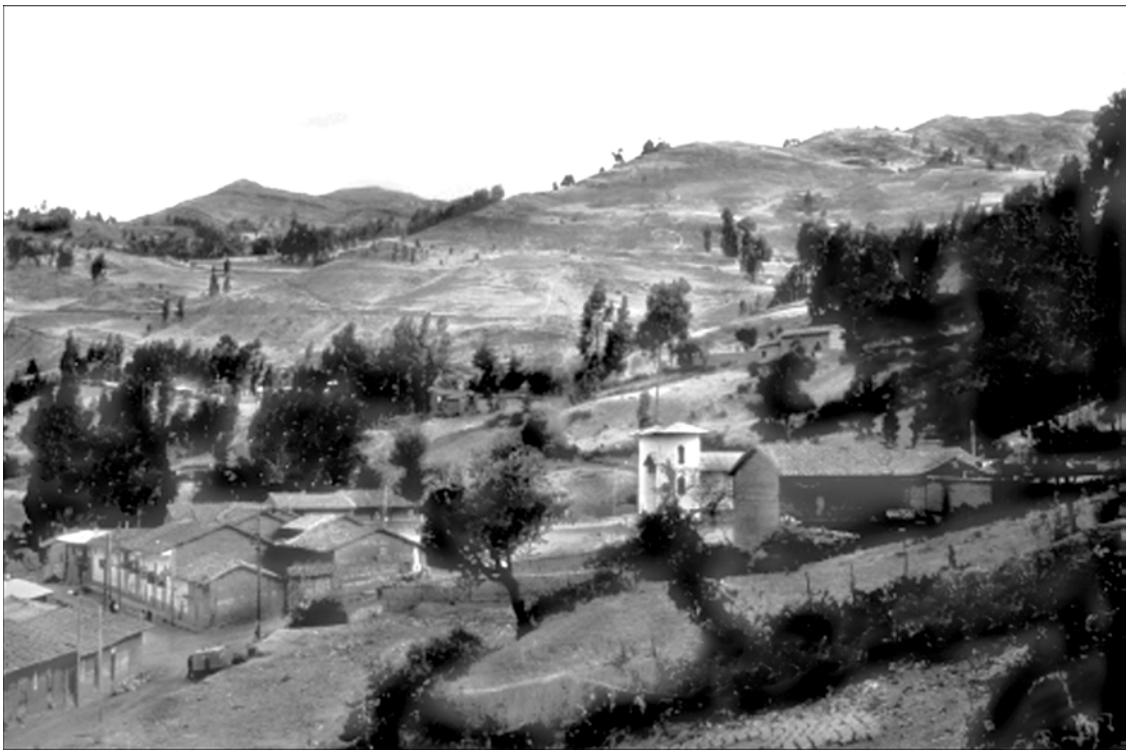


Figure 6.1. The town of Yauya, Department of Ancash

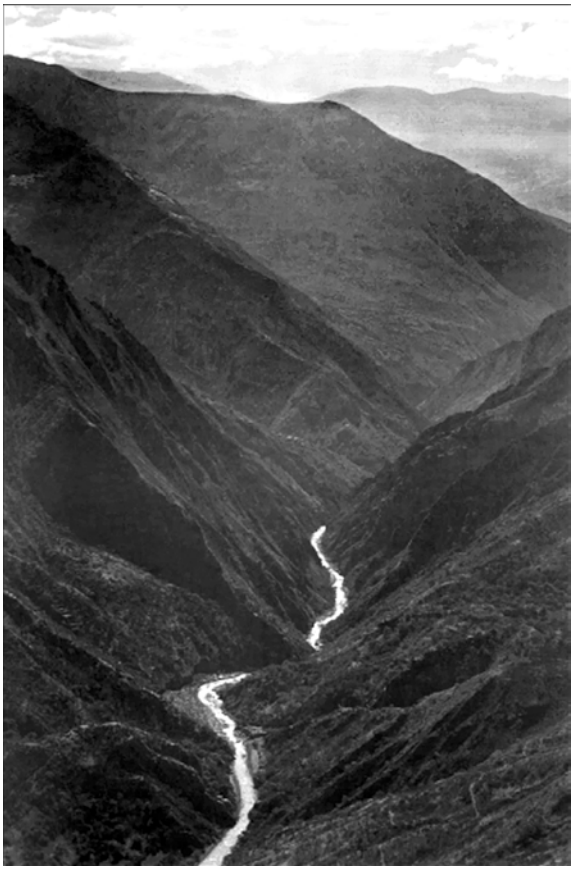


Figure 6.2. View of the deeply incised Maribamba River draining into the Yanamayo River, taken from the District of Yauya

Historical Background

The Yauya stela was encountered by archaeologists during Julio C. Tello's 1919 Expedición Arqueológica de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos al Departamento de Ancash. This investigation of the Marañon drainage focused on many of the early sites in highland Ancash for the first time, including Chavín de Huántar. The Yauya stela, however, was not found at an archaeological site. It had been incorporated by local residents as a threshold or lintel (*umbral*) in the church of the small town of Yauya. Tello's team made a rubbing and cast of the huge sculpture (Tello 1923:290–294; 1960:196), and a replica of it was placed on exhibition at the San Marcos University Archaeological Museum (Tello 1943:156). Tello reported on the Yauya stela for the first time in his article "Wira-Kocha" (1923:290–294). Additional descriptions of it appear in his 1960 volume on Chavín, in which Tello claims that the sculpture originally came from *Ichik Yauya*, a site supposedly located on the outskirts of Yauya. Unfortunately, he provided no information on how this provenience was established. Moreover, Tello does not offer any description of Ichik Yauya, nor does he include it on his map of the zone's archaeological sites. Judging from my inquiries in 1974 and 2001, the term Ichik Yauya is unknown to modern inhabitants of Yauya. Alexander Herrera (1998:235) reached the same conclusion during his work in the 1990s.

The fragment of the stela encountered in Yauya's church in 1919 measured 165 cm in length, 57 cm in width, and 15 cm in thickness (Tello 1923). Low-relief designs occurred on the block of cut and polished white granite that had been shaped into a parallelepiped form (figure 6.3). The face of the block and its two narrow lateral sides

Figure 6.3. The fragment of the Yauya stela discovered by Julio C. Tello in its 2001 location in a local elementary school in Yauya

were well polished and served as the base for the incised grooves that delineate zoomorphic figures in classic Chavín style (figure 6.4). The Yauya stela was of special interest to Tello because of its similarity to the carvings of Chavín de Huántar. In Tello's opinion, the image depicted on the stone was an idealized ichthyic or fish-related divinity that symbolized the moon (Tello 1943:156; 1960: 196). He considered the Yauya stela to be the best Chavín representation of this divinity, and he related it to other more conventionalized representations of the same supernatural being on the north-central coast of Peru at Punkurí in Nepeña and Cerro Sechín in Casma (Tello 1960:199). Despite the lack of any reliable archaeological provenience, the Yauya stela has played an important role in the definition of the Chavín style. Alfred Kroeber (1944:87), for example, discusses it in his attempt to evaluate Tello's general concept of Chavín. Kroeber, in agreement with Tello, concludes: "The piece is certainly close to Chavín art generally in its concepts and style, and specially close to the Raimondi [Stone]."

Tello's protégé, Rebeca Carrión Cachot (1948: Pls. XIX5, XXXVI), believed along with her mentor that the sculpture represented a fish divinity symbolizing the moon (1948:52), and she included Yauya in her irradiation model for the spread of Chavín civilization based on this single isolated sculpture. Similarly, Gordon Willey (1951: 125), in his critical analysis of the Chavín concept, accepted the Yauya stela as one of the 17 sites or areas where "indisputable Chavín stylistic affiliation was manifested." In fact, for Willey, the Yauya stela is the only case of a highland stone sculpture in the Chavín style, besides the carvings at Kuntur Wasi, outside of Chavín de Huántar (Willey 1951: 123). Willey (1951:113) writes: "This site [Yauya] in the Marañon drainage north of Chavín de Huántar is represented solely by a carved stela or column, no longer in situ. It is a standing figure of a monster, perhaps a fish or a fish with feline attributes. . . . This solitary find seems to me to be justifiably incorporated within the Chavín style."

It is difficult to disagree with Willey's judgment on this, except to emphasize that there was no known "site" that could be linked to the sculpture that could be placed in the Marañon drainage. It is the main purpose of this article to resolve this lacuna.

John Rowe, using a drawing based on a rubbing of the stela by Fred D. Ayres, featured the Yauya stela prominently in his classic description of the Chavín style (Rowe 1962, 1967a:Fig.18). Like Kroeber and Willey, Rowe had never visited Yauya and consequently had never seen the stela in person. Rowe, unlike Tello and Kroeber, identified the image on the Yauya stela as a cayman and linked it with cayman representations on

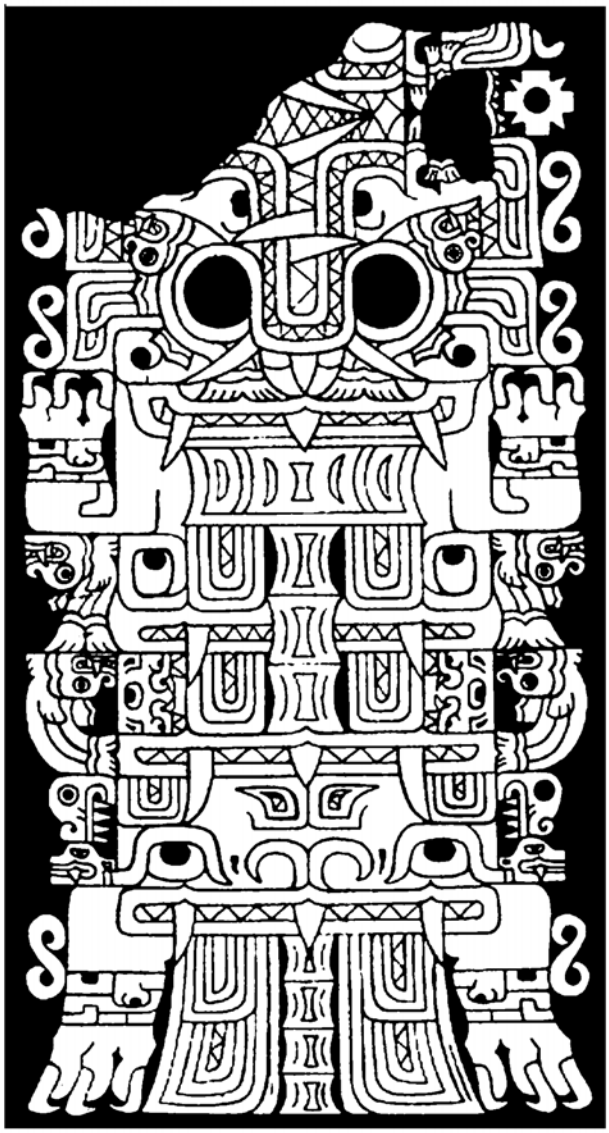


Figure 6.4. Drawing of the Yauya stela made by Tello's expedition

the Tello obelisk and the granite frieze found at the foot of the Monumental Stairway at Chavín (Rowe 1967a:83). Rowe considered the cayman to be the only animal figure in Chavín art that could be considered a deity or important mythological figure because of the way in which it was featured on major Chavín sculptures. Rowe also notes that the tail on Chavín representations of the cayman does not resemble an actual cayman tail. He explains this inconsistency as follows: " [T]his mythical detail may be no more than a misunderstanding on the part of the artists who were not personally familiar with their subjects, caymans occurring only at a much lower altitude" (Rowe 1967a:83).

Perhaps because the village of Yauya was so far off the beaten track, the problem of the undetermined archaeological source for the stela fragment was largely ignored by Kroeber, Willey, Rowe, and others. The sculpture was well known, but discussions of it were inevitably decontextualized and based solely on its iconography, which was in itself derived from rubbings, drawings, and casts.

In 1964 Julio Espejo, another follower of Tello, published a short note on the Yauya stela in which he reported the existence of a second fragment of the sculpture. In this note he wrote: "The stela alluded to is found in the threshold of the church of the town. Its exact provenience is unknown, although its Chavín origin and lineage are undeniable. But in the area there exists no evidence of Chavín [cultural features], nor have the archaeological sites in the vicinity provided additional data on the original piece. Moreover, the distance between Chavín and Yauya is considerable, resulting even now in a true road problem" (Espejo 1964:2).

In this short publication Espejo reported that his informant, Gerardo Vidal, had indicated that he had seen the second stela fragment several years before in the house of Sr. Mancisidor. It was "similar to the one in the church with drawings on one side." Vidal visited the house and confirmed that it was found there. The sculpture fragment was serving as the pedestal supporting a wooden post that supported the eave of the roof. It measured 57 × 43 cm. Vidal tried to engage it with the large fragment reported by Tello, but it did not fit. However, the kind of the stone, the type of incisions, and the style of the figures represented matched the other fragment in every detail. Based on the report and a rubbing provided by a Sr. Palacios, Espejo was able to produce a hypothetical reconstruction of the original sculpture that integrated both fragments. A line drawing by Pablo Carrera M. incorporated the new fragment and showed that the Yauya stela features "a dual representation of mythological personages placed face-to-face" (Roe 1974:47); in other words, it showed two matching supernatural beings arranged head to head. There is no indication that Espejo or any other archaeologist viewed the sculpture fragment said to be in the Mancisidor household.

In 1974 I visited the village of Yauya to learn more about the original context of the Yauya stela and explore the possibility of doctoral research in the zone. I had read accounts of the stela by Tello and others and was impressed by its large size and the high quality of the carving, as well as by Tello's broader argument about the importance of the Marañon drainage in the origins of Chavín. I reasoned that there might be a major Chavín ceremonial center in the area from which the sculpture had been extracted for inclusion in church construction. At the time of my first visit, Yauya was still beyond the national road system, so it was necessary to reach the village on foot from Uchusquillo. The absence of restaurants or lodgings for outsiders created logistical difficulties. Even more problematic was the mood of hostility and civil unrest in Yauya; this was the product of a massacre two years before. According to the stories related to me, Peruvian police had suppressed a peasant uprising against local landowners in 1972. This poorly documented incident occurred in the context of the agrarian reform initiated by the government of General Juan Velasco. Uneducated farmers from the slopes surrounding the town were incensed by rumors of *pishtacos*, light-skinned, fair-haired anthropomorphic beings that kidnap and kill innocent farmers to extract their fat for sale to the industrial world to make the wheels of industry turn (Weismantel 2001). The insurgents also had heard rumors of immense quantities of hoarded food and other provisions in the houses of the Yauya elite. They reacted by storming the town where the more

educated landowners lived, taking several prisoners and decapitating a schoolteacher who was suspected of being a *pishtaco*. Eventually, government troops intervened to liberate the town and the captives from the occupying farmers; in the process, between 5 and 20 insurgents were killed and several of the leaders were imprisoned. A by-product of this event was the abandonment of Yauya by most of the town's elite families, many of whom migrated to Huaraz or Lima.

Not surprisingly, I found less cooperation in Yauya than I had anticipated in 1974, and my plans for future investigations seemed increasingly unrealistic. Nonetheless, I persisted in searching for the source of the Yauya stela for almost a week. With the assistance of Don Domingo Peña and others, I visited several sites, including Tambo Real de Huancabamba, the site from which most local people believed the Yauya stela had been brought. On his visit to Yauya, Federico Kauffmann Doig was likewise told that the stela had been brought from Tambo to Yauya (Kauffmann Doig 1978:261). During my visits to Tambo and other sites near Yauya, I found no Early Horizon cultural materials, nor did I encounter architecture with Chavín-related features. I was able to view the fragment of the Yauya stela, originally published by Tello, which was displayed leaning against the wall of the local school.

In 1998 Alexander Herrera reported on the discovery of another large fragment of the Yauya stela (figures 6.5, 6.6). He encountered it at the Colegio San Diego in the village of Chincho, a town located 4 km northwest of Yauya. Herrera states that he was told that this fragment came from the Montengayoc sector of Ingaragá Mountain. The fragment measures 105 cm in length, 56 cm in width, and 15 cm in thickness (Herrera 1998: 231– 233). Like the original fragment of the Yauya stela, the Chincho fragment is a white granite block carved on the front and two lateral faces (figure 6.6). Based on the dimensions, stone, and carving style, there is no question that this piece constitutes the other extreme of the Yauya stela. It does not, however, articulate with the original fragment because of fragments still missing from the central portion of the sculpture. Herrera believed that the diagonal break in the Chincho fragment could match the break in the piece reported by Espejo, but this could not be confirmed because he was unable to locate the fragment discussed by Espejo (Herrera 1998:234) or other small fragments of the stela mentioned by Tello (1923:Fig. 2). The Chincho piece confirmed the bilaterally symmetric reconstruction proposed by Espejo (1964; compare Roe 1974: Fig. 11), and it was also proof of the large size of the Yauya stela, even when compared with the best-known low-relief carvings from Chavín de Huántar (table 6.1).

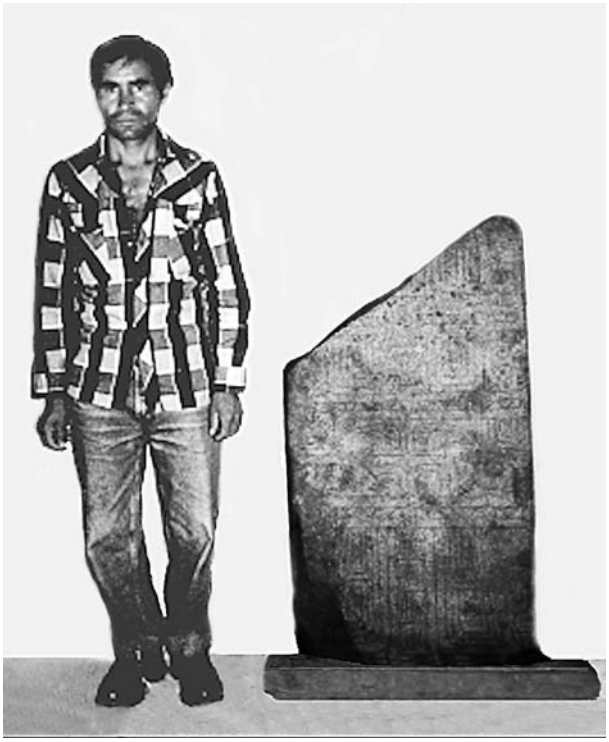


Figure 6.5. Photograph of the Chincho fragment of the Yauya stela, with the school guardian in 2001. This fragment is oriented upside down relative to the drawing of it in figure 6.6.

Herrera was interested in establishing the source for the Yauya stela, which he refers to as the Yauya-Chincho stela. Toward that end he made inquiries during his investigations. Herrera was told by Donato Dominguez that the stela fragment documented by Tello had been brought to Yauya by the landowner Ponce León Melgarejo from the ruins known as Tambo Real de Huancabamba. According to this account, the sculpture was apparently found in a field 200 m southeast of the remains of a *tambo* in the community of Jatun Oco, which is located roughly 4

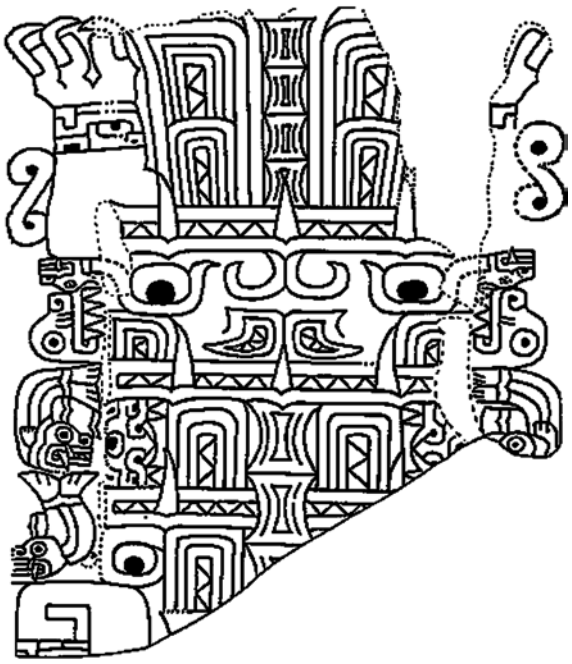


Figure 6.6. Drawing of the Chincho fragment of the Yauya stela by Alexander Herrera

km from the Montengayoc sector. Herrera confirmed that the pottery and architecture at Tambo Real de Huancabamba was late, and that the site included finely finished Inca blocks. He also visited private collections in the town of Yauya that included Early Intermediate Period materials recovered from the Montengayoc sector (Herrera 1998:235, 239, Figs. 5, 6).

Thus Herrera concluded that the extant fragments of the Yauya stela were both recovered in modern times from two different archaeological sites located far from each other. Neither site shows evidence of Early Horizon occupation, and this led Herrera to speculate that perhaps the sculpture was originally brought from Chavín de Huántar to Yauya where it was reutilized, just as a fragment of the Thunderbolt stone in the Pucará style was carried across Lake Titicaca from Arapa to Tiahuanaco (Herrera 1998:238; compare Chávez 1975).

In my opinion, the hypothesis presented by Herrera to resolve the enigma of the origin of the Yauya stela is not a satisfying one. First of all, it does not explain why a one-ton granite statue would be carried over difficult terrain for 50 km (as the condor flies) from Chavín de Huántar to Yauya. Given its weight, it would have to be carried by human bearers, since it exceeds the load that can be borne by llamas and, unlike the case discussed by Sergio Chávez, water transport would not have been an option. Moreover, there was no need to bring fine building material to Yauya since outcrops of granite and other fine-grained volcanic stone exist in the area (Herrera 1998). In fact, a large number of finely carved ashlars were produced at Yauya for the construction of the Inca *tambo* there. In addition, over three dozen cut and polished blocks of fine-grained volcanic rock from Tambo have been transported to the town of Yauya and have been incorporated into the market, the old hacienda, and the church. This suggests that there was no practical necessity to transport granite ashlars from distant Chavín de Huántar for "reutilization," as Herrera suggests, since high-quality stone was locally available and exploited by late prehistoric peoples.

Moreover, when considered in more detail, the analogy drawn with the case of the Arapa-Thunderbolt stela does not work well for the situation in

Table 6.1. Comparison of Chavín Stela Dimensions

	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)
Yauya Stela	300	56	15
Tello Obelisk	252	32	26
Raimondi Stone	195	76	17

Yauya. In the case documented by Chávez, a fragment of a large granite stela from Arapa, an important Pucará site on the north shore of Lake Titicaca, was transported mainly by boat to Tiahuanaco, which is located near the south shore of the lake. According to Chávez, the stela fragment from Arapa was a war trophy brought to the emergent political and ceremonial capital at Tiahuanaco and displayed for its symbolic message of dominance (Chávez 1975). In the case of the Yauya stela, it is unclear what the motive would be to carry a one-ton sculpture from the Early Horizon ceremonial center at Chavín de Huántar to a small Inca tambo in Yauya, a zone of little political importance in Late Horizon times. In addition, the Herrera hypothesis does not explain why the two large fragments of the stela were found at widely separated archaeological sites.

Finally, although the Yauya stela is similar to carvings from Chavín de Huántar, it differs in important ways from the 200-odd sculptures from that site. First of all, it was carved on the block's polished face and two lateral sides. At Chavín de Huántar, sculpture is carved on a single face, such as the Raimondi stone; on two faces, such as the cornices that hung from the upper outer walls of the New Temple; or on four sides, such as the Tello obelisk (Tello 1960:Figs. 33, 63, 31, respectively). The Yauya stela is unique in being carved on three surfaces. The back of the sculpture and the narrow sides on the top and the bottom were left blank. Given the large size of the Chavín de Huántar sample, it is reasonable to interpret the difference between the Yauya stela and the sculpture from Chavín de Huántar as an indicator that the stela was carved locally in the Yauya area by someone knowledgeable about and skilled in Chavín stone carving.

The Discovery of the Yauya Stela Fragments

In 2001 I returned to Yauya after an absence of 27 years in the hope of resolving the impasse concerning the origin of the Yauya stela. Accompanied by my friend Urfe Mancisidor, a Yauya-born educator, I was given access to information from a wide range of sources that had previously been unavailable. My initial efforts were devoted to visiting archaeological sites that I had missed during my first visit. I hoped that the detailed knowledge that I had developed over two decades concerning the location of major Initial Period and Early Horizon sites (Burger 1992a) might allow me to locate sites in comparable locations that might be plausible sources of the Yauya stela, despite the lack of early surface material. These efforts proved unsuccessful. The main sites in the area date to the Early Intermediate Period or later (Herrera 2003) and do not resemble Initial Period or Early Horizon sites documented in valleys, such as the Callejón de Huaylas or the Mosna. The setting of the town of Yauya on steeply inclined slopes differs from that of Chavín de Huántar, which is set on a level floodplain, or sites such as Kuntur Wasi or Pacopampa which are set on natural eminences that rise above surrounding areas of level land. The most conspicuous site in the immediate Yauya area is Ushpacoto, a Recuay residential site on a rocky spur overlooking the deeply entrenched Maribamba. Nearby there are small horizontal shaft tombs built into steep rocky cliffs made accessible only because of a recently constructed road that cuts into the rock face.

The slopes separating Yauya from the Maribamba River are too steep for major archaeological sites, although some of them do display evidence of agricultural terracing, probably dating to late pre-hispanic times, and the floodplain surrounding the Maribamba River is likewise too narrow for the construction of a major Chavín site. Private collections in Yauya, such as those of Domingo Ortega and Domingo Peña, feature stone sculpture and pottery from Recuay and later cultures, but no "formative" material. My findings in this regard parallel those described by Herrera (1998, 2003).

Fortunately, interviews with local residents proved more productive than the field reconnaissance. During a visit to Tambo (Tambo Real de Huancabamba) at 3553 masl, I had the opportunity to speak with Máximo Benites, owner of the land where the original fragment of the Yauya stela was discovered. He confirmed that his ancestor had found the stela in a field while farming and that it had been moved to the church in Yauya at the request of the local *hacendado*. He showed me the spot where it had been found according to his family.

Figure 6.7. Inca building with cut stone blocks at Tambo Real de Huancabamba, District of Yauya

Near this piece of land are rectangular stone buildings that incorporate cut stone blocks (figure 6.7); additional loose stone blocks could be seen eroding into a stream that cuts through the site. These blocks appear to be identical in material and masonry technique to the dozens of ashlars in the town of Yauya (figure 6.8), confirming the statements of residents that these blocks had been brought to town from Tambo. The oral tradition, reflected in the site name Tambo Real de Huancabamba, that the stone structures are the remnants of an Inca tambo seems reasonable, particularly in light of the Inca road that crosses this area. It is also supported by the Inca pottery, lithics (*illas*, *porras*, *bolas*, and the like), and metal artifacts that Benites has collected at the site and now keeps in his private collection.

A second and even more informative interview took place with farmer Jesus Morales Solis (August 15, 2001). He claimed to have been the discoverer of the "Chincho" fragment of the stela, an assertion confirmed by other residents of Yauya. According to Morales, he discovered the stela in July of 1991 in his *chacra* (agricultural field) while he was planting potatoes (figure 6.9). The top of the stela was encountered only 15 cm below the surface, but he had to dig down 1.5 m in order to extract the carving. He showed me the site of the discovery; it is located in an area known as Quellcayrumi, the Quechua term for "writing on stone." This archaeological site is situated at 3828 masl on a narrow ridge near a natural prominence from which the entire Maribamba drainage would be visible on a clear day (figure 6.10). Kaolin sherds of the Recuay culture were visible on the surface near the spot where the stela was said to have been found. According to Morales, the teachers from Chincho removed the sculpture with the assistance of their students, without his permission, and carried it to their school. It should be noted that this account differs in some small

Figure 6.8. Large ashlar block from Tambo Real de Huancabamba currently in the town of Yauya

Figure 6.9. Jesus Morales Solis at Quellcayrumi, indicating the location of the "Chincho" fragment discovered in 1991

but crucial details from that published by Herrera. He reports that the stela fragment was found in 1993 in the Montengayoc sector of Cerro Ingarag á (Herrera 1998:231). Montengayoc is a large Recuay site located at 3861 masl about 1 km to the south of Quellcayrumi (figure 6.11). It is

Figure 6.10. The archaeological site of Quellcayrumi, the hypothetical original context of the Yauya stela

Figure 6.11. The Early Intermediate Period site of Montengayoc near Quellcayrumi

characterized by large rectangular and circular stone structures. Another group of ruins known locally as Ingaragá is located half a kilometer farther to the south at 3895 masl. It features rectangular stone buildings. All three sites are located along the same ridge and all show evidence of Recuay or later occupation, with the finest visible masonry present at Montengayoc. The differences between the above account and the information provided by Herrera may be because he obtained it from the teachers in Chincho rather than from the farmer who discovered the stone.

An important implication of the information obtained from Morales is that the Quellcayrumi or Chincho fragment was found 3 km northwest of Yauya, while the Tambo or original Yauya fragment was found almost 4 km southeast of Yauya (figure 6.12). Thus a linear distance of about 7 km separates where the two pieces of the stela were encountered by modern farmers. According to residents, because of the rugged terrain the trip from one location to the other represents a trip of 3 to 4 hours on foot, and much more if a half-ton sculpture fragment were being carried. Thus neither fragment of the so-called Yauya stela was originally discovered in the town of Yauya, although both do come from the district of Yauya.

Figure 6.12. Map of the Yauya area showing the location of the places discussed in this chapter. *Courtesy of Archaeology Magazine.*

Rediscovering the Missing Yauya Stela Fragment

As already mentioned, in 1964 Espejo published an account of a small fragment of the stela that had been reutilized in the Mancisidor household in the town of Yauya. Unfortunately, Kauffmann and Herrera had been unable to locate it during their visits to Yauya in the subsequent decades. It had never been examined by Espejo and had never been adequately documented or published. During our 2001 visit, Urfe Mancisidor searched in vain for the sculpture fragment in his family home in Yauya and was told that it had probably been removed when the roof was replaced many years before.

Fortunately, Mancisidor was able to draw upon his family's social network to make inquiries about where the carving might be, and on August 14, 2001, Jorge Melgarejo Palacios volunteered that a stone sculpture existed in the unoccupied home of his father, Victor Melgarejo; unfortunately, the room in which the carving was kept had become infested with bees. Despite this obstacle, we were able to extract the piece from the room and, by candlelight in the courtyard of the house, confirm that it was indeed another fragment of the Yauya stela and that it corresponded to the piece referred to in the 1964 Espejo publication (figures 6.13, 6.14). We documented the fragment by photography and a rubbing was made, before it was returned to the care of Melgarejo.

As noted, his fragment had never been examined by an archaeologist, and Espejo had based his account on a report by Gerardo Vidal. A new description of the piece is provided here along with photographs and a drawing based on our rubbing of the fragment (figure 6.15). The carving was on an irregular pentagonal white granite block. It had been broken from a larger sculpture, but none of the breaks were fresh. Closer inspection

Figure 6.13. The rediscovered fragment of the Yauya stela seen by candlelight in the house of Jorge Melgarejo Palacios

Figure 6.14. The decorated lateral edge of the rediscovered fragment of the Yauya stela, shown (rotated clockwise) on the right edge of figure 6.15

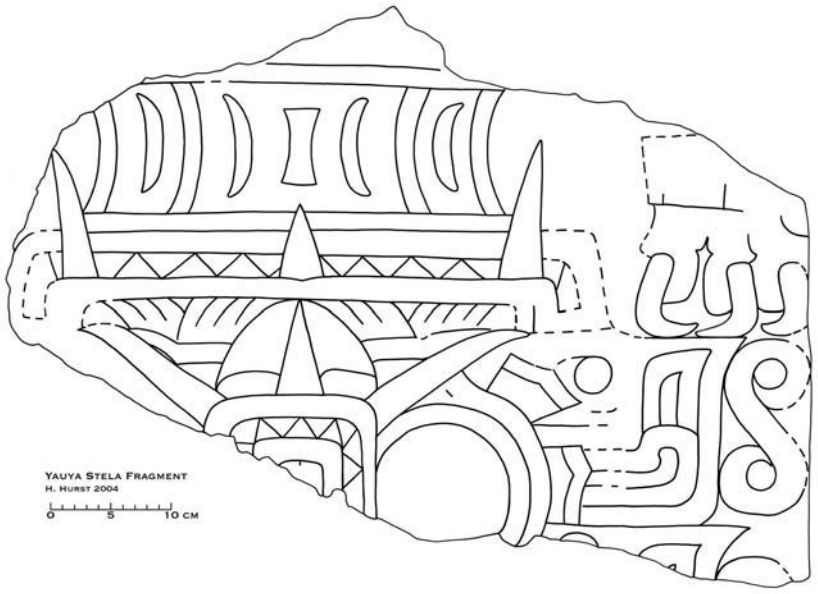


Figure 6.15. Drawing of the rediscovered fragment. *Drawing: Heather Hurst.*

revealed that the fragment comes from the central section of the Yauya stela, and only one of the lateral sides is intact. The polished face of the block and lateral side are decorated with incisions and other features. According to our measurements, the stela fragment is 16 cm thick; the intact lateral edge is 37 cm long, and in its widest section about 50 cm remain of the carved face. If the irregular sculpture fragment is measured without regard to its original orientation, its dimensions are 59 × 44 cm, fairly close to measurements of 57 × 43 cm reported by Espejo. More importantly, the carving on the Melgarejo fragment matches the section of the stela illustrated in Espejo's 1964 publication.

The upper 16 cm of the carved stela face is in fairly good condition, but the lower 26 cm is worn down as though it had been used as a grinding surface (figure 6.13). The face of the fragment shows one of the circular eyes, part of the mouth, and the broad upper fish-like drum-shaped vertebrae of the monstrous creature. Along the preserved lateral edge of the piece is a complete S-shaped volute that, like the eye, features recessed circular zones to highlight the motif (figure 6.14). Unfortunately, part of the lateral edge is badly damaged. Basically, the newly documented fragment depicts part of the upper body and head of the supernatural creature carved on the Quellcayrumi (or "Chincho") fragment (figure 6.15). These two fragments together display the same image as found on the stela fragment illustrated by Tello. Thus the Chavín sculpture from Yauya represents two identical symmetrically arrayed monstrous supernatural creatures. Between the three sculpture fragments now extant, some 90% of the Yauya stela has been recovered and documented (plate 6.1).

There is no information about how the fragment first published by Espejo moved from the Mancisidor house on the town plaza to the Melgarejo house several blocks away or, more importantly, about the original source of the newly documented fragment. However, it seems likely that it represents one of the fragments mentioned but not illustrated by Tello. According to him, these pieces were broken off the original Yauya stela fragment after the sculpture was brought to

the town; the breakage occurred in order to accommodate the block as a threshold or lintel for the church. Tello (1960:196) wrote: "It [the Yauya stela] is a rectangular granite slab that has been intentionally fractured to adopt it to the dimensions of the church doorway. To do this several pieces were separated off or broken, some of which were found at a short distance [from the main sculpture] during the university expedition of 1919, but which could not be reconstructed nor used to determine the dimensions that the original stela had, and even less to understand the secondary figures that would have adorned the head of the idol."

Since the Mancisidor house was already in existence at the time of Tello's 1919 visit, one of the loose fragments referred to by Tello could have been brought there as a curiosity or, alternatively, for practical purposes such as reuse in domestic construction.

If this is the case, the proximate source of the third fragment was the same as that of the Yauya stela fragment, which is to say it would have been extracted from Tambo Real de Huancabamba as part of the original sculptural block encountered in their field by the Benites family. It should be noted that Tello refers to several small fragments of the stela in the town, besides the large one incorporated into the church and the one illustrated here. These pieces must be found if the stela is to be fully reconstructed and restored. Where these additional small pieces might be remains unknown, but there is a rumor that at least one was removed from Yauya by a schoolteacher when he was transferred. Even without the missing fragments, it is now possible to reconstruct the image on the Yauya stela with confidence. This reconstruction does not differ significantly from the artistic volumetric rendering proposed by Espejo (1964) or the line drawing based on it attributed to Pablo Carrera (Roe 1974:Fig.11).

A New Hypothesis for the Origin of the Yauya Stela

How can we account for the creation of the Yauya stela and the recovery of large fragments of it in two different and distant locations? The hypothesis proposed here is that the Yauya stela was carved in the Yauya area by someone intimately familiar with the sculpture style at Chavín de Huántar, in order to create a unique cult object for purposes of worship at the high-altitude site of Quellcayrumi. Larger than the Tello obelisk or the Raimondi stone (table 6.1), the Yauya stela would have been one of the most impressive carvings of its time. The collapse of Chavín's civilization around 200 B.C. produced a cultural backlash in highland Ancash during the late Early Horizon (Burger 1992a). An alien ceramic style, known as Huaras or White-on-Red, was adopted, and sacred sites were transformed into nucleated villages. At Chavín de Huántar religious sculpture was reused in these secular buildings, regardless of its religious carving. I hypothesize that the shrine at Quellcayrumi was likewise abandoned, and that the Yauya stela was split into two pieces for use in the post-Chavín settlement that developed there. By the end of the Early Intermediate Period or somewhat later, the site was probably abandoned. By the time of the Inca conquest, the Yauya stela had been forgotten and buried for over 1200 years. However, sometime in the Late Horizon, someone digging at Quellcayrumi, perhaps a farmer, encountered one of the sculpted granite blocks buried beneath the surface. Based on our understanding of Inca statecraft, it is reasonable to posit that if a large cut and polished block was found at Quellcayrumi, it could have been transported by mita workers from this spot 7 or 8 km away for incorporation into the state building complex associated with the Inca highway system at Tambo Real de Huancabamba. The labor required to move the block would not have been a problem for the labor-rich Inca authorities, and the time and effort involved in moving the block would have been considerably less than carving an ashlar of this size from scratch.

If this hypothesis is correct, the Yauya stela was carved during the middle Early Horizon (Rowe's Phase D or Burger's Janabarriu phase) for placement above Yauya in a high-altitude shrine at Quellcayrumi. This hypothesis is amenable to archaeological testing through excavations at Quellcayrumi to determine whether or not a Chavín shrine exists at the site beneath the remains of

the post-Chavín village. There is precedent in the Chavín de Huántar area for the presence of Chavín sculpture at high-altitude sites, most notably at Pojoc (3850 masl) and Waman Wain (3500 masl). Both sites are located near the upper limits of agriculture overlooking the Mosna Valley (Burger 1982). Like Quellcayrumi, both sites are located on narrow ridges just below the upper limit of Andean agriculture and both offer panoramic views of the valley below.

Chavín sculpture, some carved in white granite, was found at both Pojoc and Waman Wain. Its quality varied from rustic (Burger 1982:Fig. 56) to refined (Burger 1982:Fig. 64), but it reiterated almost all the major themes in the Chavín sculptural corpus. The presence of an incomplete carving suggests that some of it was carved on the spot (Burger 1982:Fig. 68a). There was little ceramic evidence of an Early Horizon occupation on the surface of either of these sites due to the depth and intensity of the later occupation, but fragments of Chavín sculpture did appear, presumably due to their reutilization in later constructions. Deep excavations at Pojoc revealed an Early Horizon component 2 m below the surface, and one unit exposed a Chavín platform of large cut-stone blocks associated with Pacific seashells. Based on the abundant presence of Chavín sculpture and the impressive stone platform at Pojoc, it can be suggested that small-scale religious architecture featuring stone sculptures was built for worship at high-altitude locations in the Chavín de Huántar area during the Early Horizon. Quellcayrumi resembles these sites and may reflect this same cultural pattern.

If the hypothesis proposed here is correct, the Yauya stela would have been a major cult object at a high-altitude shrine at Quellcayrumi. Because this sculpture is carved on its lateral sides, it can be inferred that it was not designed to be set into a wall as architectural ornamentation. On the contrary, it may constitute a cult object along the lines of the Lanzón or the Tello obelisk. The identification of it as a possible cult object is reinforced by the presence of two cosmograms at the sculpture's central axis. In Chavín art, the cosmogram is represented by a circle within a notched square. This distinctive motif also appears along the axis of the Lanzón and the Tello obelisk. According to Lathrap, the notched square represents the horizontal extent of this world with its four cardinal directions, while the circle sunken in its center represents an orifice in the membrane between the upper and lower halves of the universe through which the flux of supernatural power flows (Lathrap 1985:251).

The central theme of the Yauya stela remains a matter of debate. Some scholars, such as Federico Kauffmann Doig (1978:260–261; 1988:34) and Ralph Cané (1983, 1986), are convinced that the stela represents the Flying Feline (*Felino Volador*) described in the modern myth of Qoa. The dominant view, initially proposed by Rowe (1967a), interprets the image on the stone as a pair of supernatural cayman figures each represented using a split-open pelt-like convention (see Roe 1974:22–23 for criteria distinguishing cayman from feline depictions). According to Rowe (1962:18), of all the animal representations in Chavín art, the carvings of the cayman were the only ones representing a major deity.

The supernatural qualities of the crocodilian figures on the Yauya stela are reflected in the composite or monstrous features that were incorporated, most notably the feline features of the face, the fish-like or icthyian character of the spine, and the substitution of avian tail feathers of the hawk or crested eagle for the tapering ophidian tail of the cayman. Thus, if the main figure on the Yauya stela is a supernatural cayman, it is a flying felinized cayman with a fish-like vertebral column. The shape of the mouth and the overlapping upper row of canines are strongly suggestive of cayman inspiration, as are the position and form of body, legs, and hands.

Lathrap (1985:246–248) suggests that this representation was based on the *Melansuchus niger*, or black cayman. The black cayman, in Lathrap's opinion, was selected as a model of the cosmos because it is the dominant aquatic predator wherever it occurs and, more importantly, because it is the ultimate symbol of ecological and social stability on account of its role in distributing nutrients through the lowland river systems of the Amazon and Orinoco. Lathrap specifically identifies the representation on the Yauya stela as the Master of the Fishes (Lathrap 1985:246), an identification that draws plausibility from the eight naturalistic

fish that swim alongside the two monstrous crocodilian images on the stela. One of the distinctive qualities of the black cayman, which grows to 18 to 20 feet in length, is that it moves easily between the water and land, often at frightening speed; with the addition of avian tail feathers to the image, the supernatural Great Cayman is shown to have access to all three realms that were recognized in traditional Andean cosmology.

Worship of the Great Cayman spread widely through Peru during the Chavín horizon. It reached the desert along the coast of Peru, far from its natural habitat, and was propagated by way of painted cotton textiles, such as those found at the shoreline site of Carhua (Roe 1974:Fig. 12; Burger 1993a:58, Fig. 7b) on the Paracas Peninsula). At Quellcayrumi on the edge of the puna, high above Yauya, at 3828 masl, the Master of the Fishes was far from home. Nonetheless, perhaps the worship of the Great Cayman at Quellcayrumi should not surprise us, given its wondrous view of the Marañon drainage on a clear day.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to express my thanks to the inhabitants of Yauya who assisted me in this project, most notably Máximo Benites, Jorge Melgarejo, Emiliano Morales, Jesus Morales Solis, and Domingo Peña. I am particularly indebted to my good friend Urfe Mancisidor for accompanying me to Yauya and helping me in all aspects of this investigation. I would like to thank my friend and colleague Steve Wegner for his moral and logistical support and Lucy Salazar-Burger for her aid and understanding. Thanks also to William Conklin for his suggestion that I prepare an expanded and more academic version of an earlier article (Burger 2002) for his edited volume, and to Heather Hurst for turning my rubbings into a drawing of the new Yauya stela fragment. Finally, to Alexander Herrera, Peter Roe, Dumbarton Oaks, and *Archaeology* magazine for permission to republish their drawings. The translations from Spanish sources were made by the author.

7.

How to Build a Raptor: Why the Dumbarton Oaks "Scaled Cayman" Callango Textile Is Really a Jaguaroid Harpy Eagle

Peter G. Roe

This paper explores the archaeology of perception, specifically the unique "cultural epistemology" of dynamic dualism embodied in ancient South Amerindian textiles and monumental stone carvings. Although soft and hard, both media are treated in an equally architectural manner by Peru's first true civilization, Chavín. I propose a new identification of a Chavín painted textile in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (B-544) (plate 7.1). Previously, this image was identified as a cayman (Wallace 1991), but I suggest that it is a very different sort of monster: a stylized jaguaroid harpy eagle.

The misidentification of the creature depicted in this textile is the result of several contrasts between Euro-American art analysis and native South American ethnoaesthetics. We are goal-oriented, fixated on "end products," whether our own or another's objects. The dramatic lighting in our art galleries and museums draws attention to the tethered "thing," perched on a pedestal or enclosed in a vitrine. So, too, our conservator's goals are to make often ephemeral things last forever. The South Amerindian perspective focuses more on the process of making and using art via evanescent production and obligatory kinetic features: circuitously flowing liquids in stirrup-spouted bottles, whistling pots, and rattle-based bowls. Larger objects, such as long textiles, carved stelae, and other monumental media, require the same active interaction; one must either move around or mentally turn and twist the images in one's mind's eye to perceive them. Objects like this textile thus possess a cultural opacity that must be clarified.

Chavín art, in particular, is very complex, full of baroque and hardly decipherable images, less and less accessible with every passing phase. All of Chavín's monuments are executed via graphic devices that are the very opposite of the straightforward Western canon. Understandably, occidental prehistorians have found themselves confused by the exotic and, to their eyes, often bizarre imagery. But, to their credit, scholars have realized that Chavín is a religious art of a resolutely "otherworldly" cast, a view most elaborated by Richard Burger (1992a). This occult imagery emerges directly from ritualized drug taking.

In true dualistic fashion, Chavín religious practitioners use both wet and dry psychotropic substances. These range from the very powerful jungle hallucinogenic powder, *yopó* (*Anadenanthera peregrina*), and its highland substitute *Anadenanthera colubrina*, to the milder but longer-lasting cactus drink prepared from the San Pedro cactus (*Trichocerus pachanoi*) (Torres, this volume, chapter 9). Analogous lowland experiences suggest

that the colorful visions produced by these mind-altering drugs are so affecting that the world of ordinary empirical reality pales by comparison. This leads to a highly dualistic epistemology in which the messages received from visions gain more credence as "truth" than the "lies" of sensate reality.

This native theory of knowledge is the very opposite of a rational Western world view. In Chavín art, non-ordinary reality is seen as if in a mirror and, tellingly, polished anthracite mirrors exist in its material inventory. The perfect otherworldly beings, monstrous in their gigantic and composite nature, become the Species Masters, parents of this world's imperfect "children"—the animals and plants of sensual experience. In this "primitive Platonism," beings constantly flip in the mirror of perception, and the categories of real (visible)/unreal (invisible) become inverted. Chavín "pictorial dualism" utilizes some 36 specific graphic devices to reveal the hidden structure beneath surface representation, including X-ray depiction (figure 7.1d), just as modern jungle shamans I have worked with are able to look through the bodies of their patients and divine the dark swirling clouds or the old tattered spiderwebs of contagion. Chavín images are similarly "transparent" to their creators, an art of magical bones, not profane epidermis.

Even when the skin is referenced, it too transforms into another dimension. In an ethnographic instance of the Chavín "flayed-pelt convention" (Roe 1974), I recorded a Waiwai myth in the Guianas that describes the skinning of the Rainbow Dragon Urufiri to yield its ophidian designs (Roe 1989). *Split representation* is the graphic device for this conversion of "spaceland" into "flatland" (Tufte 1990) by removing the skin and laying it out into two symmetrical halves, leaving behind the V-shaped split in the forehead. This skeuomorphic trace[1] of the shed skins of reptiles and amphibians appears in Chavín supernaturals (figure 7.2b1–2). In contrast to the Western camera-eye perspective that hides what is not directly visible from a single point of view in the name of "realism," split representation allows the artist to depict the image in its entirety, even the back, thus maintaining its magical gestalt. It is akin to the Western use of map projections, such as the Mercator projection of the world, where similar V-shaped splits allow the depiction of a three-dimensional globe in two dimensions. Thus all Chavín depictions are really projections, maps of ancient cosmological bodies, rather than mere portraits of naturalistic beings, as we are wont to see them.

Yet Chavín images are also not pure species; they are monstrous hybrids. Chimeras all, they are composed of selected animal/bird attributes, the latter appearing in a specific visual order. They are chosen for where and how they fit into the levels and functions of the universe due to their species' ethology and morphology. They are also selected because of their analogical similarity to the cultural comportment of humans, particularly our carnivorous and warlike nature (as South Amerindians view it). They are not just jaguars, harpy eagles, hawks, anacondas, and black caymans, to pick the apical Amazonian predators/raptors that constitute the dominant icons of this allegedly Andean style, but combinations thereof. Fused with human features or accoutrements, subsidiary animal parts are added to core critter depictions, not at random, but according to positional and combinatorial codes that map these features onto the appropriate levels of the cosmological body of the theriomorphic or avimorphic deity. Furthermore, such mixed beasts or birds appear not as singletons, as we expect, but always as pairs, dyads locked in complementary opposition to each other and to contrasting monsters. Unlike the predominantly male figures of Western sacred art, these Chavín dyads come in both male and female forms, the latter only recognized recently after decades of routinely labeling howlingly feminine depictions as masculine gods.

Compounding these perceptual difficulties is Chavín's use of kennings or "frozen metaphors" (Rowe 1962), such as hair depicted as writhing snakes, all joints as mouths, all appendages as tongues, and so forth. These conventions render Chavín motifs opaque to Western eyes. As an artist, my approach to reintroducing visibility is to take the image apart, reducing it to its constituent design modules (figure 7.2d) and then rebuilding it (figure 7.2c). Active deconstruction/reconstruction clarifies the images better than simple surface inspection.

This disassembly and reassembly of images takes us away from just viewing the end product

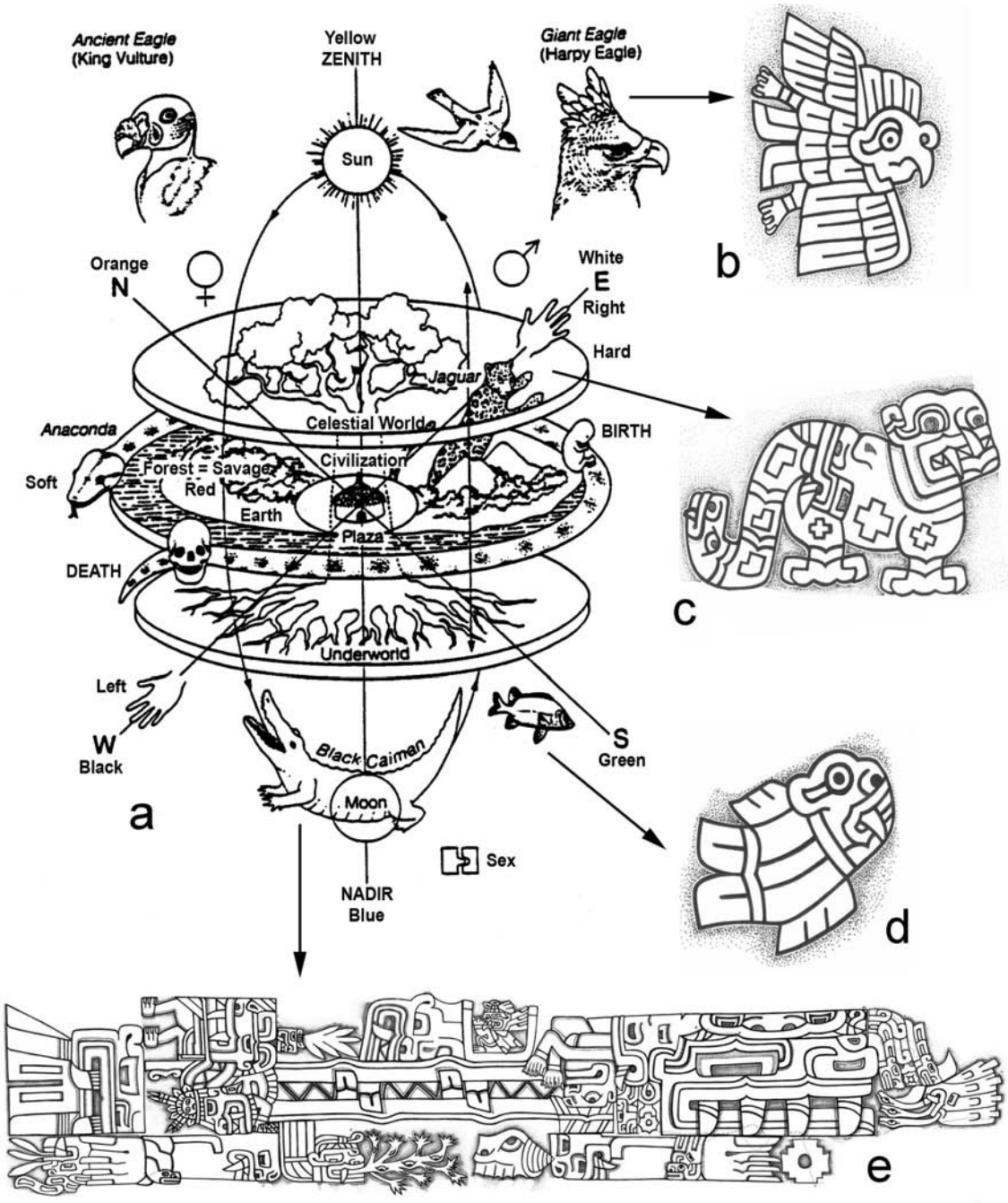


Figure 7.1. (*a*): A lowland triple-tiered cosmological model applied to Chavín iconography. In the cosmic model *(Roe 1982a:Fig. 3, redrawn in Bodley 1997)*, each level is symbolized by its characteristic "apical predator-raptor." (*b*): Sky World = Harpy Eagle-Hawk *(from top of the Tello obelisk, my redrawing)*. (*c*): Earth World = Jaguar *(my reconstruction from the Tello obelisk)*. (*d*): Subaquatic Underworld = Caymanic Dragon (*my reconstruction, the male Subaquatic Dragon from the Tello obelisk)*.

to exploring the process of creation. Conklin (1971, 1978, this volume, chapter 10) and Wallace (1991) have taken us toward process in their studies of woven depictions, but we still need to advance analysis in painted and sculpted images. I deal with these contrasting media here and seek to demonstrate that we cannot understand Chavín until we have *done* Chavín. The archaeographer

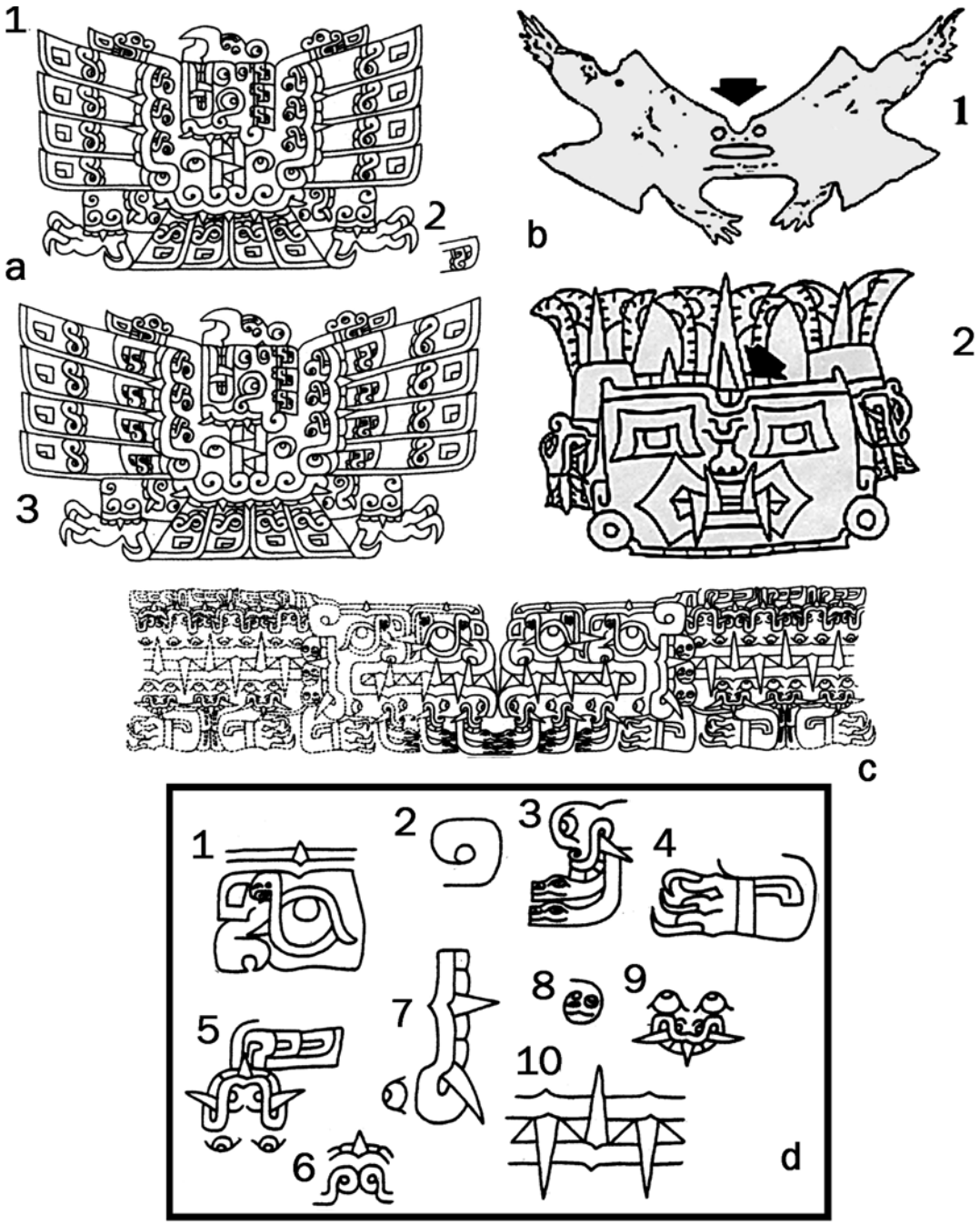


Figure 7.2. The componential analysis of Chavín images. (*a1*): An Old Temple Phase A cornice Harpy Eagle Guardian (Roe 1974b:Fig. 1a). (*a2*): A base-of-the-wing primary feather profile caymanic face module from *a3*. (*a3*): Another Phase A cornice eagle that just differs from *a1* just by sliding the flight primaries out and inserting *a2* at the base of each, near the continuous agnathic mouth bands that mark the wing joints. (*b1*): From spaceland to flatland *(Tufte 1990:14)* in the "flayed-pelt/shed-skin" projection system of split representation of a toad's (*Bufo americanus*) shed skin. Note the V-shaped split in the forehead region (see arrow). (*b2*): The head of figure 7.6a showing a similar V-shaped forehead notch *(adapted from Roe 1974:Fig. 14, in single-line)*. (*c*): My restoration of the "Lintel of the Jaguars" (jaguaroid caymanic Dragons), a cornice decorating the entryway into the rectangular plaza *(Burger 1992a: Fig. 187)*. It demonstrates reduplication, where two heads are doubled, facing each other via horizontal reflection *(Roe 1974:Fig. 9)*. (*d*): The hypothesized modules I used to partially reconstruct this image *(1974:Fig. 10)*.

becomes the artist, adept at the extinct graphic language, just as the ethnographer learns to speak the verbal language of living people. I create images here in an effort to transcend the passive perception of style and achieve an active realization of art. There is no better example of why this is necessary than this Chavín textile fragment from Dumbarton Oaks, a protean image which has proven to be many different things to many observers.

A CREATURE OF MANY LABELS, THE CALLANGO TEXTILE (B-544)

The oft-illustrated and variously identified painted cotton textile donated by Michael Coe to Dumbarton Oaks in 1964 (B-544) is best pictured in Burger (1996:Pl. 7). I have reconstructed that image in a line drawing (figure 7.3a) and in a computer-generated color rendering based on a 1:1 clear plastic tracing of the original (plate 7.1).

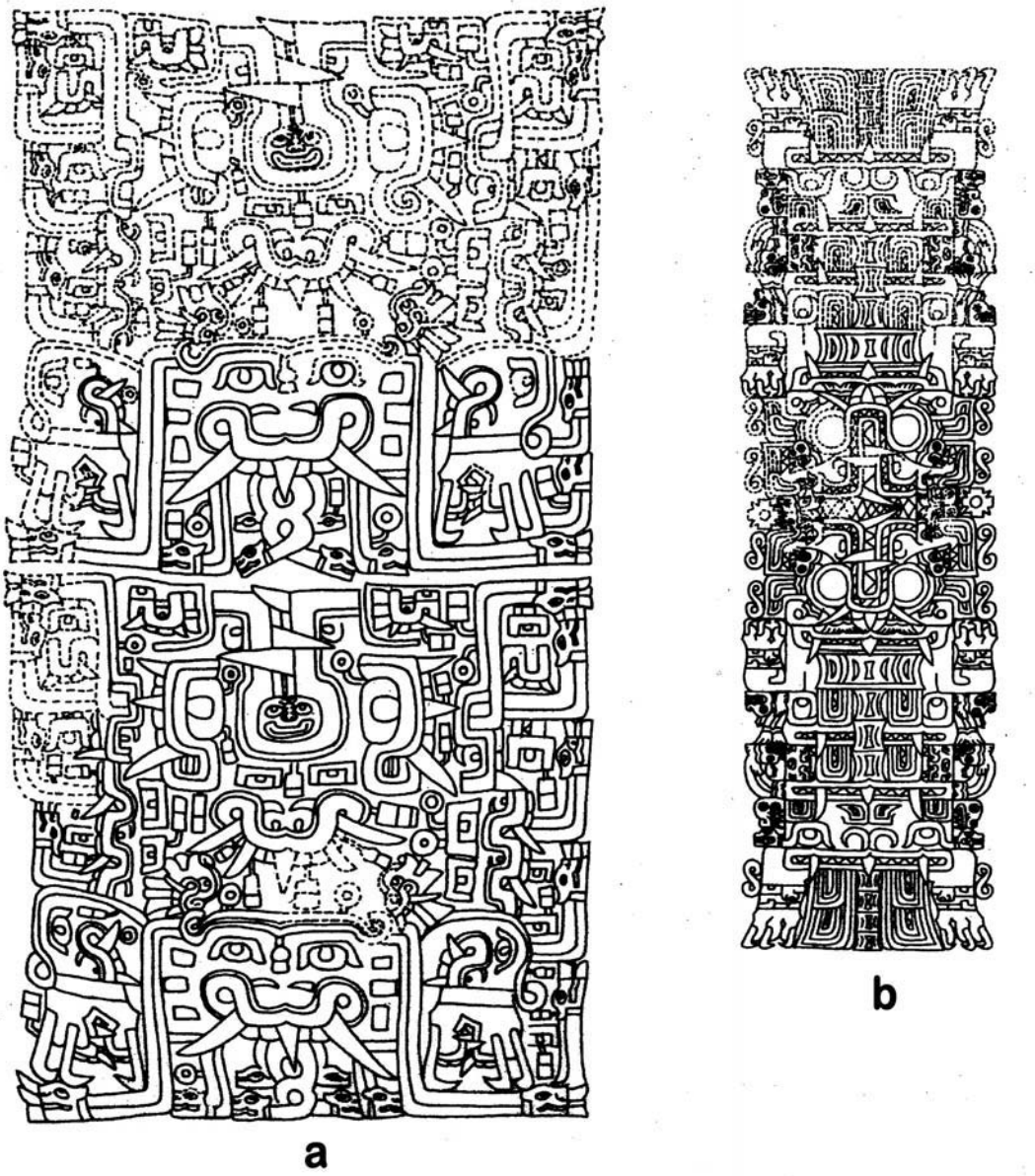


Figure 7.3. Two restorations, two media. (*a*): My reconstruction drawing of B-544 showing two complete Raptor Guardians of what was originally a whole set of similar figures arrayed upon a much larger textile *(Roe 1974:Fig. 19)*. (*b*): My restored drawing *(1974:Fig. 11)* of the Yauya stela (a jaguaroid Dragon).

Both the damaged lower figure and the more fragmentary upper image were similar "cells," arrayed in rows and columns, within a huge original textile. It dates to Phase D of the original Rowe (1962) seriation (now expanded by separating Phases A and B at the beginning and segregating Phases E from F at the end; Roe 1978; Roe et al. 2008). The main figures have a rounded variant (figure 7.3a) of the classic Phase D mouth (figure 7.4) with decorative points (Roe 1974:Feature 84), which also appears on the surmounting cornice of the Black and White Portal (figure 7.5d) of the New Temple. They also have the exaggeratedly concave rectangular eye form (Roe 1974: Feature 76) and subsidiary features like elongated, rapier-like canines (Roe 1974:Feature 93). Burger (1996:75) concurs with this relative dating, his work providing an approximate time frame of 400–300 B.C. This was a period of major expansion in the horizon style, as evidenced by these far-distant South Coastal textiles.

B-544 and its companion textile (Dumbarton Oaks B-545), the upper portion of an armed female Cotton Deity similar to figure 7.6a, are very

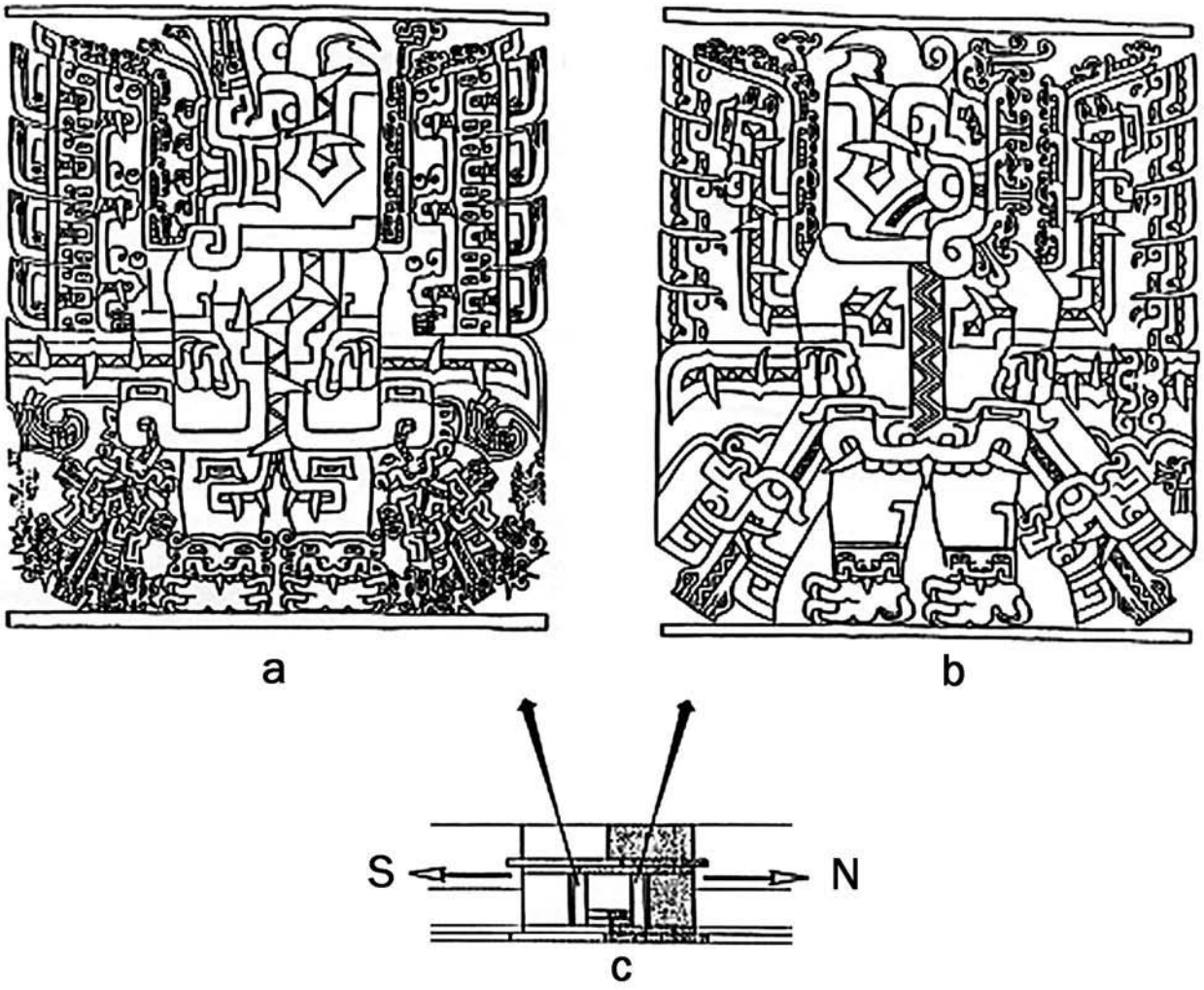


Figure 7.4. The Black and White Portal column Were-Raptor Guardian "Angels" from the New Temple facade at Chavín de Huántar and their architectural setting. (*a*): The southern female Were-Harpy Eagle Angel holding a dart-launcher with hook and hand-strap kenned as fish, her accoutrements full of phytomorphic imagery *(Roe 1995b:Fig. 2-10c)*. (*b*): Her male North Column Were-Hawk companion, clutching the companion Collared Cat-Snake dart *(1995b: Fig. 2-10d)*. (*c*): Rowe's *(1962:Fig. 15)* reconstruction of the Black and White Portal showing the columns that bear the Were-Raptor Guardians.

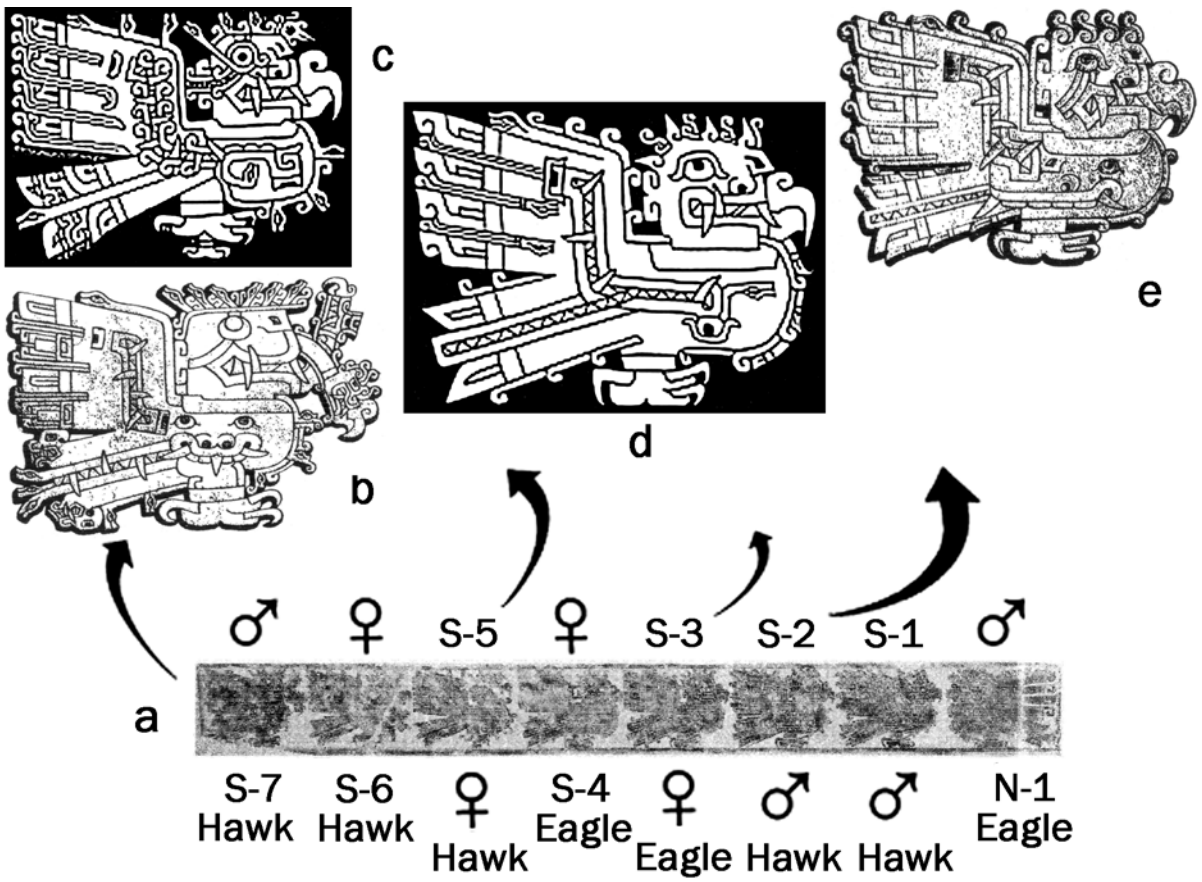


Figure 7.5. Gendered complementary opposition and alternation in Raptor Guardians. (*a*): A rubbing of the cornice above the lintel of the Black and White Portal, also dating from Phase D *(from Rowe 1962:Frontispiece)*, with the raptor sexes and species added. My catalog begins with North 1 (N-1) because of his reversed orientation, and then proceeds, from right to left, through South 1 (S-1) to South 7 (S-7). The males are "closed," with frontal pelvic caymanic faces having a phallic central canine, or profile caymanic right-side-up faces with a central tooth = penis. The females are all "open," upside-down profile caymanic toothed faces with "ramp-like," continuous mouth bands leading to their interior. This stands for the *vagina dentata*. (*b*): The southernmost (bracketing) male (S-7), a Hawk (from a Carrera postcard). (*c*): S-5, a female Hawk with the behind foot shown below the front foot, a Chavín "flatland" device *(Rowe 1967:Fig. 15)*. (*d*): A female Harpy Eagle (*Rowe 1967:Fig. 16)*, (S-3). (*e*): A male Hawk (S-2), à la Carrera.

close stylistically to central-place canons, that is, to the monumental lithic art at the cult center of Chavín de Huántar. Such a portable, lightweight, flexible (and unbreakable) medium is a likely vehicle for the introduction of Chavín iconography and symbolism into this southern periphery. The specific cultural mechanisms for this transfer, however, are in dispute. Cordy-Collins (1976) employs the analogy of a "catechism" for such a condensed graphic rendering of the cult's theology, while Burger (1992a:192) objects to this importation of an Old World proselytizing analogy into the Andean world.

Either way, there is evidence for the diffusion of shamanic and other religious concepts in the current lowlands, or between them and the highlands (Salomon 1983). There is no reason why religious concepts could not have been transferred between the ancient Andes and the coast. Such diffusion is aided greatly by a language-independent

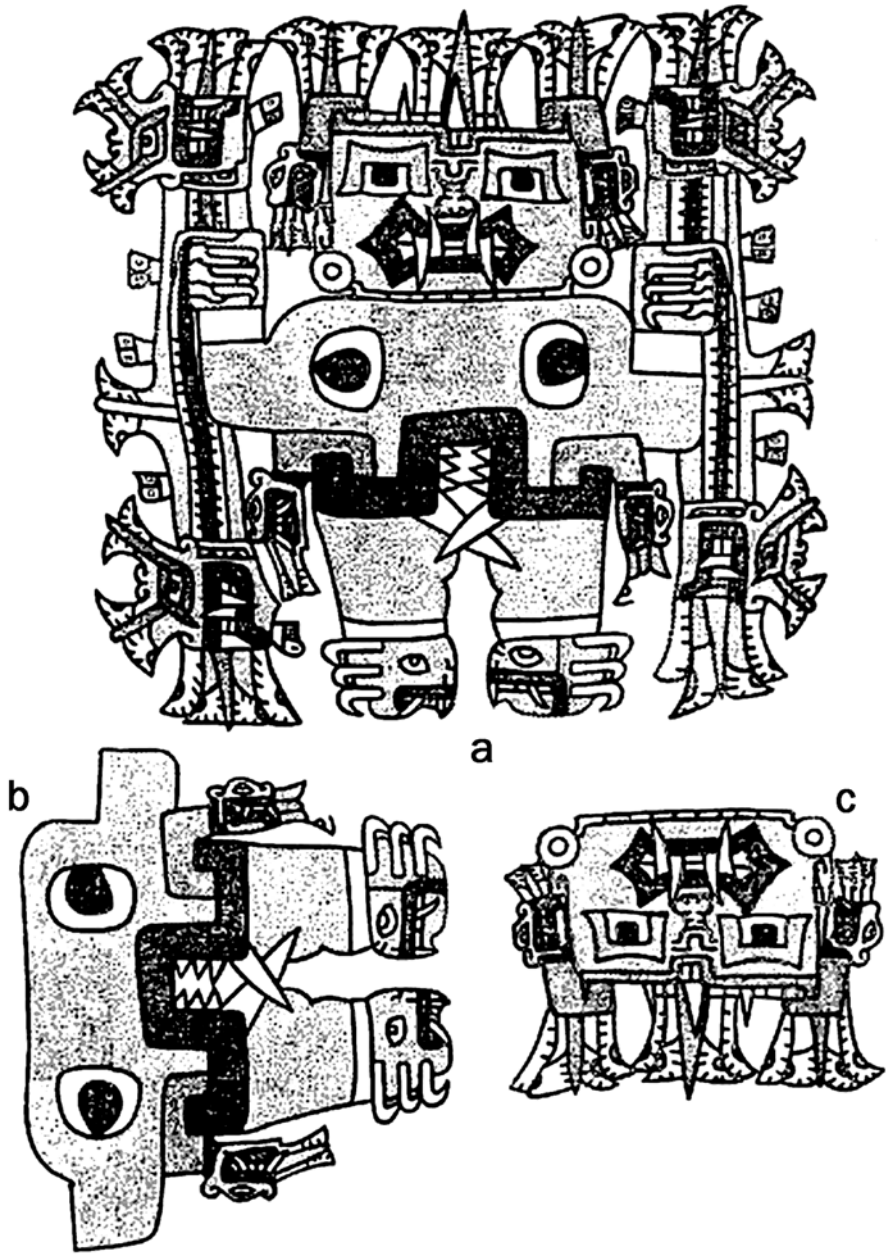


Figure 7.6. The Carhua Cotton Warrior Goddess restored, displaying her dualistic and kinetic pictorial devices *(Roe 1974: Fig. 14)*. (*a*): For this split-representation image, I took the top of the partial lower figure and fused it to the top of the more intact upper figure, the precision of the resultant fit arguing for the use of templates in Chavín painted textiles. (*b*): By deleting the head and arms, and using rotation (a 90-degree turn of the torso), a double-profile caymanic face appears out of the main figure's *vagina dentata*, given eyes by the main figure's breasts. The legs of that figure emerge as bifid tongues out of the rotated vaginal maw. The torso could also be rotated in the other direction to create yet a third face. The upcurled belt becomes the lip line and nose, while the collared cat-snake sash turns into the above-the-nose fold, showing that this figure is snarling. (*c*): The inverted head displays anatropic organization, yielding a fourth visage where the vertical eyes, now turned upside-down, form a face with the forehead mouth. Since the vertically reflected face points down rather than up, the jaguar mouth is replaced by an agnathic caymanic forehead mouth, the phytomorphic headdress turning into sprouting tongues and teeth.

graphic medium of communication, textiles, which could easily be rolled up and transported on llama backpacks. Then, once unrolled at their destination, the textiles could project long-distance visibility to the viewing faithful, veritable "sacred billboards" in their immense scale.

However, calling Chavín "Andean" introduces, albeit indirectly, the "Inca tyranny" into Formative culture. This is the common syndrome of looking at remote antiquity through the lens of the last group to occupy the stage prior to the coming of Europeans, essentially collapsing great diachronic diversity into synchronic identity. A similar "Taíno tyranny" has constrained, until recently, Greater Antillean prehistory (Roe 1991). To project modern Quechua ethnographic or even Inca ethnohistorical data back into the Formative is anachronistic unless one can demonstrate detailed correspondences in motifs, mythemes, and culture grammar. A profound symbolic and graphic disjunction after the Middle Horizon in central and southern Peru makes such analogy problematic for Inca-Chavín, although it is easy to document for Chavín-*montaña* ethnography, even after the passage of some 3000 years (Roe 1994)!

The coast, highlands, and jungle were in much closer communication at 1000–500 B.C. than at A.D. 1500. Witness the location of Chavín de Huántar itself as it straddled those three macrozones and synthesized elements of each. Chavín is thus its own phenomenon, "Nuclear American" (Lathrap 1977a) rather than specifically "Andean"; it fused Initial Period Ecuadorian cultural influence (Zeidler 1988) with both the Andean "Kotosh Religious Tradition" (Burger 1992a) and tropical forest cultures (Lathrap 1971), as well as north coastal Cupisnique (Bischof 1991) and central coastal Manchay (Burger, this volume, chapter 6). Moreover, it did so in everything from archaeoastronomy (Roe 1993) to mythemes (Roe 1990), hallucinogens (Cordy-Collins 1977; Roe et al. 2008; Torres, this volume, chapter 9), and animal, vegetative (cultigen), and avian symbols (Lathrap 1973). The lowland parallels continue in the cognitive realms of dynamic dualistic modes of thought, graphic and architectural representation (Lathrap 1985; Roe 1995b). Indeed, it is likely that Chavín diffused so widely precisely because it was an exotic ideology.

Yet its adoption likely also served the internal political purposes of local elites (Helms 1987). Contrary to modern materialist expectations, an Amazonian religion of caymans, jaguars, harpy eagles, piranhas, vampire bats, and anacondas (not to mention peanuts, manioc, peppers, and bottle gourds) materialized into monumental lithic architecture and sculpture at over 3000 m above sea level within an Andean highland society with a subsistence strategy of potatoes and llamas (Miller and Burger 1995).

The currently segregated realms of Andean and Amazonian culture areas were not as defined in the Formative (Preceramic, Initial Period, and Early Horizon) as in the Late Horizon. Indeed, Lathrap (1977a; Lathrap, Collier, and Chandra 1975) and Lavallée (1985:364) emphasize the intrusion of Amazonian culture into the Pacific coast via the limited submergence of the Andes opposite the Gulf of Guayas. They point to Cupisnique-Machallila-Chorrera contacts at 1500–1100 B.C. Zeidler (1988) shows how the shamanic-hallucinogenic complex of early stone mortars and pestles, and the snuffs they prepared, as well as their associated feline imagery, have greater antiquity in Ecuador than in Peru. Valdivia-imported pyro-engraved gourds at Huaca Prieta, also with felinic imagery, suggest lowland roots, via Ecuador, for aspects of Preceramic coastal Peruvian cultures, antecedents for both Cupisnique and Manchay.

Similarities extend beyond Ecuador to contemporary Olmec and Izapa cultures of Mesoamerica, where the cosmology pictured in the art is clearly cognate with Chavín (Roe 1995c). The absence of specific linking motifs argues against direct diffusion between these centers of so-called high culture. Rather, they suggest a bipolar emergence of isomorphic imagery out of a shared substrate of a triple-tiered tropical forest world view (Roe 1982a). Such Formative concepts emerge from early horticulture and form a Pan-Intermediate Area interaction sphere that was neither "highland" (Andean) nor "lowland" (Amazonian), but stretched from northern Peru to the Caribbean watershed of Mesoamerica. It is within this context of highland–lowland connections, first envisioned by Tello (1929), that I ground the following discussion.

In excavating this shared substrate, I also address another hitherto deemphasized question—the role that agonism (raiding, head-taking, ritual combat) plays in Chavín culture and art. In an illustration of why the past is as much undiscovered country as the future, every generation of historians and prehistorians remakes antiquity in its own image—so many ancient mirrors of current social reality. Feminist archaeologists discover rampaging warrior women and powerful female rulers in lost societies, materialistic researchers see prehistoric humans as calculating Economic Man, or, worse, as so many ambulatory stomachs, unburdened by self-consciousness while counting their calories. Modern liberal secular humanists construct an idyllic antiquity populated by peaceful noble savages living in harmony with their natural surroundings. In the tepid forge of academic prose, spears are beaten into plowshares, or, in the Andeanist idiom, darts are hammered into harmless foot-plows or benign ritual staffs of authority. Warfare and raiding are deemphasized, even though militaristic displays of the most sanguine kind decorate pre-Chavín temples like Cerro Sechín (yet even there the carnage is decoded as metaphorical visionary displays [Cordy-Collins 1983], or the ritualized tussles between moieties [Hill 2004]; stacks of gouged-out human eyes are read as harmless toad spawn [Wickler and Seibt 1982]), and armed warriors and gods holding trophy heads abound in the succeeding art of Chavín. Has no one noticed that snarling carnivorous deities, apical predators from each of the cosmic levels, are the principal deities of a putatively peaceful cult? Evidently not, as they are sanitized into beneficent "Smiling Gods" (Rowe 1967a:82). Recently, Steven LeBlanc (2003) argues for the pervasiveness, and falsity, of this "Myth of the Peaceful, Noble Savage," and no better illustration of the pacification of the past exists than the study of Chavín iconography and symbolism.

A REFUGEE FROM WORSAAE'S LAW: B-544'S COMPANION

Reportedly, the textile under study here was found together with other objects, including another fragment also in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (B-545), again a gift by Michael Coe (Roe 1974:Fig. 13). It too came from an elite tomb at Callango, Ica Valley, South Coast of Peru. Both of these polychrome images (dark brown outlining, reddish-brown filler, and light brown fill) were painted on plain weave cotton, woven with single two-ply warps and one-ply wefts composed of Z-spun thread (Burger 1996:76). Suggestively, these materials and methods are atypical of the South Coast (Wallace 1991).

While its origin remains uncertain, there is no ambiguity as to the supernatural being depicted on this companion textile. It is the upper half of a Were-Jaguar Cotton Warrior (a.k.a. "Staff") Goddess, very similar in theme and execution to a more intact Carhua specimen (figure 7.6a). B-545 is also a "she" because of the phytomorphic imagery that sprouts from her forehead mouth as tongues = headdress "plumes," the central trifid tongue element of which is elongated and contains pointed teeth in the more complete figure 7.6a. The sharp teeth turn into sharp-nosed simple snakes, showing the polysemy of that element while presaging the "viper teeth" and "plant serpent" mythemes we encounter below.

The bodies of the gods/goddesses are not ordinary figures; they are cosmological bodies with an intricate somatic geography. Each deity carries the appropriate mouth type of specific animal/bird "donors" placed on every level of her/his figure. Their placement accords with the characteristic ethology, morphology, color, and habitat of the donating creature. As keys to exploring that geography, I employ lowland corporeal art (Roe 1995a), specifically the "avian subcode" for feather art (figure 7.7a–b), along with the tropical forest triple-tiered world view consonant with such a lowland fauna (figure 7.1a). When one does that, viewing the theomorph in an upright stance, the Were-Jaguar Warrioress has a body divided into three zones, the lowest zone of which is defined by her belt. Below that accoutrement lies the "Subaquatic Underworld" of the legs and feet. Above it reigns the "Terrestrial World" of the pelvis—the belt itself—torso, neck, and the lower face, including the mouth. And atop that sits the "Aerial World" anatomy: the upper shoulders and

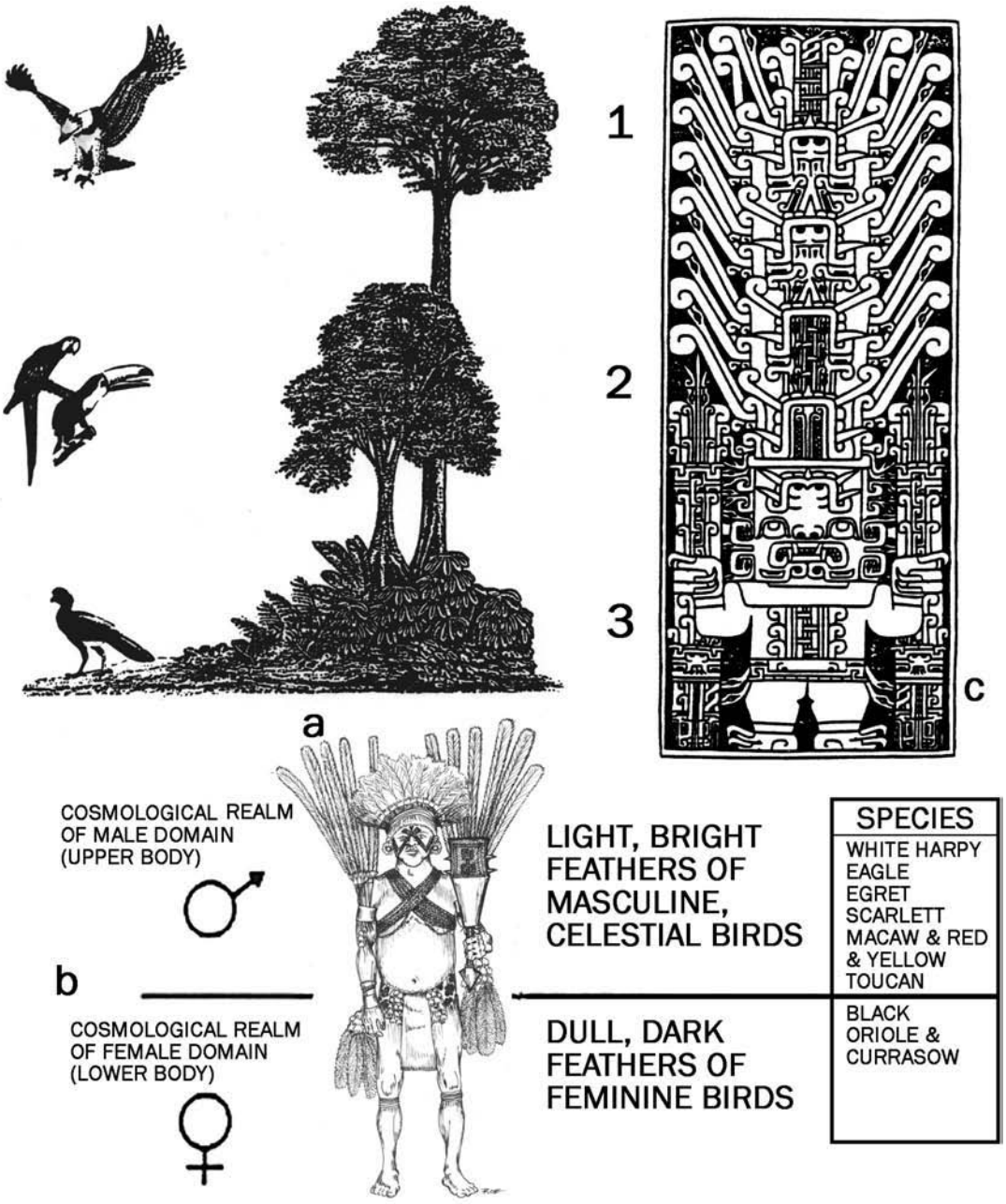


Figure 7.7. The lowland feather code somatic geography utilized in Chavín art, with avian "donors." (*a*): The triple-tiered jungle. (*1*) The "masculine warrior bird" inhabiting the upper canopy: the white harpy eagle; (*2*) the colorful midstory "celestial birds," yellow-red toucans and macaws; and (*3*) the drab, dark understory "feminine bird," the black curassow *(Howard 1991:Fig. 5.8*, illustrating my "avian code"). (*b*): A Waiwai warrior as a "cosmological body" based on my 1985 fieldwork on the Upper Essequibo. (*c*): the Raimondi stela Were-Jaguar Warrior God (a.k.a. the "Staff God") *(from Rowe 1967:Fig. 10)*, his "reversible" feathered headdress kenned as many caymanic mouths with ophidian tongues.

the crown of the head. We can combine this lowland sartorial code with the "mouth code" of Chavín based on the carnivorous animal donors of each mouth type *(interlocking canine-equipped mouth : jaguar :: agnathic mouth with teeth descending from the upper tooth row only : cayman)* (Lathrap

1973; Timberlake 1988). Factoring in the respective habitats of these animal symbols (*jaguar : earth world :: cayman : subaquatic world*), and their place in the positional code (*earth world : above :: subaquatic world : below*), we have the necessary analogical codes to break this ancient visual cipher.

At her lowest level (figure 7.6a), the Vegetative Warrioress's heels have been transformed into two inward-looking profile faces, her soles becoming their agnathic caymanic mouths. Above, her medial belt transforms into two symmetric, hanging serpentiform tasseled sashes, ending in profile collared cat-snakes with trifid ophidian tongues. As her body rotates 90 degrees in either direction (figure 7.6b), the Armed Goddess's pelvis transforms into a central split-representation face, her open *vagina dentata* mouth sporting upper-tooth tooth-row-only (maxilla-descending) caymanic teeth. From that "torso face's" maw, the legs protrude as bifid tongues. In contrast, "closed" masculine images depict the belt as a frontal agnathic cayman's face, like on the Phase E Raimondi stela (figure 7.7c) dart-bearing Were-Jaguar Warrior God. Congruent subsidiary equations emerge from these primary relations (*females : profile belt faces :: males: frontal belt faces*), hence (*frontal : primary :: profile: subsidiary status*).

Not only are the animal paragons represented in this and other Chavín images jungle in origin, but the very mythemes they illustrate are also uniquely lowland in emphasis, such as this textile's toothsome sex. While the Freudian element of the *vagina dentata* is rare in Andean folklore, it abounds in the lowlands (Roe 1982a:53–54) as part of the ancient and widespread "sexual antagonism complex."

On the next somatic level, that of the torso, neck, and lower face (figure 7.6a), the Cotton Warrioress's breasts are kenned as eyes for her split-representation double-profile pelvic face. Above, she wears a necklace and round earplugs. These human artifacts are juxtaposed with a jaguaroid interlocking-canine mouth symbolic of her supernatural status and emblematic of the telluric realm of that largest South American feline. On the bridge of her nose appear wrinkles that indicate she is snarling (*not* "smiling"!). From a frontal upright view, she wears a feathered headdress on the crown of her head. The plumes recall the veined leaves that emerge from the mouths of her bicephalic ophidian collared cat-snake weapons. These are not some harmless "staffs" of office, but deadly phytomorphic darts. These upper elements project appropriate Celestial World imagery; lowlanders wear feathered crowns on the top of their heads with jutting harpy eagle crest feathers, forming a human's crest just like that of the mighty crested eagle (Roe 1990). Such sartorial imitation turns the warrior into the aggressive raptor (figure 7.7b).

When this Armed Goddess is inverted in anatropic imagery (figure 7.6c), she reveals a forehead mouth that shares her upright eyes. Since this new face points downward, the direction of the cayman's watery underworld, the forehead mouth becomes the cayman's agnathic maw armed with multiple long, pointed teeth descending only from the maxilla. This is an illustration of the continual transformations that the "kinesics" of Chavín art generates, since when she was upright she had a jaguar's mouth. Her forehead mouth also has the uniquely caymanic central canine, Urton's (1996) "egg tooth," with smaller flanking teeth and more diminutive square incisors (the incisors on her right forehead were mistakenly omitted).

This Warrior Deity is no nurturing Madonna! Although the proto-cultural donor of cotton, a soft woman's cultigen, she is a ravenous predator ready to devour men's members via her vaginal mouth (all over the lowlands "to eat" means to have sex; Mindlin 2002) and to eat their entrails with her heel mouths and their hearts with her main jaguar maw. Then, bending over and appearing to turn away, she consumes what is left with her hidden forehead mouth. Other Chavín devourers, such as the Tello Dragons (and analogous lowland Forest Ogres), devour their victims with equally occluded neck-mouths (see figure 7.10b1).

B-545 has an even clearer agnathic caymanic forehead mouth. It too acts as an invertible complement to her vertical jaguar interlocking-canine-equipped maw. Her headdress's lateral ophidian tassels hang downward, terminating in profile, collared cat-snakes with trifid tongues. They also act, in accordance with the "double-duty" ("two for one") characteristic of Chavín graphic conventions, as the lolling tongues (split

in two) of the forehead mouth. Her upward-extending set of U-shaped collared cat-snake tassels form a second set of (again split) snake tongues when she is viewed upside-down.

Unlike Western art, which is passively appraised in normal vertical mode, and from a single vantage point ("equal clarity," its central convention, makes no sense otherwise), one has to work to see Chavín images. The observer must twist his/her head, or mentally rotate or reflect the images, to fully comprehend the mutating depictions. This active perception makes static, frontal icons come alive in kinetic and esoteric animation. The WYSIWYG of Western art emphatically is not a hallmark of Chavín imagery. On the contrary, its opacity betokens an active cognoscenti, not a passive, naive audience.

The squared "tassels" that sprout from the sides of the atlatls in figure 7.6a end in double squares with a central circle. They stand for cotton bolls (Cordy-Collins 1979b), as do the simpler balloon-shaped emanations from the flanking atlatls on the Dumbarton Oaks Cotton Goddess (B-545). The veined leaf motifs sprouting from the middle of the body of the launchers, and also from the double eyebrow extensions of the collared cat-snake finials, as well as from their trifid tongues (the dart tips), all evoke the cotton plant's leaves. The L-shaped nature of these finial profile collared cat-snake heads recall isolated hawk motifs in B-544 (Roe 1974:Feature 118) and in other Carhua textiles. Their uppermost spatial position at the tips of the launchers is consonant with that aerial identification (the dart that the launcher propels does, after all, soar like a hawk's beak into the sky to swoop down and seek out its distant victim).

B-545 and figure 7.6a are powerful images that anchor the "Earth World" were-jaguar imagery of the Warrior Goddess. They also complement the "Sky World" nature of the jaguaroid Eagle found as the companion textile, B-544. Perhaps their pairing in the tomb was no accident. One must keep the geography right, they seem to say, especially if it is the sacred geography of the tomb presaging the terrain of the afterlife. Figure 7.6a is better executed than the Dumbarton Oaks fragment but, even so, is not without "mistakes" (in addition to the incompletely painted-in incisors of her forehead mouth, there are also difficulties with her right fingers). Nevertheless, "she" forms a good companion for the "he" of B-544, though they are of different species. Complementary opposition reigns in these grave goods, as they do throughout Chavín art. This opposed-yet-conjoined gendered imagery reflects the tensions inherent within the sexual division of labor, and its resultant sexual antagonism, both in the ancient artists' society and in current Amazonia.

This Vegetative Goddess is the dual aspect (Cordy-Collins 1979a), or consort (Burger 1992a: 197), of the New Temple's main deity, the Were-Jaguar Warrior God (see figure 7.7c, in a later guise). He/she, along with the ancient Dual Celestial and Subaquatic Dragons, and the paired male/female Raptor Guardians, constitute a "predatory triumvirate" of the apical animal symbols, each within their appropriate level of a triple-tiered cosmos. This holy trinity recapitulates the layers: Sky World (Paired Raptor Guardians/Angels), Earth World (Were-Jaguar Consorts), and Subaquatic Underworld (Dual Dragons).

Carnivores-raptors all, this cannibal pantheon (figure 7.1a–d), each member of which was locked in connubial or dual association, engendered crop fertility via the "portable bony wombs" (Roe 1991) of human trophy heads. To energize them, they may have been fed the sacred "irrigated waters" of human blood sacrifice. Via an increasingly stratified priestly and chiefly hierarchy, these beastly supernaturals ritually regulated the fecundity of life by consuming the tribute of death (sacrificial victims). The power and spread of the Chavín regional cult, and the ritually warring polities that adopted it, derived from the fusion of the affective force of exotic tropical forest megafaunal monsters and ancient coastal and highland ritual and architectural movement (pilgrimage). Amazonian monsters flew, crawled, and swam through the labyrinthine planes of coastal and highland oracular space ("positive" U-shaped pyramids/"negative" semi-subterranean sunken plazas). This look at the companion piece (the Cotton Goddess) of the textile treated here (her male Eagle Guardian) provides its iconographic and cosmological context within the cult: one of a dual set of central armed were-anthropomorphic beings (foreground/figure) protected

by one of a dyad of bracketing avimorphic raptor guardians (background/frame).

DUPLICATED IMAGES: WHAT INFORMATION DOES THIS GIVE US?

Returning to our subject textile B-544, I utilize a distinction made in aesthetic anthropology by Jones (1973) between "message" and "information." If "message" is the conscious, emic representations that the artist wishes, or is mandated, to project to his/her audience, then the "information" conveyed by the image is composed of the unconscious, unintended data that an etic observer/analyst might infer from the specific way in which the artifact is executed. The message reflects Peirce's (1991) semiology of the object, whether its iconography (the natural, non-arbitrary modeling of "icons" perceptible by the senses), or its symbolism (the arbitrary culture-bound assignment of referents). Chavín icons are the specific animal, plant, or bird prototypes, the anatomical "raw material," out of which its uniformly monstrous depictions are constructed. Its symbols encompass the various kennings, or frozen metaphors, they project (Rowe 1962, 1967a). Both of these aspects are part of the original Chavín artist's internal world of intent.

"Information," on the other hand, relates to the external world of the art's societal consequences and concomitants. This is composed of the social structure, social organization, techno-economy, values, and norms that define the artist's universe. Other persons' perceptions and the social practice (*praxis*) of the "performative context" also condition the artist's realization of the affecting artifact. Because information is the unintended by-product of the emic message, it remains unconscious, an analyst's etic inference.

An incised Chavín carving from the Waman Wain site (Burger 1992a:Fig. 161) illustrates this distinction. Its message is an incised profile jaguar, but the monument's crude rendering leads Burger to infer the information that it is a "rustic," "rural version" of Chavín de Huántar's religious art. Similarly, before we look at the messages embedded in the iconography and symbolism of B-544, let us consider the information derivable from the execution of this ancient textile fragment.

Note that this substantial rectangular piece (figure 7.3a), now so nicely framed, is but a fragment of a much larger textile, torn apart by the looters (*huaqueros*) who discovered it. The fragment depicts two images: the first being the largely intact lower figure, very compressed and complex, and executed to fit neatly into a perfectly rectangular design field, an "invisible" cartouche. Its only missing part is the upper left-hand corner segment and a small central portion. Above this nearly whole depiction is the lower half of an apparently identical monster. The parent textile carried a whole series of identical figures stacked one on top of the other and arrayed side by side, a truly architectonic piece with probable architectural functions ("removable/portable cornice-draping"/"detachable column-wrapping"?). Alternatively, to argue along lines similar to Conklin's (this volume, chapter 10) horizontally laid out "ground marker" cloth, one could suggest that it may have functioned as a huge processional ritual ground cloth.

Similar analogous segments within these textiles hint strongly at not only a modular conception for the whole textile, but also for some sort of template in its actual execution. In support, I offer my reconstruction of the two panels of this textile in figure 7.3a. This compound image was cut and pasted using tracing vellum. I took the head and two upper wing elements of the lower, largely intact figure and placed them on top of the fragmentary pelvis, tail, and two lower wing primaries (all that remained) of the upper figure. Note how the two halves mesh, save on the irregular left margin, a standardized set of figures.

Such repetitive structure, when coupled with the evident skill of its creators, is testimony to their full-time occupational status and suggests professionals who may have mass-produced similar designs, perhaps as peripatetic specialists who visited cult centers as master painters, together with a whole support team of apprentices and helpers. Maybe organized as guild families, they could have executed locally sponsored works and then moved on. Such a system would account for

the conundrum of these works: they are executed in the purest of Chavín de Huántar heartland (cult center) style, yet embody local motifs (such as the cotton imagery). Ambulatory specialization would have allowed for very high levels of professionalism and craftsmanship, even though the cost of the artisans exceeded what local chieftains/priests could support on a continuing basis. The solution, as with tinker metallurgy in barbarian Europe, may have been to circulate from center to center, finding patrons at each stop and executing local motifs to please them. The whole "regional cult" (Burger 1992a), and not the individual polity/cult center, may have constituted the ultimate sustaining system for the ambulatory artists and their retinues. A similar system persisted on the coast into the Late Intermediate: witness the giant, cursive, and repeated-motif textiles from Chimu to Cajamarca. Such could be the social "information" unwittingly encoded into these textiles.

ANCIENT ERECTOR SETS: A COMPONENTIAL APPROACH TO CHAVÍN ART

How, then, can complex and often opaque ancient imagery be decoded so that their intended messages are read transparently? I first modeled my answer (Roe 1974:Fig. 1) on the pioneering work of Franz Boas (1955 [1927]) and Bill Holm (1965), students of the isomorphic "architectonic" living styles of the Northwest Coast. Just as they took apart Kwakiutl images into their repetitive, component parts, so too I isolated subassemblies of stereotyped Chavín images, such as a little "basal wing primary" profile caymanic face (figure 7.2a2). It projects in four repeated units, as "tongues," from the continuous caymanic mouth band that defines the wing joints of Phase A cornice jaguaroid Harpy Eagle Guardians. They signaled the demarcation of Sky World by projecting out of the high northeast corner of the south wing of the Old Temple at Chavín de Huántar. I then inserted the module in an appropriate place on another raptor (figure 7.2a3; Rowe 1967a:Fig. 12). The image was replicated by simply sliding the wing assembly of the previous image out from the body to provide a suitable design field for the new module. Chavín images concatenate in this manner, using adjustable templates, to produce vast arrays of similar, yet distinct, icons.

In that and other efforts, such as my transverse-reflected reconstruction of the Yauya stela (figure 7.3b), a doubly splayed split-representation duo of caymanic Subaquatic Dragons as "Masters of Fish," I seek to rebuild the cultural whole that was the original artisan's intention. All too often archaeologists, victims of the myopia of documentation, treat cultural fragments as if they were cultural wholes. Of course, Indians do not make fragments; they produce wholes. Yet, in trying to rebuild such entities, incautious reconstructions can turn fanciful (see Carreras's drawings for Carrión-Cachot 1948 or certain of Kauffmann Doig's 1978 reconstructions, especially the Raimondi's "trailing" headdress). Good rebuildings follow, rather than contravene, Chavín conventions. They become testable only if the reconstructor indicates what was extant and what was rebuilt, and even failures enrich one's understanding by revealing the impermissible.

The benefits of this approach of trying to be an artist in a traditional style are evident, especially when working with living creators in "open" ethnographic systems (Roe 1979). Only by doing replications of both orthodox and heterodox designs in those, and in "closed" archaeographic styles, can one discover unarticulated/undiscerned ethnoaesthetic rules. Otherwise, one is placed in the unenviable position of always being surprised by new work, or new finds, not informed by them. It is possible to maintain a dialog with the deceased provided one asks very structured questions. Only then can archaeology become truly a cultural discipline, the ethnology of dead informants, not just a scientistic artifact physics.

Therefore, I emphasize reconstructions and "derivational chains" of linked intermediary steps (figure 7.8a–d) to decipher B-544's occult monsters. Starting with related designs at different points in the evolution of the style, I connect them by hypothesizing an intercalated stage (figure 7.8b). It reestablishes the continuity of successive fashions, or phases, and acts as a "decoding" prototype without which the later, highly

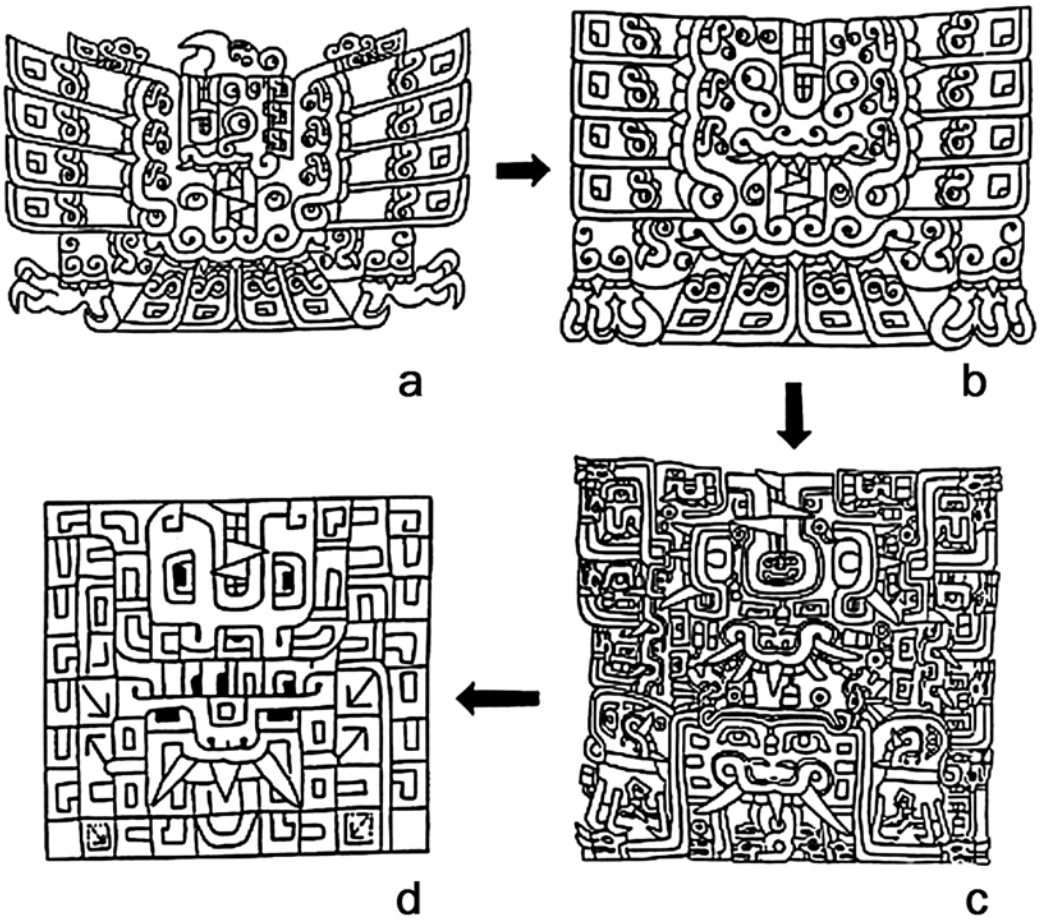


Figure 7.8. A "derivational chain" of Harpy Eagle Guardians, starting (*a*) with a classic, Phase A male Harpy Eagle cornice sculpture from the Old Temple (figure 7.2a1), and moving to (*b*) a "rectangularized," hypothetical, Phase B/C linking stage where the wing elements are telescoped inward and horizontally to fit within the square cartouche. The "beak mask" and *alulae* are deleted and the taloned feet rotated downward, also to fit within the frame, while its jaguar head and agnathic jaw collar double in "split representation." In (*c*), the "baroque" Phase D painted depiction of B-544 shows its typical four wing primaries kenned as snakes, and its pelvic frontal agnathic caymanic face, out of whose maxilla four tail feathers emerge (again kenned as intertwined coiled serpents), metonymic tongues. The Harpy's neck/agnathic face appears, as do its feet, taloned and splayed. In (*d*), one panel shows a Kroeberian "pattern exhaustion" Phase F Carhua Harpy Eagle painted on cotton plain weave cloth woven and painted on the South Coast, but erroneously identified, like (*c*), as a "scaled cayman" (Wallace 1991:Fig. 37). A comparison with (*c*) shows the similar splayed face and the frontal pelvic agnathic face of a Raptor Guardian, but with tail and wings stylized.

stylized images (figure 7.8d–e) would be virtually undecipherable. Such intermediary reconstructions also act as testable predictions when new finds are discovered, such as the subsequent recovery of the semi-subterranean circular courtyard images (Lumbreras 1977; Roe 1978). Instead of seeing Chavín depictions as isolates, we should view them as periodic variations on enduring themes, subtly altered as the cosmology and its mythology are manipulated by social actors within an ever-changing social milieu. It is the congruencies and oppositions between artifacts, as well as those within the objects themselves, that make Chavín once again a living art, not the inert and inscrutable pieces of an increasingly fragmented puzzle.

A FLYING HUMPTY-DUMPTY: TAKING A RAPTOR APART, PUTTING IT BACK TOGETHER AGAIN

Applying this componential approach (figure 7.2c–d) to B-544 places it within its own chain of visual solutions that spanned several centuries. The goal is processual, "to make a raptor" in Phase D Chavín art, using explicit and replicable procedures. This is necessary because B-544 has been called many things, never what it really is. Lavallée (1985:365) says it "depicts a type of feline monster similar to the 'Staff God' incised on the Raimondi stone at Chavín." Unfortunately, while there is a feline component to the B-544 being, it is totally unlike the Were-Jaguar Warrior depicted on the Raimondi stela (figure 7.7c). Not only does it lack "staffs" (actually atlatl-bundled darts in caymanic dual quivers), it also does not possess the Raimondi's humanoid torso and appendages. Indeed, its only anthropomorphic referent is a set of anklets!

Things get stranger still when Wallace (1991) and, following him, Burger (1992a) identify B-544 as a "scaled cayman." Burger, for example, sees the textile as representing "a cayman's torso" (1992a: Fig. 209). He notes that the flexed hind legs of the figure are in a "position as though the creature is swimming . . . ; this is the typical position in which the cayman is shown in Chavín sculpture" (1996: 79). The basis for this view is the similarly splayed Yauya caymanic Dragon (figure 7.3b). It has the same crocodilian frontal pelvic face as B-544 (figure 7.9c3), with the bifurcated fish tail descending from that face as a trifid tongue. Its widespread hind legs also look similar, and it too has a caymanic neck mouth like B-544's figure 7.9c2. But then again, Raptor Guardians (avimorphic) and Guardian Angels (anthropomorphic) also possess these features. The "trailing" aspect of the hind legs and feet are an adaptation to the highly rectangularized cartouche the creature finds itself in (see figure 7.9b5 for what I had to do to the feet of figure 7.8b), *not* an indication that the creature is swimming. Significantly, the Dumbarton Oaks figure lacks the long agnathic cayman's mouth. It presents instead the short interlocking-canine jaguar's maw, the same mouth and head present on *all* raptor bodies (of course, raptors have a feline head—aren't they the "jaguars of the sky"?). Lastly, while caymans lack wings, B-544 has the four wing primaries and tail feathers of a Chavín raptor, each plume artfully kenned as interlocking snakes. If it flies like a raptor and looks like a raptor, it is a raptor.

In addition, a "cayman" identification fails to account for the stance of the creature painted on B-544. The low-slung caymanic Dragon is distinguished from the jaguar by the splayed form of its appendages, its hind legs bent backward in a crawling reptilian mode, its forward legs bent outward to form low, transverse-reflected *L*s (Roe 1974:23). If this is a cayman, where are the forward-splayed legs? The answer, of course, is that they are nowhere to be seen. They do not exist. Instead, in B-544, a plethora of intertwined snakes fill the analogous space where the front legs should be. Burger recasts my "flayed-pelt convention" (Roe 1974:22) into a "splayed-pelt convention" (a typo, since he uses it correctly in 1992a: 196) and then asserts that since only caymans are depicted in this manner in Chavín art, this must be a cayman (Burger 1996:79). However, this convention, as I originally mentioned, is just another term for the "split-representation" pictorial device. Because of its magical importance, split representation is used for all the Chavín supernaturals, both major and minor, so it too cannot be a cayman's distinguishing characteristic.

But the problem really begins with Wallace (1991:62), the first to identify the Callango raptors as caymans. These are, in fact, male Harpy Eagles (figures 7.8, 7.9); their pelvic girdle masks show the central caymanic "egg tooth" that doubles, as Burger notices in the contexts of the Black and White Portal Hawk Guardian Angel (figure 7.4b), as a polysemic phallic icon. This sex indicator proves that Harpies, like Hawks, appear in both feminine and masculine manifestations. Indeed, all Chavín figures come in dual editions. Wallace misidentifies another heraldic Harpy, also with the "splayed face" (vertical reflection) option, as a "scaled cayman." I redraw it (figure 7.8d), isolating one panel. Stylistically, it is a terminal piece. If Rowe had not invented "F," and if modern revisionists were not so busy uninventing it, such a phase would have to be reinvented to account for

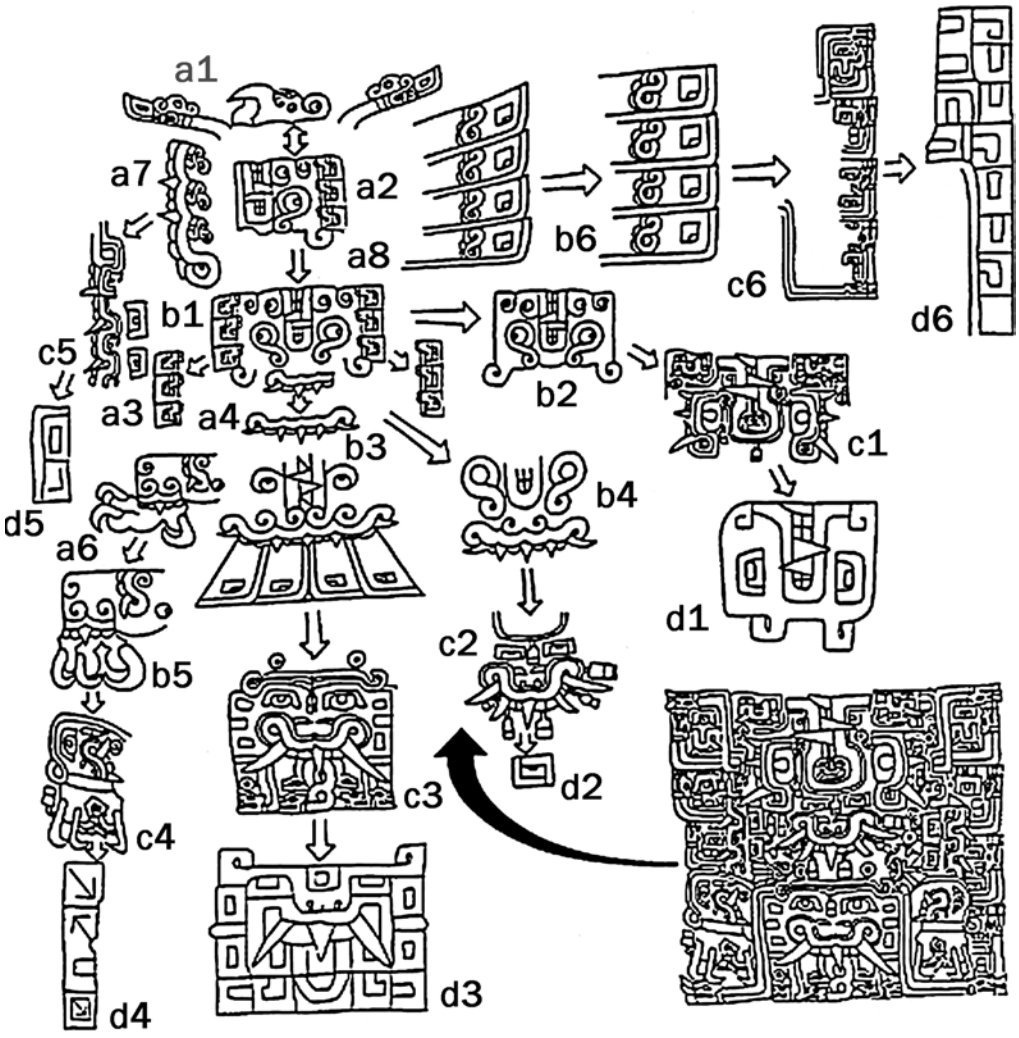


Figure 7.9. A componential deconstruction of the four Harpy Eagle Winged Guardians in (synchronic) structure and style cycle (diachronic) time. It annotates the derivational chain depicted in figure 7.8. The *a–d* prefixes indicate the stages in that chain as shown by the stages, real and hypothetical. The number suffixes pertain to major Raptor "anatomical groups" (intra-figure motifs).

this fabric. It is the equivalent of a stela pictured by Burger (1992a:Fig. 174), both showing "the late Chavín tendency towards rectilinearity and modular width."

Here Wallace's technical analysis (which appears correct on stylistic grounds) becomes relevant. He shows how some of the Carhua textiles are imports and others local (of "South Coast type") in terms of their systems of plain weave. Many of the "exotic" textiles are close to Chavín de Huántar's Phase D central-place canons; the more schematized (rectangularized, stylized rather than representational) textiles are local. This is not regional variation confused as chronology, but the fusion of the two. Perhaps after the Ica Valley polities/regional cult centers adopted pure late Phase D canons, they developed in situ toward the very abstract, rectilinear, and "modular graphed" layout type. Just as the original seriation of the painted Paracas ceramic vessels of Ica showed, textile modular banding and stylization increase through time. As ties to the central style lessened, local elements and manufacture diverged on their own stylistic path.

Using similar derivational chains to those I have employed for prehistoric and ethnographic

geometric art, I sequence these representational Chavín Raptor Guardians (figure 7.8). The chain reveals B-544 to be a bird and not a cayman, processually as well as on the typological level already covered. Figure 7.8a is an early Phase A harpy eagle, rendered with all the clarity of formline and sparseness of detail characteristic of this classic stage in the style's development. Its components, together with all the major formal elements of the remaining three links in this chain, are isolated in the derivations in figure 7.9. They include the following motif compounds: the "Raptor Mask" (beak and cere) and profile "collared Cat-Snake alulae" (figure 7.9a1), the upward-looking profile jaguar head (7.9a2) with three harpy eagle erect crest feathers kenned as little profile agnathic faces (7.9a3), the "scapular" profile, continuous agnathic mouth band with three little surmounting kenned profile nose faces (7.9a7), and the four wing primaries with internal kenned profile agnathic faces and separated eye squares (7.9a8). These visages emerge as kenned tongues from the scapular mouths. The neck-collar agnathic mouth (7.9a4) turns the whole head into a tongue. An "X-ray" jaguaroid interlocking-canine continuous mouth band kenns the backbone, itself a kenned "tongue" projecting from the neck-collar mouth. The pendant circular eyes looping from that vertical backbone transform the lower caymanic "pelvic" agnathic mouth into a frontal face with four tail feathers kenned as tongues lolling from its maxilla (figure 7.9a5). The eagle's bent, splayed legs end in taloned feet (figure 7.9a6), the knees emerging as kenned tongues from "thigh" profile agnathic faces. With the "infinite regress of orality" characteristic of this hungry style, the feet sprout as kenned tongues from "anklet" agnathic mouths.

The single alteration that sets this derivational chain in motion is the increasing rectilinearization of the style in Phase B. Curvilinear images compress into visually constrained square cartouches. Anything that breaks a cartouche's border, such as a pointed beak, must be deleted, even if that means the eagle loses his emblematic avian mask. This deletion is the root of all the subsequent analytical confusion regarding B-544. In compensation, the jaguar head (figure 7.9a2) opens via transverse reflection (figure 7.9b2), forcing a concomitant horizontal reflection of the neck-mouth (figure 7.9b3). This creates a secondary reversible-imaging frontal face (figure 7.9b4) out of the eyebrow curls = eyes, mouth = forehead, and neck mouth, of the main figure face. The two scrolls on the upper lip-line become that visage's nostrils. The rectangularized design field also necessitates the right-angle bending of the leg and foot to fit within the frame (figure 7.9b5), shortening the wing primaries (figure 7.9b6). These alterations yield the hypothetical splayed-headed, beakless raptor of figure 7.8b.

Such a figure is a necessary formal step between the earlier depiction (figure 7.8a) and the later renderings in painted textiles (figure 7.8c–d). Without it, figure 7.8c, the Callango Harpy, becomes undecipherable (or easy to wrongly decipher). The more "baroque" Phase D B-544, as one square panel in a grid of similar figures, has also lost its projecting "raptor mask," but retains *all* the other *denotata* of a heraldic Raptor: the splayed head (figure 7.9c1), the neck mouth (which now becomes a full agnathic cayman's frontal face; figure 7.9c2), and the pelvic agnathic frontal face with four tail feathers acting as "tongues" (now kenned as intertwined snakes, each set of vertically aligned heads forming ophidian tails; figure 7.9c3). The "bent" splayed taloned legs, with thigh masks moved to knee-mask position, kenned as a toothsome mouth (figure 7.9c4), are the interdigital spaces. The "scapular mouth band" remains (figure 7.9c5), still provided with eyes (albeit now rectangularized, as is the stylistic convention for this phase), as do the four wing primaries (figure 7.9c6). The true nature of these ophidian feathers may elude observers until one notes that, due to space constraints and dense visual packing, the lower primary has been pushed downward and now actually encloses the splayed leg. The trailing edge of the last primary feather is kenned as a snake slithering, most unanatomically, below the eagle's taloned foot (figure 7.9A).

There is an additional explanation, beyond framing constraints, for the lack of the "raptor mask" on the Dumbarton Oaks piece. It derives from the peculiar form of the split representation of the raptor's head. Normally, this figure exhibits another form of visual dualism, the combination of a frontal body with a profile face, the twisted

perspective of an upward-looking head. But this eagle has its head split and laid flat, centered on the mouth (better to show the little frontal human trophy head held within it). But when the half-heads look inward at each other, it is impossible to put the raptor mask on their front lip-lines because the two beaks would cross. To solve this thorny problem, the raptor mask simply is deleted.

From the Callango textile it is a short step to the Phase F depiction, the local Ica rendition (figure 7.8d). Just as later Ocucaje pots sport jaguar heads severely gridded into barely recognizable stylized depictions (save by reference to their more naturalistic precursors), so too this painted textile raptor compresses to the point of stylized abstraction within an increasingly dominant modular banded grid. Our poor harpy responds by shattering visually, its shards multiplying into a repetitive pattern of square "feathers," the latter retaining intact, but with "empty," square eyes. Its splayed jaguar head (figure 7.9d1) remains intact, but not its neck face (now reduced to a single, cyclopean eye; figure 7.9d2). Fortunately, the betraying modular compound that unambiguously denotes raptor status survives in this cubist rendition, the frontal agnathic pelvic mask with tail feathers kenned as tongues (figure 7.9d3). With rococo abandon, the four tail feathers turn into five, the central one a transform of the coiled bodies of the two central snake feathers of figure 7.9c3. All the other elements—the bent, splayed legs (figure 7.9d4), the scapular mouth band (figure 7.9d5), and the wing primaries (figure 7.9d6)—reduce into interchangeably square abstract "feathers." Only the "arrows" within the leg squares of figure 7.9d4 reveal the stylized precursor's talons, processually identifying the "Cayman" as a "Harpy."

Wallace's misidentification of raptors for reptiles is not just pictorial confusion. It leads to spurious distinctions between "scaled" and "unscaled" Caymans (Wallace 1991:71). The "scales" are feathers, and all his "scaled caymans" are "feathered" Raptor Guardians. His "unscaled Caymans" are true caymans. This stylistic misreading then ramifies into iconographically dubious conclusions about religious development within the Chavín "regional cult." One of these consequent errors is his belief that Caymans are particularly prominent in this late art (1991:85). On the contrary, the Cayman was receding in iconographic prominence (Roe 1982a:281), being reduced to accoutrement "veiled" status, while the Raptors, as winged intermediaries to the world of humans, were enjoying an increase in pictorial emphasis (Roe 1982b). Perhaps this signals a growing identification with the masculine realms of the Celestial World and a decreasing affinity with the Feminine Underworld. This shift is consonant with a greater androcentric bias due to the masculine appropriation of feminine spheres attributable to the augmenting hierarchical power of men during Phases D and E of the cult's expansion. The increasingly autocratic iron discipline of the cartouche and the modular band during Chavín Phases D–F, frames within which even gods increasingly crouch (Fischer 1961), betokens a building encapsulation of social actors, artists and patrons alike, as inequality triumphs (after all, this textile comes from a differentially rich tomb). The egalitarian animistic gender complementarity of earlier phases recedes in Phase D, disappears in Phase E, and is replaced by self-sufficient masculine power, and, overreaching, collapses in Kroeberian "pattern exhaustion" in Phase E.

Such shifts within the animal iconography of this ancient cult represent differential emphasis, not elimination; by definition, any domain, and its attendant animal symbols (such as the Subaquatic Underworld with its dual caymanic Dragons), can never disappear altogether or the very complementary oppositional structure of the system would be nullified. The "Dragon" doesn't go away (Timberlake 1988); it goes "into hiding," peeking out menacingly always from the lower realms of the somatic geography of each species' depiction: the agnathic neck and pelvic mouths of the Winged Guardians, the *vagina dentata* belt of the female Winged Angel (figure 7.4a), and the pelvic frontal face with phallic central "egg tooth" of her complement, the male Winged Angel (figure 7.4b). It is properly buried in the "inferior" sphere of the downward-pointing forehead mouth of the largely anthropomorphic Armed (a.k.a. "Staff") deity, the headdress of the Were-Jaguar Cotton Warrioress (figure 7.6a). She (and her male counterpart/consort [figure 7.4a]) are closer intermediaries, together with their flanking dual Winged Angels, to the world of humans and political au-

thority clothed in the ancient sanctity of animal symbols, than the avimorphic Raptor Guardians. The latter still perch above them in the Sky World of the Cornice (figure 7.5). Those profile raptors also carry the cayman, also "below" in their male/female pelvic agnathic faces, embodying the ancient positional cosmological code (*jaguar mouth : above :: caymanic mouth : below*). While all these figures *contain* caymans, they are not caymans. By the end, Phases E and F, the poor cayman, once the mighty bimorphic Master/Mistress of hallucinogens, cultigens, and the Vegetative Cycle, portrayed alone in predatory glory with small humanoids on/in his/her belly/back (the Tello obelisk), suffers a reversal of fortunes. She/he is relegated to mere accoutrement status within human-centric depictions, retreating to form the anatropic forehead mouth and *downward*-projecting (seeing them requires figure inversion) headdress "plumes" worn by anthro-theomorphs. They hide in the lateral weaponry carried by this jaguaroid Warrior God (figure 7.7c), *lowermost* within his dual atlatls (Roe et al. 2008).

I link this changing iconographic weighting within the positional code to changes in Chavín society that increasingly emphasized the hierarchical power of men. These high-ranking men imagined themselves, as lowland and highland warriors still do, as "[Eagles and] Hawks of the Sun" (Faron 1964).

Functionality and the Dramaturgical Metaphor: Textiles as Theatrical Props

While Wallace and Burger misidentify the Harpy Eagle in the painted textile of figure 7.8d, they may have correctly identified its function. Many of the Callango and Carhua textiles, though reused as funerary goods, were huge in scale and may have originally served as temple adornment. Burger (1992a:198) suggests that they are analogous to the stone sculpture at Chavín de Huántar, perhaps decorating "the walls of a Chavín shrine somewhere in Paracas or Ica before they were finally interred. In the dry climate of the coast, textile hangings would be a practical alternative to adobe sculpture or other media."

Wallace (1991:79, Fig. 3.7) advances one such function: that the Phase F textile (figure 7.8d) acted architecturally as a column-wrapping. His technical interpretation of this piece supports my argument that it represents Harpy Eagles, like the incised bas-relief column-wrapping Winged Guardian Raptor Angels of the Black and White Portal (figure 7.4), thereby negating his own theory that the images were those of "scaled caymans." My redrawing (figure 7.8d) depicts only the outward-facing central panel, but the whole textile formed an elongated rectangle with two half-Raptors facing outward on either side of this central Raptor. As Wallace said, "[i]f hung end to end around a column, it would form two full [Raptors]" with the seam hidden in the back. What we have at the tail end of the style is thus a theatrical-prop solution to portal guardians. Rather than incising these figures into hard stone or, on the coast, incising and painting them on mud plaster, why not simply hang them around a plain adobe column when the ritual is about to begin and then take them down again when it is over? Painting portable guardians is easier and lends itself to more hurried situational production. Even as cursive Carhua textiles go, this late piece is very abbreviated and schematic. However, although a prop in a facile medium with slovenly execution, it hearkens back to a laboriously carved stone prototype. This is betrayed skeuomorphically: some enclosed areas are colored dark to mimic the excised *champlavé* pupils of the stone prototype. Perhaps this prop shows a lessening adherence to canons of skill and workmanship as the style petered out in regional "devolution."

The "Architectural Logic" of Complementary Opposition in Temple Geography

Whether built of stone in the highlands or adobe brick, rubble, and mud plaster on the coast, Chavín temples, like their Cupisnique and Manchay predecessors, were all microcosms of the macrocosm, miniature human-built "mountains" oriented to those sacred models of supernatural geography, the Andean peaks. They formed a spiritual landscape of built spaces that

emulated natural features, temple-as-mountain or semi-subterranean plaza-as-lake, with the same "natural modeling" intensity that Chavín artists employed for the plant and animal icons that dwelt and moved within them.

What "information" derives from the architectural placement of raptors in Chavín art as a possible context for the Dumbarton Oaks Harpy Eagle? One look at the facade of the New Temple of Chavín de Huántar and its Black and White Portal (figure 7.4c) and the comparative prehistorian knows that he/she is not in the ancient Near East, the Mediterranean, or Europe. Nobody in the West constructs a temple with half the portal one color and the other half a contrasting one. Similarly, no example of Western "architectural dualism" exists where two "guardians" flanking a portal differ not only in sex but also in other attributes (figure 7.4a–b). The Western sacred precinct would have two identical lions, or even "monstrous" were-human (compound bull, eagle) doorway guardians, always denotative of the masculine gender.

Even the pre-Chavín Sechín style had two identical, male, fully armed warriors facing outward on either side of a portal, guardians flanking the rear stairway to the Casma Valley temple (Burger 1992a:Fig. 56). The more sophisticated Chavín monument presents highly dualistic images, but of what kind?

Once the now "translucent" conventions of the style are mastered, one sees that the two incised figures that adorn the columns of the Black and White Portal are winged Were-Jaguar Raptors rather like the Bolivian Tacana great winged Jaguar, *Iba Bana*, mankind's shamanic teacher in the use of hallucinogenic snuff (Furst 1968:153). But the figures guarding the Portal are *not* just Were-Raptors (Rowe 1962:20), fixating on the figure's heads as those of birds of prey. If one looks closely at each depiction (figure 7.4a–b), it is clear that the raptorial curved beaks and ceres are actually "masks" that fit over an upturned Jaguar's snarling mouth and face. Yet the tops of their heads sport stylized snake-feathers, and in the South Column (figure 7.4a), the erectile crest feathers of the Harpy Eagle (figure 7.1a). Moreover, the raptor mask is put on a jaguar head which, in turn, crowns an essentially humanoid body, the extremities of which terminate in cat claws. Hence, more than masks are involved; like all Chavín monstrous theomorphs, these pillar beings couple animal and human elements in a metaphoric "parts bin engineering"[2] exercise of sacred *bricolage*. One aspect of the depiction/being "opens" the body (via the taking off of the mask or through X-ray shamanic vision) to reveal hidden spinal columns as mouth bands or uncover another theomorph lurking underneath. Like Northwest Coast kinetic masks, Chavín art depicts monsters of transformation.

Shipibo origin myths describe the same battery of chimeric Dawn Creatures. They begin with a set prologue in a special "mythic tense" (*ronqui*) of ancient "they-say" attribution. In their equivalent of "long ago and far away," narrators say, "When the heavens lay so close upon the earth that one could shoot arrows into the sky and climb to the stars, and animals talked like people and people could turn into animals at will," highlighting the primordial "union" of mythic space-time with its fusion of natures. Significantly, when the fusion of the planes is disrupted and they float apart to their present differentiation of Sky World/Earth World/Subaquatic Underworld, the identity of all life ends. Speciation bifurcates life into human/non-human animals. Bird masks placed over animal faces on human bodies, as in the Black and White Portal Angels, evoke the primordial union of Supernature. These beings belong to the first unfolding of the universe; they guard the doorway into Dawn Time, a singularly appropriate function for a locus of worship, a temple.

Below, I follow Rowe's identification of these raptors and explicate the political significance of the centrality/laterality of their placement. Then I look at the medial position of the Angels between humans below and Raptor Guardians above. Next, I consider the genders of the two Angels and examine the interdigitation of their form, color, directional and positional codes, as well as the complementary opposition of the artifacts the Angels wield, the way they use them, and the significance of how they hold them. Then I argue that the "Raptor Cornice," the Black and White Portal and its pillar Guardian Angels all

form one architectural feature, and chart their similar pattern of interdigitation. Lastly, I explore the kind of lowland dynamic dualism capable of producing such trait overlap, and the world view it conveys.

The Centrality/Laterality of the Angels

Rowe was correct about the subsidiary role of the Black and White Portal pillar figures, as "Guardian Angels" of some central figure emergent out of unified space-time. With Grieder (1990), I suggest that such an august figure may have been an armed Were-Jaguar Warrior (a.k.a. "Staff" God). Appearing as a priest or chieftain impersonating the god, he could have materialized within the portal on important ceremonial occasions, to be viewed by the throng assembled below. Given the monstrous nature of these companions, I retain Rowe's designation but add the proviso that they are actually "jaguaroid Raptor Guardian Angels."

WHAT KIND OF RAPTORS ARE THESE JAGUAROID WERE-RAPTOR ANGELS?

I also agree with Rowe that the South Column figure represents an eagle (but differ as to which one; he prefers the highland-intrusive black-and-chestnut ["Isidor's Crested," *Oroaetus isidori*] eagle based on its range (Grossman and Hamlet 1988: 299). I pick the harpy eagle (*Harpia harpyja*), based both on its heavy crest and beak development (à la Lathrap 1971), but also because in the lowlands it is always the largest that rules (as "Species Master") the lesser, but morphologically similar species. As to the North Column figure, Rowe was correct, citing Yacovleff (1932), that the band descending from his eye is a "hawk marking," revealing that image to be one of a falcon.

But therein lies an anomaly. Imitating the Amazonian birds they employ in their feather art, male lowlanders are always more colorful and complexly decorated than their more drab female counterparts (Roe 1995a). Yet, in terms of this relative visual complexity, the genders are *reversed* among these Angels. The male should be more complex and bedecked with accoutrements than the female, but the opposite is the case.

Betwixt and Between: The Medial Position of Angels

The lowland positional code confirms the Angels' subsidiary (lower) status to that central guarded cult image, but one superior to approaching human celebrants because they express the equation, *singleton centrality : primacy :: paired-flanking laterality : subsidiary status*, and the derivative formula, *central pictorial status : peripheral-subsidiary pictorial status :: cult primacy (intermediary-titular) : cult secondary devotional (medial) status*. Their physical placement above ground level at the head of a set of ascending stairs from the lower square plaza (the putative locus of commoner gathering), but below other pyramid features such as a surmounting lintel and its ascending walls to the upper surface, projects the same medial image. If the "Raptor Cornice" spanned the columns on which the Guardian Angels were incised, then the purely avimorphic nature of the cornice figures and the torsos and legs of the Angels, grounded on the earth, sets them medially between the winged beings above and bipedal humans below.

It Takes Two to Tango: The Gender of the Angels

The dual sexuality of these figures is fairly transparent. Inspired by figure 7.6a, Elois Ann Berlin sensitized Lyon to the *vagina dentata*, hence femaleness, of the South Column Raptor Angel (figure 7.4a). Lyon then deduced that the North Column Angel (figure 7.4b) was male, due to the phallic central tooth on his agnathic cayman-faced belt (Lyon 1979:102). As Lyon recognizes (1979: 124, n. 32), I had come to the same conclusion, but did so grounded in my investigation of Shipibo form categories in their ethno-taxonomy of material culture (arrow types, cutting implement categories, and the like). The phallic nature of the central tooth is based on the lowland associations, *male phallus shaft : arrow shaft :: glans of phallus : bamboo lanceolate arrow*, and the morophological equation, *hunter's projectile point : carnivore's canine :: arrowhead (dart-point) penetrating game : carnivore's teeth sunk into herbivore*. The transitive equation, *sex = death :*

sex = eating :: hunting prey : courting women, as well as the graphic, *human intercourse : carnivore eating prey :: erect male phallus entering female's "wound" = vagina : pointed carnivore's teeth rending prey's (herbivore's) flesh*, also applies. This whole earthy chain of Peircean icons becoming symbols is condensed in the simple equation, *male hunter = carnivore (apical predator)* (Roe 1998).

But, anomalies surface as the Raptor Angels are speciated and sexed. In lowland symbolism, the Harpy is the "Species Master" of all lesser raptors, particularly Hawks. In a myth from another lowland group I have done fieldwork among, the Waiwai of the Guianas, the plucked wing feathers (the big primaries) of a killed Harpy Eagle ogre fall and turn into eagles while the smaller, fluffy breast down transforms into hawks (Fock 1963:81). Since the equation *primary symbol (Species Master = paragon) : male :: subsidiary symbol (species child = derivative) : female* holds for most species, the raptors should be reversed. The North Column male should be the Harpy, and the South Column Hawk should be female.

SYSTEMATIC OVERLAP: THE INTERDIGITATION OF THE CODES

If this ancient monument so closely follows ancient jungle myths, why does it reverse these key gendered values? This symbolic crossover, or interdigitation of traits, highlights the complementarity as well as the sexual segregation (opposition) of male/female figures. This is not static Western dualism, but a dynamic one based on overlap as well as opposition. Like locking fingers from one hand into the other, this *interdigitation* expresses the alternation of traits appropriate to each gender, something that characterizes lowland task sequencing as much as it does the manipulation of mythic symbols. Such alternation forms a conceptual bidirectional bridge linking apparent opposites (Crocker 1983), in this case the two genders. Two figures differing in sex is another example of pictorial dualism in Chavín art. Indeed, *all* of the principals form differently gendered dyads: the binary "Dragons" (Lathrap 1973), the Armed Were-Jaguars ("Staff Gods and Goddesses"), and their dual Raptor Angels and Guardians. Unlike self-sufficient Western androcentric gods, the dual sexes do dualistically opposed and complementarily gendered things in Chavín, demonstrating symbolic interpenetration in the sensual codes, "sharing" traits.

The Form Code

Sexing of the Angels begins this sharing of supposed opposites in the "form code," that Lévi-Straussian "logic of the concrete" centering upon the primacy of shape. Note how the female Harpy is more complex than the male Hawk (figure 7.4a, b), a partial anomaly = overlap; her lower accoutrements (snake belt finials) are spikier, more phytomorphic, than the male Hawk's rounded forms (another partial anomaly = overlap, since linear, sharp forms are lowland masculine stigmata, while round and blunt forms are feminine referents). Yet, this is not really anomalous, since women are identified with plants and men with animals and birds, the latter hunted by sharp objects. The association of phytomorphic imagery with females abounds in Chavín art. Cordy-Collins (1979b) shows that the Armed Warrioress's "gift" is cotton, appropriate since she is painted on cotton textiles. Burger (1992a: Fig. 207) also notes figure 7.6a's "floral associations" as she emanates phytomorphic projections from her atlatls and head. Her male counterparts lack these veined leaves. Cordy-Collins agrees with Sharon and Donnan (1977), identifying the goddess's free-floating circular motifs sprouting radial spikes as horizontally sectioned San Pedro cactus slices, thereby adding a hallucinogenic plant to the lady's gifts. The spiky little snake heads attached as tassels to the tips of the Black and White Portal female Eagle's belt sashes evoke San Pedro's spines. This is consonant with lowland symbolism, where females align with the earth, hallucinogens (drug-taking = metaphoric death and orgasm), and other plants of feminine industry, such as cotton. Textiles are not only soft, like women, but they are also woven additively, gestationally. Plants grow in the ophidian earth, and from Chavín to Moche we see San Pedro's roots associated with writhing snakes decorated with jaguar's spots (Cordy-Collins 1998).

The Color Code

Crossover is also present in the color code, since the female is juxtaposed with the light half of the portal (anomalous for a female but proper for an Eagle), while the male stands in front of the dark stone background (anomalous for a male but correct for a Hawk).

The Positional Code

From the lowland viewer's perspective, the right hand and the right side are always masculine, the left hand and side invariably feminine. This association is as universal as the *up : male :: down : female* equation. Both operate in Chavín, as the male Falcon stands guard on the right and the female Harpy on the left. His masculine weapon (dart) rests above, on top of, the female launcher (see figure 7.11e).

But if we pursue the vector of species over sex, the spatial priority of the hyper-masculine "Elder Brother" Harpy over the feminized male = masculinized female "Younger Brother" Falcon that is contradicted in the Black and White Portal Angels, it appears confirmed on the earlier Tello obelisk. There the Harpy Eagle flies in front of the female Celestial Dragon (figure 7.10a), occupying a more important place than the other raptor (figure 7.10b), a smaller, fragmentary "Hawk" (figure 7.10c) lodged behind it. Moreover, the latter sits in front of the forward paw of the Dragon (clutched by it, given the primitive pictorial capability of this early piece), "captured." Shifting back to a Shipibo myth that provides the exact verbal exegesis of every part of this ancient Chavín monument (Roe 1993), we see him in his anthropomorphic guise as the undecorated and doomed "Younger Brother," half-devoured by the caymanic Dragon's neck-mouth (figure 7.10d). He is rescued by his elder sibling and ascends to the Sky World on a Ladder of Arrows, holding his severed leg, to become the One-Legged Hunter = Orion. Since the syntax of the monument confirms this lowland myth, his Elder Brother must be the forward Eagle. We know this because before he rescued his rash Younger Brother from that dragonic "canoe," the Irascible Ferryman, the wise Elder Brother turned into a fast, strong-flying, masculine bird to dart away. With his showy San Pedro flower = feather headdress (figure 7.10e), Elder Brother is shown leaping off the rear of the cayman-canoe (Roe et al. 2008) in a contorted U-shape. Meanwhile, the doomed Younger Brother, foolishly transformed into another bird (a poor-flying, feminine bird), is caught and partially devoured, just like on the Tello. The Harpy Eagle flying in front of the Tello Dragon is actually escaping successfully from his pursuer as the avian transform of the intact Elder Brother ("Pleiades"). The only difference in the modern myth is that the smaller but equally aggressive hummingbird takes the Eagle's place and the Tinamou replaces the Younger Brother's Hawk.

Thus apparently static Chavín monuments are covertly active. Syntagmatic episodes and characters are portrayed paradigmatically within the same sculpture like so many succeeding cartouches inside a developing storyboard. This logographic lithic myth reflects the lowland pattern of "myth-material culture mutual referentiality" (Roe 1989), where the artifact "calls up" the telling of the myth, the same tale that, with the infallibly circular logic of myth, provides its own sacred etiology. Narrators point to the artifact, and its concrete existence, as mythic empirical proof that the sacred story believed to be true (the myth) really happened! You doubt the myth, the ancient Amerindian Dr. Samuel Johnson asks? Go over and kick the Tello obelisk thus! (his dutiful prehistoric Mr. Boswell records), or better, see the characters and episodes unfolding dualistically on its paired stony skins (in two volumes: Dragons A and B).

Continuing to quote this Shipibo myth from the same latitude as Chavín de Huántar, in the night sky above (the diurnal Subaquatic Underworld below), the asterism pursuing Orion is the V-shaped Hyades, the cayman's mandible (as seen from below) that was removed by the Pleiades after he extracted his Younger Brother's leg. It is still trying to devour the fleeing Orion (only the belt of Orion and parts of his legs form a profile legless human) as they and the trailing Pleiades (Elder Brother and his six helpers) heliacally rise and set together, and in that order. In fact, the whole pyramid at Chavín de Huántar enshrines this nocturnal progression in stone; it was angled away from true north to align onto this trajectory,

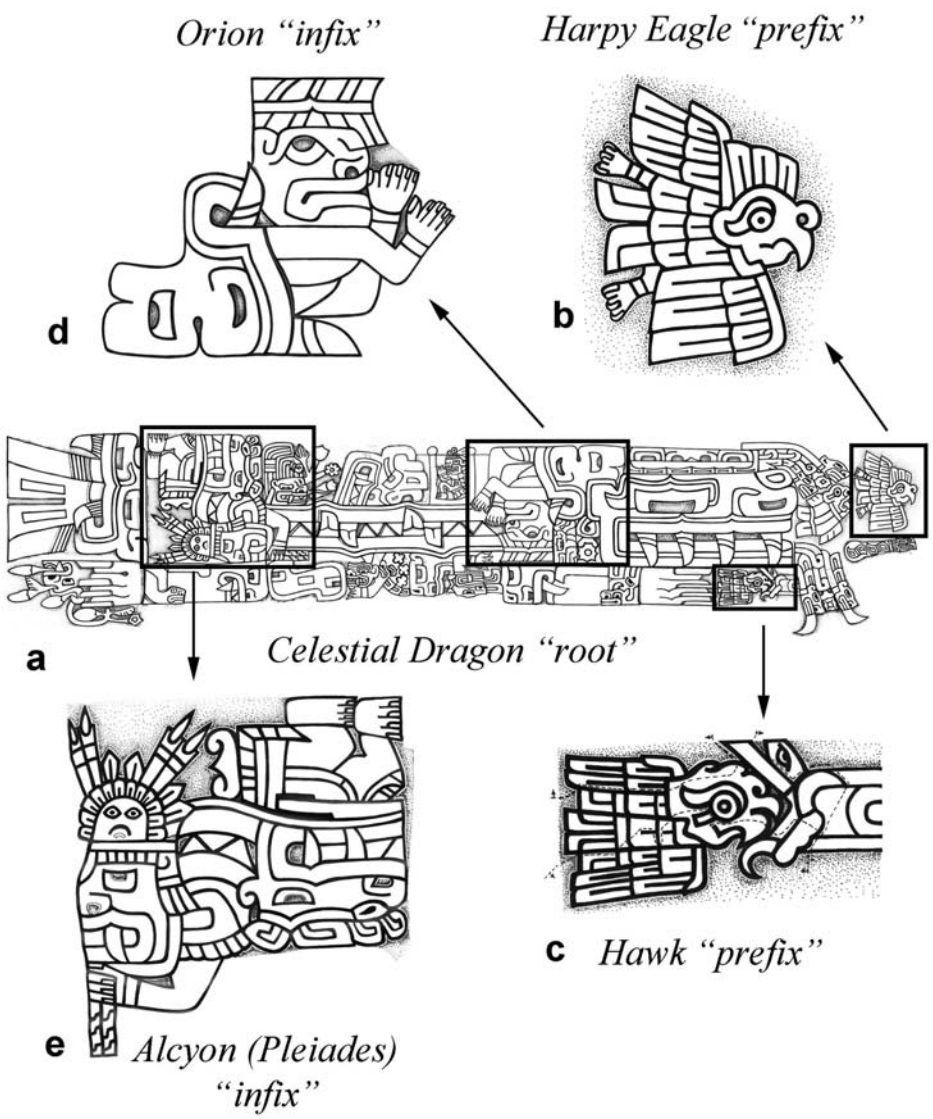


Figure 7.10. The primacy of Harpy Eagle over Hawk: complementary opposition in the Tello obelisk. (*a*): My reconstruction of Dragon "B" pursuing the Harpy Eagle. (*b*): B4, Dragon "B's" captured posterior Hawk (my rebuilding), missing one foot due to space constraints, its severed other foot in front. (*c*): The original fragment (Rowe 1967:Fig. 6).

having been constructed around the hidden Lanzón (Rick, this volume, chapter 1), none other than the Pleiades himself. With Medusa's hair of writhing snakes, he ascends from the Subaquatic World, the buried cruciform gallery of the cardinal directions, on a Sky Rope, a recombinatorial variant of the Ladder of Arrows (Roe 1995b:Figs. 2–7). Below him, in line with an ascending staircase, the Irascible Ferryman (the Tello obelisk dual cayman canoe), pursues him, surfacing from its primordial lake, the middle of the sunken circular semi-subterranean courtyard outside the pyramid, but within both the pyramid's and its own projecting "jaws." The Dragons breach, mouths upward, still trying to devour the Lanzón's legs, as they ate his luckless Younger Brother's, his/her lithic body terminating in the same sacred *L* of the Lanzón to mark their mutual, if antagonistic, association. This whole story is redundantly and dualistically engraved on the Tello's (male/female Dragons') backs. There Orion languishes, half devoured (figure 7.10d), while his Elder Brother, the Pleiades, leaps away, still holding onto his saving Sky Rope (figure 7.10e).

In the lowlands, from whence both story and stony menagerie come, this astronomical progression forms the horticultural calendar (composed of two six-month periods between dawn rising, which heralds the arrival of the rains, determining when slash-and-burn gardens must be fired in preparation for planting, and their dusk setting, defining the succeeding dry season, the harvest). Since no Amazonian Indian lives by manioc alone, this seasonal duality also brackets the corresponding hunting/fishing cycle—hunting best in the wet season when the game is concentrated on high, dry ground, and fishing ideal in the dry, when they concentrate within shrinking rivers. This meaty cycle provides the protein "glop" for the carbohydrate "gorp" of the lowland manioc sandwich, together with the other jungle cultigens the Tello Dragon carries sprouting from its body back to his distant highland final resting place. For our Raptor discussion, the Tello's paradigmatics establish the following equation for Chavín cosmology, *Harpy Eagle : Up (front) :: Hawk : Down (back)*, and congruently, *Harpy Eagle: Superior (Senior) :: Falcon : Inferior (Junior)*.

The Directional Code

The related "directional code" (position implying static placement, direction indicating potential movement) supports opposition, not interdigitation. Lowlanders tend to assign the north to males and the south to females, and that code coheres with the columns' architectural and sexual syntax.

The Artifactual Code

What do these Raptors hold horizontally in their clawed hands? If these subsidiary figures are guarding some central figure of greater importance like a Warrior (Staff) Personage, then shouldn't they protect him with additional artifactual "weapons," reinforcing their own ferocious canines, claws = talons, and tearing beaks? Rowe is correct in calling the artifacts the Angels carry extrasomatic weapons, although he is wrong as to what kind. He labels them *macanas*, "sword clubs" (1962:20), thus implying that they are identical. They are not. Lyon (1979:101), more cautious, does not identify the male artifact, and calls the female one "two short staffs, one in each hand, although the barlike elements with horizontal mouth bands might be interpreted as part of the wings." This interpretation misses how the style's X-ray conventions interrupt both "staffs," the male and the female one. In the male case, this hiatus allows the surfacing of the now-visible vertebral column as an undulating, zigzag anaconda nose band for the agnathic Dragonic pelvic girdle mask (figure 7.4b); in the female instance (figure 7.4a), the break makes the vertebral column visible as it jogs asymmetrically through the middle of the torso, a jaguaroid interlocking-canine continuous mouth band. In short, Lyon's "two staffs" are one, and "it" isn't a staff. Rowe's identical *macanas* aren't *macanas* (although they are weapons), but they aren't identical.

Lyon's "wing element" theory is even more farfetched, since it contravenes another Chavín stylistic convention. Whenever a Bird Guardian or a Raptor Angel is depicted, it always has *four* wing primaries. If these "staffs" were wing elements, they would give the depiction an impermissible set of five primaries. While "real" Chavín wing primaries always end pointed upward (figures 7.3–7.5), Lyon's purported fifth wing points downward on one end, and is vertically truncated on the other. What a "wing" is doing being held in the middle of the front of an Angel's body—and not on its back—is another matter altogether (although contorted, Chavín art is not *that* contorted)!

Rowe was closer than Lyon in guessing these curious implements' functions. They are weapons all right, but not sword clubs. Instead, the male holds a dart (figure 7.11e1), and the female the dart-launcher (spear-thrower; figure 7.11e2). A Chavín warrior carries an atlatl and darts while grasping a trophy head in his right (= masculine) hand (figure 7.11a). While not alone in reflecting ritualized warfare (a connection that lives on in the successor Moche and Nasca art styles) and using the same animal metaphors for the weapons themselves, it provides a naturalistic image to help decode the Guardian Angels' highly kenned weapons.

Figure 7.4b shows the male weapon (in the fullest sense of that term) as asymmetrical, ending on his left in a complex collared Cat-Snake head. It points inward to avoid cutting the borders of its enclosing cartouche. To correct for this constraint, I horizontally reflect its head. The reptilian agnathic mouth, with its central egg-tooth, now points

outward, toward the end of the weapon like an atlatl dart-point. After all, the dart's "tooth" stabs its enemy to death just as a viper bites its prey or the jaguar impales it with his teeth.

The Shipibo, ever helpful with Chavín parallels, have a complex ethnotaxonomy of *Roninbo*, boas (Gebhart-Sayer 1987), that embodies this animated projectile as it has persisted down to the present in mythology. One of them is the fearsome *Ino Roni* (literally, "Jaguar Boa"). It is drawn in a shaman's sketch, a projection of his hallucinogenic visions (figure 7.11d), as being perfectly rigid (like a long Shipibo arrow). Over 5 feet tall, they appear more like darts or spears than arrows and end in a pointed, lanceolate, bamboo arrowhead. Shipibo men refer to the projectile point itself as a "leaf" or a "tooth" in consonance with their animistic technology's demand of ascribing anatomical designations to artifactual components. In myth such artifacts first originated as live animals. This Jaguar Boa's triangular head looks, in aerial view, like an arrowhead. With its monstrous combination of feline (head, nose, whiskers, and pelage spots) and serpent traits (long, serpentine body, lateral ophidian diamond-zigzag markings, obligingly labeled *roninquënëya*, "boa-design, with"), this drawing recalls the three-millennia-old Chavín projectile (figure 7.11c).

My Shipibo informants mentioned yet another kind of *Roni*, the *Paca Roni* (literally, "Bamboo Boa"), the spirit of the cane out of which the Shipibo carve their lanceolate arrowheads. They must propitiate it and not harvest too much or it will come alive as the Master (*Ibo*, literally "Owner") of the Bamboo and hurtle through the forest, its rigid body and pointed head slicing through trees and people with equal ferocity. This mythic figure completes the symbolic derivational chain, equating the bamboo "tooth" of the arrow (= *Paca Roni*) to the jaguaroid Snake's central tooth, on the rigid serpent body of the *Ino Roni*.

What about the launcher? If the dart is male, tipped as it is by its sharp tooth (= phallus), and flying through the masculine medium, the sky, to kill a man's enemies, then the dart-launcher, into whose curved hook its base rests (figure 7.11b1), as well as the curved finger loop that cradles the dart tip (figure 7.11b2), should be female. In fact, the female Eagle Guardian Angel of the South Column carries an artifact with two curved "hooks," kenned as fish, projecting from the top (the launcher is held upside-down). The right-hand hook (her directions) is the hook for the nock of the dart because it is correctly oriented, the open end facing away from the distal end of the launcher (indicated by its squared-off end, like a cane). Both front and rear "hook-Fish" are fit subsidiary icons of the Fish Woman (now transformed as an avian ogress, but still armed with the piranha-tooth-studded lethal vagina of First Female, the incestuous daughter/lover of the Cayman-Anaconda Dragon). The aft fish projection (figure 7.11e2) mimics figure 7.11b2's more naturalistic finger loop by having the proximal "arched fish" on the launcher closed to a greater degree than its more open ("hook-like") distal counterpart because the launcher's proximal end curves up to meet it, tightening the loop.

Later Moche and Nasca dart-launchers also have dual upper attachments. But while the hook remains the same, these successor cultures substituted a carved bone or wood "hand-guard supporter" for the finger loop. It is this hand-guard that is metaphorically rendered as a Cat-Snake in the more elaborate Moche depictions, continuing the antecedent Chavín animal modeling.

These contrasting, but interdependent weapon components held by the two Angels are the final artifactual testament of this ancient style's pervasive dualism. Not only does each sex have his/her characteristic artifacts and jobs (via the *segregation* of the tasks and the *opposition* of the implements), but those implements and tasks are completely *complementary*. No guardian can defend the Portal alone. Unlike in the West, with regard to Chavín, "it takes two to launch a dart!"

The Gesture Code: How Do They Hold Them?

All images of the central Were-Jaguar Warrior (figures 7.6a, 7.7c) hold his/her weapons erect—that is, vertically. In contrast, the putatively flanking Guardian Angels hold their weapons horizontally, suggesting the equations, *vertical : projectile point above :: horizontal : projectile point below*, and *above : elevated in rank :: below : subservient*

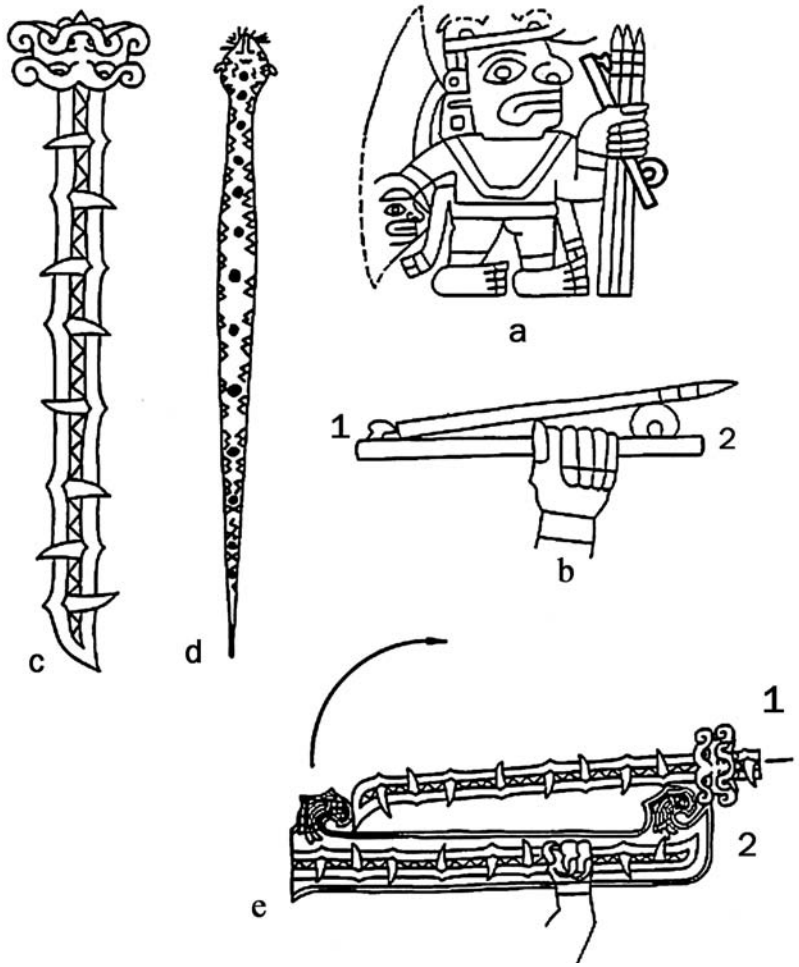


Figure 7.11. Supernatural "darts," ancient and modern. (*a*): My reconstruction *(based on Roe 1967:Fig. 20)* of a "naturalistic" male Chavín warrior carrying a trophy head in his right hand and a set of darts (the tips are based on similar images) and a dart-launcher. (*b*): Like later Moche specimens, this launcher has a hook on the distal end to fit into the nock of the dart (*b1*), and a proximal "dart-rest" (*b2*). (*c*): The Black and White Portal column Were-Jaguar-Hawk Guardian Angel's "Cat-Snake" dart, the central canine metonymically recalling the dart's sharp point (provided the head is rotated, as here, to liberate it from the "tyranny" of its original cartouche). Later Moche dart depictions also have the dart point transform into a collared cat-snake head with a rigid pelage-marked body. (*d*): A drawing by the Shipibo shaman Luís Tangoa from the montaña directly to the east of Chavín de Huántar representing the analogous Ino Roni ("Jaguar-Boa") mythical dart *(Gebhart-Sayer 1987:41, Abb.9)*. (*e*): The 2500-year-old Chavín analog.

in rank. Given these relations, they are "above" the presumably unarmed worshippers who may have approached them from the ever-decreasing rectangular semi-subterranean plazas below (and, in a dual sense, weaponry and position), but "below" the deity they guard. If those who hold their weapons horizontally are themselves "raised" on top of steps which are further "heightened" by being approached from a semi-subterranean plaza, then the positional code re-confirms their medial status. Their jaguaroid mouths kenn them as deities, while their gestures signal their medial position and their kenned weapons their superhuman power. The Angels broadcast their halfway placement, as gatekeepers, between the supernatural they flank and the

lower spheres of human petitioners who come to their stony creche.

The Angel's medial placement is relevant because the cosmos these beings represent probably consisted of a stacked series of worlds like those one finds today in the lowlands (figure 7.1a). The alignment of the whole structure says as much, since it and the portal that fronts it roughly face the setting sun (or, more precisely, the rising Pleiades!), and the Sun's repetitive journeys always define at least three (as a *minimum*; there are usually more) stacked worlds, each a superimposed "world platter" with its own denizens. The Bird World is always one of the higher realms (Roe 1990:Figs. 2–3). Beyond them lie the remote heavens of the celestial bodies like the Sun and Moon (often as anthropomorphized Magical Twins; Roe 1982a), not unlike the Were-Jaguar Warrior. Here, lateral (side) placement for the Guardian Angels is equivalent to a lower location in a vertical hierarchy, just as their setting at the head of a set of ascending stairs places them at a superior position to ground level and the semi-subterranean plazas below.

Adding people and ritual movement to this now-vacant and static architectural "stage" complements this vision. Lower-ranking celebrants might have approached the facade from below, while higher-ranking priests, warriors, and rulers could have emerged from above, striding out from the pyramid to stand "framed" within the portal. Such would have been a dramatic entrance indeed, since the higher-status men would have been bracketed by their stone guardians. These exalted humans could have emulated the Armed Were-Warrior God within by carrying ceremonial weapons (atlatls and darts) as emblems of status. Maybe they also bore his masks and accoutrements, thus "becoming" him. If modern tribal lowlanders clearly organize their villages as stage settings for daily enactments of the dramaturgical metaphor, turning static display into kinetic ceremony, should we expect less of highly stratified Chavín?

Lower Atmospheric Heavens: The "Raptor Cornice"

Having examined the two columns holding up the lintel of the Black and White Portal, what of that other element in this intra-feature association, the "Raptor Cornice"? While we will never know if the cornice was a part of this feature, since its current position is the result of reconstruction, Burger (1992a:Fig. 171) suggests that it "may once have spanned" it. Indeed, we will find that the cornice/lintel is relevant to the Portal's "Angelic dialog," thematically, syntactically, and in terms of its relative dating,

The only complete depiction of all the cornice Raptors is the rubbing published as the frontispiece of Rowe 1962 (Pl. 1). I assign alphanumeric designations to these heretofore unlabeled birds (figure 7.5a) based on their putative location above the north–south aligned Black and White Portal. Like the Black and White Portal, it too dates stylistically from Phase D. As with the column Were-Raptors, this is another case of asymmetry within symmetry. Eight Raptors perch in profile on this roost, yet they do not face the same direction, nor are they all alike in motif content. They do not face toward each other as symmetrical groups, as they would in the West. The figure on the right, N-1 (N = North), faces all of the other seven depictions, S-1 (S = South) through S-7, progressing in higher numbers away from the facing solitary aviform. What this opposition means, calendrically or otherwise, is unclear, but structurally, complementarity balances opposition. This is because both bracketing Raptors (the contrary N-1 and the polar S-7) are by far the most elaborate of the depictions, possessing more numerous and complex kennings than the others. Moreover, the two polar avimorphs are slightly more rectilinear than the curvilinear remainder.

All these Birds are composite forms with Jaguar heads and jaws, yet wear Bird "masks" (like the Angels). However, unlike the column Were-Raptors, they possess naturalistic avimorphic bodies. Because they protect the portal in the vertical dimension, I follow Wallace in calling them "Winged Guardians." Using the same conventions (Yacovleff 1932) employed to decipher other Chavín raptors (eye band = Hawk/erectile crown feathers = Harpy Eagle) reveals the familiar pattern of both opposition and alternation. N-1 is an Eagle and its polar opposite, S-7, a Hawk. The medial birds (proceeding from the opposing

Eagle) form alternating pairs: Hawk (S-1), Hawk (S-2)—"inferior" Hawks opposing the "superior" Eagle—followed by an Eagle (S-3), another Eagle (S-4), a Hawk (S-5), and another Hawk (S-6).

A more detailed pattern surfaces when the sexual code is employed to explore variations within these Raptors' pelvic face masks. In all cases, the upper head-mouth behind the beak-and-cere mask is the interlocking jaguar's maw, while uniformly the lower pelvic mouth is that of the agnathic "cayman," as befits the positional code of their somatic geography. Using the *central canine = phallus* equation, if that projecting tooth is prominent in profile and points downward (that is, the frontal or profile face it adorns is right-side-up), then the pelvic mask and the figure who wears it must be male, or "closed." In contrast, if the continuous mouth band acts like a ramp into the body's interior, and if the upside-down profile face = *vagina dentata* equation applies, then the depiction is "open," hence female. The sexual code thus blurs the rigid alternation of the positional code in an interdigitating pattern, like the pillar Raptors.

The elaborate "male" Raptors (N-1 and S-7) take precedence by bracketing or covering (coital metaphor?) the medial female Birds. This coheres with the lowland positional code where masculine precedence (as in a file of dancers) is tantamount to hierarchy (*males in front/females behind*). This sexual assignment for the polar Raptors is also congruent with the form code, *males : rectilinear :: females : curvilinear shapes*. It may also have reflected the Amazonian avian coloration code, since male tropical birds are always more brightly colored, larger, and more complex in outline (for obvious sexual selection reasons) than the appraising females. The latter tend to be drab, smaller, and simpler in outline. When these figures were new, they undoubtedly carried garish polychrome paint. Perhaps the more complex males were painted in a greater variety of brighter colors. At present, we cannot judge colors, but the complexity/simplicity of outline pattern holds for these depictions. The opposing Hawks facing the solitary Eagle are also males (S-1 and S-2), albeit junior males, while the succeeding set of four (two twin pairs from the sexual code) are all females (S-3 to S-6). Dynamic dualistic overlap appears in the crossing over of the four females' sex code with the species code traits—the first two females (S-3, S-4) are Eagles, the second two females (S-5, S-6), Hawks. If this were strict binary opposition, all four would be *female Hawks*. Since Hawks are secondary by-products of Eagles (literally), they function in a subsidiary mode, as junior sibling, hence both *subsidiary* and feminized. But, this is a dynamic dualism, and the overlap categories are also *dual*, yielding two kinds of Hawks: feminized males and masculinized females.

Combining species, gender, and number codes yields further patterns. While an even eight Birds appear, they look odd due to N-1's opposed orientation (an asymmetrical 7-to-1). Symmetry surfaces via isolating the two bracketing males (N-1 and S-7) who, as Hawk (on the subsidiary left) and Eagle (on the dominant right) face (= oppose) each other. From right to left, the dominance of males continues even among the feminized (junior) male Hawks (S-1, S-2) facing (= opposing) the reigning Eagle (N-1). The directional code's priority, *North: Male :: Female : South*, means they still dominate the two following females, even though the latter are masculinized females (Eagles), S-3 and S-4. Lastly, on the feminine southern pole, the rear, are the lowest-ranking Raptors, S-5 and S-6, double-dose *females* and *Hawks*!

Not Just Jungle Critters: Tropical Rain Forest Dynamic Dualism

Note that there are as many overlaps (complementarity) within the various "codes"—color, form, directional, gender, species, and so on—applicable to the Black and White Portal Guardian Angels and Winged Guardians as there are strictly dyadic oppositional associations (segregation). This same interdigitating pattern persists today in the lowland sexual division of labor. Both exhibit a dynamic dualistic cosmos. They express the complementary opposition of paired gendered beings, whether they be gods or humans.

This is a unique jungle variety of dynamic dualism (Roe 1995b), *dual triadic dualism* (DTD), that generates four categories out of two, providing the chromatic bridge between opposed concepts by

generating dual intermediary categories. Here, two opposing terminal raptors and three sets of two (two of those liminal) form a "stone bridge" from opposition to liminality and back. To reverse direction across this semantic span, *[South] Feminized Polar Male Singleton (S-7)=> Polar Female Twins (S-6, S-5)=> Liminal Masculinized Female Twins (S-4, S-3)=> Feminized Male Twins (S-2, S-01)=> Polar Masculine Singleton (N-1) [N]*. The asymmetry within symmetry is now visible: both polar singletons are male (S-7 should have been *female*)! Raptors thus assert Phase D masculine power while accommodating gendered alternation.

"Asymmetry within symmetry," the ancient Chavín stone carvers seem to be saying, is more interesting, and more sacred, than "symmetry within symmetry." This ethnoaesthetic preference explains why the whole temple is asymmetrical (weighted to the south by additions not present in the north) within an overall symmetrical (U-shaped) layout. Asymmetry yields life and, being directional, ends in death. But, reversing the arrows via DTD, death sprouts life; the trophy skull germinates (Silverman 1990).

Adding the Attitude Code: Engagement Versus Withdrawal

Anthony F. C. Wallace (1971) applied psychological measures to ancient Mayan art, and one of them, what I call "attitude"—the engagement of a being depicted in art with its observer as judged by the presentation of its face—is also relevant to these Chavín chimeras. He points out that a frontal depiction, one that directly engages the observer's eyes, connotes confidence, interaction, and even dominance on the part of the depicted, whereas a profile view, where the image looks away from the observer's gaze, connotes detachment, withdrawal, or even submission.

I combine this code with the vertical dimension of a DTD cosmos that is broached by the Winged Angels and Winged Guardians of the Black and White Portal. The bipedal human audience looking upward at the portal from the sunken courts below would first have seen the "anthropomorphic" column Raptors (male/female Were-Jaguar-Raptor Guardian monsters with human torsos, legs and arms, hence "Angels"), still "rooted" to the earth, although winged. Each one carries an essential weapon component horizontally (right-hand male with dart/left-hand female with atlatl = launcher, viewer perspective) so that together they can defend who? Their upward-twisted profile visages could have faced a ceremonially emergent frontal Were-Jaguar Warrior God (Priest or Chieftain Impersonator) who carries his own weapons (darts in his *right* hand, atlatl in his *left*, his [viewed] perspective) fully vertical. They point to his bigendered but androcentric and unarmed (save for their tearing beaks, ripping teeth) Winged Guardians above. These cornice Raptors are *pure* avimorphs (albeit compounds of dominant Raptor and subsidiary Jaguar elements), therefore more "aerial" than both the Winged Angels and the central Were-Jaguar below. If the Angels signal hierarchical relations (guarding, therefore subservient to, the medial Were-Jaguar Warrior, a.k.a. "Staff God"), on a raised step platform above human worshippers, they are superior as gods, but remain lesser gods than those whom they guard. Similarly, the avian gods above, the Raptor Guardians of the cornice, since they lack human body parts, rank lower than the Angels, but higher than the pedestrian humans, even though spatially they perch above the portal beings. They connote a higher, more remote heavenly realm.

Dual triadic dualism allows us to travel upward through such a sacred cosmos by building conceptual bridges to this bridging/flying sacred fauna. DTD incorporates a shifting of perspective in the comparison of dual overlapping polar categories (Roe 1995a:Fig. 2-8), analogous to the visual shift of perception between figure and ground that Chavín art abundantly documents. Looking at the upper two cosmic levels relevant to the "Raptor dialog" (Sky World and Earth World) and their DTD overlapping categories, the shaman asks, "What is the overlap between Sky and Earth *from the point of view of Sky*?" The liminal response of his apprentice is "Lower Sky = Atmospheric Heavens," the Cloud World that is not only important in the Andes and jungle as the locus of feared lightning and thunder (linked in both zones to aggressive celestial felines, their naturefact weapons and/or human artifactual weapons of

war), but also an aspect of Sky that wreathes the next liminal category in a chromatic bridge. "What is the overlap between Earth and Sky *from the point of view of Earth?*" the shaman continues. The next liminal category emerges in his student's answer, "Upper Earth = Sacred Mountaintop"—that part of earth that projects into the heavens is blanketed by clouds, and, in ancient Andean and lowland cosmology, is linked to human sacrifice to appease the irascible beings of the accessible, but awesome Lower Sky. As a result of our shamanic dialog, we now have four categories (Lower Earth/Upper Earth/Lower Sky/Upper Sky) rather than the static two, Earth/Sky. The polar realms have become connected by a dual-runged bridge of twin liminal categories that connect each pole in a bidirectionally dynamic ritual pilgrimage of ascent/descent. The human mountain = pyramid that these Raptor beings inhabit, as a microcosm of that macrocosm, emulates this chromatic ascent in both architectural and architectonic textile levels, steps to the winged world the avian beings embody (*not* decorate), via the stony creche of its access portal.

Adding the personage's morphological code to their "attitude," and using the DTD bridge, we ascend their New Temple. The following equations appear: *central anthropomorphic figure : flanking Guardian Angles :: Angels below : fully avimorphic winged Guardians above;* then *primary figure = frontal-view : central position :: subsidiary figure = torso-frontal but face in profile-view : lateral position;* and, finally, *torso-frontal but face in profile-view Guardian Angels : below :: fully avimorphic Winged Guardians in fully profile-view : above*. Frontal or profile depictions indicate hierarchy as much as central/peripheral placement or avi-theriomorphic transformation. Humans on "Lower Earth," approaching from the semi-subterranean plazas sunken below, bring offerings like trophy heads, as in figure 7.7, and are thus completely subservient (fully anthropomorphic and in pure profile view). They approach an elite were-jaguaroid human (the chieftain emulating the deity) elevated above them, appearing fully frontal in attitude, therefore primary as in an embossed gold depiction, and positioned at the head of the stairs in the center of the portal leading to the top of the pyramid (the Upper Earth realm of the Mountain Peak = Pyramid as Artificial Stone Mountain Summit). Were-avimorphic figures that combine both attitudes (torso in frontal view, face in profile) reveal themselves to be his divine intermediaries, occupying subservient positions at his sides. Yet by their partially avian nature they appear conceptually slightly above him in the cloud world of the Lower Atmospheric Heavens, as clouds daily enshroud the deified and anthropomorphized mountain peaks. Half human, half avimorphs, they are Guardian Angels by definition, placement, and lethal accoutrements, shuttling back and forth between the worlds of Upper Earth and Lower Sky. Above them, on the cornice, hover the subsidiary avian gods (asterisms? perhaps the seven central profile birds denote the seven stars of the Pleiades?) in the remote sky world of the Upper Heavens. Denizens of the most remote aerial realms, they appear as fully profile Winged Guardians, yet completely avimorphic ones.

All are locked in complementary opposition with each other in a dynamic dualism as carnivores/raptors. They take death, the "harvest" of captured sacrificial victims, and transmute it into life, crop harvests fed by the waters (= blood) of the mountain gods. In Chavín, architecture, architectonic sculpture, and textiles are but parallel stairways to the Heavens, highways to the Underworld.

This detailed intra-artifact associational analysis of one putative component of the portal feature, the "Raptor Cornice," thus reveals a similar complementarity/opposition organization, with an emphasis on structured and systematic *overlap*, to that shown by the other component, the Black and White Portal pillar Raptors. Such structural isomorphism on the level of the sacred syntax supports their functional relationship (cornice/lintels span pillars), as well as the similar iconography and congruent stylistic dating, all arguing that both pillars and cornice are integral components of a single feature, the Black and White Portal. Based on this vertical decoding of the facade of the New Temple, I believe that B-544 was a cornice hanging, *not* a column-wrapping. Since B-544 lacks a human torso, arms, and legs, and therefore is no Angel, it could

have draped a cornice, a celestial plane in accordance with its purely avimorphic aspect.

WHAT WAS THE MESSAGE? THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE DUMBARTON OAKS RAPTOR

The Tello obelisk, the Black and White Portal, and this Callango textile are all instantiated myths, sacred oral tales made concrete in stone or cloth. Indeed, the whole U-shaped pyramid the monuments adorned, together with its associated circular and rectangular semi-subterranean plazas, provided the granite stage upon which these sacred stories played. In calendrical rites tied to the Pleiades cycle, the asterisms, energized by human sacrificial blood and the portable bony "wombs" of collected trophy heads, allowed priestly and warrior elites to ritually regulate Andean subsistence systems with lowland metaphors.

Therefore, when Burger (1996:80) remarks on one unique trait (an "oddity") of B-544 that he regards as unusual—"the frontal face with upturned mouth that was inserted into the corner of the cayman's [sic-Eagle's] mouth"—we soon discover that it isn't odd at all, but via the appropriate lowland myth, an intrinsic part of its message. An Andean parallel from an analogous highland center, Kuntur Wasi, shows a pillar discovered at the summit of the monumental construction with *recto-verso* dual imagery. One face depicts a Were-Cayman figure holding an obvious spear (although the Andeanist Carrión Cachot [1948] calls it an "agricultural implement"). The other side (the front?) shows a Were-Jaguar holding a small frontal face, also round with open, staring eyes and a slightly upturned mouth. He holds his human (lacking kennings) trophy head medially in his clawed hands (Burger 1992a:Fig. 102).

Another Shipibo myth provides verbal exegesis for the same motif held in the Dumbarton Oaks Raptor's beak. A giant eagle ogre, "as big as a house," swooped down on people, carrying them off as food for its ravenous hatchling (Roe 1982a:70–71). In B-544 the eagle has caught just such a victim, decapitating him and carrying the human's trophy head in his mouth, a fearsome Winged Guardian indeed!

WHY EAGLES? VISUAL "INFORMATION" ABOUT CHANGES WITHIN CHAVÍN SOCIETY AND ART

Art styles integrate stratified societies, in part because they make "inequality enchant," especially in styles with complex iconography like Chavín's. As "horizons," they facilitate the interaction of disparate regions and cultures, via long-distance prestige trade in precious, small-scale, portable goods like teeth, feathers, bone, shell, hallucinogens, cultigens (as seed stock, not bulk commodities), obsidian, or exotic animals (Helms 1987). People accept the world view such beautiful and exotic goods embody, particularly when some of them open up hidden worlds of psychic experience. Exchange within the context of its ideology (not for material needs, but to answer affective imperatives such as personal beauty, sacred knowledge, or social status) establishes an enduring heritage of signs and stylistic devices for succeeding cultures to elaborate even after the religio-political sway of the *cultura matríz* collapses (Tello 1960).

What were this style's social projections, of which its images are examples? Rowe (1962) noted a change of cult iconography over time, although I amend [in square brackets] some of his labels. He suggested that the building of the southern extensions of the Old Temple, turning it into the "New Temple," signaled a displacement, partial eclipse, or supplementation of the [Caymanic-affiliated = Pleiades] god of the Lanzón [Phase A, and the Phase C Tello dual Dragons] by a new figure centered on the Black and White Portal, perhaps the [Were-Jaguar Warrior] "Staff = Smiling" God, and his flanking Raptor Angels. Cordy-Collins (1976: 50) notes that depictions of the Staff God/Goddess increase in popularity in the later (Phase D) Carhua textiles, as compared with those of the caymanic Dragon(s). Lathrap (1973) pointed out that the Jaguar acted as an intermediary in the Tello between the dual caymanic theomorphs. This placement may have been confirmed by the later discovery of the semi-subterranean Circular Plaza Phase B Were-Jaguar San Pedro Bearer and his theriomorphic Jaguar Transforms = Familiars (Roe 1978). If Lumbreras (1977) is correct that the Tello was first erected in the middle of

the Circular Plaza, before it was transferred to the larger rectangular plaza of the New Temple in Phase D, these figures are medial between the Tello and the Lanzón. The same Jaguar's liminal role continues into the present in the lowlands (Roe 1982a:133; 1998).

The reptilian aspects of the cosmos were, at the very least, increasingly displaced by Jaguar concepts centered on were-animal transformations as the religion and the sacred art style that expressed it coevolved. The dual Dragon represented the Vegetative Cycle, the yearly round pertinent to the subsistence of the egalitarian tribal societies of the *selva*. The Were-Jaguar human transform, and Raptor Angels/Guardians, are suitable intermediaries between such remote and terrifying reptilian deities and human worshippers, particularly as anthropocentric imagery increases in the art style, reflecting the progressively human-centric social process of stratification within the regional cult as it expanded (Roe 1982b:250).

The early phases (A–C) of the cult's shamanic iconography of animal transformation via altered states of consciousness, and its sexual politics, represent a classic case of culture lag, more reflective of the egalitarian lowland societies it partially emerged out of than the stratified society it was becoming (Roe 1982a:281). That this iconography was not entirely appropriate to Chavín society is not surprising, since religions are conservative, freezing not only the technology associated with their development, but also the then-current social mores. After all, people living in modern post-industrial information societies, with service economies, in the temperate New World, still believe in ancient desert religions of Middle Eastern Old World pre-industrial pastoralists and farmers, ultimately deriving from the Sumerians of 5500 years ago!

An increasing anthropomorphization marks the style through its D, E, and F phases (Roe 1978). We know that Phase D (the Janabarriu pottery period) marked the apogee of Chavín culture, the greatest extent of the midden at the Chavín site (Burger 1992a:169), the time when most of the sculpture was produced, and a period when the ceremonial complex at Chavín de Huántar doubled in size and complexity (Roe et al. 2008). It was then that the Old Temple was significantly extended into the New Temple and the Black and White Portal constructed. This phase saw almost pure type-site Chavín iconography spread to the far-off South Coast in the "Carhua" and "Callango" textiles (Cordy-Collins 1976; Roe 1974). Perhaps the Phase D anthropic-modeling (anthropomorphic imagery) of the style mirrored the increasing human-centric world view of a progressively stratifying society. If people, specifically powerful people, were becoming increasingly effective in marshaling labor to initiate and oversee non-temple public constructions such as terraces and drainage systems—that is, ruling one's profane existence—then it seems reasonable to assume that the supernaturals dominating one's spiritual life would have taken on an increasingly human cast.

The Black and White Portal embodies this human-mirrored (if still Were-Raptor/Carnivore) stylistic progression. Save for the Lanzón, early deities like the Tello Celestial/Subaquatic Dragons were entirely zoomorphic (albeit with human accoutrements). Similarly, Phase A Eagles and Hawk "Guardians" appeared in profile or in the heraldic frontal position as complete ornithiforms (figure 7.2a). Yet by Phase D, some of these Raptor-Jaguar Winged Guardians have sprouted arms, legs, and a human torso (figure 7.4). If these column figures were flanking a frontal, anthropomorphic Warrior God, the (Phase C) Tello obelisk situation becomes reversed by Phase D. Instead of a huge zoeme with miniaturized humanoids as internal subsidiary figures in its back, we see larger anthropomorphic deities with smaller Were-Avimorphs as external subsidiary figures, and above them, pure (but still jaguaroid) avimorphs on the Raptor Cornice.

This process relates to a religious phenomenon also evident in many Old World religions (Roe 1978). As the sacred tradition evolves, and the art style that represents it changes, a displacement of interest from forbidding and remote supernaturals to accessible and more "human" intermediaries occurs. Chavín begins with the dual Dragons as primordial, powerful, but also zoomorphic and otiose ("removed") supernaturals, representing the cosmos (specifically the Lower Atmospheric Heavens and the Subaquatic Underworld). They gradually become supplemented by natural symbolic vehicles who shuttle back and forth to these dual realms from the medial earthly domain of

people. These *sákti* are the Armed Were-Jaguars and their attendant Angels. Birds, after all, are the quintessential intermediaries of lowland mythology today, stealing cultural skills from such stingy proto-cultural[3] Dragonic figures (Roe 1991).

Helpful avian beings are more accessible as medial figures than the remote Dragons they oppose. They and human analogs, the priest and the chieftain, took center stage from the awesome dual reptiles. But they still wore the Dragon's kenned signature, in the form of its dragonic pelvic mask with agnathic jaw and central canine = phallus (in the male) and the Fish Woman Dragon's daughter = mate's stigmata, the *vagina dentata* (in the female). Both human "impersonator" and theomorph carried these lower world accoutrements on the basal, libidinous realms of their somatic geography (Roe 1990, 1991), the loins.

CONCLUSIONS: BEFORE DECODING IT, DRAW IT

Powerful and affective works such as the Callango textile are art objects as well as cult objects. Therefore, prehistorians should take both an art historical perspective of close visual analysis as well as a comparative ethnological approach. But, as this object lesson in iconographic misidentification indicates, we must go further. As etic analysts, we must enter the closed corpus of an extinct style and, via replication, strive for an emic understanding. We must become artists ourselves. Only by "doing Chavín" can we understand Chavín. Such reconstructions are falsifiable because the corpus is never really "closed."

Although the Chavín artists are long dead and the number of ancient artifacts fixed, they are not all recovered as of this, or any other, archaeological moment. New discoveries continually surface. One of them can, if fortune smiles, become the test of a prehistorian's componential reconstruction. Such was the case with the "Lintel of the Jaguars." I took this ancient image apart in 1974, isolating ten separate subassemblies (figure 7.2d1–10) of the fragmentary monument then extent (Rowe 1967a:Fig. 19). Then I built the image back up out of those parts, transverse-reflecting the reconstructed segment to generate more of the lintel: two opposed dual jaguaroid Caymanic Dragons (figure 7.10c). Later, an actual fragment of the reconstructed portion was, in fact, retrieved from the rubble of the New Temple's monumental stairway!

Perhaps in some far-flung collection lies a fragment of a Carhua or Callango textile that will confirm, or disconfirm, my derivation of this oft-misunderstood raptor. As the "Jaguar of the Skies," he/she flew (not swam) through the currents of the air in search of human heads, giving them as trophies to the powerful Were-Jaguar deities they guarded. These bellicose, snarling (not smiling) armed gods/goddesses used such portable bony wombs to magically engender coastal crop fertility, just as lowlanders do for game fecundity. Our Dumbarton Oaks Eagle was successful in his hunt, a head stares open-eyed, surprised at the moment of decapitation, held within his jaws! From such measured violence comes life as well as death.

NOTES

1. "Skeuomorphic" here has a technical meaning in material culture, as in an architectural "dentil," the representation of something made originally in one medium for a technical purpose, such as the ends of a set of wooden cross-beams, which is later faithfully replicated in a new medium, usually for a decorative intent—for example, the small rectangles in stone or plaster below the eaves of a Neoclassical building. Thus I suggest the "V" in the forehead, a pictorial device incised in stone, painted on a textile, or embossed in gold foil, is a skeuomorphic trace of the original "V" in an actual flayed pelt that was pulled off a head by making a vertical incision down the back of the head and peeling the face skin off and laying it flat.
2. This term comes from automotive engineering, as when a car company creates a new brand, not by engineering it separately but by delving into their "parts bins" (literally bins of parts) and pulling out already manufactured items and just assembling them into a new model (the result is also known as "badge engineering," as when a Chevy is morphed into a Buick by the slapping on of a new badge). I wanted, by this simile, to indicate the modular and recombinatorial creativity of the various Chavín depictions.
3. The intermediary state of the liminal dawn were-creatures, like the caymanic Dragon, who had the gifts of culture, such as fire, but used it naturally, as in vomiting it to cook and swallowing it when done.

8.

The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art

Gary Urton

In the study of pre-Columbian art in South America, one particular artistic tradition, that known (from the eponymous site of Chavín de Huántar, Peru) as Chavín, has been the focus of a great deal of interest and attention over the years.[1] The interest in Chavín art is related partially to the antiquity of works produced in this style (ca. 850–200 B.C.), as well as to its impressive range of distribution. Objects of stone, pottery, gold, shell, and other media rendered in the Chavín style have been found in archaeological sites along the coast, in the Andean highlands, and at sites along tributaries of the Amazon River within much of the territory of the present-day nation of Peru.[2] Beyond its impressive distribution in time and space, the central question that has motivated so much research on this artistic tradition is, What is the meaning of Chavín iconography? This is the question that motivates the present study.

In more concrete terms, I address the following questions: What attracts us when we view a work of art in the Chavín style? What were Chavín artists communicating about their understanding of their world in the iconography of this art? And, what (if anything) do we know about the subject matter of Chavín iconography as a basis for understanding and interpreting its meaning? To address these questions, I begin with a rather fanciful characterization of the process whereby (at least in my own experience) one gains a familiarity with, and gradually becomes accustomed to, some of the standard formal elements and organizational principles of Chavín art. The purpose of this exercise is to develop a basis for beginning to discuss the relationships between form and meaning that may have been important to Chavín artists as they went about their work, rendering subjects in the style to which they had become accustomed.

An Exploration of Style in Chavín Art

To begin with, and following Boas's dictum (1955: 9–10) to the effect that "without skill, there is no art," I maintain that underlying all fascination with Chavín art is the perception that a considerable degree of artistic skill is represented in the composition, design, and execution of most works rendered in this style. Therefore, at the most basic level—that of execution—we are constantly reassured when we view a range of works in this style that the individual Chavín artists had mastered their crafts.

At the next level, I suggest that when we view particularly complex examples of Chavín art work, such as the Lintel of the Jaguars (Roe, 1974: Fig. 9) or the Yauya stela (plate 8.1; see Roe 1974: Fig. 11), we are often simultaneously repelled and attracted by the absence of a clearly identifiable focal subject. By this I mean that the eye immediately encounters a profusion of complex, interlocking forms with no easily discernible central image and with no clearly defined figure/ground

relation among the various parts of the clusters of images. It is as though one is viewing a very complex, highly stylized jigsaw puzzle, but as to whether or not the pieces are all in their proper places, and if so what the image in the puzzle is supposed to be "about," one can not say with certainty. However, as one begins to sort out and regroup individual elements in a work such as the Yauya stela (figure 8.1) or the Tello obelisk (figure 8.2), the abundance of often grim-looking, profusely tusked animals, such as felines, reptiles, and raptorial birds, gradually resolve themselves into a central image.

To summarize, and assuming skill as the fundamental requirement for the production of any work of art, I argue that on the formal level, we are often fascinated by works of art in the Chavín style because:

- We encounter an immediate challenge and dilemma in identifying the relationship between what appear to be innumerable *parts* with a recognizable *whole*. That is, Chavín art seems to tinker, in a way often uncomfortable for us, with our part-whole system of classification according to which we manage, on an everyday basis, to recognize patterns among disparate forms.
- The subject matter of Chavín iconography is overwhelmingly concerned with life forms that have held a fascination for humans in all times and places—that is, *animals*. Perhaps only dimly, through our remnant pre-industrial senses, do we recognize that these animals are for the most part *carnivores*. The Chavín artists consistently provide an index of the dietary predilection of their subjects by equipping them with oversized canines, claws, and occasionally, fierce-looking agnathic mouths. Miller and Burger (1995:453–454) have noted that while the principal animals consumed by residents of Chavín de Huántar included llamas and (to a lesser extent) deer and vicuña, the animals represented in the iconography were in all cases the wild, carnivorous animals of the tropical forest. Thus, while the subject matter of Chavín iconography generally conforms to what Fernandez (1974:122) has noted with regard to the importance of animals in metaphorical constructions more broadly — "[t]his becoming an object, this taking the other, this prediction upon the pronoun, is a process that has for millennia turned to the animal world"—the Chavín artists achieved an even greater level of affective power of such representations through their emphasis on wild carnivores.

Figure 8.1. The Yauya stela *(from Roe 1974:47, Fig. 11)*

- And finally, despite the initially unfamiliar patterns of arrangement of the various elements of Chavín composite figures, there is ultimately always the *body* of an animal and/or human that we can identify as constituting what the particular work of art is "about." I would argue that much of the affective power of Chavín art is its focus on the body—the object in the world with which we are most familiar and through which we experience the world. But, what does this art do with, or say about, the body? It is the Chavín artists' manipulations of the body—the transformation of joints and penises into fierce jaguars; of hair into entwined serpents; and of vaginas into the sharp-toothed mouths of piranhas—that, as possessors of bodies, commands our attention.

Figure 8.2. The Tello obelisk, Museo Nacional, Pueblo Libre, Lima. *Photo: Gary Urton*

Following from the above observations, I will argue herein that the *body* was a subject of great interest to Chavín artists. Moreover, I argue that one of the primary vehicles for representing meaning in Chavín art is the play of transformations and substitutions of body parts and that the bodies of Chavín composite creatures represent structural "frameworks," models, or paradigms for organizing and classifying relations (for example, of ancestry, filiation, and affinity) among a host of phenomena and domains of meaning and experience in nature and culture. By analyzing these relationships between bodily form and meaning in art, we can hope to arrive at a point from which to articulate some of the core classificatory principles, values, and meanings in Chavín society and culture more broadly.

THE PROBLEM OF "KENNINGS"

Any new attempt to develop an understanding of form and meaning in Chavín art requires a consideration of the dominant paradigm in the study of Chavín art today. I am referring to the ideas articulated in John H. Rowe's classic study, "Form and Meaning in Chavín Art" (1967a). One of the most influential suggestions made by Rowe in this article was that Chavín iconography should be understood in terms of the construction of various levels and forms of visual metaphors, beginning in simple similes and metaphors and culminating in the representation of metaphors of metaphors; Rowe refers to the latter as "kennings." Rowe derived the idea of kennings from a common literary convention, or trope, used in Norse sagas. It

will be instructive to begin with a rather lengthy quotation from Rowe's study in which he outlined the main features of kennings and suggested how such a device might have been employed in the production of Chavín iconography.

> The type of figurative elaboration which is characteristic of Chavín art *is one with which we are more familiar in literary contexts*; it is a series of visual comparisons often suggested by substitution. *To give a literary example*, if we say of a woman that 'her hair is like snakes,' we are making a direct comparison (simile). If we speak of "her snaky hair" we are making an implied comparison (metaphor). We can go even further, however, and simply refer to "her nest of snakes," without using the word hair at all, and *in this case we are making a comparison by substitution*. In order to understand our expression the hearer or reader must either share with us the knowledge that hair is commonly compared to snakes or infer our meaning from the context. Comparison by substitution was an especially fashionable device in Old Norse court poetry, and it was given the name "kenning" by the thirteenth century scholar Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241).
>
> In Old Norse court poetry kenning became the chief basis on which verse was judged. The poets responded to this development in taste by devising ever more complex and far fetched kennings as well as increasing the frequency with which they used these figures. The elaboration of kennings was of two kinds, the kenning of kennings and the introduction of kennings which depended on a reference to a story which the hearers were assumed to know.
>
> The same kind of development in the direction of increasing figurative complexity which we have described for Old Norse poetry took place also in Chavín art. Kennings became more numerous and more far fetched, and we can identify cases of the kenning of kennings. *We cannot identify kennings referring to stories in any specific way, because the [Chavín] literary tradition is lost*. (Rowe 1967a/1977:313–314; my emphases)

Now, while Rowe's introduction of the concept of "kenning" has proven to be an important stimulus for thinking and writing about Chavín iconography over the years (certainly it was the point of departure for the present work), there are a number of problems with the use of this trope in interpreting Chavín (or any other) art style. The principal problem is, in fact, signaled by Rowe's continual switching between artistic and literary examples in explaining the meaning of kennings and other related tropes (such as simile and metaphor) in the above quotation, all the while claiming that the literary examples are valid for iconographic representation. However, even a cursory look at the comparison between literature and iconography will convince us that something is amiss here. Literary or verbal statements that make use of the devices of simile ("her hair is like snakes"), metaphor ("her snaky hair"), and kenning ("her nest of snakes") produce sequential, or layered, images in the mind. That is, *saying* "her hair was like twisted snakes" evokes, first, an image of hair, and then, the transformation of "hair" into "snakes," However, when represented *visually*, these three distinct linguistic tropes *will all look exactly alike*—that is, hair rendered as snakes. The reason for this, of course, is because a visual representation of, for instance, a metaphor cannot portray the simile of which that metaphor is a further elaboration. In short, a visual representation of any one of the three *verbal* statements can be accomplished only by means of "comparison by substitution" (that is, Rowe's "kenning"). Thus, the distinctions Rowe makes among the various literary devices, or tropes, break down when applied to the domain of visual art.

By appealing to the literary trope of "kennings," Rowe was trying to develop a methodological approach whereby the symbols and metaphors suggested by "substitutions" and "comparisons" in Chavín iconography could be used as a basis for the study of meaning in Chavín society and culture more generally. The most daring suggestion made by Rowe for the potential value of this approach in his 1967(a) article was that the symbols and metaphors derived by means of the analysis of artistic "kennings" might reveal elements that would have been explained by, and

therefore were representations of, Chavín myths and legends. However, in order to make use of kennings in art for interpreting a mythical statement, we would have to be able to refer to the visual *ancestry*—that is, the *prior* chain of comparisons and substitutions—from which the final image was derived. Only if we were to have access to Chavín narratives, which would allow us to move beyond, or behind, iconographic comparisons and substitutions could we follow the cumulative chains of ever more complex and indirect comparisons that are the hallmark of "kennings" in literature. Thus, the argument becomes circular and falters once again on the same point noted earlier—that is, that similes, metaphors, and kennings are *visually* indistinguishable.

Therefore, since the route of analysis so creatively opened up by Rowe leads, in the end, to any number interpretive quandaries, we must return to Chavín art itself and look for some other route of analysis to follow. I would suggest that we go back to a body of information in Chavín art that most students of Chavín iconography have undoubtedly recognized as central to the style itself but which, perhaps *because* of its prominence and its familiarity to us, has been entirely neglected as a focus of study; I am referring to the *body*.

I argue herein that the structures and relations organizing the bodies of humans and animals in Chavín art represent models of and for structured relations among actors (or other elements), processes, and systems of classification in other domains of life (for example, kinship, hunting, curing, eating). The "mapping" of sets of noncorporeal objects and relations onto the body represented the strategy whereby Chavín artists constructed their iconographic conventions on the proper and "natural" order of things according to Chavín cosmology. The resulting frameworks and paradigms of the body constituted what I refer to here as the "well-ordered body." Finally, it is important to stress that the body, with its joints regulating movement, its orifices regulating body–environment transactions, and so forth, is virtually the only thing we have in common with the Chavín artists. While I would not suggest that we interpret our bodily experiences in the same ways the people of Chavín did, nonetheless I maintain that the structures, processes, and experiences of the body are the most logical points of departure for an informed analysis of form and meaning in Chavín art.

THE PAIRED AMARUS OF THE TELLO OBELISK

In order to develop the ideas outlined above, I examine closely a single, but quite complex piece of Chavín art, the so-called Tello obelisk (plate 8.1; figure 8.2). The Tello obelisk, which is currently housed in the Museo Nacional in Pueblo Libre, Lima, was the focus of previous studies of Chavín art and iconography undertaken by Tello (1961) and Lathrap (1977b). The descriptive and analytical strategy to be used here, based as it is on one work of art, will obviously be insufficient to elaborate fully the iconographic details and variations thereof common to the full corpus of Chavín art. What we can hopefully accomplish in the space available here is the articulation of the theme of the "well-ordered body," as defined in Chavinoid terms, as well as the principles of organization and classification that informed the construction and representation of meaning by Chavín artists, as indicated by the metaphorical comparisons and metonymic connections which they customarily mapped onto the well-ordered body.

The Tello obelisk is a vertical, rectangular shaft of granite with a step-like notch at the top. The shaft is carved in relief on all four sides. When the four sides are depicted in a single, two-dimensional image (see figure 8.3), we see that the statue consists of two representations of what is apparently a single type of creature. The head, body, and tail of each creature occupy one or the other of the broad sides of the stela (figures 8.3, 8.4:A1 and B1), while the legs and genitalia, as well as other subsidiary elements, occupy the respective narrow sides, to the right of the main body (figures 8.3, 8.4:A2 and B2).

What kind of "creatures" are depicted on the Tello obelisk? Julio C. Tello, who was one of the first scholars to address seriously the questions of form and meaning in Chavín iconography,

identified this pair of images as "cat-dragons" (Tello 1961:183–185). Rowe (1962:18) and Lathrap (1977b:338) identify them as caymans (*Melanasuchus niger*), the large alligators which, until their virtual extinction during this century, commonly inhabited the middle and lower floodplains of the Amazon River basin. On one level, I would agree with Rowe's and Lathrap's identification but would insist that, by virtue of the transformations of the caymans' body parts into other animals, these creatures have become something more than just caymans; to use what I think might be their proper Andean designation, these are *amarus* ("dragon, giant serpent"). As we will see below, amarus incorporate elements of Rowe's and Lathrap's caymans with Tello's "cat-dragon."

We do not have space here to discuss extensively the concept of *amaru* as it is used in the Andes. Briefly, amarus have been identified throughout the ethnographic and ethnohistoric literatures as several different kinds of animals, such as cats (Zuidema 1967); large aquatic constrictors, such as anacondas (Garcilaso 1966 [1609]:222–223, 495–496; Guaman Poma 1980 [1615]:50, 65; Pachacuti Yamqui 1950 [1613]: 242); black bulls (Ortíz 1973); "dragons" (González Holguín 1952 [1608]: 24); and rainbow-serpents (Urton 1981; Whitten 1979). Two commonly recurring characteristics of amarus are especially appropriately mentioned in this context. First, amarus are generally thought of as composite creatures. For instance, Ortíz Rescaniere recorded one myth from the Mantaro Valley of an amaru that had the body of a toad, the head of a *huánuco*, small wings, a tail like a serpent, and was white with age (Ortíz 1973: 69–70). In a similar fashion, the Milky Way which, among other things, is considered to represent the body of an amaru, is composed of several different "dark cloud" animal constellations, including a snake, toad, *tinamou*, llama, and a fox (Urton 1981). Therefore, amarus are composite creatures—chimeras (compare Bompiani 1989).

Second, as suggested in the quote from Ortíz cited above, amarus are often represented as winged creatures. I think it is arguable that the creatures on the Tello obelisk are also winged. The wings are depicted in the form of tail feathers (figures 8.3, 8.4: A-36 and B-36). Lathrap (1977b: 339) and Rowe (1962:19) concluded that these elements represent fishtails. However, when one compares the tails of the creatures on the Tello obelisk (as well as those on the Yauya stela; see figure 8.1) with the objects that are obviously tail feathers on the harpy eagles shown in Rowe 1962:Fig. 14 and Roe 1974:Fig. 1, I think a strong case can be made that these creatures are "feathered caymans." Thus, I am in basic agreement with Burger's earlier interpretation of these elements as the tail feathers of an eagle or hawk (1992a:151). For these several reasons, I think it is warranted to refer to the pair of creatures on the Tello obelisk by the Quechua designation: *amaru*.

With regard to the representations of the two amarus, we see that they are composed of body parts rendered as other animals (or other animals' body parts) such that, for example, a feline/knee is attached to a reptile/wrist (or ankle), which terminates in the clawed foot of a cayman. Thus, the amarus of the Tello obelisk are composed of juxtaposed animals, or animal body parts, represented within the framework of the bodies of two caymans. I argue that the structure and organization of these compositions give us information about Chavín structural relations and classificatory principles on two levels at once. First, certain animals are regularly related to each other through an association of juxtaposition, or contiguity (that is, metonymy). Second, through metaphorical comparisons, these same animals are regularly compared to certain classes of body parts; for example, elbows and knees are commonly represented by, or transformed into, similar animals (such as jaguars), as are wrists and ankles (entwined serpents). These particular body parts are members of the class of body-part connectors we term "joints." My presumption here is that such comparisons as that just outlined between a class of body parts and particular types, or classes, of animals provide us with important information about Chavín ways of viewing, ordering, and classifying the world.

In summary, I propose that the bodies of the pair of amarus on the Tello obelisk serve as structural framing devices for classifying and comparing certain animals in relation to particular body parts, and/or classes of body parts. This suggests

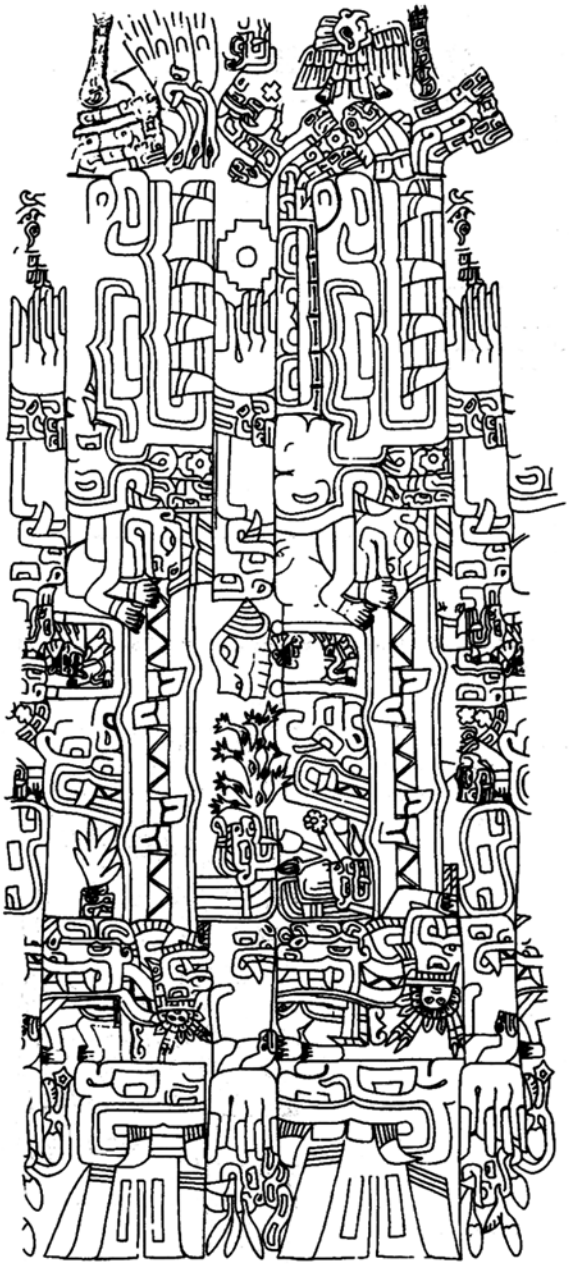


Figure 8.3. Rollout of the reliefs on the Tello obelisk (*from Rowe 1967a/1977:328, Fig. 6*)

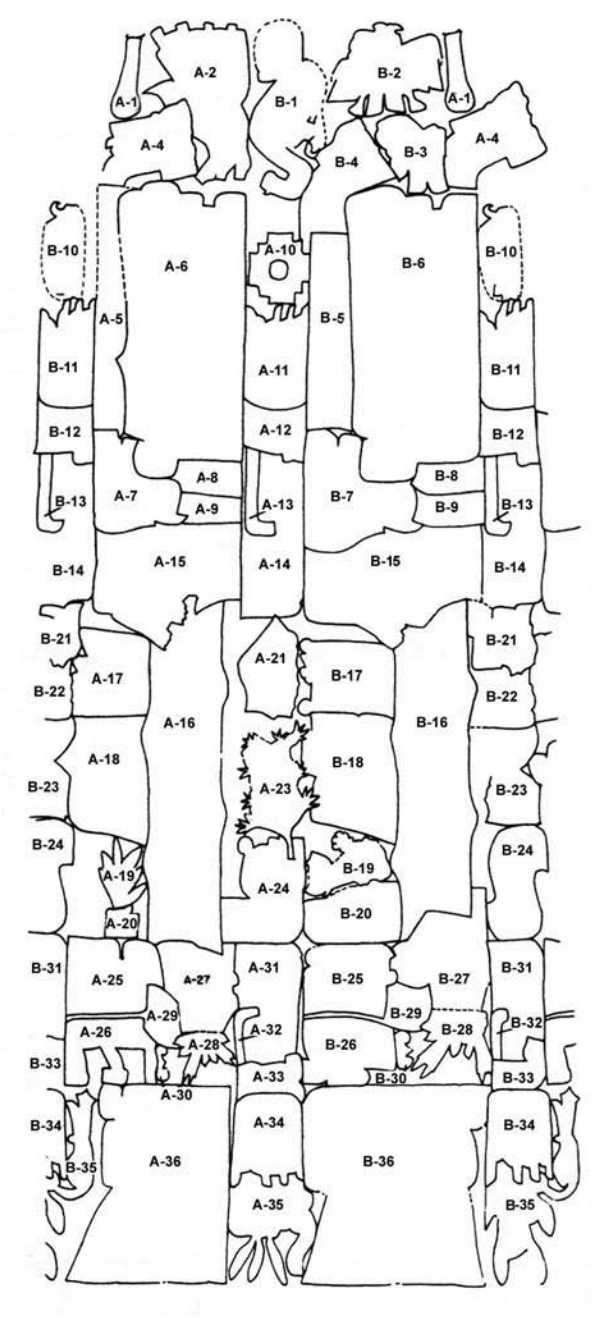


Figure 8.4. Reference key to design elements on the Tello obelisk *(from Rowe 1967a/1977:328, Fig. 7)*

that it may be fruitful to discuss some general principles of ethnoanatomy and body symbolism before proceeding with the analysis of the particular classificatory principles and structural relations encoded in the bodies of the amarus on the Tello obelisk.

THE ORGANIZATION AND MEANING OF ANATOMY

From a number of studies of ethnoanatomical classification and symbolism within different non-Western cultures (for example, Classen 1993;

Feher 1989; Franklin 1963; Lenormand 1950; López Austin 1988; Marsh and Laughlin 1956; Perey 1975; Stark 1969; and Swanson and Witkowski 1977), it has become clear that the terms and principles employed in classifying the parts of the body are often the same as those used in classifying other domains of nature and culture, such as plants, animals, and social groups. In addition, in all languages, human body-part terms are used in the naming of animal body parts. In light of this, as well as the demonstrable fact that human anatomical classifications are more elaborate than the anatomical classification of non-human animals, Ellen has argued that the human body is the primary model of classification, "in both an evolutionary and logico-operational sense" (1977: 353). In addition, Douglas has argued persuasively that in many cultures, the body serves as a model of and for society: "In its role as an image of society, the body's main scope is to express the relation of the individual to the group" (Douglas 1975:87; see also Ellen 1977:360). One context in which this theme has been developed in Andean studies is in Zuidema's analysis of the body of the puma used as a metaphor for the organization of the Inca capital city of Cusco (1985; see also Classen's study of body symbolism in Inca cosmology [1993:96ff.]).

There is still considerable speculation about whether body-part terms used in other domains are egressive (that is, extended from the body to those other domains) or ingressive (that is, projected from other domains to the body). However, the preponderance of the data suggests that in most cultures, the body is primary; it provides a model of and the terminology for classification within other domains. This extends to the use of relations among body parts as a way of describing relations among different elements within another domain, or between two similar elements belonging to two different domains (see Ellen 1977:357–358).

Apart from these general observations on the use of the body as a model and source of classifications, symbols, and metaphors, there are a few related points that should be stressed because of their relevance for interpreting certain body parts, or features, that are emphasized in the composite bodies (amarus) in Chavín art. First, there are certain characteristics of the structure and organization of the human body that are respected in all systems of ethnoanatomical classifications. These include, perhaps foremost, a universal unwillingness to violate the order in which the parts of the body are physically connected. For example, no society has been found in its classification of body parts to unite the foot and thigh as a category opposed to the lower leg (Swanson and Witkowski 1977:328). In this sense, the body represents a pre-determined grid of connections and relations whose basic structural features are always the same, regardless of the cultural setting. Another characteristic element of the grid of body classifications is its symmetry. There is no known example in which the two ears, eyes, arms, or legs are given different primary lexemes, although these symmetrical right and left body parts are, of course, commonly accorded different—usually opposed—symbolic values (see Needham 1973).

Second, certain parts or elements of the body are accorded special significance. These include especially the joints and orifices. The principal named joints, the body "dividers," include the shoulder, elbow, hip, and knee. Interestingly, Swanson and Witkowski found in a survey of the ethnoanatomical classifications of seven languages that wrists and ankles are not widely named (1977:331). They note that "it is what we might call the 'dividers' or 'general markers of boundaries' that most closely approach what we might refer to as named semantic universal concepts or primes" (1977:331). As for the orifices, these include especially the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears, genitalia, and the anus. In an intriguing study of body–environment transactions, Watson and Nelson (1967) developed a "paradigm of orifices," which recognizes the centrality of the orifices as the loci of the major exchanges between an organism and its environment:

> All three [mouth, anus, genitalia] function to relate the organism to its environment through the ingestion of sustaining substances or the expulsion of wastes and other secretions. For this reason, all can easily symbolize the exchange of gifts and donations with the rest of nature. (Watson and Nelson 1967:296)

These observations are interesting in relation to Lathrap's analysis of the plants represented on the Tello obelisk. Lathrap argued that, in its totality, the Tello obelisk represents a "huge, granitic doxology" in which the two creatures appear to be delivering the gift of cultivated plants to mankind (Lathrap 1977b:347–348). The plants often extrude from the orifices of animals appended to the amarus. For instance, both Tello and Lathrap interpreted elements A23 and A24 (figures 8.3, 8.4) as, respectively, a manioc (*Manihot utilisima*) plant extruding from the mouth of a jaguar, the latter of which is in the position of the penis of amaru A (Lathrap 1977b:344–346; Tello 1961:184). Lathrap further suggested that this particular iconographic composition represented something on the order of a "credo" of tropical forest, horticultural societies, projecting the message: "Manioc is the semen of the Great Cayman" (1977b:348). It is timely to take note in this regard of Gregor's comment that among the Mehinaku, who live on the upper Xingu River in central Brazil, manioc tubers are commonly compared to phalluses. Furthermore, what the Mehinaku refer to as "women's food," the principal example of which is manioc, is considered to become transformed into semen in its passage through the body (Gregor 1985:81–86). Thus, it appears that Watson and Nelson's "paradigm of orifices," with its emphasis on bodily openings as sites of body–environment transactions, may have considerable relevance in analyzing Chavín body-part classification and symbolism—especially in relation to the symbolism of body fluids and boundaries.

Third, an important theme in ethnoanatomical studies has concerned the principles that underlie different ways of classifying body parts. These principles have been defined as:

(a) *part-whole* (part-of, partiality; analytic)—for example, "my nose is part of my face"

(b) *kind-of* (class inclusion; synthetic)—for example, "my index finger is a kind of finger"

(c) *inalienable possession*—for example, "this is my ear"

While Swanson and Witkowski argue, on the basis of their study of Hopi ethnoanatomy, that inalienable possession is the most salient of the three classificatory modes (1977:322, 325), nonetheless, as this classificatory principle depends for its realization upon *verbal* statements, we cannot expect to get much purchase in analyzing this classificatory principle from the study of iconography. Thus, we will focus here on the first two classificatory principles (a and b, above) in this discussion.

Part-whole and kind-of classifications coincide, respectively, with the rhetorical strategies, or tropes, of metonymy and metaphor. Furthermore, metonymy and the part-whole mode of classification are comparable to what is termed "syntagmatic" relations, while metaphor and kind-of classifications are conceptually and in principle linked to "paradigmatic" relations (see Leach 1979:25–27). Turner (1985) has employed the contrast, and relationship, between syntagmatic and paradigmatic elements in his highly insightful analysis of the Kayapó myth of the "bird-nester and the fire of the jaguar." As we will see later, Turner's study of the ways these classificatory modes structure form and meaning in tropical forest myths provides a useful model for analyzing syntagmatic and paradigmatic elements in art as well. I now summarize the various methodological approaches and theoretical orientations for our analysis of Chavín art discussed up to this point.

METONYMY, METAPHOR, AND ANATOMICAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Having digressed in several different directions in the discussion of how we might approach an analysis of Chavín body metaphors and symbols, I provide in figure 8.5 a diagram of the artistic forms, tropic principles, ethnoanatomical concepts, and classificatory and cosmological principles that I propose to use in analyzing the paradigm of the well-ordered body in Chavín art and iconography.

Figure 8.5 begins with a restatement of the central elements and compositional forms of Chavín art—that is, animals, plants, and composite creatures (for example, amarus). The chart is

Artistic Form	*Chavín Iconography*	*Tropic Principle*	*Bodily Structure & Organization*	*Comparison to Anatomy*	*Chavín Classificatory Practice*	*Cosmological Paradigm*
Elements	Animals & plants	Metonymy	Connections	Joints	Part-whole (analytic)	= Syntagmatic
Composition	Composite creatures	Metaphor	Symmetry & translation	Orifices	Kind-of (synthetic)	= Paradigmatic

Figure 8.5. Elements of Chavín iconography, body symbolism, and classification

intended to be read both horizontally, along the rows labeled "Elements" and "Composition," and vertically, between items in columns falling under the same heading. The horizontal reading of the "Elements" row in the chart traces the manner in which discrete elements, such as identifiable plants and animals, represented in Chavín art may be understood to form connected series of elements that reflect Chavín part-whole (analytic) classificatory practices. In the paradigm of the well-ordered body, this dimension refers to the representation of discrete parts connected in syntagmatic chains, the crucial anatomical expressions of which are joints.

The reading of the "Composition" row in figure 8.5 points to the synthetic, paradigmatic dimension of Chavín art and iconography. In this dimension, metaphor guides the comparison of elements in compositional form. This includes such expressions as, for instance, the comparison of body parts on the right side of the body with those on the left, as well as substances inside the body with metaphorically comparable (according to Chavín ideology) substances outside the body (for example, as with semen and manioc). In the well-ordered body, such expressions, or translations, occur through the orifices of the body. Concerning the notion (suggested in figure 8.5) that symmetry is a kind-of, or synthetic classificatory form, we see expressions of this in Chavín art in two dimensions: right/left and upper/lower. As to the former, whatever body part (for example, the right eye), or set of interconnected body parts (for example, the right hand/wrist), exists on one side of the body may be likened or compared to its mirror image on the opposite side of the body (the left eye, and the left hand/wrist). As for the comparison between upper and lower, the hand/wrist combination of the upper body may be likened to that of the foot/ankle connection of the lower body. The classificatory mode of such iconographic expressions appears to rest on the principle of class inclusion (that is, "kind-of"). For instance, the right and left eyes are each a "kind-of" eye, just as the hand/wrist and the foot/ankle are "kinds-of" terminus/joint combinations. The latter comparison is, of course, especially compelling and generalizable when the subject in question is a quadruped, as is the case with the two amarus in the Tello obelisk.

It is argued here that a full reading of figure 8.5, like a full reading of a Chavín artistic composition, is realized in the combination of the metonymic, syntagmatic chains with the metaphorical, paradigmatic transformations to produce the well-ordered body of Chavín cosmology. This will serve as the model or paradigm for our analysis and interpretation of Chavín iconography and classificatory practices as represented on the Tello obelisk. As a prelude to undertaking that analysis and interpretation, it will be useful to take account of the semantic strategies and classificatory principles of the naming of body parts in an indigenous Andean language. Now, we do not know what language was spoken by the people who built, occupied, and regularly visited the site of Chavín de Huántar. In my discussion below, I make use of material drawn from one of

the varieties of Quechua (that is, Southern Peruvian), which was a widespread language of the coast, highlands, and parts of the tropical forest of Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest.[3]

Before turning to this discussion, I want to make clear that my purpose in presenting Quechua ethnoanatomical material is *not* to suggest that these data are directly relevant to the interpretation of Chavín iconography. In general, my hope is that the Quechua anatomical terms and concepts that we encounter in this discussion may provide us with useful conceptual and classificatory tools with which to talk about the organization of form and meaning in this ancient Andean iconographic tradition. Certainly, we will be better off in our attempt to develop a meaningful heuristic device and an analytical vocabulary with which to talk about Chavín iconography by exploring terms and concepts that derive from "well-ordered bodies" in any one of the varieties of Quechua, rather than if we rely on English body part terms and classes, or, worse yet, if we refer to works of Chavín art by such potentially misleading characterizations as "the Smiling God," "the Staff God," or "guardian angels" (Rowe 1962).

QUECHUA ETHNOANATOMY

The data on Quechua ethnoanatomy discussed below are drawn from several different sources. One particularly valuable source is a study by Louisa Stark, entitled "The Lexical Structure of Quechua Body Parts" (1969). I also refer to data on contemporary Southern Peruvian Quechua ethnoanatomy that I collected in the community of Pacariqtambo (Prov. of Paruro, Dept. of Cusco) in two sessions of fieldwork, in 1981–82 and 1987–88.[4] Finally, wherever appropriate, I have also drawn on anatomical terms and concepts provided in the early seventeenth century Quechua dictionary of González Holguín (1952 [1608]; this is the late pre-hispanic, Incaic variety of Quechua, probably ancestral to contemporary Southern Peruvian Quechua; see Mannheim 1991).[5] As there is not space here to give a complete accounting of Quechua body-part terminology, I confine my discussion below to those data that appear to be most directly relevant for understanding body symbolism and body-part classifications as represented in Chavín iconography; that is, I focus here on terminology relating to joints, orifices, teeth, extremities (hands and feet), and what I refer to as the "landscape," or geography, of the body.

Joints

One of the body parts that we find to be of central importance in the anatomical vocabulary in the Tello obelisk is the joints. In Quechua, there are distinct primary lexemes for the elbow (*kukuchu*, "corner; something bent over"), knee (*muqu*, "hill, mound"), pelvis (*chaka teknin*, "hip cross[-ing]," or *cintura pata*, "waist ledge"; Stark 1969:10) and the neck (*kunka*). However, the wrists (*maki muñica*, "arm/hand wrist") are similar to the ankles (*chaki muñica*, "leg/foot wrist"). As for the body parts connected by joints, Ellen (1977:366) has noted that joints often represent links between areas of relative undifferentiation, or of classificatory uncertainty. The common term for such long, undifferentiated segments of the extremities in Quechua is *llañu* ("a long, thin cylindrical thing"). For example, the buttocks and knee stand at the terminus points of the underside of the "thigh" (*llañu chaka*); the elbow and shoulder terminate the long stretch, called *llañu rikra*, from the shoulder down to the elbow; the portion of the arms between the elbow and the wrist is called *llañu maki*.

Orifices

As for the orifices, the eye (*ñawi*), ear (*ninri*), and nose (*sinqa*) openings are all conceived of as "openings, splits, or windows" (*t'uqu*). However, unlike these other orifices of the head, the mouth is not conceptualized as a *t'uqu*; rather, it is composed of a mouth [opening] (*simi*) and an interior mouth cavity (*simi uxu*). The lower body orifices are also (like the mouth) lexically distinct: anus (*ubete*; or *sip'uti*; Stark 1969:10); vagina (*raka*); and the urinary opening of the penis (*hisp'añin*; Stark 1969:10).

The terms outlined above suggest that there exists in Quechua thought a dual classification of orifices. This involves a distinction between the

three orifices involved primarily in the intake, through *t'uqus*, of sensory data (that is, eye, ear, nose) as opposed to the orifices through which material transactions take place between the body and the environment (mouth, anus, vagina, and urinary opening).

It is no doubt significant that body–environment transactions in the Tello obelisk occur primarily through the mouth, the penis, and the nose. The Quechua category of orifices through which body–environment transactions occur, and therefore those through which material transformations take place between the inside and the outside, is similar but not identical to what we see depicted on the Tello obelisk. The addition of the nose as an orifice of body–environment transactions in Chavín art may be related to the practice of ingesting powdered hallucinogenic snuffs through the nose. We have a substantial amount of archaeological evidence for this practice at Chavín sites, including mortars, bone trays, spatulas, and snuffing tubes (see Burger 1992a: 157–159). This evidence is complemented by detailed ethnographic descriptions from present-day societies in the lowlands of South America (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975; Dobkin de Rios 1984 [1972]), as well as by historical sources. Among the latter is the following description of drug use by the Muisca of Colombia provided by the seventeenth-century friar Pedro Simon:

> [T]hey take these powders and put them in their noses and which, because they are pungent, make the mucus flow until it hangs down to the mouth, which they observe in the mirror, and when it runs straight down it is a good sign. (cited in Burger 1992a:157)

Teeth

The importance of the mouth as a portal of entry and exit in Chavín iconography may be reflected in the strong emphasis on the canine teeth. In Quechua, the teeth are categorized into two principal groups: (1) the incisors and canines = *punku kiru* ("entry, or door teeth"), and (2) all the teeth behind the canines = *waqo kiru* ("cheek teeth"). González Holguín refers to the canine teeth as *tokma* ("canine; fang"), and *chocta quiru* (*chocta* = "long pointed [thing]"). Therefore, the canine teeth define the boundary of the "doorway" into and out of the body. Marked canines indicate, of course, a particular dietary predilection shared by humans and certain animals, most notably felines. Therefore, the possession of canines represents a point of comparison linking humans and jaguars. As a marker of boundaries and site of transformation, canine teeth can be compared to joints and orifices.

Hands and Feet

Although in contemporary Quechua the hands and feet are given different primary lexemes (hand = *maki*; foot = *chaki*), nonetheless their constituent parts are identical—that is, finger/toe = *riru* (Sp. *dedo*; Q. *rucana*; González Holguín 1952 [1608]:319); palm/sole = *pampa* ("flat plain"); hollow of hand/arch = *puxyu* ("spring"); and fingernail/toenail = *sillu* (Stark 1969:11). Stark's comments on this point are relevant here:

> This use of identical lexemes may indicate that the Quechua Speaker conceptualizes the hand and foot as being similar, if not identical, entities. This interpretation is supported somewhat by the fact that in the pre-Conquest (Inca) art of Quechua speakers, the hands and feet of the human figure are generally almost identical in representation. (Stark 1969:8)

These observations are important for our analysis of the Tello obelisk, because the hands and feet—or the front and hind legs—of the amarus are rendered identically (see figures 8.2–8.4, A and B-11, and A and B-34).

The Landscape of the Body

An important phenomenon in Quechua anatomical classification is a lexical overlap in body-part terms with terms and concepts referring to topographical features of the landscape. Stark (1969:8–9) has provided a good discussion of these terms, and I take one example here in order to suggest the possible significance of geographical conceptions and classifications for the construction and representation of meaning in the Tello obelisk.

The Quechua term for knee is *chaki muqu*, and the term for shoulder blade is *wasa muqu*. *Muqu* is also the word for "hill." These various uses of the term *muqu* indicate the existence of a synthetic principle of classification in which "hills" can be said to stand—and function—in the geographical domain in a manner comparable to knees and shoulder blades in the anatomical domain. That is, hills provide links between river valleys, just as knees link thighs and shins (that is, two stretches identified as *llañu*) and as the shoulder blades connect shoulders (= *rixra*, "shoulder of a mountain") with the depression between the shoulder blades (= *wasa wayq'u*, "back ravine").

Furthermore, I would argue that the anatomical correlates of "hill" (*muqu*), representing as they do points of connection and mediation, allow us to extend these metaphorical connections to the animal domain (as is clearly done iconographically in the Tello obelisk) by linking, for example, elbows, hills, and jaguars. These elements and characters perform similar mediating functions in their respective domains; therefore, they may be metaphorically compared to each other in iconographic expressions. This is the conceptual basis for making "comparisons by substitution" (kennings), as discussed earlier. However, while the literary trope of kenning—as the end point of a progression of tropes beginning with simile and passing through metaphor—has no natural grounding, nor can it be expressed, in iconography the interpretive paradigm of the "well-ordered body" provides the motivation, rules, and logic for comparisons by substitution in Chavín art.

Forms of Classification in Quechua Ethnoanatomy

Although her argument has been subject to criticism (see Swanson and Witkowski 1977:324), Stark maintains that Quechua body parts are conceived of in horizontal and vertical hierarchical levels; these, she argues, reflect the overarching operation of a principle of partiality (that is, the relations of part-to-whole) in Quechua anatomical classifications and naming. As stated by Stark:

> [T]he semantic dimension of [an anatomical] . . . lexeme may depend in part upon its position within an overall hierarchy, both from the point of view of 1) the horizontal contrasts it makes on the level on which it occurs, and 2) its vertical relationship to the lexeme of which it is a constituent. (Stark 1969:3)

We will return to comment on this important observation in our discussion of the vertical and horizontal layout of iconographic elements in the Tello obelisk (below).

Having outlined a number of Quechua ethnoanatomical terms and principles, we can now turn our attention to the Tello obelisk to see how the bodies of the two amarus on this stela are organized. Following this overview, we then return to compare the features of the Chavín "well-ordered body" to the organizational concepts and principles of classification in Quechua. Our objective in this comparison is to investigate whether or not there are any commonalities between the two systems that might provide us with a grounded, contextual approach—that of Quechua ethnoanatomy—for interpreting form and meaning in Chavín iconography.

ANIMAL SYMBOLS AND ANATOMICAL CLASSIFICATIONS IN THE TELLO OBELISK

I begin with an outline of what I think are some of the principal diagnostic features and structural relations of the two amarus on the Tello obelisk. Several general observations should be made initially:

(a) For the most part, the two amarus are shown in right profile; thus, the representational statement made here seems to be that these are two different creatures. However, I say this is true "for the most part" because elements A and B-36 (figures 8.3, 8.4)—the heads from which the tail feathers protrude at the bottom of the stela—are shown (respectively) in right and left profile. It is as though the two amarus begin as a single entity, with complementary right and left profiles, at the base but then become differentiated moving up the stela as the single, lower amaru is transformed into two parallel versions of the original image. This

may derive from a principle of the unity of like objects; that is, the understanding that different forms of a type (in this case, amarus) are at some level alike and share a common origin.

(b) As noted earlier, the bodies of the amarus are divided vertically so that the head, trunk, and tail of each occupy one broad side of the slab while the extremities and genitalia occupy the narrow side (to the viewer's right). This establishes a hierarchy of body parts with those elements on the broad side(s) as most inside and those on the narrow side(s) as outside; the two classes—inside and outside—are connected at body joints.

(c) In keeping with the Chavín design convention of dividing figures into a number of horizontal "modular bands" (Rowe 1962: 14), the bodies of the amarus appear to be divisible into five modular bands, organized as shown in table 8.1.

(d) There is a general emphasis on *heads*; for example, the various parts of the bodies of the amarus are made up of the heads of other animals, especially felines (for instance, elbows, knees, tails, and penis = heads of jaguars). The message seems to be that identity is formed and expressed by, or in, the head of an animal.

(e) There is an overwhelming iconographic interest in the *canine teeth*, which are often depicted on felines located at the joints, the "body dividers" (that is, at the elbows, necks, knees, pelves, and the point of connection between the pelvis and tail).

(f) *Joints* are often associated with *orifices*, especially with the mouths of jaguars.

In addition to these general observations on the structure and organization of the body parts and composite creatures on the Tello obelisk, there are a number of more specific observations to be made:

(g) Elbows and knees are represented by *similar* but not the *same* kind of felines.

(h) Wrists and ankles both incorporate reptilian forms.

(i) Hands and feet are depicted in almost the same way.

(j) There is an equal number of fingers and toes—*four* of each; these are represented as *one* thumb/big toe together with *three* fingers/toes.

I interpret the significance of the above observations in the following ways, in reference to the interpretive diagram shown in figure 8.6. This diagram illustrates the organization and classifica-

Table 8.1. The Organization of Modular Bands and Body Parts on the Tello Obelisk

Modular band	Body parts	Design elements (see figs. 8.3, 8.4)
I	Head	A- and B-5, -6
	Wrist	A- and B-12
	Hand	A- and B-11
II	Neck	A- and B-7, -8, -9, -15
	Elbow & Forearm	A- and B-14
III	Trunk	A- and B-16
	Genitalia	A- and B-24
IV	Pelvis	A- and B-25, -26, -27, -28, -29
	Knee	A- and B-31
	Ankle	A- and B-33
V	Tail	A- and B-36
	Foot	A- and B-34

tion of body parts according to the classificatory "grid" provided by (a) the vertical division of the two bodies into "core" (that is, trunk) and "periphery" (namely, extremities), and (b) the horizontal modular bands coordinating relations among upper/central/lower and inside/outside body parts.

Under the category of metonymic relations, I reemphasize the point that the head, trunk, and tail on each of the broad sides are juxtaposed to the extremities and genitalia along the respective narrow side. The connections between the central shaft of the body and the appendages occur at "joints"—the elbows, knees, and the crooked penis—marked by jaguar heads. The element in the position of the genitalia of amaru B (element B-24) is crooked but is not depicted as a jaguar head. Thus, except for element B-24, we learn that *joints in the anatomical domain are likened to jaguars in the animal domain*.

The second observation to stress concerning metonymic relations in the layout of the Tello obelisk is the juxtaposition of the five modular bands in the vertical dimension, from the top to the bottom of the stela. This arrangement could be interpreted as establishing *either* a hierarchical organization of elements along a continuum from the top to the bottom or from the bottom to the top, or a symmetrical organization in which the section from the top down to the center (band I to III) is complemented by the section from the bottom up to the center (band V to III). In view of the emphasis on symmetry and complementarity in other expressions of the organization of iconographic elements in the Tello obelisk, I argue for the latter of the two alternatives outlined above.

Combining this observation with that made above, in point (b), I would suggest that there is a strong design convention in the Tello obelisk emphasizing vertical and horizontal complementarity. This represents a form of "parallelism"—that is, the iconographic means for positing a structural metaphor—between the elements from the head and tail inward to the trunk with that from the extremities on the narrow panels to their attachments with the trunk on the broad panel (that is, from modular bands I to II and V to IV). Thus, the head downward to the neck is likened to the hand inward to the elbow; and the tail upward to the pelvis is likened to the relationship from the foot inward to the knee. There is, therefore, a powerful proposition represented in the modular band organization of the anatomy of the two amarus, which takes the form of a complementary relationship between upper and lower with outside and inside. The tropic principles directing

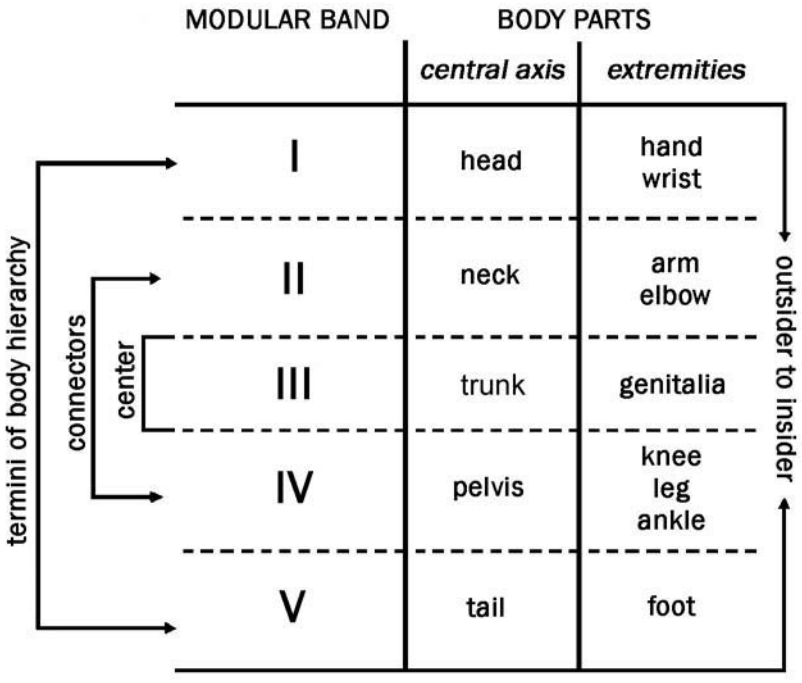


Figure 8.6. Schematic representation of the well-ordered body on the Tello obelisk

these expressions of parallelism are metonymy and metaphor, acting simultaneously and in concert.

Finally, the modular band division of body parts along the central axis of the amarus incorporates an iconographic theme noted earlier in the discussion of the points of connection between the extremities and the trunk; that is, joints are compared to jaguars. We note that along the central axes, jaguars are found at the neck (elements A and B-7) and at the point of connection between the hips and the tail (elements A and B-25, -27, and -36). Therefore, the points articulating the extremities with the trunk are compared to the points of articulation between the upper and lower parts of the body inward to the trunk.

It is instructive to note that the overall structure of the bodies of the amarus arrived at above is strikingly similar to the divisions and organization of body segments by means of body decorations found among the Yekuana of the Upper Orinoco River basin, as described by Guss (1989; see also Seeger's 1975 discussion of body ornaments among the Suya). The Yekuana body decorations included arm bands on the upper arms (between biceps and shoulder); strands of beads wrapped tightly around the calves, just below the knees; white beads wrapped around the wrists; necklaces; and a loincloth passing just below the stomach (Guss 1989:41–42). As Guss notes,

> Yekuana dress is a deliberate charting of the human space, with the trunk of the body fastidiously circumscribed from the outer limbs and head. . . . [E]ach Yekuana body is intersected by two imaginary concentric circles, the outer running through the wrist and ankle bands and the inner through those of the biceps and calves. Thus . . . the outer ring of the body—between knee and ankle, bicep and wrist—is also a world of differentiation and division. The inner circle . . . is a world of wholeness and union. (Guss 1989:42)

To return to the Tello obelisk, the comparison between joints and orifices in the iconography suggests an important conceptual relationship in Chavín thought between *articulation* (joints) and *transformation* (orifices). That is, a point at which a bend, break, or articulation occurs in a connected sequence is similar to a place where transactions are made between the inside and outside of a body. The Tello obelisk glosses this relationship between classes of anatomical parts and processes through a particular kind of animal: the jaguar. This key iconographic proposition requires further contextualization and commentary.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF TRANSITION AND MEDIATION: JAGUARS, JOINTS, AND UNCLES

Reichel-Dolmatoff's masterful study (1975) of the ideology and symbolism of human/jaguar transformations among Tucanoan-speaking peoples of southeastern Columbia provides ample evidence that, in many parts of the lowlands of South America, the jaguar was (and still is) thought of as the principal animal capable of transforming into a human, specifically, a shaman; in this role, the jaguar articulates, or mediates, between humans and animals and between humans and spirits (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:130–132; on the role of jaguars as mediators in myth, see Turner 1985: 63–64). Furthermore, Whitten has noted (1976) that among the Sacha Runa of eastern Ecuador, jaguars are conceptually and terminologically related to the kinship category of "uncle," especially mother's brother. It is interesting to note in this regard that in the invocation to keep jaguars away from villages among the Guaraní-speaking Paí-Cayúa, the jaguar is referred to as *che tuty*, "my uncle" (Cadogan 1973: 98).

To expand what appears, upon comparative study, to be an interconnected set of symbolic associations, including jaguars, shamans, and mediating classes or categories of kin (such as uncles), with other "mediating" classes or categories of individuals, Kensinger reports that most of his male Cashinahua informants said that when aroused, women "become sexually aggressive and insatiable because they have an erect and hot penis (clitoris) which causes them to be like jaguars, both dangerous and exciting" (Kensinger 1995: 81). On a related theme, Rivière has noted that

among the Trio Indians of Surinam, shamans are compared to menstruating women (1969: 268), and Hugh-Jones has remarked on the saliency of such a connection for the Barasana, among whom shamans play a central role in regulating menstruation through their control and manipulation of sacred paraphernalia (1988:125). This last comparison links the transactional symbolism of orifices—or of that which, like menstruating women, is considered to be excessively "opened up" (see Hugh-Jones 1988:125–126)—with joints, through the comparison among menstruating women, shamans, and jaguars, all of whom are considered to be in positions or states of mediation, transformation, and transaction with the environment.

Finally, it is relevant to note here Burger's interpretation of a veritable iconographic "program" at the site of Chavín de Huántar focusing on jaguar-shaman transformations based on the medium of hallucinogenic drugs. The iconography in question is that seen on several sculpted stone tenon heads, which adorned the walls of one of the temples at Chavín de Huántar. The tenon heads can be grouped into three sets, each representing a stage in the progressive and reciprocal transformation between shaman and jaguar. Burger's analysis of these sets of sculptures is that "they represent different stages in the drug-induced metamorphosis of the religious leaders (or their mythical prototypes) into their jaguar or crested-eagle alter egos" (Burger 1992a:157). One of the iconographic markers of the transition between shaman and jaguar is the representation of the snuff-induced flow of mucus from the nostrils of these transforming beings. This reaffirms our earlier suggestion identifying the nose as a major orifice of body–environment transactions in Chavín iconography.

To the degree that comparisons between anatomical and kinship classifications may be represented in the Tello obelisk by such strategies as comparing articulation and transformation, this may have enormous significance for our study of the social implications of Chavín iconography. For such comparisons as those mentioned here may be interpreted as motivated by Chavín ideological principles, which may point to what were common social practices in Chavín society. For instance, a "confusion" between articulation (joints) and transaction (orifices) may suggest a wider cultural principle such as the notion that, in reckoning along a collateral line of kin from the point of view of any particular ego, one may reach an individual—such as an "uncle"—who articulates ego's kin with other groups. Such a linking position becomes a point of "articulation" and "transaction" between ego and those outside his/ her group, or of transformations from one group or status and another. Such would be the case, for example, in the numerous lowland South American societies which have (or had) prescriptive cross-cousin marriage and an accompanying terminological equation between, say, wife's father and mother's brother.[6]

In terms of the social and reproductive significance of the iconic set *jaguar/joint/uncle*, I would note that on the Tello obelisk, the penis of amaru A (figures 8.3, 8.4:A-24), which is situated on the narrow panel A1, is represented with a jaguar head. In this position, the jaguar-penis mediates—that is, is a "joint" between—the two composite creatures (see Lathrap 1977b, for more discussion on the jaguar as a mediator in Chavín iconography).

The Iconography of Rupture, Transition, and Birth: Canines and Egg Teeth

Finally, in terms of ideas and iconographic expressions relating to transition, mediation, and the like, we should take note of the interesting but puzzling Chavín convention of the "agnathic" tooth row of caymans. This convention involves the representation of a sharply pointed tooth protruding from the center of the upper jaw, between the incisors (see, for example, figure 8.1). Lathrap (1977b:339) suggests that this trait may have started out as a depiction of the constantly visible upper tooth row of the cayman. Concerning the agnathic element, Rowe stated:

> As early as Phase AB we find front view agnathic faces provided with a pointed tooth in the center as well as the usual canines on each side. The central tooth is a pure product of

> the imagination which can be based on no observation of nature. (1962:17)

I suggest that Lathrap and Rowe may both have been wrong, and that the agnathic trait was, indeed, based on an observation of nature. The central tooth probably represents the "egg tooth" of a baby cayman. As the naturalist Cutright noted long ago:

> Often the young [caymans] are unable to escape from the eggs without maternal assistance, even though each one is generally equipped with an egg tooth. This is an exiguous structure sticking up from the anterior end of the upper jaw like the sight on the end of a rifle barrel. (Cutright 1943:233)

The egg tooth is the instrument for rupturing the container (the egg), which allows the cayman to make the transition from inside the egg out into the world. It is of great interest to note as well that Chavín artists often combined the egg tooth with well-developed canines—the marker of "felineness" in Chavín iconography. This combination appears to link the jaguar, the animal of transition, mediation, and transformation par excellence, with the cayman at the moment of the transition of the latter from inside (the egg) to outside (see Roe 1982a, who has discussed these and related symbolic features with extraordinary insight).

In the variety of ways outlined in this section, I argue that the well-ordered bodies of the amarus on the Tello obelisk represent sites for portraying, and working out, the various terms and expressions of a few key symbols and organizing principles in Chavín cosmology.

SYMBOLS AND PRINCIPLES OF CHAVÍN COSMOLOGY

In the previous three sections, I have attempted to pull together in a preliminary way data from different ethnographic and natural historical sources in order to interpret the significance of animals and body parts in Chavín iconography. The product of the combination of these sections itself has the feel of a composite "creature"—a chimera—like the amarus on the Tello obelisk. That is, both the interpretation and the amarus are composites of elements drawn from diverse sources from around the South American tropical forest. The principal virtue of an interpretation constructed of such heterogeneous elements may, in fact, be its methodological and genealogical similarity to the processes of selection and composition by which the Chavín artists constructed the two images on the Tello obelisk. This similarity may, however, provide just enough of an opening to allow a new perspective on form and meaning in Chavín iconography. By this I mean the following.

As we have seen here, the bodies of the amarus provide the framework of a universal logic—based as it is on the human body (see Brown 1991)—for the study and interpretation of Chavín iconography. The elements, or terms, of that logical framework are formed by the segments, nodes, and relations of what I have called here the well-ordered body. The unity and the sense of such composite wholes are represented in, and are to be understood through, the language and logic based on metonymic (syntagmatic) and metaphoric (paradigmatic) structures and relations of the human body. These devices and strategies are, in fact, similar to those used by Turner in his interpretation of the Kayapó myth of "the bird-nester and the origin of cooking fire" (1985). For example, Turner concluded from his study of this myth that:

> symbols have an internal structure, not only of static oppositions but of coordinated transformations of the relations among their constituent meaningful features. This structure is homologous with the relations between the symbols in question and the other symbolic elements of the compositions to which they belong. The meaning and structure of a symbol is . . . radically inseparable from the structure of the composite form in which it is embedded. (Turner 1985:52–53)

Turner's analysis (which he argues convincingly is fundamentally different from a structuralist analysis; 1985:53) of the form and meaning of a multi-episodic myth—that is, a "composite crea-

ture"—from the corpus of Kayapó myths provides us with a useful perspective from which to think about both the relationship between the individual parts and the composite whole figures composing the two amarus on the Tello obelisk, as well as the possible relationship between these (part and whole) images and the myths informing the iconography.[7] These comments lead us back to the topic of the relationship between myths and "kennings" with which we began this study.

As I pointed out earlier, the original idea behind Rowe's (1962) introduction into Chavín studies of the heuristic device of the kenning seems to have been the desire to find a way to induce the iconography to "speak" to us about the myths that lay behind, organized, and gave meaning to the imagery. We have been straining to hear some murmur of these myths resonating from the sounding board of the kennings we have identified in Chavín art over the past three decades without notable success. As I have tried to show in this article, I don't think the device of the kenning is well suited to the task we have assigned it. That is, to say that an icon is an example of a "comparison by substitution" (that is, a kenning) does not move us very far along the path of interpretation. However, saying that that same icon is located at a determined position within a *body* immediately places that icon in a logical (in bodily terms), *well-ordered* framework of surfaces, joints, orifices, and—based on our knowledge of how bodies work—internal processes, fluids, and sensations. Here, we are in a world about which we have some good intuitions—intuitions that may provide us with ways of articulating some of the principles, structures, and values by which metaphorical and metonymic relations among body parts, animals, and plants are organized in Chavín iconography, such as that on the Tello obelisk. But the implications of this interpretive approach do not stop at the corporeal level; this is both because society is consistently imagined, or seen metaphorically, as a body, and because while bodies are *individually* experienced, they are *collectively* socialized. Thus, whatever we learn about bodies and their states of transition from the study of Chavín iconography ought to be a path of entry into the study of Chavín society.

From our preliminary examination here of some of the images mapped onto the well-ordered bodies of the Tello obelisk, I conclude that the two amarus carved in opposition to each other across a slab of granite display a complex, redundant "message" built up around the topic of the body and organized according to the themes of mediation, transition, and transaction; of boundaries and the rupture of boundaries; of fertility, reproduction, and birth; and the complexities of individual and social identity and alterity. As to the identities of the characters in this drama and the nature of the individual and collective actions that led them to become the subjects of representation in the Tello obelisk, I suggest there is only one moderately reliable source of information that we can turn to—this is to the ethnographic materials containing accounts of myths, rituals and artistic practices, as well as classifications of animals, plants, social groups, and body parts, that have been collected over the years among native peoples of the tropical forest of South America. I have undertaken only a very preliminary review of these materials in the present paper; much more work remains to be done.

NOTES

1. This chapter is reprinted in revised form from a previous article, "The body of meaning in Chavín Art," *Res* 29/30, Spring/ Autumn 1996: *The Pre-Columbian*, pp. 237–255. Copyright 1996 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. I would like to express my appreciation to the following people for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this paper: Richard Burger, Billie Jean Isbell, Bruce Mannheim, Julia Meyerson, Ann Peters, Johannes Wilbert, Tom Zuidema, and an anonymous reader selected by the editor of Res. The various comments and suggestions for improvements made by all of these people have been enormously helpful to me in writing this paper. I alone, of course, am responsible for the opinions expressed, and any errors that remain, in the paper.
2. For information on the history of research at the site of Chavín de Huántar, and of studies of Chavín culture more broadly, see Benson 1971; and Burger 1984, 1992a.

3. For studies of the differentiation among and the chronology of the various dialects of Quechua, see Parker 1963; Torero 1964; and Mannheim 1991.
4. Unless otherwise indicated, the contemporary Quechua anatomical terminology given below derive from my own fieldwork. As the site of Chavín de Huántar is located in central Peru, it would no doubt be more directly relevant to our study to work with one of the Central Quechua varieties of this language. I have used the Southern Peruvian variety (Cusihuamán 1976) here because that is the variety with which I have considerable experience and a reasonable level of fluency in speaking. I invite my colleagues who specialize in any one of a number of central Peruvian languages spoken in the central highlands or the tropical forest to take up this study.
5. Classen has recently (1993) provided a valuable summary and analysis of Inca anatomical terms and concepts, primarily as recorded in the Quechua dictionary of González Holguín. Classen's study is concerned principally with understanding Quechua conceptions of the senses, rather than (as is the case with the present study) conceptions and classifications of bodies and body parts.
6. See, for example, the series of articles describing such relationships and terminology in lowland South American societies in Kensinger 1985. I would note here the interesting comparative perspective on such relationships that we gain from Bulmer's study (1967) of ideas about cassowaries—which are considered to be like sisters and cross-cousins to men—among the Karam of the New Guinea highlands.
7. Although not incorporating ethnographic materials, one of the best examples of the general type of iconographic analysis that I have proposed herein is Ann Peters's study of animal and plant imagery in Paracas embroidered textiles (1991).

Part IV
The Culture of Chavín

9.

Chavín's Psychoactive Pharmacopoeia: The Iconographic Evidence

Constantino Manuel Torres

Previous studies of the Chavín culture have established general evidence supporting the use of psychoactive plants in the rituals and religion of the culture (Burger 1995:157–159; Cordy-Collins 1977, 1980, 1982; Mulvany de Peñaloza 1984; Sharon 2000). This paper is an effort to determine more precise information concerning this presumed use of inebriating plants in Chavín ritual activities. To accomplish this, it is necessary to establish clear criteria for the inquiry. In such an investigation, four categories of archaeological evidence can be considered:

1. Remains of psychoactive plants
2. Implements related to use of psychoactive materials
3. Representations of psychoactive plants
4. Depictions of the use of psychoactive materials

(1) The most direct form of evidence would be the finding of plant remains in an archaeological context. *Anadenanthera* seeds have been found in northwest Argentina and in northern Chile (Fernández Distel 1980; Llagostera et al. 1988). Tobacco and *Ilex guayusa* leaves were excavated at the site of Niño Korin in Bolivia (Wassén 1972; Schultes 1972). However, these are rare occurrences, possible only in environments with good preservation of the archaeological remains, and there is no long-term organic conservation near Chavín de Huántar. Although numerous Chavín-style artifacts of organic composition have been recorded from sites with conditions conducive to good preservation, virtually none have been excavated scientifically or with the care required for the identification of plant remains. Thus, as yet, no remains of visionary plants have been discovered in Chavín archaeological contexts.

(2) Implements utilized in preparation and ingestion of psychoactive plants constitute the most frequent evidence. Evidence of this type is best provided by snuffing paraphernalia and smoking pipes. The equipment for nasal inhalation of psychoactive powders consists of a distinct set of implements specific to the task: a small rectangular tray, a snuffing tube, a spoon, and leather pouches as containers for the powders. Bone, ceramic, or stone smoking-pipes are also frequently found in archaeological sites throughout the south-central Andes. In Formative Period (600 B.C.–300 A.D.) cultures of northwestern Argentina, particularly those in the Puna de Jujuy, such pipes have been associated with *Anadenanthera* seeds (Fernández Distel 1980; Pérez Gollán and Gordillo 1994). Snuffing paraphernalia is not frequent on Chavín sites, and smoking pipes are unknown.

(3) Plant representations constitute a third type of archaeological evidence for the use of psychoactive plants. San Pedro cacti, as will be seen below, are represented in Chavín stone sculptures, ceramics, and as painted images on textiles. Representations of *Brugmansia* flowers, leaves, and seed capsules are also evident on the stone sculpture.

(4) Depictions of the ingestion of psychoactive plants and the instruments employed in their preparation and use provide yet another category of evidence. Snuffing implements, for example, are prominently displayed by the monumental stone figures at the sites of Tiwanaku, Bolivia, and San Agustín, Colombia (Berenguer 1987; Torres 1981). Chavín stone sculpture and ceramics provide suggestive evidence of this type.

In addition to the four categories of evidence outlined here, an alternative line of inquiry can be established through analogies with shamanism. The link between shamanic ideas and the Chavín style initially becomes apparent in the frequent allusions to vision-inducing plants. Shamans utilize psychoactive agents in attempts to modify states of consciousness, in order to travel to supernatural realms. Unlike other drugs that normally only act as calmatives or as stimulants (for example, alcohol, caffeine, tranquilizers), the visionary plants commonly employed in South American shamanism (see below) trigger instead a series of extreme changes in spatial and temporal perception, thought patterns, and mood, simultaneous with profound flights of ideation, without major disturbances of the autonomic nervous system (Schultes and Hofmann 1980:14-15). This is accompanied by enhanced coloration of the visual field, intense patterning, and figurative visionary phenomena. It should be stressed that the ecstatic experience is not the ultimate goal of the shaman; rather, it is the means through which specific objectives are attained.

To refer to ritual and religious practices at Chavín de Huántar, or any other large-scale monumental site in the Andes, as *shamanism* is not correct. Properly speaking, shamanism is a phenomenon of small communities with little or no social stratification or hierarchical institutions, where the shaman coexists with other related professions such as healers. What distinguishes the shaman from priests and mystics is the capacity to access ecstatic states and travel to supernatural realms (Eliade 1964:4-5). In the Americas the ecstatic state is eminently provoked by the ingestion of a variety of psychoactive plants (Furst 1974). The Chavín pictorial configuration suggests a highly organized and complex society that included institutionalized religious structures with its attendant priestly class, unlike the communities where shamanism thrives. However, concepts such as animal transformation, repetitive imagery, accumulation of motifs, skeletonized representations, metaphoric expressions, and anatropic images are widely associated with shamanism and, as we see below, also characterized most of Chavín art. Shamanism is intrinsically composed of performance and site-related activities; this suggests the possibility that the spatial arrangement of a ceremonial center could provide secondary evidence for ecstatic or visionary performances (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1). Therefore, it could be profitable to identify shamanic elements in the art of Chavín in an effort to clarify certain aspects of the iconography that might otherwise remain unclear.

It thus becomes very important to ask how the use of visionary plants is reflected in Chavín art. First, issues related to plant availability are considered in order to define the parameters for the iconographic search. Second, previous studies are discussed to bring out the findings of archaeological botanical specimens, identification of plant representations, as well as the paraphernalia utilized in the preparation and ingestion of the inebriating plants. This work concludes with a discussion of issues related to composition, iconographic and narrative structure, and probable affinities with the art of other cultures where shamanism and the use of psychoactive plants have played a major role.

PLANT AVAILABILITY

Inebriating plants likely to be available in Chavín include *Trichocereus pachanoi* (*huachuma*, San Pedro), *Anadenanthera (vilca*, *cebil)*, *Brugmansia (borrachero*, *floripondio*, *misha)*, *Nicotiana* (tobacco), and *Erythroxylum* (coca). Each of these plants is briefly discussed below in order to determine the feasibility of its use.

Anadenanthera

Siri von Reis Altschul (1964), in her taxonomic revision of the genus, considered *Anadenanthera* to consist of two species, *A. peregrina* (L.) Speg. and *A. colubrina* (Vell.) Brenan, with each species having two varieties. The two varieties of *Anadenanthera peregrina* are *A. peregrina* (L.) Speg. var.

peregrina von Reis Altschul and *A. peregrina* (L.) Speg. var. *falcata* (Benth.) von Reis Altschul. The varieties of *A. colubrina* are *A. colubrina* (Vell.) Brenan var. *Colubrina* von Reis Altschul and *A. colubrina* (Vell.) Brenan var. *Cebil* (Griseb.) von Reis Altschul. *A. peregrina* var. *peregrina* and *A. colubrina* var. *Cebil* (figure 9.1) are the two varietals employed as the source of psychoactive preparations, most notably in the form of snuff powders. The genus *Anadenanthera* has a wide distribution on the South American continent and on the Greater Antilles. The two species have a preference for savanna habitats, although they seem to be adaptable to altitudes up to 2700 m. Neither species of *Anadenanthera* is present, to my knowledge, in the coastal valleys or in the western slopes of the Andes of northern Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia.

The earliest evidence for the use of *Anadenanthera* consists of materials found at the site of Inca Cueva, located in the Puna de Jujuy, northwest Argentina, at an altitude of 3860 m above sea level. The finds included *Anadenanthera* and *Prosopis* seeds and two smoking pipes made of puma bone (*Felis concolor*). Chemical analysis of the pipe residue indicated the presence of tryptamine alkaloids. Radiocarbon testing yielded dates of 2130 ± 80 B.C., and 2080 ± 80 B.C. (Aschero and Yacobaccio 1994; Fernández Distel 1980: 56, 57, 65, 75, Fig. 5). The main psychoactive alkaloid in *Anadenanthera* species is 5-hydroxy-dimethyltryptamine (bufotenine); also present but in significantly smaller amounts are dimethyltryptamine (DMT) and 5-Methoxy-DMT (Torres et al. 1991; Torres and Repke 1996).

Trichocereus pachanoi

The genus *Trichocereus* comprises approximately 40 species of cacti distributed throughout the Andes. Several *Trichocereus* species are used as ritual inebriants, although most documentation

Figure 9.1. *Anadenanthera colubrina* var. *Cebil*, in fruit, Cerro San Bernardo, Salta, Argentina

refers to *T. pachanoi*, known in Peru as *huachuma* or *San Pedro* (figure 9.2). It is a tall, tree-like cactus, 3 to 6 m in height, with numerous ramifications. Britton and Rose (1920) first identified it as *Trichocereus pachanoi* based on a specimen from Cuenca, Ecuador. These cacti are abundant in northern Peru, including present-day Chavín de Huántar. Mescaline is the principal psychoactive alkaloid present in these cacti and has been found in 12 *Trichocereus* species (Ott 1996:88). Potions based on *T. pachanoi* are apparently restricted to the central and north coast of Peru and adjacent highland areas, although there is mention of its use as far south as Cusco during the sixteenth century (Polia Meconi 1996:279). The earliest evidence for its ritual use was found

Figure 9.2. *Trichocereus pachanoi*, Chavín de Huántar, Peru

at Las Aldas, on the north-central coast of Peru (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.) (Fung 1972a; Polia Meconi 1996:289). In addition, a cache of offerings deposited in the atrium of the temple at the ceremonial center of Garagay (1200–1000 B.C.), on the central Peruvian coast, included two figurines with San Pedro cactus spines on their back (Burger 1995:64). It is still used in shamanic rites in Peru and Ecuador (Polia Meconi 1996; Sharon 1978).

Brugmansia

Brugmansia (figure 9.3) are small trees (3–5 m tall) closely related to *Datura*, but classified as a distinct genus. All five species of *Brugmansia* are South American in origin; none is known to occur in a strictly wild state, suggesting long-term association with agricultural practices (Schultes and Hofmann 1980:264). Several species of *Brugmansia* have been used in Andean America since ancient times; among these the most frequent are *B. aurea*, *B. sanguinea*, *B. suaveolens*, and *B. versicolor*. These trees and shrubs are variously known as *borrachero*, *chamico*, *floripondio*, *misha*, and *toa*. The various species of *Brugmansia* contain tropane alkaloids, most notably scopolamine and atropine (Ott 1996:364–365). It is most frequently prepared as an infusion of leaves and twigs; its pulverized seeds are added to fermented drinks (Schultes and Hofmann 1980:271). *Brugmansia* is frequently added to San Pedro cactus potions. Probable representations of this genus are seen in Chavín stone sculpture.

Nicotiana

Tobacco (figure 9.4) has played a central role in American shamanism. There are at least 64 species of tobacco, but only a few were of widespread use during pre-Columbian times (Wilbert 1987: 1, 4). Snuffing was the most frequent method of use, but tobacco was also chewed and smoked, or applied to the skin as an ointment. *Nicotiana rustica* and *N. tabacum* were the species widely cultivated. *N. rustica* is hardier and higher in alkaloid content; it is also the older of the two, and has a wider geographical distribution. *N. tabacum* did not extend beyond the tropics during pre-Columbian times (Wilbert 1987:4-6). The use of

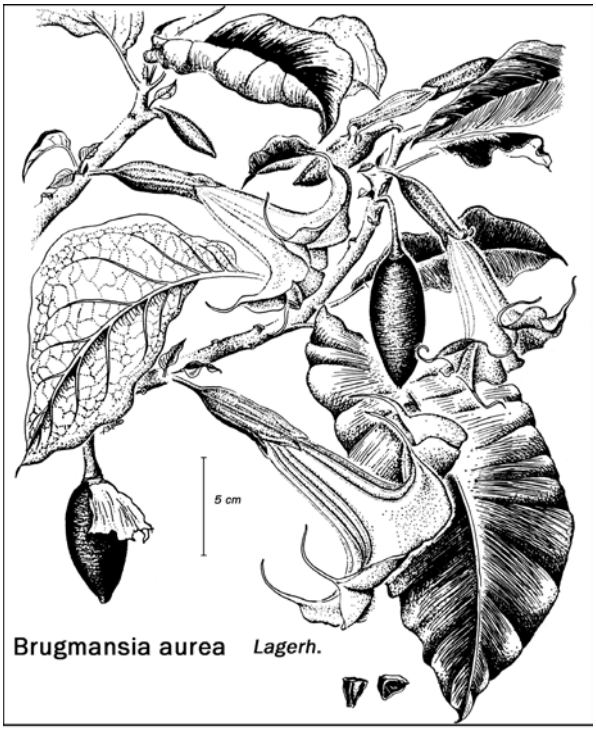


Figure 9.3. *Brugmansia aurea (after Schultes and Hofmann 1980:Fig. 119)*

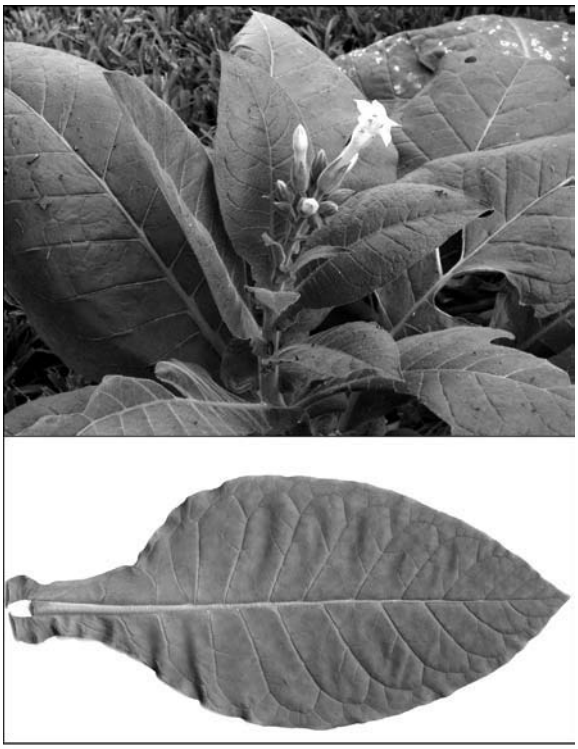


Figure 9.4. *Nicotiana* species

tobacco in the ancient Andes has been clearly determined, and it is mentioned by Garcilaso de la Vega and in the compilations of Jiménez de la Espada (1965). A leather pouch containing tobacco was found at Niño Korin, Bolivia (ca. 300–500 B.C.) (Wassén 1972:43). Greater antiquity of use, however, has never been conclusively determined. The iconographic evidence for its presence in Chavín art is inconclusive.

Erythroxylum

The coca shrub belongs to the genus *Erythroxylum* (figure 9.5), which consists of about 200 species found mostly in the American tropics; it is also present in Africa, India, tropical Asia, and Oceania (Plowman 1984:130). However, only two species, each having two varieties, are the sources of all cultivated South American coca: *E. coca* var. *coca*, *E. coca* var. *ipadú*, *E. novogranatense* var. *trux-*

Figure 9.5. *Erythroxylum coca*, front and back views

illense, and *E. novogranatense* var. *novogranatense*. *Truxillense* is the variety utilized in the Peruvian coast and represents the most ancient evidence for coca use. Examination of extant archaeological coca leaves from coastal Peru determined that most samples represented Trujillo coca (Plowman 1984:135; Rury and Plowman 1983:312). Bolivian or Huánuco coca (*E. coca* var. *coca*) grows in the montane tropical forest areas of the eastern slopes of the Andes, between 500 and 1500 m in elevation. Its range extends from Ecuador to southern Bolivia and extreme northwest Argentina (Plowman 1984:133). The habitat of the drought-resistant Trujillo variety reaches from the north coast of Peru up to the arid thorn and scrub area of the upper Marañon and its tributaries, where it interacts with *E. coca* var. *coca*. Plowman (1984: 144) suggests that both varieties were probably traded to the adjacent highland areas, including Chavín de Huántar.

The earliest evidence is from the site of Culebras (ca. 2000 B.C), Department of Ancash, where leaves were found in association with gourds containing powdered lime (Engel 1957: 67–68). At the site of Asia, on the central Peruvian coast, Engel (1963:77) found coca leaves and large deposits of burned lime dating to about 1800 B.C. Coca leaves have twice been reported from Ancón in contexts dated ca. 1800–1400 B.C. (Plowman 1984:140). It should be noted that none of these have been identified botanically. Coca leaf representations are infrequent in pre-Columbian art, although coca-related rituals are variously depicted throughout the Andes. One of the oldest effigy vessels depicting a coca chewer was found in the Jequetepeque Valley of north Peru (Jones 1974:4, Fig. 1). The stone sculpture of Chavín de Huántar lacks any apparent references to coca leaf use.

Archaeological Evidence

Evidence for San Pedro cactus use in Chavín stone sculpture and textiles, as well as in Cupisnique ceramics, has been extensively discussed (Cordy-Collins 1977, 1982; Sharon 1978, 2000). San Pedro cacti are frequently represented in Cupisnique or Tembladera pottery (ca. 1500–500 B.C; figure 9.6). At least 32 stirrup-spout vessels are decorated with representations of ribbed cacti in association with spotted felines, spiral volutes, serpents, and a raptorial bird (Sharon 2000:3). It should be noted that some of the ceramics reported by Lumbreras (1993:196, 184–204; see also Burger 1995:139) from the Galería de las Ofrendas are of Cupisnique affiliation. The Circular Plaza of the Old Temple is located adjacent to this galería. It is significant that one of the stone slabs forming part of the wall of this sunken plaza depicts a profile zoomorphic being holding a stalk of San Pedro cactus (plate 9.1). This figure stands above a row of spotted felines, indicating an iconographic linkage with Cupisnique ceramics.

While representations of San Pedro cactus are varied and frequent, support for the use of *Anadenanthera* is indirect. Representations of this leguminous tree, its pods, or seeds are infrequent, and no *Anadenanthera* remains have been reported from Chavín-related sites. Smoking pipes have never been found, and snuffing paraphernalia of the type commonly found in the south-central Andes are infrequent. A whalebone snuff tray (figure 9.7) was found in the coast around the village of Supe, and small stone zoomorphic trays were excavated at the Galería de las Ofrendas (Lumbreras 1974:Fig. 88). Elaborate stone mortars (figure 9.8) and pestles carved with feline, avian, and reptilian motifs were presumably used in preparing the snuff (Burger 1995:200, Figs. 145, 217). Bone and gold spatulas (figure 9.9) or small spoons formed part of the snuffing paraphernalia (Burger 1995:200–201, Fig. 219). Burger and Cordy-Collins have proposed that the tenon heads from the Old Temple illustrate the gradual acquisition of zoomorphic attributes (Burger 1995:157–159, Figs. 144, 147–155; Cordy-Collins 1980:86–87, Fig. 3). Some of these exhibit prominent nasal discharge, suggesting snuff use as the method employed to elicit the transformation (figure 9.10). Copious mucus flow is characteristic of the intense snuffing sessions recorded throughout the Amazon and Orinoco basins. Nasal discharge is only prominent on tenon heads that exhibit an advanced stage of transformation. San Pedro cacti sprout from the eyebrows of one of these tenon heads (figure 9.10, bottom).

The probability of *Anadenanthera* snuff use in Chavín is reinforced by the early presence of

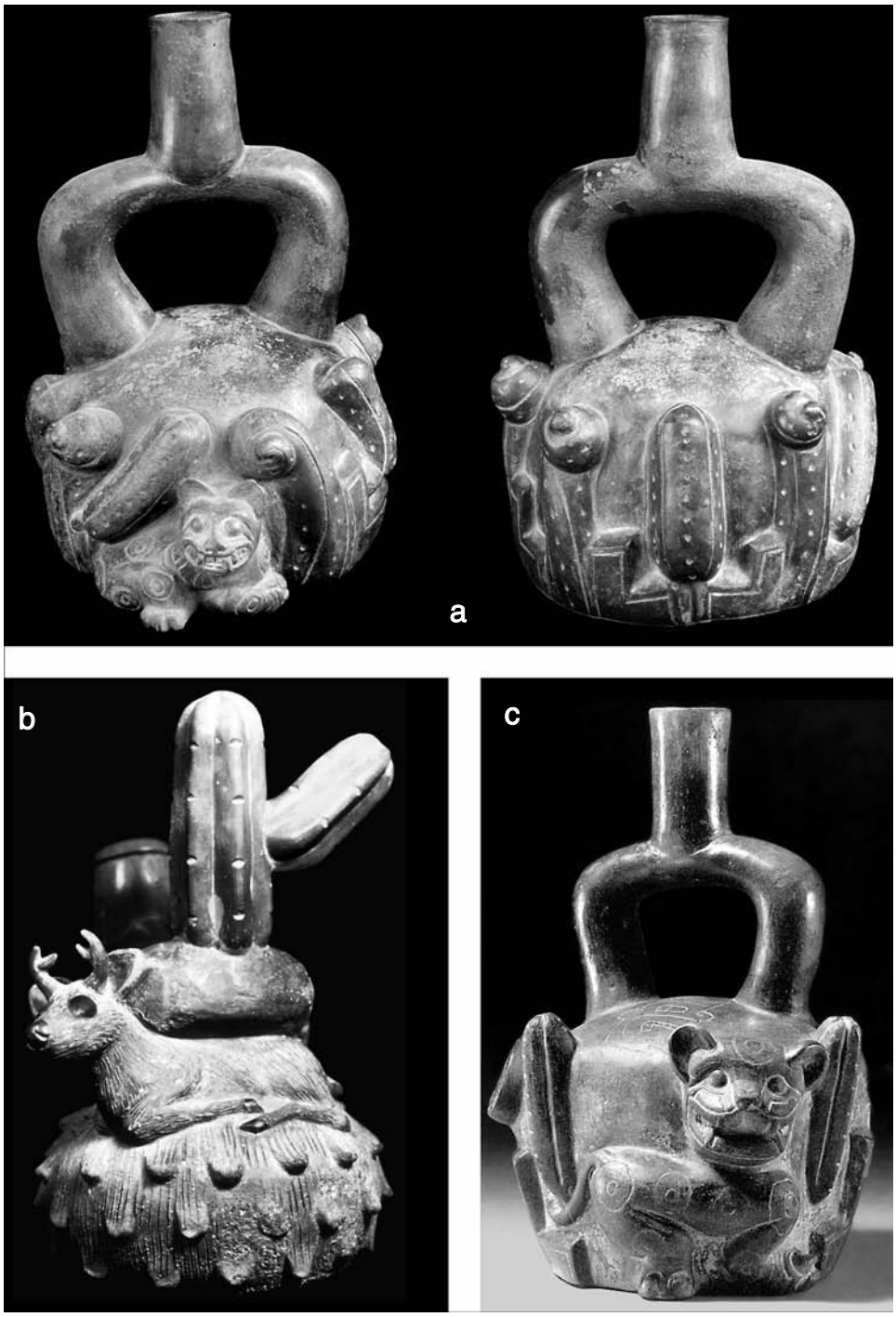


Figure 9.6. Cupisnique vessels with *Trichocereus* representations: (*a*): Jequetepeque Valley, Peru; *after Sharon 2000: Fig. 3*. (*b*): Chongoyape, Lambayeque Valley, Peru; a*fter Sharon 2000:Fig. 23*. (*c*): Jequetepeque Valley, Peru; *after Sharon 2000:Fig. 5*.

Figure 9.7. Snuff tray, whalebone, Supe, Peru. The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Figure 9.8. Stone mortar and pestle. Height of mortar 7.5 cm; length of pestle 10.5 cm. Pacopampa, Peru. Rafael Larco Herrera Museum, Lima.

Figure 9.9. Effigy spoon, gold and silver, 11.1 cm, probably from Chavín de Huántar. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.

Figure 9.10. Tenon heads illustrating different stages of shamanic transformation, Old Temple, Chavín de Huántar, Peru

this practice in Peruvian coastal sites. The oldest evidence for snuffing consists of whalebone snuff trays and bird-bone tubes excavated by Junius Bird (1948b:27) at the site of Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, and dated ca. 1200 B.C. The coastal valleys and the adjacent highlands are not part of the habitat of *A. colubrina* var. *Cebil*. This variety is the more variable of the four and has the wider east–west distributional range of the genus. It is found in Argentina in the provinces of Salta, Jujuy, Catamarca, Tucumán, and Misiones. It can also be found in Paraguay, Bolivia, and Peru where it grows as far north as the Marañon River valley on the western slopes of the Andes (Reis Altschul 1964:35). The Yauya stela (figure 9.11) is clear evidence of the presence of Chavín influence in the Marañon River basin. Therefore, the availability of *Anadenanthera* seeds is a distinct possibility. If these seeds were used as part of ancient coastal snuffs, as seems likely, it further reinforces the probability of snuffing in Chavín. In addition, *Anadenanthera* is frequently represented on Moche pottery (ca. A.D.100–900), where it is usually associated with deer. The bipinnately compound leaves and the sinuate, irregularly contracted pods with cuspidate apices are all characteristic of *Anadenanthera* (Donnan 1976: 104, Fig. 88; 1978:Figs. 211, 262; Furst 1974:84, Fig. 18). Usually the complete tree is represented in Moche pottery, but in some instances only pods or seeds are shown. *Anadenanthera* trees generally form part of deer-hunting scenes (figure 9.12a). These seem to be ritualistic in character, since elaborately dressed individuals, sometimes with supernatural attributes, conduct the hunt. We have no evidence for snuffing or smoking among the Moche; however, several scenes involving deer depicted on stirrup-spouted vessels suggest the possibility that *Anadenanthera* preparations might have been administered orally. In one of these scenes two female figures are associated with large vessels with domed lids and attached tree-branches that, when compared with those on the vessels with deer-hunting scenes, could tentatively be identified as of *Anadenanthera* (figure 9.12b). Deer heads replace the domed lids of two of the vessels represented on this vase, further suggesting

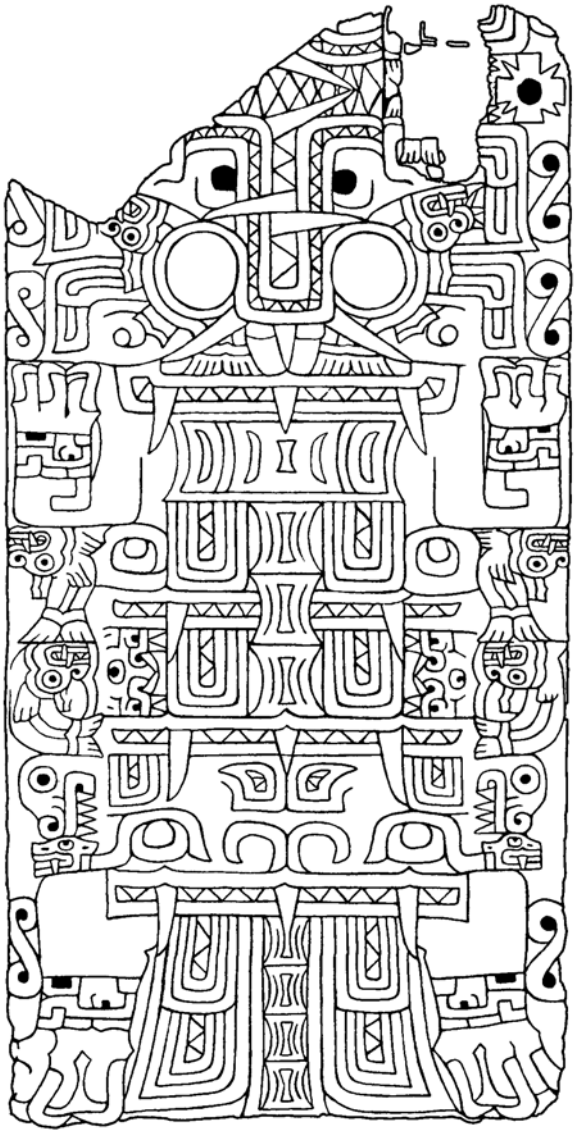


Figure 9.11. Stone stela, 1.65 m, Yauya, upper Marañon River drainage, Peru. *After Rowe 1967a: Fig. 18.*

a direct relationship with *Anadenanthera* trees. The constant association and identification of deer with fruiting *Anadenanthera* and its association with these containers underscore the possibility that its seeds were included in Moche ritual beverages. Psychoactive potions were reported by early chroniclers, who frequently mentioned that *vilca* seeds were added to *chicha* (see, for example, Ondegardo 1916, vol. 3:29–30). This is noted in order to suggest the possibility that such a brew was used in Chavín, and it could partly account for the paucity of evidence regarding snuffing and smoking in Chavín-related sites.

Representations of the pods of this leguminous tree are restricted to painted cotton textiles from the Carhua cemetery in south-central Peru. Cordy-Collins (1982) identified a motif represented on one of the textiles as an *Anadenanthera* seedpod and another as a San Pedro cactus (figure 9.13). A third representation eluded identification. Two cacti flank this enigmatic plant; a profile figure holding an *Anadenanthera* pod flies above. Its placement in the composition and its close association to *Anadenanthera* and San Pedro suggest an inebriating plant. Its projecting inflorescence and the slightly curved lines issuing from the center indicate a *Tillandsia* species. Similar representations are seen on Moche ceramics, most likely *T. purpurea* (see figure 9.14), where it is frequently associated with *Anadenanthera* and various cacti. Psychoactive *Tillandsias* have been reported, but further studies are needed. The Tarahumara of Mexico consider *T. mooreana*, a terrestrial bromeliad, a companion to the peyote cactus. Aqueous extracts of *T. usneoides* are used to evoke visions in northeastern Brazil (Ott 1996: 420).

Probable *Brugmansia* and *Trichocereus* (San Pedro) representations form part of the engravings within the body of the Tello obelisk (figure 9.15). On one of the narrow sides of the sculpture, a plant with oculated stems issues from the fanged mouth of the monster's penis. Visionary plants are frequently described as the semen of the Sun among the Tukano and other Amazonian groups; one of several definitions for the word *vilca* given in the Aymara dictionary compiled by Bertonio (1984:386) ca. 1612 emphasized its relation with the Sun. Given the stem structure and the palmate pattern formed by the leaves, it can be suggested that the plant represented is a species of *Brugmansia* (figure 9.16). This identification is reinforced by the presence of *Brugmansia*-related motifs elsewhere on the body of the monster. Its seed capsules might be represented by the ovoid objects protruding from the mouth, eyes, and nose of the heads on the back

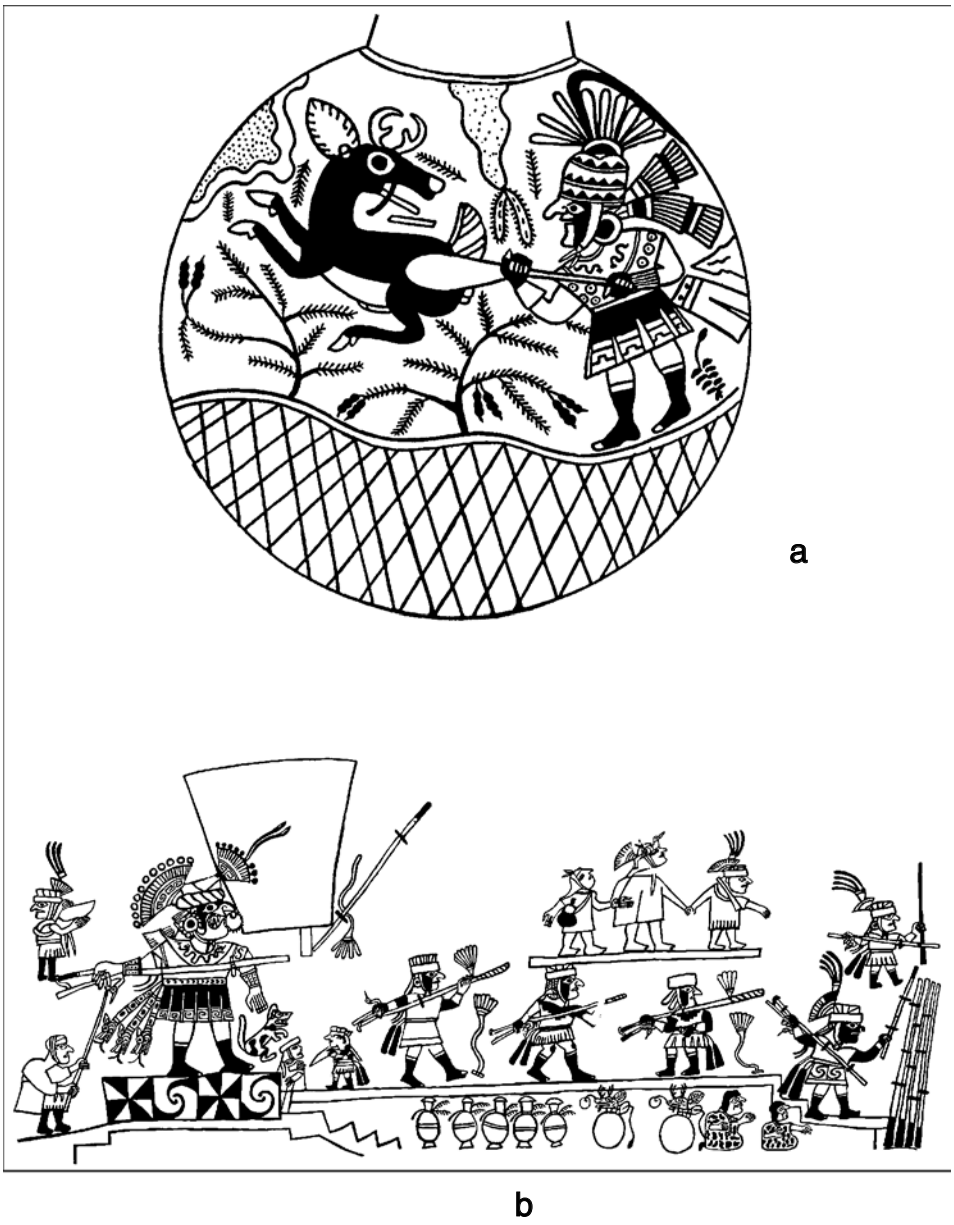


Figure 9.12. Moche ceramic vessels: (*a*): Deer-hunting scene, pottery dipper. *After Furst 1974:Fig. 18*. (*b*): Scene from stirrup-spout vessel. *Line drawing: Donna McClelland, courtesy of Christopher Donnan, Moche Archive, Fowler Museum, UCLA.*

Figure 9.13. "The Shamanism Textile," cotton, 54.61 × 68.58 cm, Carhua, Ica Valley, Peru. *Photo: Courtesy of William Conklin*.

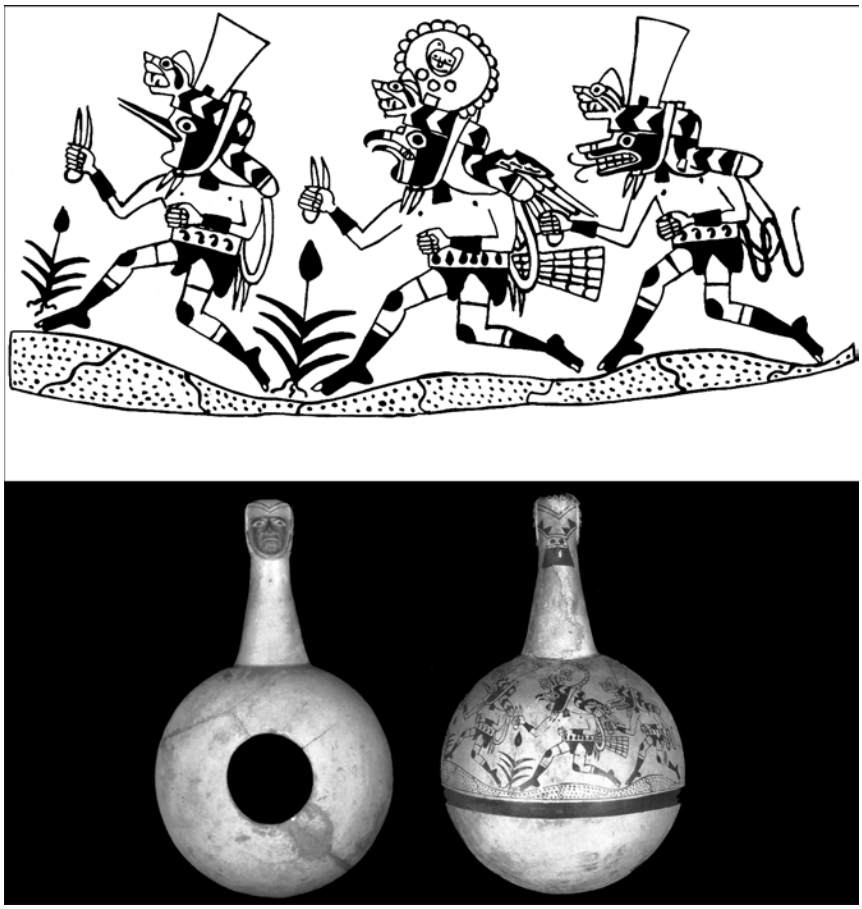


Figure 9.14. Moche dipper with *Tillandsia* representations. *After Donnan and McClelland 1999:Fig. 6.29*.

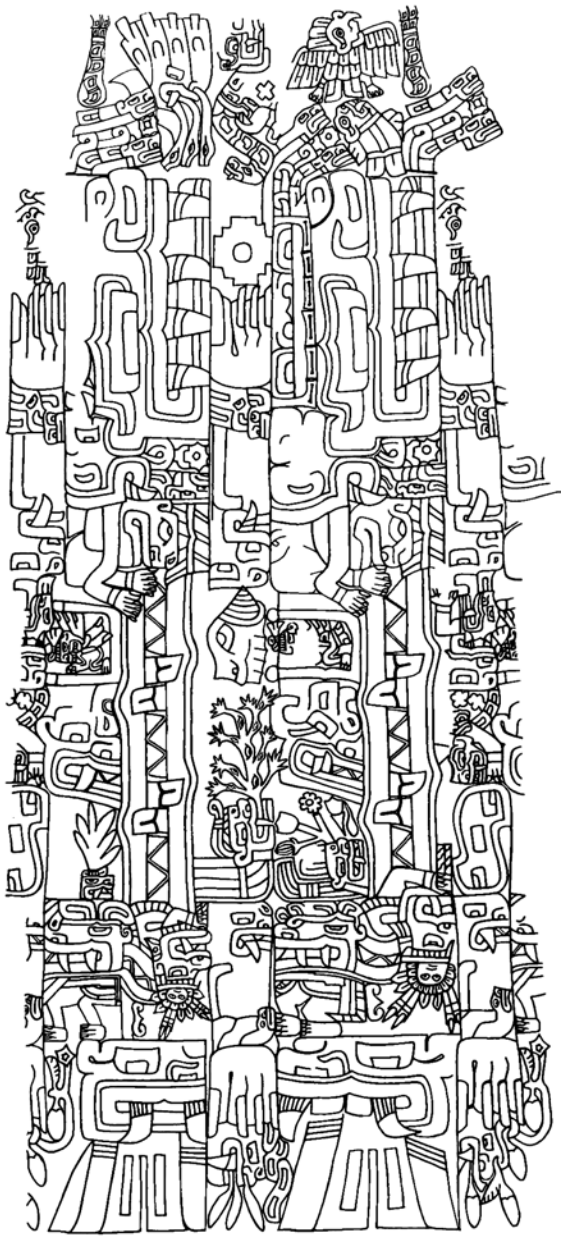


Figure 9.15. The Tello obelisk, 2.52 m high, granite, Chavín de Huántar. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima. *After Burger 1995: Fig. 141.*

Figure 9.16. Stem of *Brugmansia* showing eye-like nodules and leaf pattern typical of the genus

Figure 9.17. Stone zoomorphic figure with *Brugmansia* seed capsules emanating from its mouth, Archaeological Museum, Chavín de Huántar

Figure 9.18. Cotton textile with disembodied eye representations, Carhua, Ica Valley, Peru. *After Cordy-Collins 1999:Pl. 6.*

claws (Mulvany de Peñaloza 1984:61, Figs. 2-4). Indicative of this identification are the two bell-shaped flowers attached to winged capsules. Similar capsules are shown on a carved slab now in the Chavín site museum (figure 9.17). Such seed capsules are typical of *Brugmansia* species (see figure 9.3). The wing attached to two of the presumed *Brugmansia* seed capsules and flowers further suggests the inebriating quality. The eyes engraved in the stem of the plant in the monster's penis is another factor that supports the argument for an inebriating plant. Disembodied eyes are indicative of the visionary state in many cultures that use psychoactive plants; eyes are represented as part of the roots of the plants in the painted textile from Carhua previously discussed (see figure 9.13). Disembodied eyes are represented on a second Carhua textile, where they also form part of the waistband of a figure holding three rattles (figure 9.18). The headdress of the personage on this textile is composed of three leaves suggestive of tobacco. In addition, several star-like shapes with a circle in the center are scattered all over the Tello obelisk. These, apart from being very frequent decorative devices, are suggestive of San Pedro cactus slices (figure 9.19). In recent times the cactus is usually cut into thin slices in preparation of the potion. Before concluding this discussion of shamanic elements within the Tello obelisk, it should be noted that the figure at the lower end of the continuous mouth-band representing the spinal column holds an object suggestive of double snuffing tubes. Double and Y-shaped tubes are frequent components of Amazonian snuffing paraphernalia.

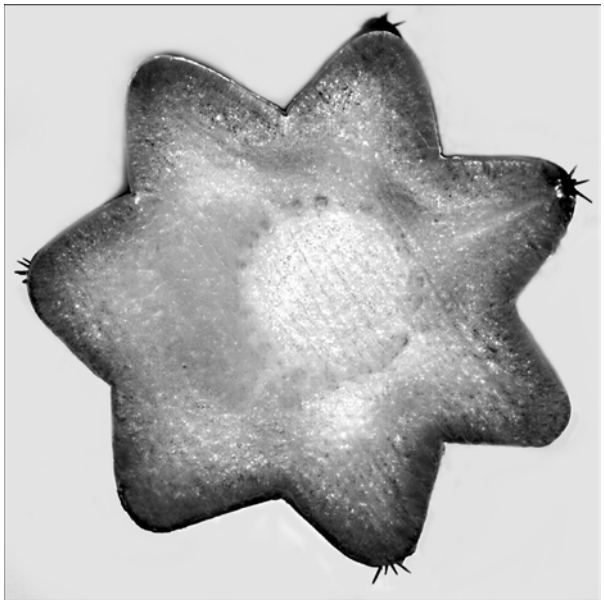


Figure 9.19. Slice of *Trichocereus pachanoi* (San Pedro)

COMPOSITION AND ICONOGRAPHY

Certain elements of composition, iconography, and narrative are reflective of ecstatic states. Repetitive imagery, including symmetry as a form of repetition, is characteristic of Chavín art. Shamanic performances comprise long periods of sustained repetitive movement, chanting, and music. In Chavín art, as in ecstatic states, these repetitions form part of an evolving flow, which is reflected, for example, in the headdress of the Raimondi stela (figure 9.20). A distinctive feature of Chavín art is the accumulation of motifs within one composition. The Yauya and Raimondi stelae, the Tello obelisk, and the painted textiles from Carhua all share dense ornamentation that is not restricted to the principal figure, but also includes numerous peripheral accessories. The constant accumulation of motifs seen in the art of Chavín is analogous to the complex costumes worn by shamanic practitioners. Such costumes are created by the attachment of diverse objects, including numerous metal objects, animal pelts, copper disks, and cloth and leather fringes and appendages (Eliade 1964:145–152). This continual accumulation is also seen in the mesas used in all-night healing ceremonies with San Pedro cactus by north coast Peruvian healers (Sharon 1978). This accretion of elements is paralleled by the immersive approach seen on the Tello monolith, where the primary personage (feline, cayman, or chimera) contains within its body or as appendages a wide variety of themes and motifs, repetitions, reversible imagery, and so on, with little or no space devoid of engravings.

Occurrences of reversible and anatropic imagery are also frequent. Most important is the use of unfolding space seen in the frequent ventrally

split representations such as those on the Raimondi and Yauya stelae. Ritual reversals are frequent occurrences in shamanic performances. The Huichol pilgrimage to seek peyote in *Wirikúta* is illustrative of such inversions. During this long journey, from their homeland in Mexico's Sierra Madre Occidental to *Wirikúta* (near Real del Catorce, San Luis Potosí) over 350 km to the northeast, the pilgrims engage in complex reversals of meaning. Peter Furst (1990:155) has suggested that the reversals emphasize the metamorphoses that characterize the peyote quest.

Iconographic affinities with widespread shamanic concepts, such as transformation and

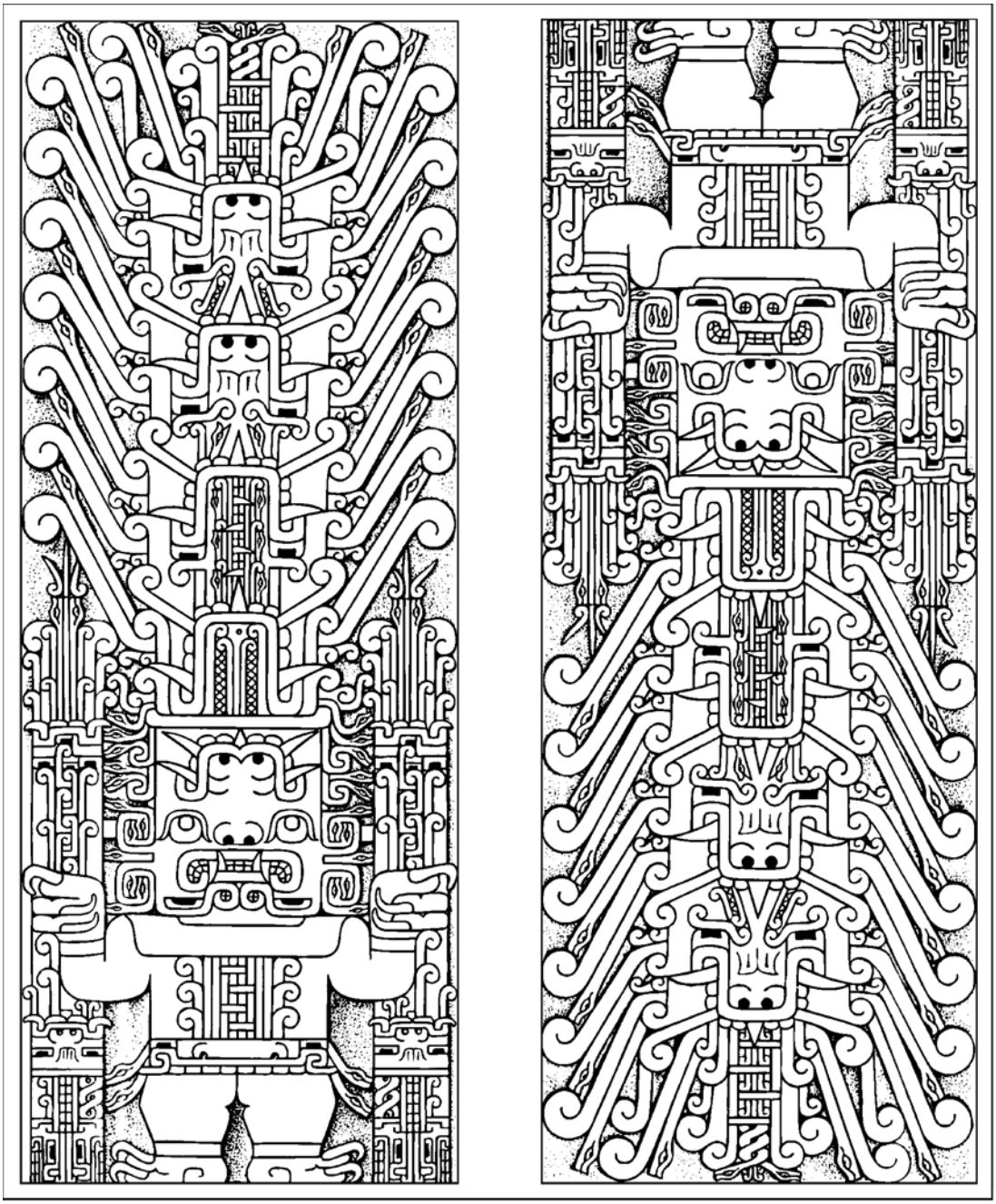


Figure 9.20. The Raimondi monolith, 1.95 m, Chavín de Huántar, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima

skeletonization, are also evident. Transformation (see Roe, this volume, chapter 7), or the acquisition of zoomorphic attributes, is a common thread running through the literature on shamanism. During the apprenticeship process the novice gradually acquires a host of spirit or animal helpers. It is not only transformation into jaguar or bird, but also the accumulation of diverse zoomorphic traits (figure 9.21). Representations in which a human being exhibits feline, avian, and reptilian characteristics are frequent in Chavín art. This configuration of motifs, in an ethnographic context, likely refers to the shaman's ability to acquire animal characteristics, most often while under the influence of psychoactive plants. This is a frequent theme in snuffing paraphernalia, and it is common in Amazonia and in snuff trays and tubes from northwest Argentina. The emphasis in skeletonization, seen in the frequent representation of the backbone as a continuous band of canines and teeth (for example, figures 9.15, 9.22), is another direct link to shamanic ideas. The process

Figure 9.21. Cupisnique steatite cup: personage with avian and feline characteristics, 10 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.

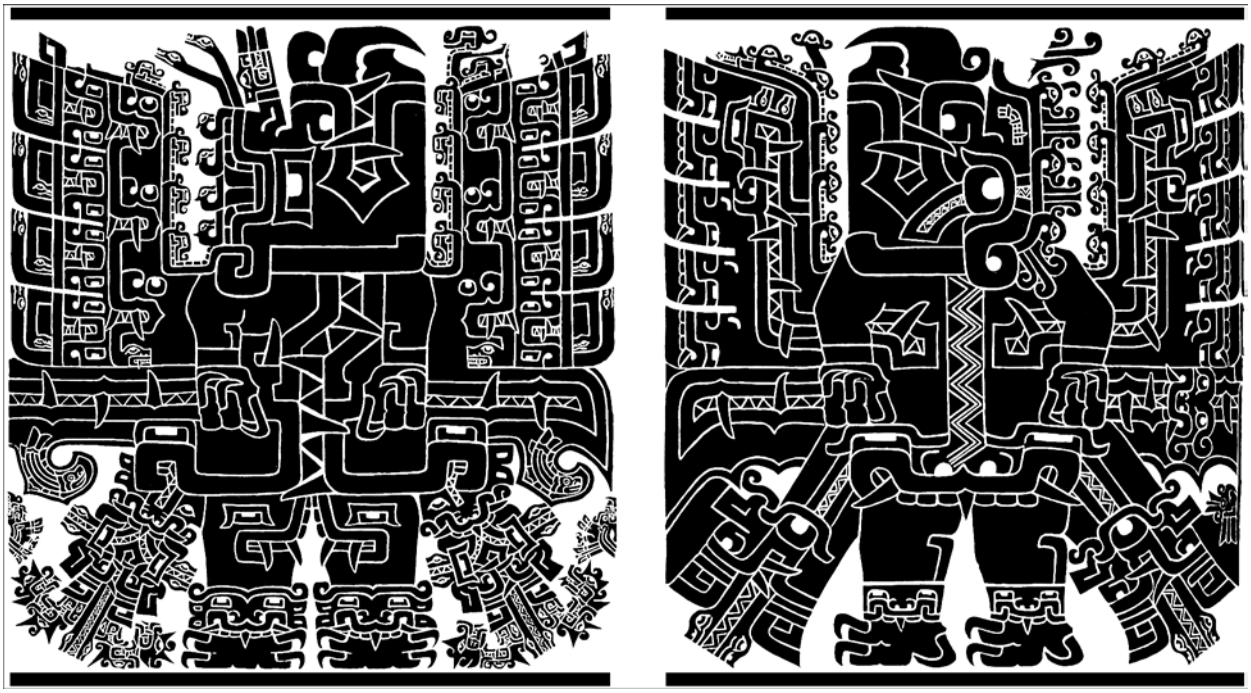


Figure 9.22. Rollout drawings of transformed personages from the Black and White Portal, Chavín de Huántar. *After Rowe 1967a:Figs. 8, 9.*

of skeletonization is intimately related to shamanism (Halifax 1979:13–15) and suggests a modified state of consciousness, propitiated in this case by snuffing or by the drinking of San Pedro and/or *Brugmansia* potions. According to Mircea Eliade (1964:59, 63), this reduction to a skeleton and the acquisition of new flesh could be seen as a rebirth into a shamanic or mystical state.

The architecture of the site at Chavín de Huántar and its pattern of multilevel plazas, carved monumental entrances, and subterranean galleries suggest a relationship with the performative features implicit in the ritual and shamanic use of psychoactive plants (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1). The Old and New Temples are crisscrossed with a network of at least nine subterranean galleries with sharp right-angle turns and changes in floor level and width, resulting in a maze-like environment. These galleries include numerous smaller shafts, presumably for light and ventilation, which emerge on the outer walls or connect to different tunnels. Ritual activities are also suggested by the presence of monumental stone sculpture within; the Lanzón is located at the center of one of the Old Temple galleries, facing east. The performative aspects of shamanism are also emphasized by the frequent occurrence of highly polished anthracite mirrors throughout the Chavín sphere of influence (Burger 1995:34, 169, 170, 204). Burger (1995:205–206) cites the burial of a shaman from the Early Horizon site of Morro de Eten that included an anthracite mirror in association with snuffing paraphernalia. Mirrors are of great importance in shamanic performances. Among the Wichi (Mataco) of the Chaco Central in northwest Argentina, small mirrors are used as therapeutic agents in the extraction of pathogens. In Siberian shamanism mirrors help the shaman "to see the world"; for some groups, such as the Tungus, mirrors are as important as costume and drum (Eliade 1964: 154, 498). Multilevel plazas and monumental entrances, such as the Black and White Portal, further demonstrate the performative aspects of the site. This portal served as the main route of access to the New Temple mound. It is composed of carved stones of black limestone and white granite, suggesting concepts of duality integral to

Andean cosmology. The carvings on the two columns depict human beings with eagle and feline characteristics (figure 9.22).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented in this paper indicates the use of a variety of psychoactive plants by the Chavín people. In the absence of psychoactive plant remains, Chavín iconography provides clear evidence for the use of *Trichocereus* (San Pedro) and *Brugmansia* species. San Pedro cactus representations are seen in Cupisnique ceramics and in relief sculpture of the Old Temple. Depictions of *Brugmansia* flowers, leaves, and seed capsules are apparent in the Tello obelisk. Evidence for the use of *Anadenanthera* is suggested by the presence of probable snuffing paraphernalia at Chavín-related sites, by its representation on painted textiles, as well as by early documentations of its use in northern Peru (ca. 1200 B.C.). The habitat of this genus extends to the upper Marañon River drainage, an area located within the Chavín sphere of influence, increasing the likelihood of its availability. Effigy vessels in the form of coca chewers attest to the use of coca leaves during Chavín times in northern Peru; two coca varieties were likely available at Chavín de Huántar: *E. coca* var. *coca* and *E. novogranatense* var. *truxillense*. It is highly probable that tobacco was available to the Chavín people, but the art does not include apparent references to its use.

Chavín art, it can be concluded, is largely constructed by a metaphoric process, which ranges from complex series, such as the metamorphosis of the primary personage on the Raimondi stela, to simple substitutions such as the transformation of hair into snakes seen in numerous Chavín personages. This represents the outcome of gradual processes of transformation in form and meaning in order to articulate or encode diverse aspects of the ecstatic experience. In general, shamanic ideologies are also expressed through metaphors. This trope is apt to describe situations of metamorphoses, because of its capacity to transfer qualities proper to one object onto another. Sometimes the metaphor implies a permanent or constant equation such as in the Huichol deer/peyote complex that equates the deer with the peyote cactus and the quest for peyote at *Wirikúta* with a deer hunt (Furst 1990:146). In other cases the metaphor's function is ephemeral and variable, as in the long shamanic chants of María Sabina, the renowned Mazatec shaman, with its constantly accumulating identities and shifting functions:

> I am a daylight woman
> I am a Moon woman, says
> I am a Morning Star woman
> I am a God Star woman . . .
> I am the woman who works, says
> I am the woman beneath the dripping tree,
> says . . .
> I am the woman who looks into the inside
> of things, says . . .
> [Estrada 1981:65]

Compositional devices and organizational structures such as repetition, accumulation of motifs, and reversible and anatropic imagery demonstrate clear parallels with the ecstatic state. Issues of transformation and skeletonization provide links to shamanic ideas. Monumental entrances, multilevel plazas, and subterranean passages contributed to the performative qualities inherent in ceremonial activities. The display of imagery directly related to psychoactive plant use in public monumental stone sculpture and architectural decoration, such as the tenon heads and the relief carving in the Old Temple, provides strong support for the importance of these plants in the ritual life of this archaeological culture.

10.

The Culture of Chavín Textiles

William J Conklin

Although we may never be able to pinpoint the actual origin of the Andean tradition of textiles as carriers of power and prestige, it seems certain that the tradition received an important early impetus from the Chavín culture. The technical contribution of Chavín textiles[1] to the Andean textile tradition has been previously established. This paper examines ways in which Chavín textiles influenced the cultural traditions surrounding Andean textiles. Chavín textiles were the carriers of powerful art—art to which we would attach the word "symbolic" or "religious" —and seem to have carried complex cultural meanings. Although we have no direct evidence of the roles Chavín textiles may have played in their own time, nor do we have much evidence concerning the everyday practical uses of Chavín textiles, we can nevertheless, by careful examination, detect telltale clues to their cultural roles and associations.

The broad cultural role of textiles in the Andes is familiar to every student of Andean culture. More eloquently than anyone else, John Murra (1962) has called attention to the role and power of textiles during the reign of the Inca and has also noted the uses of Andean textiles in contemporary times as carriers of religious meaning and political power. Lynn Meisch (1997:8–15) has reported on the important role of textiles in the everyday life of Andean communities. Many scholars have illustrated and discussed the important role of textiles in the high cultures that succeeded the Chavín culture. Although the forms and patterns of Andean textiles changed with geography and time, their general role as carriers of religious power and mythic information seems virtually continuous through Andean history.

In two previous papers (Conklin 1971, 1978), I examined the innovative role that Chavín textiles played in the technical and structural evolution of the Andean textile tradition. Many of the special textile structures used to create art in later Andean textiles seem to have first appeared in Chavín textiles. However, in those previous papers I did not discuss the roles that Chavín textiles may have played in the evolution of the larger issue that we can call the culture of Andean textiles—that is, their non-utilitarian roles.

In examining the possible cultural roles of Chavín textiles within their own time period, the examiner has extremely limited options. We have, of course, no direct verbal or written evidence concerning the role of textiles from Chavín times (broadly called the Early Horizon) and none of the usual archaeological associations between textiles and patterns of life. No Chavín textiles have been found in association with recorded burials, and none can be stratigraphically associated with Chavín architecture. We are left with only two possible sources of information from which we can extrapolate something of their cultural role in their own time:

- analysis of the materials and technology used in the textiles that preceded Chavín in comparison both with the materials and structures used in the Chavín textiles and in the textiles created by subsequent cultures, and
- analysis of the images and ideas apparently widely conveyed by the art of the Chavín textiles and analysis of the influential role of this art in subsequent Andean cultures.

MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY

The previous technical papers on Chavín textiles, together with the technical aspects of the textiles displayed in the Textile Museum exhibition on Chavín textiles,[2] seem to clearly establish the technical originality of the weavers creating Chavín art. Although we have only a small sample of the thousands of Chavín textiles that were no doubt created, the originality apparent in this sample suggests the rich nature of the whole.

Chavín textiles form a great contrast with Initial Period textiles in both their textile structures and in their materials, as Dr. Junius Bird noted long ago. Bird, who was intimately familiar with Initial Period textiles through his extensive work with those from Huaca Prieta, upon first seeing Chavín textiles, immediately noted the extraordinary changes that had occurred. He later introduced me to the subject and then urged me to analyze those changes. Three papers, under that inspiration, were then produced detailing that investigation (Conklin 1971, 1974, 1978).

MATERIALS

The Chavín culture and its associated time period, called the Early Horizon, follow chronologically what is commonly called the Initial Period. Cotton is the dominant material used in Initial Period textiles, but other plant materials such as bast fiber do occur. Cotton is also the dominant fiber material used in the Chavín textiles, and Chavín mastery of natural cotton color control and of the spinning and plying process seems extraordinary. No bast fiber has been detected as yet in Chavín textiles. Although camelid fiber is only very rarely found in earlier textiles, camelid fiber is used with great competence in some of the fragments of Chavín textiles. This use of camelid fiber in Chavín appears to be a precedent for its extensive use in the later textiles found on the Paracas peninsula of the South Coast of Peru. Thus, in their use of materials, the Chavín textiles clearly seem to be intermediaries between the earlier Initial Period and later Andean textile evolution.

TECHNOLOGY

Spinning and Plying

Initial Period weavers were deeply concerned with spinning and plying. The Preceramic and Initial Period idea of using structure not only for utilitarian reasons but also to embed a sense of power into the textile is fundamental to all later Andean textile ideas. The weavers appear to have felt that the directions of spinning and plying carried considerable significance and that by patterning the directions of spinning and plying, basic beliefs could be expressed. This concept—that the weaver adds life and meaning to a thread by imparting energy to it through rotation, life and meaning that then somehow become an integral part of the thread—is one that is continued in the Chavín textiles and became an integral part of the Andean textile tradition (Conklin 1996; Splitstoser and Conklin 2002).

Plain Weave

Although needle-woven plain weave occurs throughout the Initial Period, loom-woven cotton plain weave occurs only in the latter portion of the Initial Period. Chavín weavers used a variety of types of cotton plain weave as a base for their painting. A full explanation for the varieties of their plain weaves has not yet been developed.[3] Loom-woven plain weave, though, becomes the dominant structure used in the surviving Chavín textiles. Where, in a Chavín plain weave, there are interruptions caused by inserted patterns that make it impossible to use heddles, then excellent quality needle weaving occurs, suggesting that although loom weaving was the standard, techniques of needle weaving had not been forgotten.

Twining

Twining involves twisting one set of elements around the other, whereas loom weaving simply interlaces one set of elements with the other. Twining is a very arduous process, but it produces a far stronger textile structure than weaving. Initial Period textiles made extensive use of twining, and although twining actually continues long into the Andean textile record after the time of Chavín, no twining occurs in the Chavín textiles so far recorded. Twining may have been used only for utilitarian textiles in Chavín times, as in post-Chavín textile construction.

Suprastructural Construction

In general, in terms of textile design, Initial Period weaving consists of pure structures: that is, every visible thread forms a structurally useful part of the basic structure of the textile. Designs or patterns are occasionally found in Initial Period textiles, but such patterns are always formed by making use of the threads that constitute the basic structure of the textile. Initial Period weavers were conservative and Quaker-like[4] and only felt free to create art by slightly modifying elements that were structurally useful to the textile.

Perhaps the most amazing single idea of the Chavín weavers was their development of what we can call *suprastructural construction*. They introduced threads that played no role in the basic structure of the textile but were there exclusively to form the visible art. These new techniques could not have been accomplished exclusively with a loom; they were largely hand inserted and highly labor intensive. In theory, this seems to imply that Chavín weavers conceived of their new form of textile art as something independent of the basic structural threads—as an explicit addition. However, the earlier Initial Period idea that art must be *of* the thing and not just *on* it, is not in fact abandoned but continues throughout later Andean textile history. The separation of art from utility that occurred early in Western art history and then became dominant seems never to have occurred in Andean art history, in spite of the evidence for the early beginnings of that idea in these Chavín textiles.

Although there are patterns and images in pre-Chavín textiles, they are constructed within the basic structure of the textile and are *of* the textile and not *on* it. This implies that in Chavín thought, art and meaning, though in earlier times closely allied with structure, could, in Chavín times, be thought of as separate. Art, and its linguistic transformation as meaning, could be added on. Such an intellectual step seems like a logical precursor to the development of the concept of writing in which seemingly non-useful squiggles begin to stand in for ideas.

Warp Wrapping

As an important example of such Chavín suprastructure weaving technology, consider warp wrapping: the technique of wrapping individual structural threads with colored fiber arranged in patterns to convey images (figure 10.1). In this process pre-colored fibrous elements are individually wrapped onto warps stretched out on a frame, with the colored wrappings positioned to accomplish the desired colored areas of the design. Following this wrapping, the structural weft (which actually held the textile together) was needle-inserted around those areas over and under those same warps to complete the fabric structure and to hold the colored wrapping in place. After this process was used to create the colored block areas of the design, the horizontal bands of the design were created with colored supplemental weft. The diagonals of the design were constructed by creating a diagonal series of tiny balls of wrapped-on colored yarn.

This technique of creating a design by wrapping a thread with color is a method of modifying the basic power of the thread, of enriching it, of giving it special meaning, of permitting it to participate in the conveyance of an idea. Chavín weavers also used this wrapping technique in looped weaving structures (Conklin 1978:Pl. III). The technical trial-and-error time required for such inventions, as well as their inspired ingenuity, strongly suggests a well-supported and highly motivated weaving-oriented culture. These amazing artists/weavers/inventors must have been highly esteemed.

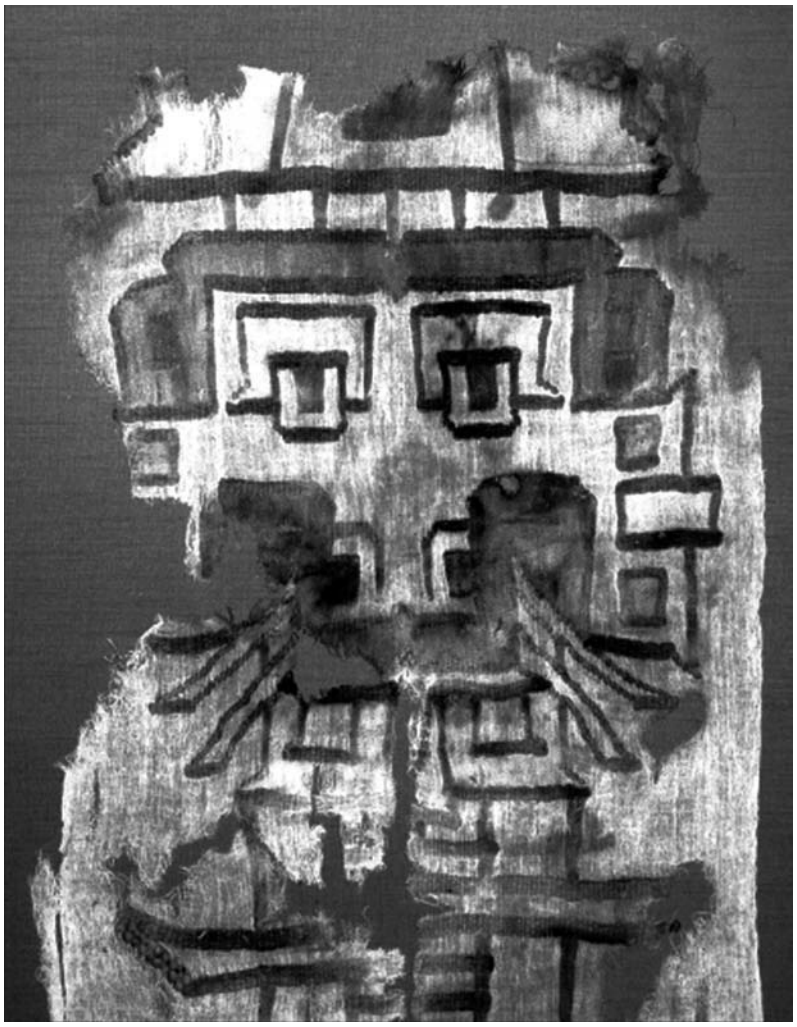


Figure 10.1. Front face image of a fanged Chavín deity constructed largely by wrapping the cotton structural threads of the base textile with colored unspun cotton in a process called "warp wrapping." TM 1977.35.3 by permission of The Textile Museum, Washington, DC. *Photo: Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks.*

Painting on Textiles

The practical, productive, familiar loom that replaced the twining and needle weaving of the early part of the Initial Period seems to have been used primarily for textiles destined to be painted, although this may well be simply the appearance created by our much-skewed textile sample. Apparently it was Chavín artists who, for the Andean world at least, invented the idea of painting images on textiles—another of the Chavín suprastructure textile ideas with the art clearly added onto the basic textile (figure 10.2). Although as yet we know little about the materials or techniques used in this painting, such painting of images became the most characteristic way in which Chavín art was conveyed on textiles and distributed within the Chavín area of influence. After Chavín, painting on textiles continues as a minor art form through Andean textile history, but seems to cease completely at the time of the Spanish conquest.

IMAGES AND IDEAS

Perhaps it is in their stone carving that Chavín artists have left the most powerful evidence of

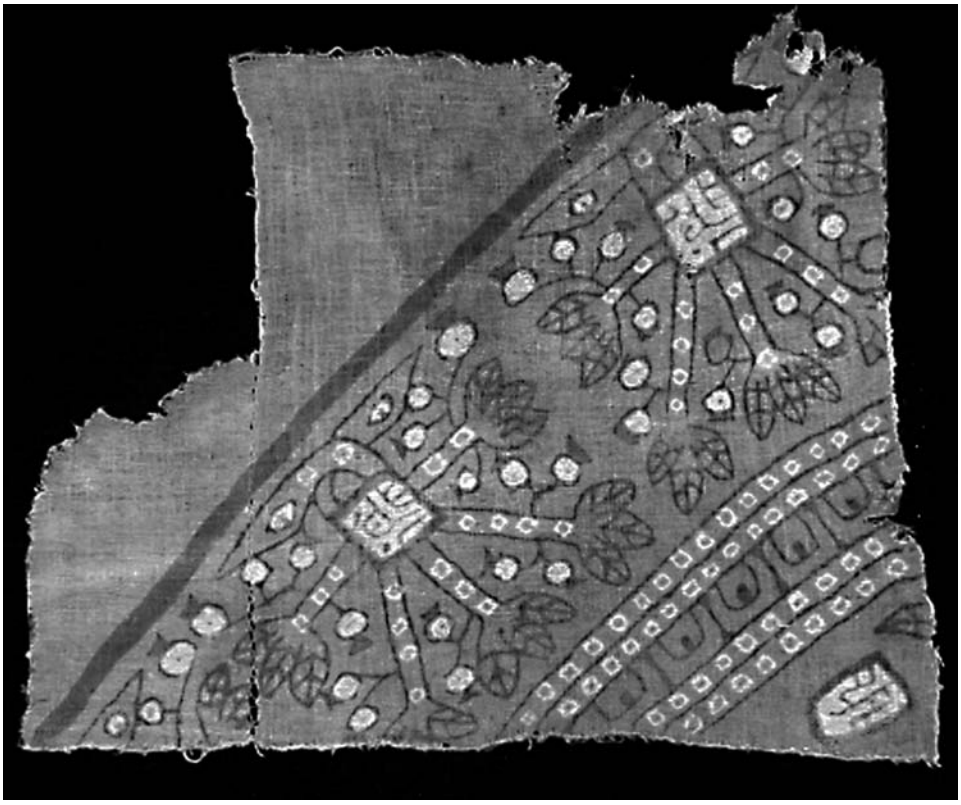


Figure 10.2. A Chavín painted textile, showing the use of both narrow and wide linear elements (the dark brown lines) as well as resist patterning (where the background is white). This fragment is from a large image of repeated mythical cotton plants arranged in a great circle. TM 1981.36.11A by permission of The Textile Museum, Washington, DC. *Photo: Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks.*

their cultural ideas: the art of their textiles is in part resonant with that of the great stone carving; but the textiles are more exploratory and detailed, possibly a step closer to written language. Although it is doubtful we will ever be able to actually read the art of Chavín, there is no doubt that an intense study of their textiles can provide important clues to their thinking.

There are four broad ways in which the designs of Chavín textiles suggest that the textiles were intended to carry religious power and cultural ideas. Although these ways are interrelated and interdependent, they are considered separately, for clarity. We can refer to the ways in which Chavín textiles, by both their structure and their art, seem to have conveyed religious and cultural power, as follows:

- by their presentation of order,
- by the apparent energy in the thread,
- by the power evidently released in the turn, and
- by the evident power of twisting.

The evidence for each of these is examined in the following.

Presentation of Order

Consider the design of one Chavín textile fragment (figure 10.3), especially the presentation of its basic organization. This fragment, whose provenience is Carhua (a desert peninsula on the South Coast of Peru), has painted representations of a pair of ferocious facing felines (Cordy-Collins 1976:186–188). The fragment was part of a very large composition involving multiple small circles used within a very large circular composition. The fragment has its warp running horizontally and has two horizontal selvages and thus forms a complete loom width. A fragment of another loom

width (on which the painted design continues) is attached to it, with the two adjacent warp selvages loosely stitched together. The main loom width is fringed in part, indicating that it is one of the outer edges of the whole design.

It is possible to measure the curvature (and hence the diameter) of the large circle in the composition, permitting a determination of the approximate size of that large circle. It then becomes possible to approximate the size of the original complete composition (figure 10.4). This analysis suggests that the original textile must have been some 10 to 12 feet square (3 to 4 m). Apparently many loom widths of very lightweight cotton were loosely stitched together to form an enormous but lightweight textile for painting. All of the smaller painted circles were probably embellished with felines, but variations in the design could have occurred. The form and size of the large circular composition, however, seem highly probable.

An open-air circular temple at Chavín de Huántar (figure 10.5) provides important design clues. This large, circular, open-air sunken plaza is positioned in front of the main Chavín temple and on axis with the ancient Lanzón stela (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1). This circular plaza, discovered and excavated initially by Luis Lumbreras (1977:Fig. 18), was lined with carved stones which have, in part, images of felines incised into their surfaces (figure 10.6)—felines that closely resemble those on the painted textile (figure 10.3). These carved stones formed the face of a circular retaining wall around a circular sunken ritual space that resembles the many circular sunken temples constructed earlier in the coastal areas of Peru (Williams 1985:238; Burger 1995, and this volume, chapter 6).

This Chavín Circular Plaza's axial relationship with the Lanzón stela (Cummins, this volume, chapter 11), with its ancient Amazonian imagery and the plaza's circular form which resonated with the older circular sunken temples on the coast, suggest that it must have been a plaza of great religious and ritual importance. According to the dating information contained in this volume (Rick, chapter 1; Kembel, chapter 2), the circular plaza was among the last major constructions at the Chavín site and yet seems to have

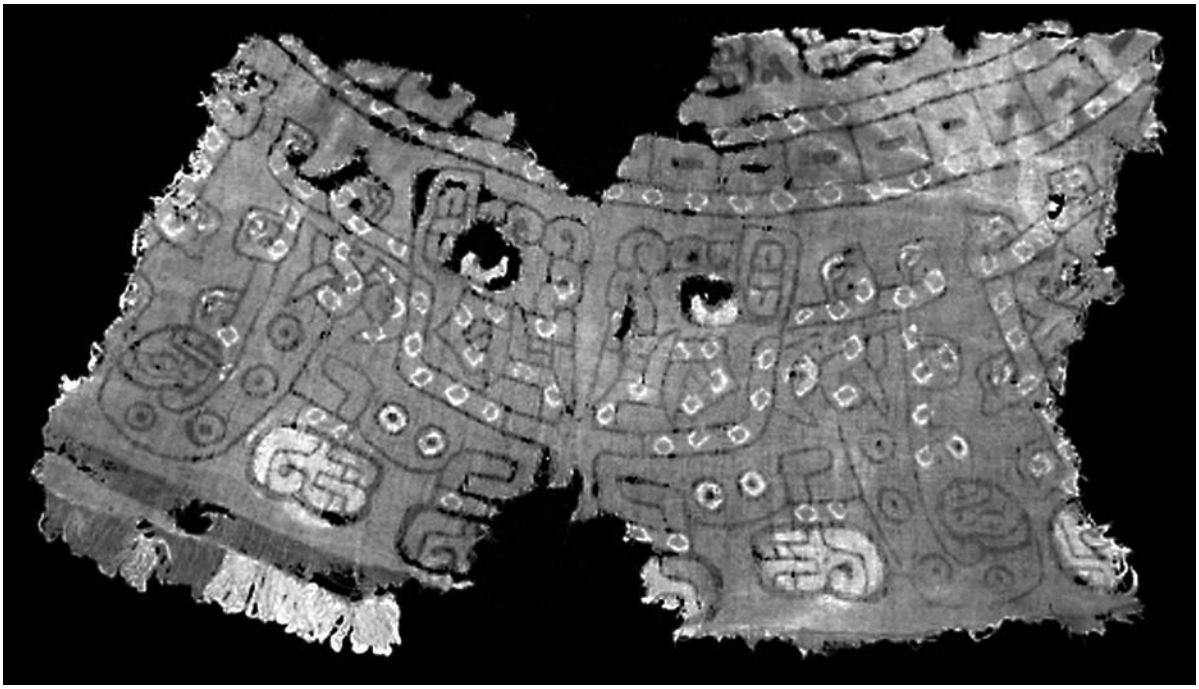


Figure 10.3. Two facing felines, probably pumas, that once were part of a large painted textile with a circular composition. TM 1991.41.14 by permission of The Textile Museum, Washington, DC. *Photo: Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks.*

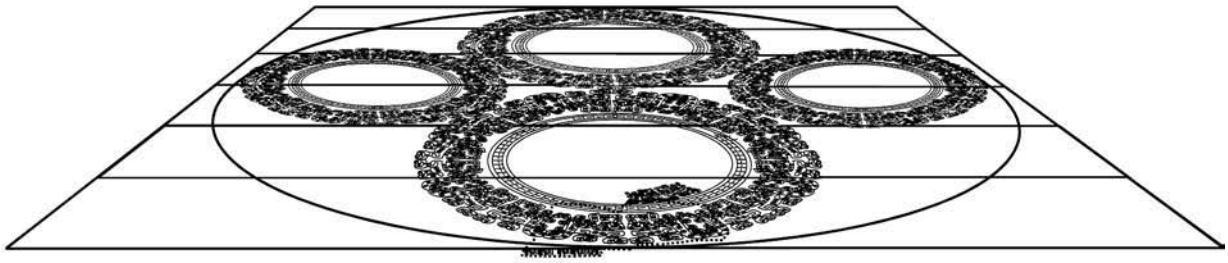


Figure 10.4. Reconstruction drawing of the whole circular composition implied by the fragment shown in figure 10.3

Figure 10.5. The site of the subterranean Circular Plaza discovered just outside the main temple at Chavín de Huántar. This temple was initially excavated by Luis Lumbreras.

celebrated both the coastal and the Amazonian sources of the Chavín culture.

The large painted Chavín textile under consideration (figure 10.4) is constructed of lightweight cotton plain weave with the warp horizontal. It is the painted images that establish the orientation of the warp as being horizontal to both the artist and the intended viewer. If the whole textile had been intended to be supported vertically, then the warp, being stronger than the weft, should have run vertically, but it does not. The horizontal warp orientation of this large-scale textile, together with its fragility, make it clear that it was never intended to be a wall hanging. It seems

Figure 10.6. One of the carved stone images of felines from the Circular Plaza shown in figure 10.5

that the large circular composition must have been viewed when the textile was horizontal, suggesting that perhaps its composition was conceived to be a horizontal representation or reflective memory of the circular temple at Chavín de Huántar. Perhaps more likely, with their common circular arrangements of felines, both the temple at Chavín and this textile are presentations of commonly held mythological images of a Chavín cosmic order.

Cosmological Charts

It is thus possible to suggest that large Chavín textiles such as this one under consideration, constructed on very lightweight cotton cloth, may have been conceived of and used horizontally, as what we might call Chavín cosmological charts—instructive drawings concerning the mythical ordering of the Chavín world—a world that was presumably more fully represented in the carved stone work of the temple itself. Perhaps these horizontal images were thought of as consonant with the circular sky above or somehow as reflections of the cosmos, as were the horizontal prayer rugs of the Middle East, the horizontal sand painting mandalas of India, and the horizontal sand paintings of southwestern North America.

It does not seem probable that such Chavín horizontal cloth images literally represented architectural plans of a temple, but rather were maps of the cosmological order also represented by the Chavín temple. It is of interest to note that post-Chavín Andean painted textiles always have their warp horizontal to their image,[5] suggesting that they also were thought of as horizontal compositions, an idea that is difficult for our culture, in which most two-dimensional art is vertical, to understand.

It is also relevant to note that Duncan Strong, in his excavations at Cahuachi, not far from Carhua where this textile was recovered, discovered an early Nasca textile more than 10 feet wide and amazingly, some 1500 feet long buried in the sand, unassociated with a burial (Phipps 1996). The warp, of course, ran the length of the textile. He had no explanation, but perhaps the textile had once been used horizontally, as a ground marker, performing a role consonant with the later linear desert markings in the nearby Nasca desert.

Many Chavín textiles were apparently buried directly in the South Coast's dry desert sands at this site of Carhua, a peninsula of desert terraces extending out into the sea. The unprofessional excavation of the textiles in the 1960s and 1970s produced only fragments (including those under study here) which were not associated with graves, to the amazement of the *huaqueros*.

If this postulation concerning the horizontal use of the painted Chavín textiles seems possible, then the memory of such horizontal circular compositions may have remained and reappeared in the succeeding South Coast cultures. The nearby Nasca desert was the recipient (shortly after Chavín influence) of even larger horizontal cosmological maps in the form of the sand drawings reported by Kosok (1965) and Maria Reiche, and more recently analyzed by Aveni (1990). These horizontal drawings also seem, in many cases, to have cosmic implications and may well have been inspired by the same sense of horizontal cosmology that inspired the Chavín horizontal cloth paintings. The desert drawings, although predominantly linear, actually take many forms, with simple circles as one of those forms (figure 10.7).

Many other Chavín textile fragments also appear to have been parts of large circular compositions. Several such fragments have been identified by Alana-Cordy Collins, the pioneer in Chavín textile circle analysis. She has identified the subject matter of one of the circular compositions (figure 10.2) as the deification of the cotton plant (Cordy-Collins 1976:105A).

Images of the Chavín Cosmos

Another Chavín textile fragment provides an instructive lesson in the nature of the Chavín cosmos (figure 10.8). This complex painted textile from The Textile Museum's Chavín textile exhibition has two distinct zones which are separated by a large circle: the section outside the circle is devoted to the representation of a very informal group of figures, but the portion inside the circle contains a radial array of formal frontal figures.

The major part of the fragment, outside the circle, has several painted images of humans who wear no clothes other than loincloths and wrist

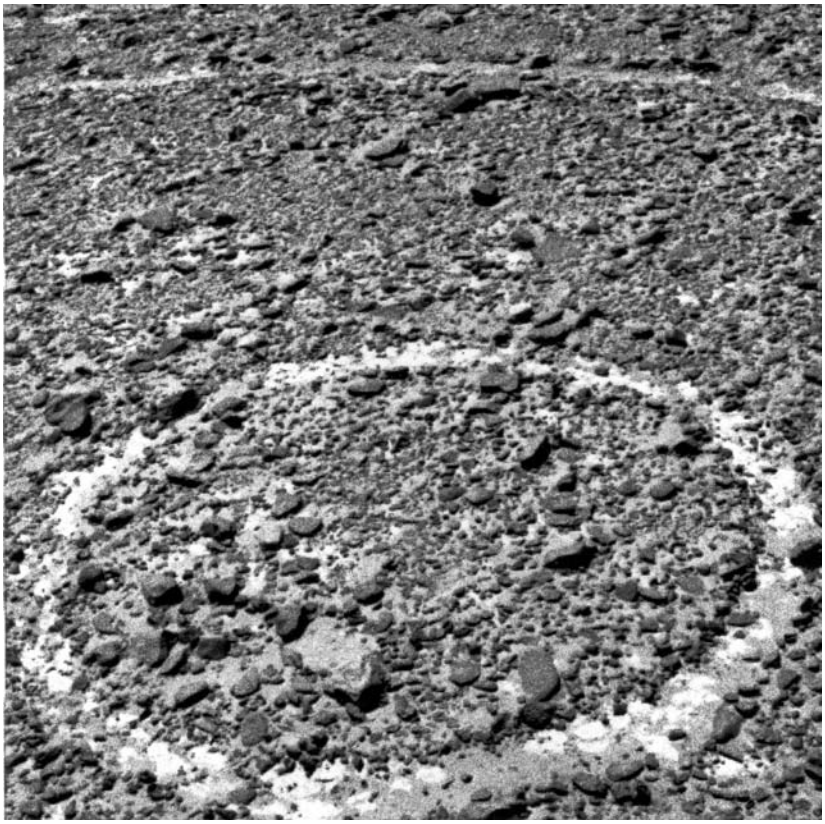


Figure 10.7. This set of circles is one of the many horizontal archaeological sand drawings remaining in the Nasca desert

and ankle bands. The humans have iguana faces. All of these images outside the circle seem to be floating or flying loosely in space. Associated with them in this seemingly heavenly world are images of flying birds and floating camelids. However, there are also images of the San Pedro cactus and seeds of *Anadenanthera* (Cordy-Collins 1982; Torres, this volume, chapter 9), strongly suggesting that we are witnessing a kind of hallucinogenic heaven. Perhaps most astonishing, though, are the actions of the animals. The birds are clearly pecking on the San Pedro cactus, and the camelids have iguana faces and mouth emanations. Many of the beliefs of the Andean world that continue to this day are illustrated in this remarkable image; among those beliefs is the essential unity of humans, plants, and animals.

However, inside the circle are portions of standing frontal polymorphic figures arrayed in a circular composition. They have formal headdresses and are holding staffs similar to frontal figures found on other Chavín textile fragments. These formally organized figures seem to represent suprahuman polymorphic beings, perhaps deities.

So these textiles conveyed to their viewers and ceremonial participants an image of a hierarchical, concentric, two-part world with ecstatic humans and other earthly inhabitants on the outside, but with sober gods on the inside. Two painted rings, a dark one and a light one, separate the two worlds. Perhaps this dark and light coloration parallels the black and white columns at the entrance to the Chavín temple, which gave their name to the final stage of construction at the site, the Black and White Stage, a stage that includes the Circular Plaza and most likely also marks the time period of all the known Chavín textiles. Although we can verify very little of their message, the textiles clearly seem to have been carriers of complex mythological and cosmological information.

Chavín Religious Influence on Paracas

Chavín's artistic and technical influence on the subsequent cultures of Paracas and Moche have long been noted, so it is not surprising that we can discover the influence of the Chavín cosmological maps on the Paracas culture and especially on their textiles.

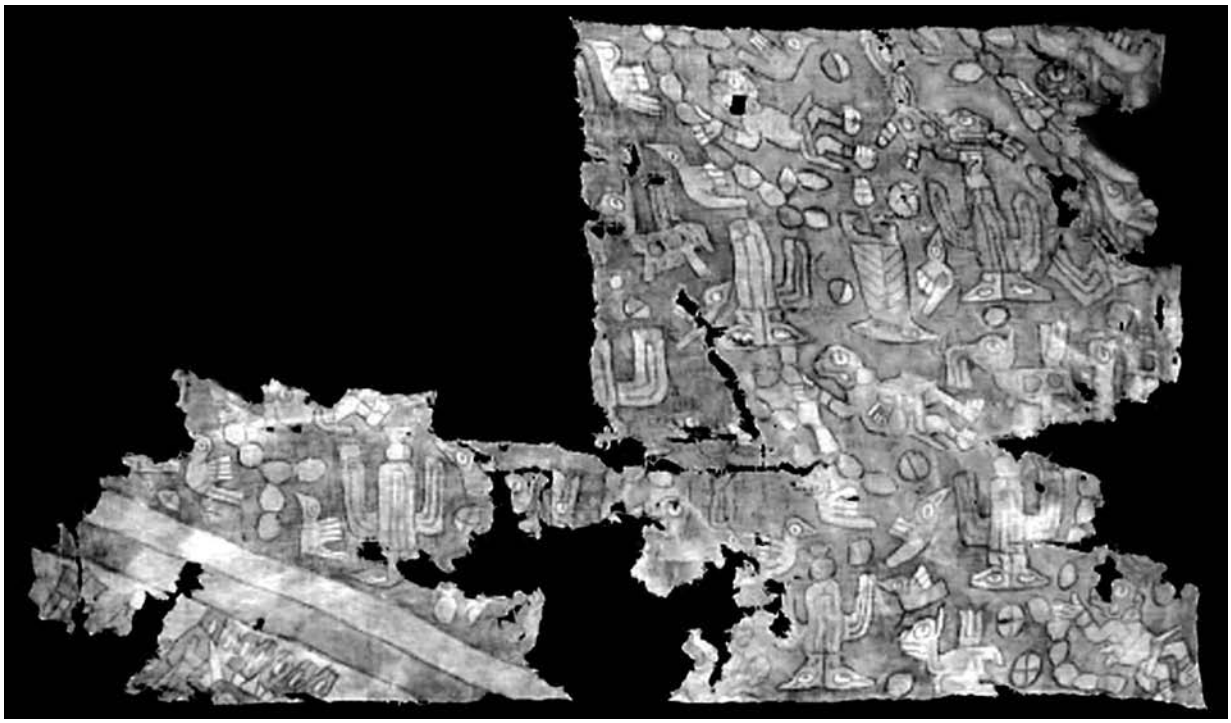


Figure 10.8. This Chavín painted textile portrays floating humans, animals, and plants outside of a great circle with portions of formal figures inside that circle. TM 1981.36.1 by permission from The Textile Museum, Washington, DC. *Photo: Courtesy Dumbarton Oaks.*

A famous Paracas mantle from the Brooklyn Museum collection (figure 10.9) contains in its central section formally organized, frontal, smiling figures within a surrounding boundary array of informal human, plant, and animal figures. The central figures have a smiling visage and perhaps are memories of what John Rowe (1962) has called the "Smiling God" of Chavín, more commonly known as the Lanzón stela. These central figures in the Paracas mantle are constructed with warp wrapping, the technique invented by Chavín weavers (Conklin 1971). This Paracas use of the technique was apparently the last use of warp wrapping in the Peruvian textile record.

The outer figures of three-dimensional construction in this Paracas mantle are sometimes referred to as "festival" figures, due to their elaborate clothing and associated paraphernalia. Thus the arrangement of formal deities on the inside (in a Chavín technique and with a formal remembrance of the Chavín Smiling God) and the party people on the outside parallels the arrangement in the painted Chavín textile (figure 10.8) under consideration. The Paracas mantle was probably constructed to convey its meaning not as clothing at all, but in a horizontal format with the arrangement of the images resonating with the structure of their mythical universe.

Chavín Religious Influence on the Moche Culture

Donnan has demonstrated that the Moche culture shows strong evidence of having received cultural input from Chavín (Donnan 1978). Among the late Moche textiles excavated at Pacatnamu by Ubbelohde-Döering (1966) was a large textile (figure 10.10) involving a rounded rectangular composition with *Strombus* deities inside and with minor versions of that motif on the outside constructed in slit tapestry. Although the first appearance of slit tapestry is in Chavín textiles, it seems not to have been used extensively or characteristically by the Chavín weavers. This Moche slit tapestry textile is probably also a kind of cosmological map. It has a repeated image of a Moche deity—a giant *Strombus* emerging from his shell—inside the composition. The *Strombus* has a rider, who holds onto the horns of the monster. The rider is elaborately clothed. This large slit tapestry textile does not seem wearable as clothing and was also probably used horizontally to place a religious ceremony within a cosmic setting.

So the Chavín textiles that seem to have been conceived and constructed as horizontal compositions appear by their imagery to have broad cosmic implications, relating the place associated with the textile to their conception of their two-part cosmos with its deities inside and non-deities outside.

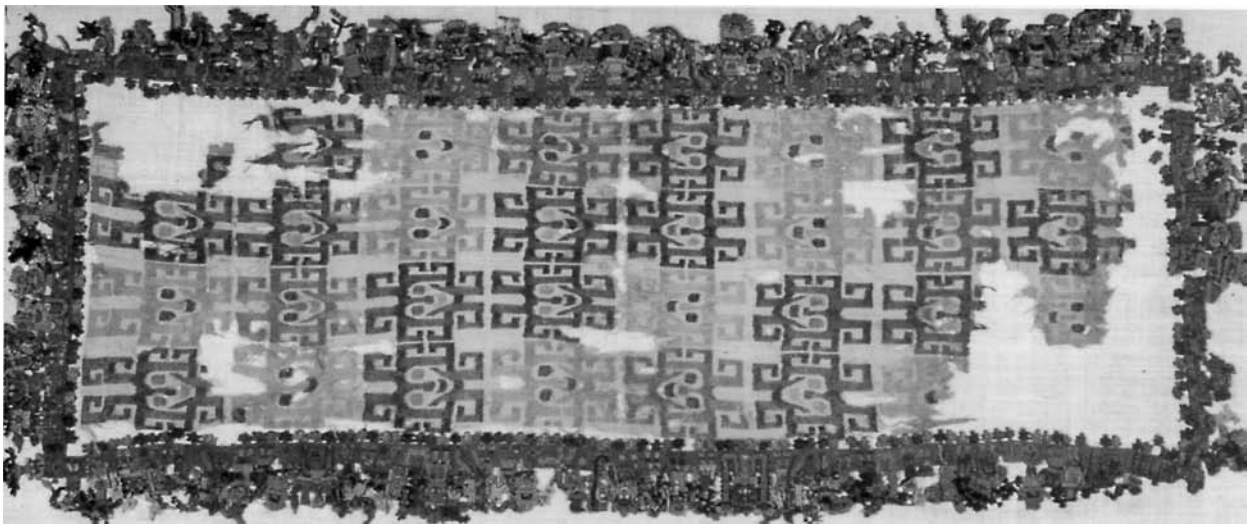


Figure 10.9. The Brooklyn Museum Paracas mantle. Around the outside edge of the textile, a wide variety of human figures are portrayed, while inside a formal figure is repeated which shows Chavín influence in both its technique and in its form. Brooklyn Museum of Art, #38.12, Brooklyn, New York.

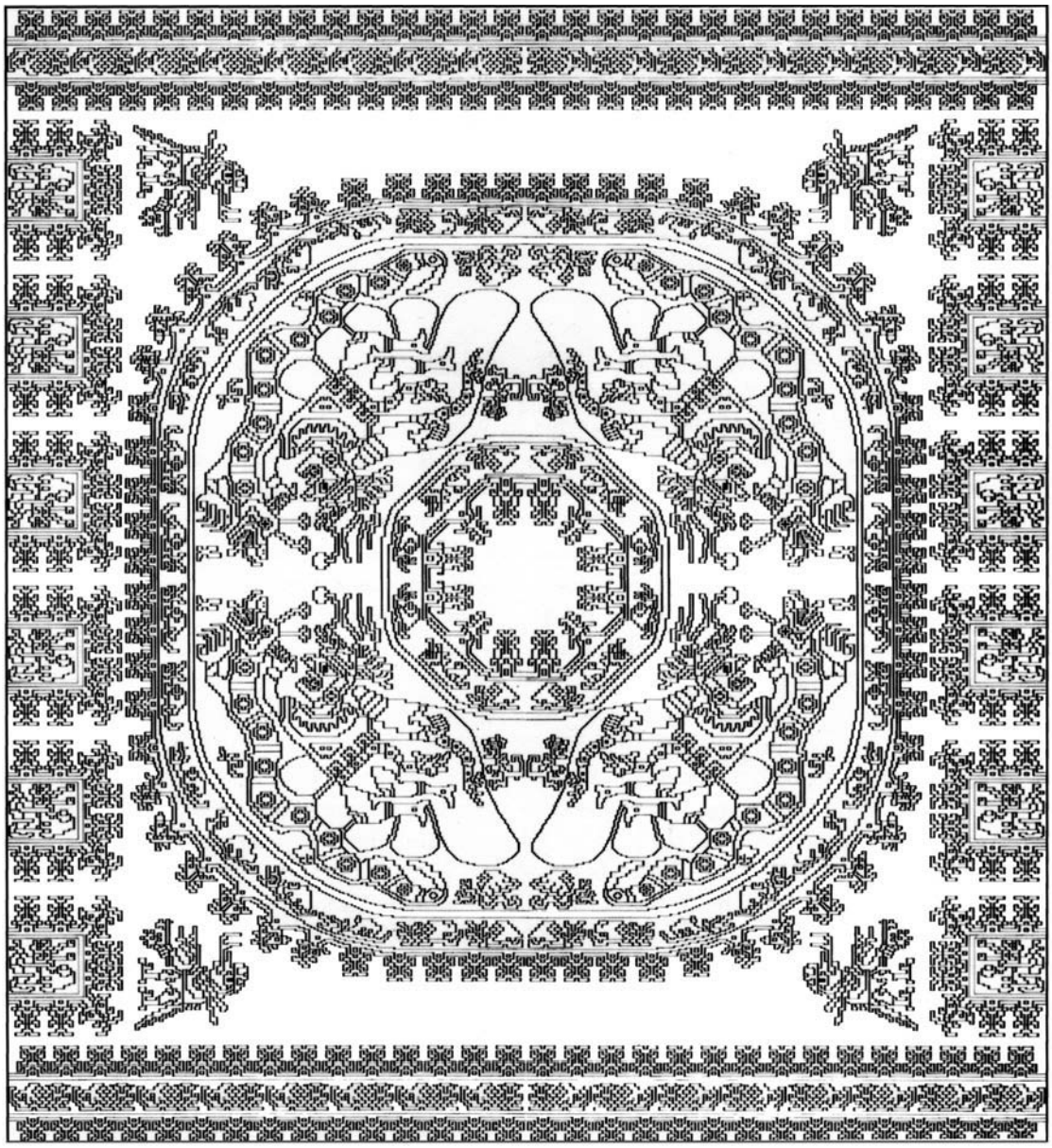


Figure 10.10. A formal tapestry in a slit tapestry technique, excavated at Pacatnamu by Heinrich Ubbelohde-Döering from a late Moche grave. Museo Nacional de Cultura Peruana, Lima.

The Energy in the Thread

The Chavín weavers, presumably in an effort to express the power they believed was in their threads, invented ways of making that power visible and graphically explicit. They probably accepted the Initial Period form of expression involving plying and spinning direction, but added paint to this underlying structure, in a manner parallel to their invention of suprastructural construction. Through their art they made explicitly visible the living power carried by the threads. Whereas during the Initial Period, the power carried by the threads was visible by the evidence left by the spinning and plying, the Chavín artists added to this inner thread power with their art.

The Chavín textiles contain numerous literal representations of thread power as highly animated, thread-like, linear elements. The textiles themselves were, of course, structurally created by the Chavín weavers from linear parts of various

species of flora or fauna (primarily cotton but also camelid hair). Thus the structural elements of the textiles and the graphic images they carried seem to have a commonality. The threads of the textile structures probably carried into their construction the powers associated with their living sources. The actions of the weavers were then perhaps thought of as additions to those residual powers of the basic linear fibrous elements of the living plant or animal.

In a Chavín textile now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figure 10.11), the central fanged figure holds and seems to control a kind of surrounding web monster. He (or possibly she) holds branches of the thread-like elements that seem to function as controlling handles on the double-headed, writhing linear construction. He also stands on and supports with his head the double-headed snake-like element that intertwines above and below him. He is the controlling power in his entwined universe. If, because of his fanged mouth, we consider him to be a polymorphic deity, then perhaps he was an ancestor of the *khipucamayuc*, the Inca name for the keeper of a *khipu*.

Our efforts at understanding this Chavín imagery are aided materially by reviewing ethnographic evidence of Andean thought. Catherine Allen (1988) in her Andean fieldwork has elicited from her informants very important beliefs concerning the Andean understanding of their world. Because the Andean world was not influenced by Western thought until some two millennia after Chavín times, and remote highland areas remained relatively isolated long after that, the views of twentieth-century informants may indeed reflect the Andean ideas of their ancient ancestors.

Allen (1988) reports in summary form the Andean view of what we would generally call their world view:

> Reciprocity (ayni) is like a pump at the heart of Andean life. The constant give and take of ayni and minka maintains a flow of energy through the community (ayllu). This flow extends beyond the human community as well. The obligation extends to domesticated animals and plants, to the earth (pacha), to the many animated places in the landscape itself [figure 10.12], and even to the saints.

She also comments:

> In this worldview, all existing things—people, llamas, mountains, potato fields, houses, whatever—are imbued with life. The life

Figure 10.11. A painted Chavín textile, augmented, portraying a fanged figure within an animated fibrous network. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.394.704, New York.

> force (sami) can be transmitted from one living thing to another. The flow of sami depends on a material medium; there are no disembodied essences in the Andean universe. In this, sami resembles the Polynesian mana and our own concept of (electrical) energy. The flow is neutral in itself and must be controlled and directed so that all things attain their proper mode and degree of liveliness. (Allen 1988:207–208)

Although, of course, we have no direct information concerning how Chavín weavers and Chavín people in general thought, we do have their art, with its many representations of flowing, lively, linear elements (plate 10.1). These linear elements in Chavín art are often represented as being animated—that is, as being alive. Although our clearest Andean image of this sense of the elements being alive comes to us from Chavín art, the concept seems remarkably consistent with the twentieth-century Andean view of the subject as reported by Allen.

The Power in the Turn

An examination of a Chavín painting can make explicit this concept of power flow within a linear element by looking at what happens at a turning point. We enter into this labyrinth and its meaning with caution, by considering first only the apparent power of a single turn in a line. In one of the Textile Museum Chavín fragments (figure 10.3), each of the felines, presumably baby pumas because of their spots, has a neckband that trails down its back. This band is marked with a series of tie-dye spots like the spots normally found on the body of the puma. Belts, wristbands, and ankle bands are the only type of clothing worn by the people who inhabit the Chavín textile world, and they have dressed their royal pumas similarly, with bands. This band, though, like the linear elements of the previous web-world textile (figure 10.12), is highly animated. A close examination suggests that at turning points in the band, particularly where a loop in the band is created, the artist seems to suggest that the turning creates a place of special animation: that is, a place where the inner linear power spills out, where special meaning emerges (figure 10.13). An analogy familiar to us, as it would also have been to Chavín artists, would be the action of a river at a turning point: the water tends to spill out and the bank is worn away, providing graphic evidence of the inner

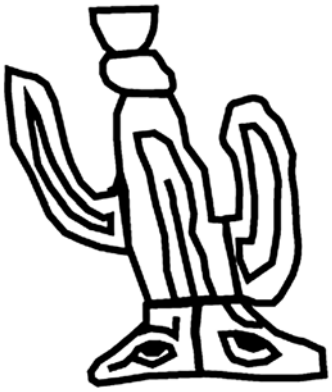


Figure 10.12. Several images of the San Pedro cactus are represented in the Chavín painted textile (figure 10.8). Each plant is portrayed with feet for roots and with each having an open eye—graphic evidence of their belief that the plant was animated and of their belief in the continuity of the plant and animal worlds.

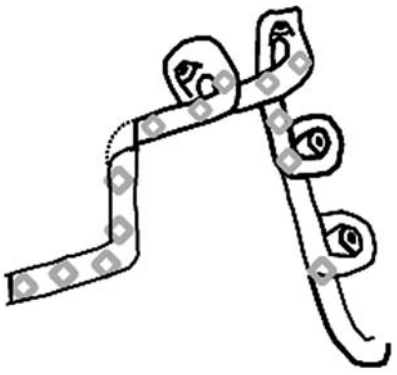


Figure 10.13. This drawing is of the energetic ribbon or band that follows the form of the puma portrayed in figure 10.3. At each turning point, an eye or face appears, suggesting that along the band, a loop is a place of special animation.

power of the river. In many of the Chavín drawings of linear elements, a face or a head is created at the turning point, sometimes an open eye, sometimes an ear—all seemingly expressions of the inner animation of the thread at the turning point. Using our ethnographic reference, we can call this river-like configuration the "*sami* flow."

We can consider this concept of the energy outflow at the turn in the route also in later Andean textiles. One of the Andean textile types most closely associated with the conveyance of meaning is the khipu. Although as yet we have discovered no Chavín khipu, it is perhaps possible to detect Chavín ideas in the later khipu. Our earliest dated extant khipu are the Huari khipu from the Middle Horizon (Conklin 2003, 1982). Huari khipu are very colorful, and one suspects that much of their meaning was conveyed by the color that was accomplished by two techniques: dyeing of individual threads and thread wrapping. Apparently one of the main ways of embedding information in a Huari khipu involved wrapping the secondary strings (the warp-like elements that are suspended from the primary cord) with colored fibers. The process could be called *patterned wrapping* and seems remarkably coherent with the Chavín concept of wrapping warps and other elements with appropriate colors to enable the art and its message to be carried by the textile construction. The coding of the information in the Huari khipu, however, does not seem to be literally representational and hence is not now readily readable by us. Some Middle Horizon khipu have no knots at all but have only complex coded wrapping, using colors with the directions and patterns of wrapping as their code.

The idea of the khipu knot (used to store information in a khipu) being an advanced form of loop would seem to be a possible evolution from Chavín ideas. The simple overhand knot in a khipu would then seem to be a configuration invented as a way of keeping a loop in place on its cord. What would appear to carry significance in a khipu knot, then, would be the loop portion of the knot rather than the self-interlacing of the thread. This concept of the loop as the carrier of the meaning of a knot seems to be confirmed by examining what is called the *long knot* in Inca khipu. The numerical value of the long knot (Locke 1923) is determined by the number of loops the knot displays and has nothing to do with the remainder of the knot's configuration. It is astonishing that an explanation for an Inca knot could be found in Andean art created 2000 years earlier (figure 10.14).

Another evident influence of this Chavín flowing energy idea is found in certain linear design patterns in Huari and Tiwanaku art. Consider, for example, the pattern occurring in a Huari textile I previously analyzed (Conklin 1970) (figure 10.15). The undulating band running horizontally across the textile was not understood at the time of that textile analysis, but the Chavín "sami flow" concept now seems quite relevant. The undulating path seems river-like in its traversal. At each of its turning points, two linear, snake-like elements are attached, each with a terminal open-eyed face. The presence of paired animated faces (one left-facing and one right-facing) at each turning point in the flow may represent an evolution in the belief systems between Chavín and Huari times, since such graphic representations of dualism do not seem to be present in Chavín art. It seems likely that the staffs held by Chavín deities were also considered to be sami routes. Without much doubt, as pointed out by John Rowe (1962), those Chavín staffs were the inspiration for the staffs carried by Tiwanaku and Huari deities as well. Such staffs characteristically

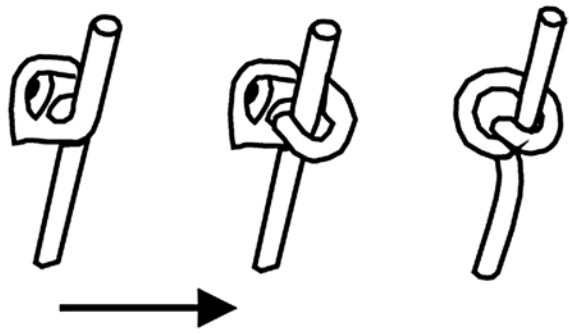


Figure 10.14. Possible evolution of the Chavín animated loop into the knot used in an Inca khipu

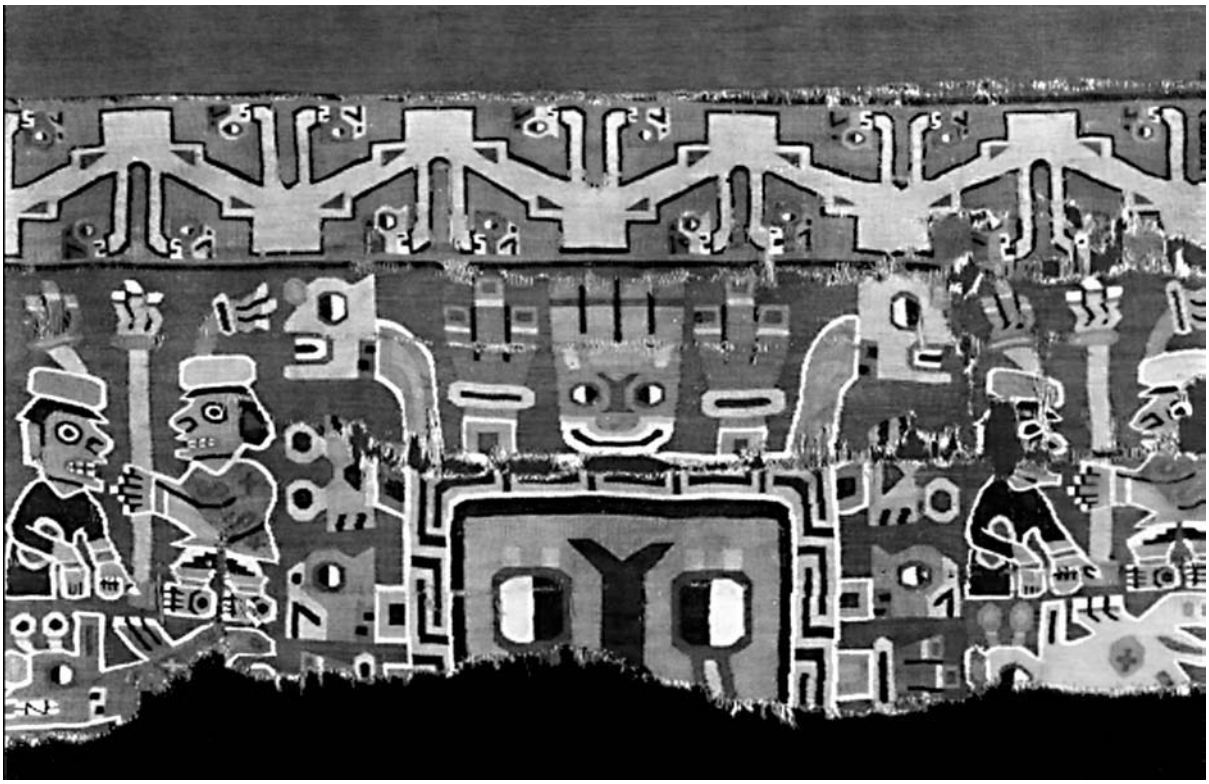


Figure 10.15. Portion of a Huari tapestry with an undulating, animated band running along its upper edge, perhaps expressing the ebb and flow of *sami* through the mythical scene

have zigzag paths down their lengths, apparently marking the flow. In Inca culture, zigzag paths for ritual liquids are characteristically found carved in ritual stone work and in the carved wooden handles of the ladles used for liquids in religious rituals (Allen 2002). Such is the lasting influence of Chavín thought as well as the continuity of Andean culture.

The Power of Twisting

Our modern interest in spinning and plying direction concerns the resulting outer appearance of a thread and not the effect of the twisting on the inner life of the thread. A modern analogy would be having a concern with the form and patterning of a garden hose rather than having a concern with the water or energy flowing within that hose. Presumably, Chavín weavers believed that the twisting of the thread affected the inner energy flow.

In an effort to make specific the power in the threads and to convey that power visually, Chavín weavers invented ways of making that power graphically explicit. They accepted the earlier forms of plying and spinning and their resultant effects on the flow of the sami, with complex meanings conveyed by the arrangements and patterning, but supplemented these with the form of their add-on art. Seeing art as separable from structure, through art they made explicit the power carried within the threads. Whereas during the Initial Period, the power of threads was essentially evident by the spinning and plying, the Chavín artists actually portrayed the inner life and power carried by those threads.

CONCLUSIONS

The Andean textile record, so amazingly complete considering its age, permits us to witness the evolution of their textile-embedded thought, to glimpse the early sense of living in a completely animated world and to witness the ways in which

the human mind came to terms with that power, using art to slowly make it visible.

During the first millennium B.C.E., horizontal seems to have been the dominant dimension for cosmic art. The primary carved architectural art visible on the outside of the Chavín temple was the cornice that formed a sort of horizontal celestial soffit around the temple. The preserved horizontal sand drawings of the horizontal Nasca desert may have functioned as vertical art does in the cathedrals of the Western world—by resonating with the directionality of their cosmos. Horizontal Chavín textiles, as well as carrying specific religious concepts, must also have broadly communicated these ideas about horizontality.

This remarkable record also permits us to observe the demotion (or promotion, if you wish) of textiles from being pure art to becoming useful art. The Chavín textile contribution to the Andean textile tradition and to Andean culture in general appears to be extensive and profound, yet there is a major aspect of the Andean textile tradition that most certainly is not founded upon Chavín beginnings: namely, the use of textiles for human garments. Although the term *textile* almost automatically brings to our minds the concept of garments and clothing, astonishingly there is no evidence that any of the Chavín textiles yet discovered were ever or could ever have been used as, or part of, human garments. And there is as yet little or no evidence earlier than Chavín of the use of weaving to create clothing. This author discussed this matter with the late Dr. Junius Bird, and he said clearly that none of the hundreds of Initial Period textile fragments that he excavated at Huaca Prieta could be identified as parts of human garments.[6] Pieces of belts and bands do exist among those fragments, but no arm slots, neck slots, or other details that could identify a fragment as once having belonged to human clothing. Among the Huaca Prieta textile fragments is one textile (figure 10.16) constructed with twining which bears the partial representation of two figures with some representation of belts, but shows no covering

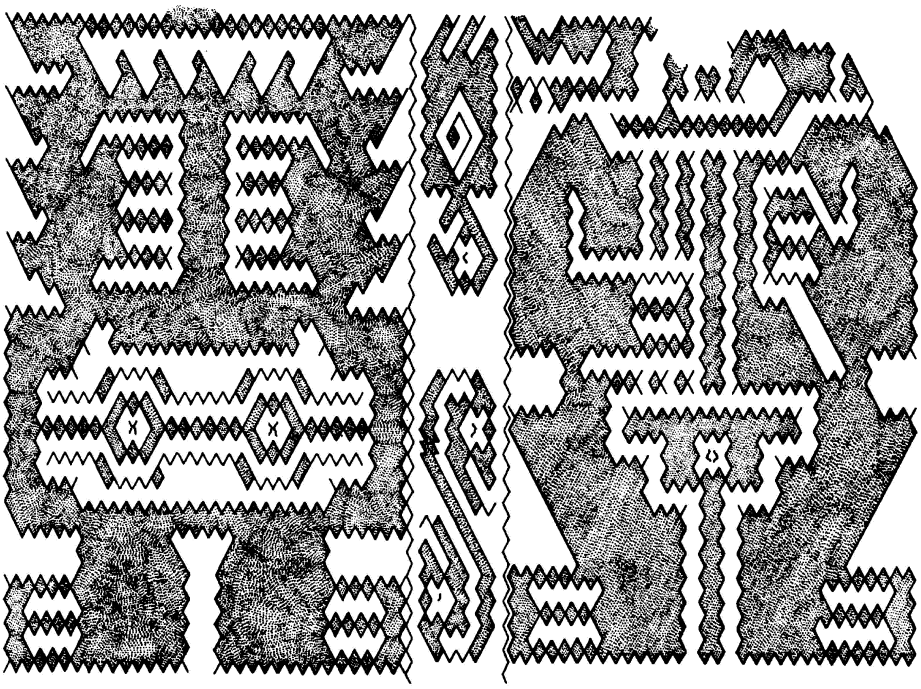


Figure 10.16. The figures in this Huaca Prieta textile were constructed in a form of twining, according to the excavator, Dr. Junius Bird. A belt and/or loin cloth may be represented on the left figure. Even less clothing is portrayed on these Initial Period figures than on the figures portrayed in the somewhat later Chavín art. 41.1/9613 by permission of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

clothing (Bird et al. 1985). It is similar to the wear represented on humans in the Chavín painted textiles.

The post-Chavín cultures of Moche and Paracas mentioned above both provide extensive evidence of Chavín influence and both made extensive use of textiles as garments, but that idea could not have come from Chavín. So although the technology of textiles and the role of textiles as carriers of power and religious meaning seem clearly to have permeated all of Andean culture, the idea of putting that textile power to practical use in the creation of garments and clothing has an as-yet-unidentified source. It is astonishing, even to this experienced textile researcher, to realize that, apparently, the purpose of all the textile inventions of early Andean culture had nothing to do with environmental protection—that is, with clothing, which the modern world believes to be a survival requirement. The religious power and the art were in the cloth long before anyone thought of using such woven textiles for such utilitarian purposes as body covering.

The Chavín textiles also permit us to view quite directly the nature of their highly animated world. No matter how hard we try otherwise, we see threads as part of a world that we cannot think of as being alive. To imagine the physical world that constantly and totally surrounds us as being very much alive is too terrifying even to contemplate. Older views concerning this evidence of animation—the hair as snake, for example—using the concept of metaphor or kenning do not seem adequate. The linear, lively snake is not a mental substitution, but the outer evidence of the inner vital life (see Urton, chapter 8). Within the cultural concepts of Chavín, the snake-ness of hair is its evidence of life. Plant, animal, and human bodies are seen as tubular: even the staff has a kind of internal river that somehow we can see. But Chavín objects are not things—they are living, interactive, and transformative devices. When we read text, we do not just see squiggles or even words or morphemes, we sense living ideas. One suspects that in Chavín times, when people looked at and handled their textiles, they saw them not as objects (as we do), but as living, active, and transforming, as having the power of sami flowing in both their threads and in their images.

However, it is important to note in discussing the role of textiles in the geographic spread of Chavín culture that there are very important sites that show strong Chavín influence in their own art, but have no textile preservation and hence no direct evidence of Chavín textile influence. One such site is Tiwanaku whose preserved iconography (in stone and ceramics) shows extensive evidence of Chavín influence, but Tiwanaku is a site without any textile preservation or other clues as to how Chavín influence was accomplished. So our understanding of the true role of Chavín textiles in the spread of Chavín culture is limited by the facts of textile preservation

NOTES

1. Chavín textiles are herein defined as those textiles closely associated with the iconography found at Chavín de Huántar.
2. Messages from Minus Time: Chavín Textiles from Ancient Peru, exhibition at The Textile Museum, Washington, DC, William J Conklin, Curator, September 15 to December 31, 2000.
3. However, see Dwight Wallace (1991) for a thoroughly developed but entirely different point of view.
4. Furniture and textiles associated with the Quakers have design refinements in their utilitarian parts but have no additional painted or carved designs.
5. Personal communication from Junius Bird, based on his observations as curator of a textile exhibition, "Peruvian Paintings by Unknown Artists" (Bird 1973).
6. Also, in 2002 this author discussed this matter with Milica Skinner, who was Dr. Bird's textile assistant on the Huaca Prieta project. She confirmed the finding and called this author's attention to the only evidence of clothing—the representational figures noted in figure 10.16.

11.

The Felicitous Legacy of the Lanzón

Tom Cummins

Introduction: A Sculpture's Name

Since Tello's reporting on Chavín de Huántar (Tello 1923, 1929, 1930, 1943, 1960), one sculpture, which he named "el Lanzón," has become in various guises a central figure in the imagining of Peru, both ancient and modern (figure 11.1a, b). A replica of the sculpture, replete with its retaining chamber, has long stood in Lima's national museum, first in Pueblo Libre and now in El Museo de la Nación, where it is placed alongside other, real sculptures from Chavín de Huántar. It offers to those who cannot or do not want to visit the hinterlands of the Andes an experience unlike any other in the museum, allowing the viewer an imagined close encounter with a pre-Columbian sculpture in situ, and what it might be like to be in such a place, to see it, and to be with it. The Lanzón has also been given national circulation by appearing on one of the many different monetary units of Peru, be it on the sol, the inti, or the new inti. And the Lanzón grabs hold of the public's imagination in the form of souvenirs sold throughout Peru, serving as letter openers and the like because its shape so naturally lends itself to such appropriation. There is, I believe, no other Chavín image that has been so often and widely produced as the Lanzón. For most people, scholars and tourists alike, it is only known through reproduction, even though it is not an image that is reproduced in the corpus of Chavín iconography. The Lanzón is, in fact, unique to Chavín art for several reasons.

In great part, it is the nature of the sculpture itself, its form and iconography, that calls forth so much modern attention and so many copies. However, it is, I believe, due first of all to the fact that the Lanzón is still found in situ, unmovable even by the modern nation state of Peru to its political and cultural capitol, hence requiring its many replications, even in the national museum. The realization that this one Andean sculpture central to the imagining of Peru's antiquity has so resolutely remained steadfast in the site where it was first placed by its creators contributes to its popular as well as its scholarly importance. For example, John Rowe, renaming the sculpture the "Great Image" in place of what he felt had been "infelicitously called 'the Lanzón'," noted that it was "one of the few cult objects of ancient Peruvian religion which can still be seen in its original setting" (Rowe 1967a:75).

Despite the exceptional archaeological condition of the Lanzón, it has rarely been a central figure in the study of Chavín de Huántar. For example, Rowe's relative chronology of Chavín sculpture and stylistic change is not predicated on the Lanzón's early and continued placement in the center of the Old Temple but rather is centered on the sculpture of the Black and White Portal (Rowe 1967a:76; see also Roe 1974). Moreover, the Lanzón has never been a pivotal element in most iconographic interpretations of Chavín

Figure 11.1. (*a*): "El Lanzón" as seen from its left side or looking south; height approximately 15 feet. (*b*): "El Lanzón" as seen facing it or looking west.

sculpture. The Tello obelisk and to a lesser extent the Raimondi stela have been the foci of interpretive analysis (Lathrap 1973, 1977a; Rowe 1967a; Urton 1996), despite the fact that we have no real idea of how these freestanding sculptures related to the architecture of the site (see Roe, this volume, chapter 7).[1] The study of the iconography at Chavín de Huántar is separated in grand part from the objects and spaces in which it occurs. The presumption arises not only from archaeo-

logical conditions but also from Western methods of iconographic interpretation that so often disassociate the image from the object and space of which it is a part. The complexity of the visual forms of the Tello obelisk and the Raimondi stela therefore call forth the most in-depth analysis by modern scholars. Iconographic complexity, however, ensures neither the sacral importance of the object itself nor the significance of its referents.[2] And so, if we were to move away from iconographic density as a determining interpretive axis, then the significance of Chavín de Huántar as a pivotal early ceremonial/sacral site is crystallized by the Lanzón. The Lanzón, by its placement within the chamber of the Old Temple, marks the sacred essence of Chavín de Huántar's importance, an importance that continued up to and beyond the arrival of the Spaniards and their campaigns of extirpation (Burger 1992b:265– 266), and finally into the modern world of tourism and academia.

This is to say, if the site of Chavín de Huántar can be thought of as a formidable Early Horizon cosmic center of transregional attraction, consecrated or at least monumentalized by the construction of the Old Temple (Burger 1992a:132–133, 136–137), then the passage into the chamber where the Lanzón resides might be thought to correspond to one of Eliade's spatial categories of the *axis mundi* or "center place" where communication between spheres of the natural and supernatural occur. Such a center can be marked off by a "labyrinth . . . defending some magico-religious space that must be made safe from the uncalled, the uninitiated" (Eliade 1958:38; see also Carrasco 1991:32–33). This center is often not empty—most assuredly not at Chavín de Huántar. Here, the Lanzón, freestanding in the middle of an interior chamber, is the focus of space, time, and movement in a matrix of tunnels and passageways that was already called a labyrinth by a priest who visited the site in the seventeenth century.[3] This was, as the priest noted, a temple dedicated to Wari, the supernatural founder of agriculture and culture (Duviols 1973:156–157).

The Lanzón is a massive stone block, standing some 15 feet high, roughly formed into a wedge shape that gives way, about two-thirds up, to a thinner, rectangular, column-like form that rises from the back to pierce the ceiling. The orientation of the block is visually directed toward the sharp edge of the wedge, as indicated by the low-relief carving that outlines the anatomical features of a standing anthropomorphized reptilian figure. The sculpted form of the block is therefore not incidental to the meaning of the Lanzón, and Tello, in fact, named this sculpture the Lanzón, which means "large spear or lance" because of the stone block's shape and its placement in the temple rather than because of its incised iconography (Tello 1923).

Since Tello's first description, the Lanzón has been taken to be the very heart or center of the site, the pivotal element of Chavín de Huántar as an *axis mundi*, something that many scholars have noted (Roe 1982a; Burger 1992b:270). But if we accept the concept of axis mundi in general as having analytical value, then we must then ask what the concept might actually mean in the Andes. And, what, if any, is its relation to the Andean concept of *huaca* as we understand it (*huaca* is the Quechua term for the material manifestation of the sacred force or energy) as articulated (almost exclusively) in Spanish written texts produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which mention Chavín de Huántar? One must next ask how the Lanzón might express it and instantiate it through the relation of its iconography in the carved surface and its physical presence through its sculptural form and labyrinthine placement.[4] Equally, should we think of the Lanzón as expressing something unique to Chavín de Huántar, or can this most important Chavín sculpture be linked, at least conceptually, to other Andean sculptural forms across time and geography, through its architectural placement, sculptural form, material, and iconography? After all, Chavín de Huántar was considered a huaca by Andeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This being the case, then, this metaphysical regard need not have been a recent rediscovery, but rather it probably indicates the longevity of the sacral nature of the site, a metaphysical quality of the site that exceeds how it is studied archaeologically.[5] As David Sallnow has suggested, one can find many of the pilgrimage structures of the pre-Columbian central Andes first clearly identifiable at Chavín de Huántar

(Sallnow 1987:93). And so, to suggest a possible set of answers to my questions, I too will range over a span of some 2500 years to connect the Lanzón with other possibly related sacral manifestations in Andean history, looking first at relationships between forms, sculptural and architectural arrangements, and then at recorded mythologies, ritual practices, and descriptions of Andean sacred sites.

Much of what I say directly about the Lanzón is commonly known. I couch my descriptions, however, in a way that emphasizes those elements of the sculpture that seem to link it, at least conceptually, to other Andean phenomena, citing specific pre-Columbian examples from Pikillacta, Tiwanaku, Pachacamac, and Cusco. In drawing these associations, I propose that the Lanzón's legacy is not just a modern one. I conclude my analogies between the Lanzón and other Andean sculptures by examining an extirpation document from 1650, which gives a narrative description of a coastal ceremonial site with a huaca called Choque Ispana and the ritual practices that took place there. In reading this seventeenth-century description by someone who was not at all sympathetic to Andean religious forms, one can nonetheless almost visualize Chavín de Huántar and the Lanzón and imagine the religious practices that occurred there. It is as if they were the Andean counterparts to this still-functioning coastal site and huaca. My point is to suggest that there is an underlying set of features, first encountered in the Lanzón, that seems to course through Andean foundational mythologies in terms of the conceptual, often sculptural, marking of the special sacredness of sites such as Chavín de Huántar, Tiwanaku, Pikillacta, Pachacamac, Cusco, and perhaps many others. It is to argue that such instances create a specific type of Andean focal point and not so much an axis mundi in the abstract sense of the term (a place of intersection with the sacred). Rather, these sculptures instantiate the act of Andean foundation. Most importantly, they possess qualities that express the concept of coming or being from elsewhere, both temporally and geographically. In the end, I argue that Tello's descriptive name of this sculpture as "the Lanzón" may not be so wide of the mark as Rowe (1967a) and others have thought (Burger 1992a:136).

To Approach the Lanzón

Before continuing with a descriptive analysis of the Lanzón, I want to emphasize that my observations are those of an interested outsider to the rigorous study of the Early Horizon and to Chavín art and archaeology in particular. In fact, I have only seen the Lanzón once. I approached Chavín de Huántar, however, the old-fashioned way, taking the ancient trail from Olleros (figures 11.2a, b and 11.3), walking over the Yanashayash Pass and ending the journey by entering into the subterranean passages of the Old Temple to finally arrive before the Lanzón. The route itself is remarkable, as it passes from one valley over the high crest and then zigzags downward along a wide pre-Columbian road until eventually it opens onto a view of the site of Chavín de Huántar (figure 11.4). One can only imagine the effect upon the pre-Columbian traveler, be he or she on a religious quest, tending a herd, or in the business of trade, near or far. The descent from the cold, expansive vista to be had from the high mountain pass leads into the ever warming, greener lower levels, especially in the spring, until at last one comes to join with the valley, seeing Chavín de Huántar directly below, as if it were waiting expectantly facing eastward, just as the sojourner is. It is a spectacular terminus that almost embraces the traveler as the canyon walls of the Wacheqsa River narrow, giving onto the Mosna River and the site itself. At the very least, this natural entrance into the valley was chosen for its sense of visual wonderment as beheld from afar.[6]

The seemingly natural framing of Chavín de Huántar is just one of a series of ways that one is conducted spatially to and through the site. The axial plan of the Old Temple with flanking wings and sunken courtyard is intended to further move the body through a highly orchestrated phenomenological experience. The sunken courtyard is like an atrium and serves as a transitional space through which one must pass to reach the entrance of the interior passageway to the Lanzón. The architecture is simple in its geometry but masterful in its manipulation of orientation and movement. The two staircases, first leading down and into the courtyard and then upward and out

Figure 11.2. (*a*): Approaching Yanashayash Pass from Olleros, altitude 15,420 ft. (*b*): Pre-Columbian road ascending to the Yanashayash Pass.

Figure 11.3. Pre-Columbian road descending the Yanashayash Pass, looking onto the Callejón de Conchucos

of it, bisect the circular structure. The curved walls of each half appear to expand and then constrict, seeming to embrace and then expel the visitor. The spatial experience is further augmented by the harmonious joining of geometric shapes and low-relief sculptural iconography of the facing stones of the interior wall. Together, shape and image intentionally create the prescribed sense of movement from east to west or through the circular space to the entrance into the Old Temple.

The interior wall is composed of two rows of sculptural frieze, which are first of all distinguished by the orientation of the cut block, and are separated by two courses of ashlar masonry (figure 11.5). The upper sculptural frieze is cut in blocks laid vertically, and the lower frieze is cut in blocks laid horizontally, and the course of dressed stone creates a division that accentuates the reading of two realms of being and physical movement as expressed in the upper and lower friezes (figure 11.6). Each of the horizontal rectangular blocks of the lower frieze neatly frames the profile figure of a feline walking on all fours. That is, the forward walking movement of the beast necessitates a more horizontal than vertical posture. The shape of the block of stone and the figure are therefore formally in concert with each other. Moreover, each figure walks in the same direction, east to west, as if it also were a celebrant and seemingly accompanying whoever descended into the sunken courtyard, moving toward the entrance to the Old Temple. This means that both the architectural form of the sunken atrium and the architectural sculpture intensify the focus of the visitor in a clearly intentional formal synthesis. Thus, one moves through a set of framing views of the site, beginning with what, at first impression, may seem a "naturally framed" view offered from the path descending from the Yanashayash Pass (figures 11.2–11.4). But as one moves down this high mountain road into the valley, it becomes clear that this and all other viewings are part a of calculated effect, and one becomes ever more subjected to a constant narrowing of space and focusing of vision.

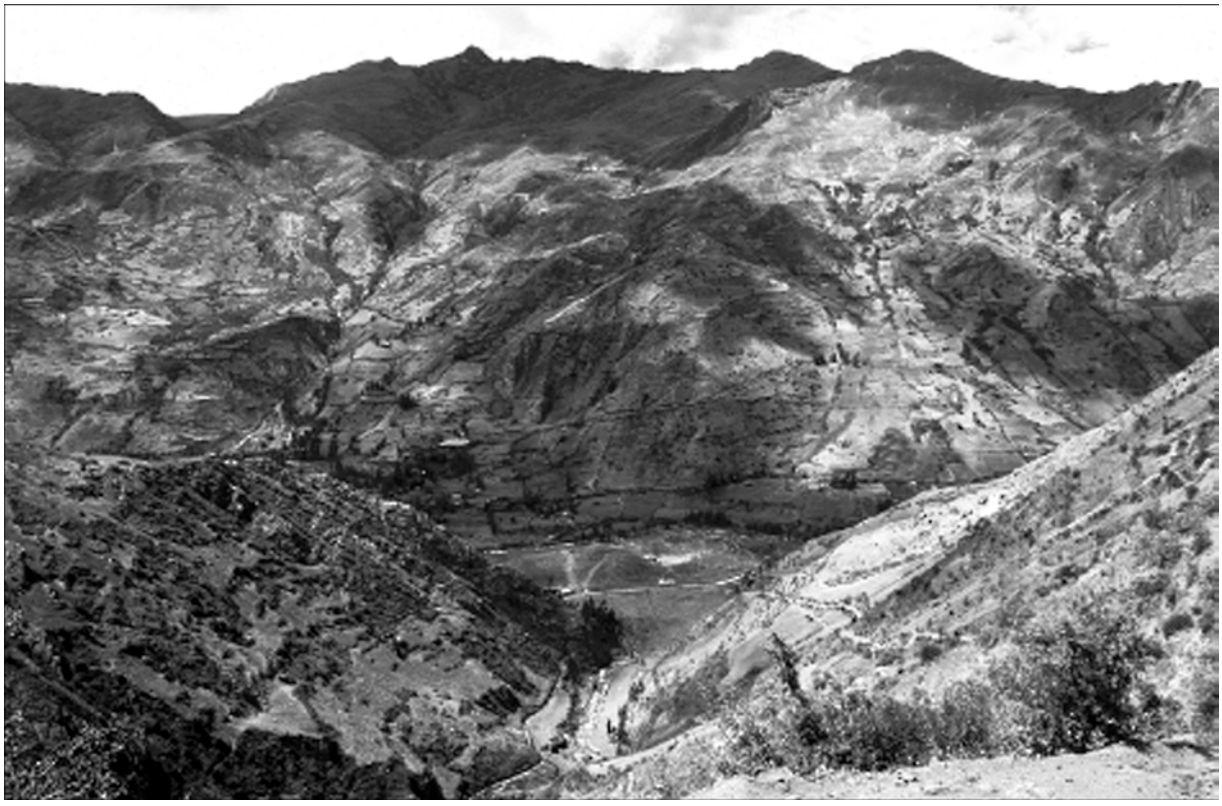


Figure 11.4. View toward Chavín de Huántar from the pre-Columbian road that crosses and descends from the Yanashayash Pass

Figure 11.5. Interior wall of the circular sunken courtyard

The upper frieze is composed of vertically oriented blocks that are carved with anthropomorphic beings (figure 11.7). One sees profile figures with primarily human and jaguar characteristics walk upright, so that the figure and the shape and orientation of the stone are again in concert. The figures also process in the same east–west direction, or toward the entrance of the Old Temple. An additional feature of the anthropomorphic character of the upright beings is the fact that they carry objects in their taloned or clawed hands. One of the objects that is clearly recognizable is the San

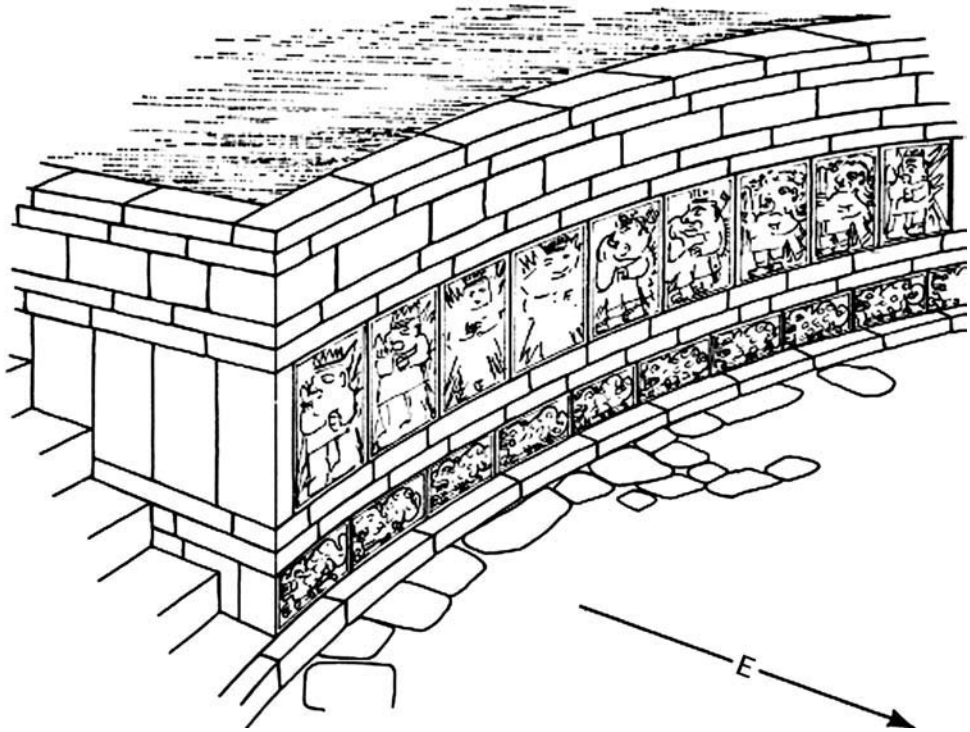


Figure 11.6. Reconstruction of the interior wall of the circular sunken courtyard. *Drawing: Kyle Huffman*.

Figure 11.7. Anthropomorphized figure holding a San Pedro cactus (from the upper frieze of the circular sunken courtyard)

Pedro cactus, a hallucinogen used in Andean rituals of ecstatic transformation. Its depiction here and elsewhere in Chavín art suggests that it was used ritually at Chavín de Huántar. Whether or not the two forms of beings, quadrupeds and bipeds, depicted in the relief carvings are meant to visualize the kind of transformations imagined to take place through the ingestion of San Pedro is not so important as is the precise manner that the vertical, horizontal, and oval forms create a unified structure of approach that generates an ever more restricted and esoteric space and view.

Who among those travelers/pilgrims were allowed further access to the intricacies of the site by descending into the interior of the Old Temple, we probably will never know. The experience was one of tremendous transition, especially during the day, when one would pass from the bright sunlight into darkness, from ample to constricted space. All of this was calculated to affect the senses. Certainly, the Lanzón, one of the great sculptures of the Americas, placed within the center of the temple with a restricted access, would seem to have been beyond the view of many. Yet, the Lanzón must have been present, at the very least, in the imagination of anyone who knew of the site, sparked at the very least by tales sung or spoken about Chavín de Huántar and its place in Andean cosmology.

For those who did gain access to the interior sanctuary and its sculpture, one of the first impressions on encountering the Lanzón, even in the flickering light of torches, is its size and shape, phenomena that are heightened by the fact that the freestanding, probably painted, sculpture exceeds the architectural space that envelops it (figure 11.8). The stone pierces the floor and extends beyond the ceiling, suggesting that the very structure can barely contain the object and that the room and the entire temple were built around it, as if to contain or even restrain it (see also Rick, this volume, chapter 1). And therefore the integration of sculpture and architecture is not based on a sense of visual harmony but of discord. Entering from the east one comes along the passageway in single file to the small restraining chamber, which is accessed by four discrete openings, oriented according to the four cardinal points, each with its own distinct view onto the Lanzón (figure 11.9), a configuration that is echoed in miniature as carved above the head of the Lanzón (figure 11.10) (Stone-Miller 2002: 35).

The spatial conditions and arrangements must be considered as calculated effects, not just chance, enhancing the Lanzón's "awe-inspiring quality" (Rowe 1967a:75). First of all, the narrow, enclosed space heightens the aura of the piece in terms of manifesting a kind of ineffable strength or power that is seemingly just barely contained (see Rick, this volume, chapter 1). The ineffability of the Lanzón is further enhanced by the

Figure 11.8. "El Lanzón" as seen from its right side or looking north

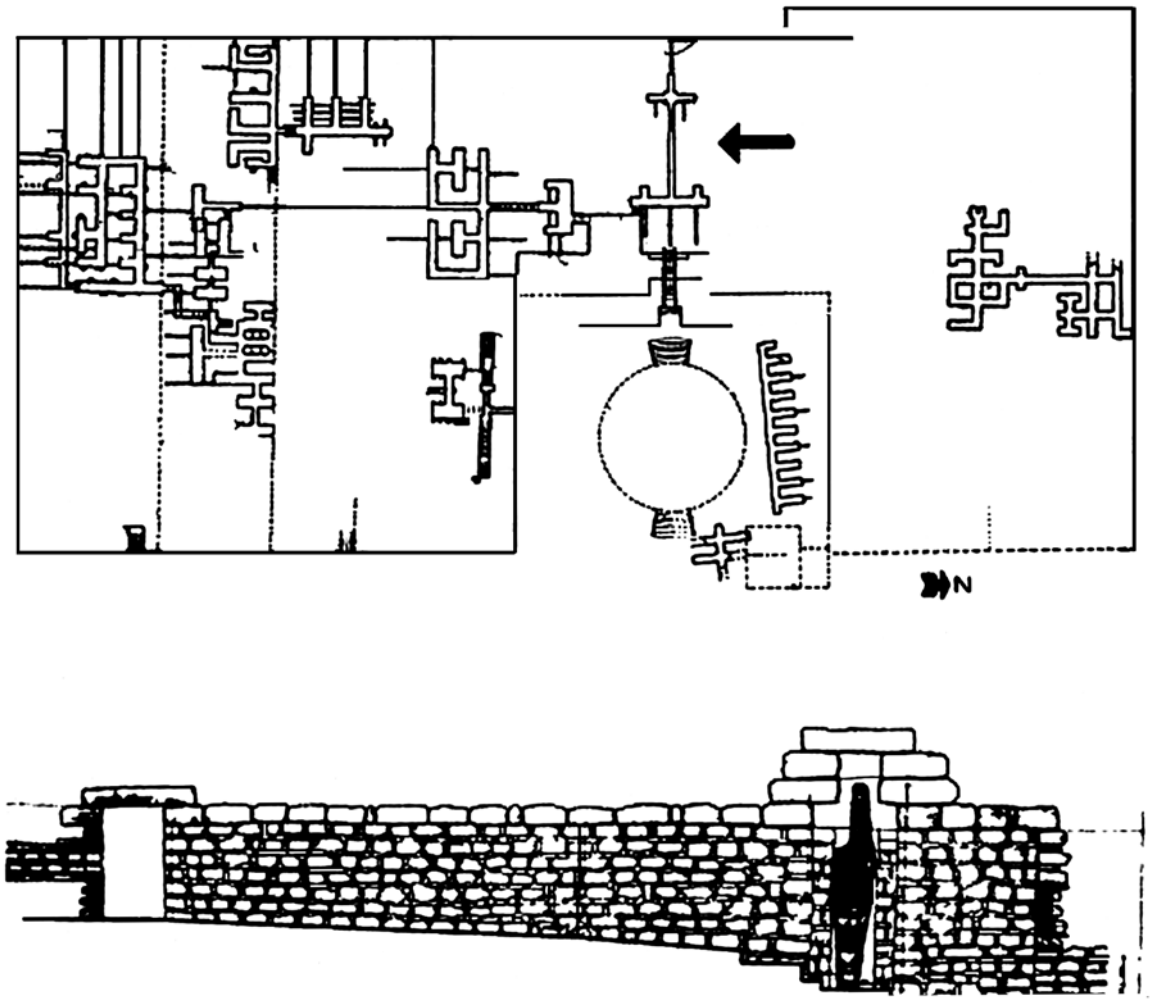


Figure 11.9. Plan of site and elevation of the Old Temple of Chavín de Huántar

chamber's four openings, which allow only partial, segmented views of the wedge-like shaped block and the low-relief carving. Each viewing divides the anthropomorphic schema into one of four possible sections so that only a part can be seen at any one time. This compartmentalization of a creature that stands erect on two legs with clawed feet or paws, with a grimacing, upturned mouth from which emerge two curved fangs, creates a rather transcendent quality.

The iconography of the being as a whole has been described and interpreted by various scholars as having an Amazonian basis and combined, perhaps, with additional features from the coast (Burger 1992a:149–150; Lathrap 1973; Roe 1982a; Urton 1996). Except in photographs, the Lanzón is usually depicted as a visually coherent figure in rollout drawings (figure 11.10). But the sculpture is not intended to be fully grasped in its entirety, and it is the photograph, with its partial view, that is truer to what is actually experienced. This means that the only movement of the otherwise static figure, implied through the gestures of the arms, cannot be seen all at once because of the shape of the sculptural block, which has a triangular form, perhaps the natural result of water abrasion. Whether the shape of the monolith is solely natural or has been recast through human agency is not significant in either case, as this is the desired form of the piece. As such, the relationship between incised iconography and stone block is very different between the Lanzón and

Figure 11.10. Rollout drawing of the Lanzón

Figure 11.11. Raimondi stela; height approximately 7 feet

the later Raimondi stela (figure 11.11). The latter is a flat, rectangular slab onto which low-relief en-face figures are carved such that all iconographic features can be beheld at once. The Lanzón is radically different in that the two arms are seen discretely, and the viewer can only suppose that there are two. That is, the viewer can only understand by walking around the sculpture that there are two different gestures, but one cannot see them in relation to each other. The raised right arm and profile are seen from the north. The left, lowered arm and profile are seen from the

south. It is only in a modern drawing that one can see them simultaneously and in relation to each other. However, the opposing gestures of the arms are important for comprehending the unique quality of the Lanzón.

In the Lanzón sculpture, an animation is created by this gesture that acknowledges a presence outside the sculpture itself, whereas movement in other Chavín sculptures is created through the use of a profile pose that orients figures moving toward a direction (here I include heads that look upward so as to see). That is, the upward gesture of the right arm orients the Lanzón outside the self-contained space of the block itself, engaging whomever or whatever the raised arm and open palm is directed toward.[7] And, the raised right arm is intended to be interpreted as a gesture because the left arm is diametrically the opposite, held down at its side.

The gesturing pose of the Lanzón is unique at Chavín de Huántar, as can be seen by comparison with the low-relief carving of "Smiling God," which is identified by Rowe (1967a:84) as the same deity represented by the Lanzón because of the same iconographic features of the mouth. The "Smiling God's" position of the arms is very different from that of the Lanzón, being bilaterally symmetrical. The "Smiling God" is depicted standing frontally holding a *Strombus* shell in one hand and a *Spondylus* shell in the other, both grasped tightly across the chest. Here the frontal, tightly compacted figure offers no sense of a possible or needed reciprocal gesture or even the acknowledgment of someone or something exterior to itself.

Equally important, the gestures of the arms are not the only sculptural element of movement created in the Lanzón. Whatever power was attributed to the anthropomorphic figure as carved onto the stone's surface, the vertical rise, implied by its iconography, is countered by the form of the sculptural block itself. That is, the low-relief carving represents a standing figure, and the natural inclination is to see it as rising vertically. However, because the sculptural form seems almost to be a skeuomorph, something recognized already by Tello and suggested in his naming of the sculpture as El Lanzón, there is at once also a descending verticality. That is, the shape of the sculpture suggests the form of some kind of functional object, perhaps a lance, or a knife, or even perhaps a *chakitaclla* (Andean foot plow) as suggested by Carrión Cachot (1958:406), which by its heightened artistic elaboration, both in terms of scale and carving, takes the work out of the realm of the utilitarian while still suggesting by its form the associations of the quotidian function of the object to which it refers.

It is the sculptural form and its seeming reference to some kind of object rather than its elaborately carved anthropomorphic iconography that gives great presence to the image as a whole. Furthermore, the sculptural form reverses the natural tendency of the vertical, as a line that ascends. As the upper part of the sculpture is significantly narrower and off vertical axis, it does not pull the eye upward. And as the base tapers until it pierces the ground, the axis suggests a downward movement, such that, as it enters the floor of the chamber, one has the feeling that it is not autochthonous—arising, as it were, from the earth—but rather is foreign to it, thrusting downward into it. And indeed, the stone of the Lanzón and therefore the Lanzón itself is not local, not autochthonous, but brought from some distance to be enshrined here. Yet, clearly by piercing the ground so forcefully, it marks the center of the building and hence the center of the sacred site to which peoples from very different climatic zones and different social identities would congregate and make some kind of offerings, some of which surely were offered in the form of some kind of liquid, be it blood, corn beer, or something else.

The issue of liquid offering poured down the sculpture is something to which I will return in relation to an analysis of another sculpture described in 1650. For now, it is important to point out that there are parallel channels that run down the center of the upper section of the Lanzón or what could be interpreted as the "handle" in the front and terminating in a quatrefoil shape that lies horizontally above the head of the figure, and replicates the quadripartite form of the room (figure 11.10). Tello suggested that sacrificial blood coursed down the canals, poured from the chamber above, and then perhaps flowed into the even more deeply cut lines that form the figure's shape (1960:176–177). If this were the case, then the elaborate carved iconography, as channels for liquid, interacted in a kinetic fashion with the

downward thrust of the sculptural form, bringing the two representational aspects of the sculpture into unison and countering the upward vertical motion suggested by any standing anthropomorphic figure.

The point of such description is to suggest that the placement of the Lanzón and the way it is cut and incised are strategic, formal qualities that give the sculpture an intrusive, almost foreign character. In saying this, I do not mean to suggest that the Lanzón is a stylistic anomaly, although Rowe suggests that the mouth of the figure may have been recarved from an agnathic and toothless mouth to one having upper and lower jaws and upper fangs (Rowe 1962:84). Nonetheless, the Lanzón participates fully within artistic canons of Chavín low-relief sculpture. Here, however, it seems that the properties of Chavín carving style are deployed on a uniquely sculpted block in order to produce a specific, calculated and perhaps unique effect, thereby intensifying the aura of the Lanzón.

Figure 11.12. "Inca carried in a Litter," Martín de Murúa Historia General del Perú, fol. 84r (circa 1615). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS Ludwig XIII, 16. Watercolor on paper.

The present entrance to the Lanzón's chamber is most probably not the one that was originally in place. As Richard Burger has noted (1992a: 136), the entrance or entrances were probably from the roof, perhaps hidden from view and leading into the galleries below. Nonetheless, the approach to the sculpture was structured to terminate as it is experienced today, as a quadripartite division of vistas and entrances, a point to which I will return. Clearly such a spatial and visual organization was the realization of some form of ideological structure, as if one were peering into the very cosmological center of a sociopolitical universe as represented in a "personified" form by the Lanzón. We know of such a figural representation, clearly as a personification of another, better-known, quadripartite universe: Tawantinsuyu. In Martín de Murúa's 1615 manuscript, a gouache by Guaman Poma depicts the *Sapa Inca* as personifying Tawantinsuyu's sacred geographical center (figure 11.12) (Cummins 2007:306). Figural representation in relation to personification is clearly something fundamental to the Andes, whether it be the body of an ancestor (the *malki*), the body of the ruler as recovered in the Moche tombs of Sipán, bodies of *Sapa Inca*, (Inca ruler) which were brought to Cusco's plaza to feast with the community, or a huaca carved in the form of something like the Lanzón. What precisely such personification really signifies is not altogether clear; however, it does seem to mark the center in one way or another, and a center that is not necessarily fixed. Perhaps this mutability is why the Lanzón seems so encased, almost trapped in the Old Temple—an attempt to mark and to hold the center in place. At the same time, it is a center that acknowledges a foundation that has come from elsewhere to be there, but that now, through a common iconography and style found throughout the site, has established itself as permanent.

BEYOND CHAVÍN DE HUÁNTAR

If the Lanzón does mark the very center of whatever cosmology the people of Chavín de Huántar inhabited, why did it take the form it did, and why is it placed as it is? No definitive answer can be offered, of course. If we turn first to the two great Middle Horizon polities of Tiwanaku and Wari, however, and then to the Late Horizon Inca, it might be possible to suggest that there are correspondences, perhaps attributable to continuities, among certain features found at each of the major sites of these polities, which might help to understand what the Lanzón's placement and shape may have meant. In positing that there are formal correspondences across time and space, which somehow hark back to some of the Lanzón's particular characteristics, I want to stress that this is not like tracing formal developments or conscious archaism (Rowe 1971). What I offer instead are only vague evocations voiced in the subjunctive and conditional because they are but dimly grasped through context and placement, suggesting the possibility of the continuity of a shared substratum of ideological/cosmological concerns that are expressed through similar conventions. If one takes into account the longevity of motifs as expressing similar concepts—as have been traced from Pharaonic Egyptian art through Classical Greek and Roman to Gothic Christian sculpture—one can understand that although the superstructure of religious dogma may change, and in this case dramatically (polytheism to monotheism), underlying principles endure and are expressed in similar terms or conventions. This kind of continuation does not go against Panofsky's argument of disjunction (1944, 1960), a thesis employed by Kubler (1973, 1975) to argue against ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogy by which archaeologists projected specific iconographic identifications of images described at the time of conquest to the interpretation of much earlier forms, especially in Mesoamerica. Rather, it allows us to identify certain general conventions that can be traced with great time depth that clearly take on differing interpretations within specific cultures, but nonetheless convey similar, shared concepts.

Tiwanaku

According to the mid-seventeenth-century chronicler Bernabé Cobo, before the arrival of the Inca, Tiwanaku was called (in Aymara) "Taypicala" or "the stone in the center, because the Indians of Collao believed that this city was in the center of the world" ["El nombre que tuvo este pueblo antes que fuese señoreado de los Incas era Taypicala, tomado de la lengua aimará que es la maternal de sus naturales y quiere decir 'la piedra de en medio' porque tenían por opinión los indios de Collao que este pueblo estaba en medio del mundo."] (Cobo 1956 [1653], vol. II:194–195; also cited by Kolata and Sanjinés 1992:317). Certainly, the Lanzón was the stone at the center of Chavín de Huántar; however, this kind of central monumental sculpture was not what the Aymara name for Tiwanaku was meant to conjure up. Not only was Tiwanaku a good distance and time removed from Chavín de Huántar, but also it was a different kind of cosmic center, one that was engulfed by a cosmopolitan urban community. Tiwanaku was also created with a different set of iconographic and architectural features (Kolata 1993:90–93). Nonetheless, some elements clearly do hearken back to things seen at Chavín de Huántar, such as the "Staff God" and the sunken plaza. There is, however, no known labyrinth of interior passages leading to a central figure, although the Akapana, the seven-tiered stepped platform mound that dominates the site, was constructed with linked external and internal water passageways. The main freestanding sculptures—such as the Bennett, the Fraile, or the Ponce stela—were placed above ground; and they were not anthropomorphized animals, nor did they display an iconography that was heavily indebted to Amazonian references (figure 11.13). Rather, these monolithic sculptures were clearly recognizable to even sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spaniards as standing human figures carved in low relief (Cieza de León 1986 [1553]:83; Cobo 1956 [1653]:82). Cieza de León goes on to say that the iconography of the dress was different from the regional dress worn in the province and that these sculptures therefore surely were made before the time of the Inca.

Not all sculptures were, however, original to Tiwanaku, nor did they date to the occupation of the site. Rather, they came from elsewhere and were easily recognizable as being different in terms of both style and iconography. There is, for example, the lower fragment of a Pucará sculpture from the first century B.C. that was brought from Arapa across Lake Titicaca, some 220 km distant as the crow flies, to be placed in the "Palacio" of Tiwanaku (Chávez 1975). The two pieces, when brought together, are known as the "Arapa-Thunderbolt" stela. Their intentional separation and the subsequent transplantation of the "thunderbolt" section across the lake to the new site of Tiwanaku were a tremendous exercise of labor and engineering. We cannot know for certain what the ideological underpinnings of such a translation were for the people of Tiwanaku, but at the very least, the very recognizable difference in sculptural style marked the presence of something nonlocal in terms of space or time or both.

Figure 11.13. Upper half of the Ponce stela, at Tiwanaku

The sculptural reference to the past and/or the distance is not isolated to the "Arapa-Thunderbolt" stela. The Akapana itself is believed to mimic the distant mountains of the Quimsachta range (Kolata 1992:328). And while the Akapana may mark the cosmic center of Tiwanaku, just to the north side of it lies the Semi-subterranean Temple, a complex that represents the conceptual and spatial antithesis to the Akapana and is reminiscent of the sunken courtyard before the "Old Temple" that encases the Lanzón. Here, however, in the excavated center were arranged what Alan Kolata has termed an "eclectic assemblage of stone stelae and sculptures carved in various styles" that represent "the huacas of various times, places, and ethnic groups" (Kolata 1993:135, 249).

What is important here, in regard to an inference to the Lanzón, is the fact that a number of the sculptures at Tiwanaku predate the rise of Tiwanaku as an important ritual and urban site, and some of them come from elsewhere. Kolata has interpreted the grouping within a sociopolitical context in which the centerpiece is the Bennett stela, standing some 22 feet tall. The other sculptures were arranged in a subsidiary status in relation to it. The "architects of the 'Semi-subterranean' Temple assembled an eclectic collection of sculptures that were temporally, stylistically, and most likely ethnically foreign to Tiwanaku [figure 11.14]. It is likely that these foreign sculptures were sacred emblems of the concentrated spiritual power, or, in Andean terms, *huacas*, of distinct ethnic groups" (Kolata 1993:142). What I would point out in regard to these sculptures is that they evoke a geographical and temporal distance that is brought to the center, implanted in the earth, just as the Lanzón is. Distributed around this center, embedded into the retaining walls of the sunken plaza, were placed an unknown number of sculpted tenon heads, all facing toward the center (figure 11.15a, b). It is as if they are somehow witnesses to the central configuration. Clearly, these sculptures manifest elements of a politicized cosmos, as Kolata has pointed out, perhaps akin to the captured huacas brought to the center as the Inca are said to have done (Kolata 1993:142). But even if this is true, I suggest that they also mark a centering of power

Figure 11.14. Semi-subterranean Temple of Tiwanaku with earlier and foreign stelae placed in the center

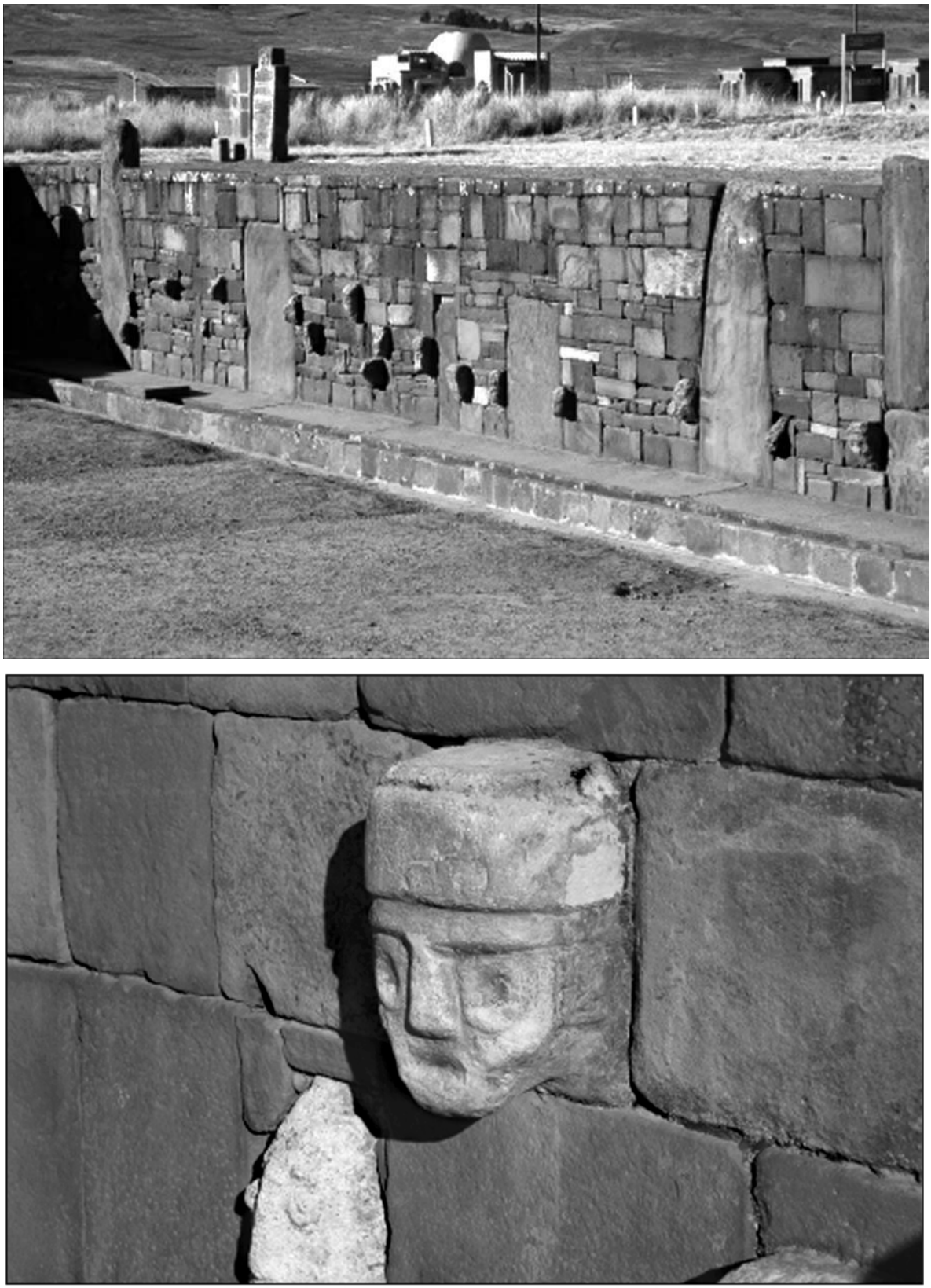


Figure 11.15. *(a)*: Interior wall with tenon heads in the Semi-subterranean temple of Tiwanaku. *(b)*: Detail of one of the tenon heads in the Semi-subterranean Temple of Tiwanaku.

and foundation that expresses the foreign as a constituent element, similar to what the Lanzón manifests at Chavín de Huántar. That is, the specific mytho-political needs of Tiwanaku are expressed within a complex of concepts that were operative at Chavín de Huántar.

Pikillacta

The suggestion that the sculptures configured in the Semi-subterranean Temple express, like the Lanzón, the foundation or centralization of the external or foreign is, of course, no more than speculation. However, there does seem to be related evidence that comes from near what is regarded as the border between Tiwanaku and Wari. At the Wari site of Pikillacta, two sets of some 40 miniature, bluish-green stone figurines were found in separate caches buried at different depths but within the same building. Gordon McEwan (1991:118) identifies the area in which the structure occurs as being the main ceremonial focus of the site. One cache, found in 1927 and described by Luis Valcarcel in 1933, is now in the University collection in Cusco. The other set of 40 was looted just shortly after the first cache was discovered, and they were said to have been found close to where the first set was unearthed. All but one of these figurines is now in Madrid in the Museo de América (McEwan 1991:95).

One of the salient characteristics of the figurines from both caches is the careful articulation of their clothing (figure 11.16). Anita Cook has studied these two caches, analyzing, among other things, the different designs on the tunics and the

Figure 11.16. Several of the figurines found at Pikillacta; approximate height 39 mm

Figure 11.17. Solid bronze bar found with figurines at Pikillacta, Museo del Inka, Cusco; length approximately 3 feet

different headdresses. She suggests, based on Inca evidence, that the differing designs and forms may indicate different ethnicities in relation to some kind of foundation myth, perhaps the 40 founding ancestors of the Wari (1992:353–355, 358). One feature common to the two caches is that each group of figurines was found in association with a thick metal ("bronze") staff or bar (figure 11.17). In the case of the cache described by Valcarcel, the figurines and the bar were placed horizontally in the sand. In the other, the bar was stuck vertically into the ground and the figurines placed around it in a circle.

The miniaturization of the figures and the staff can, of course, have a number of different meanings. Clearly, at one level their careful placement beneath the floor of an important structure within the ceremonial center of Pikillacta gives them the status of a dedicatory offering marking some event in relation to this place. They may mark the construction of the building itself, but more likely the important event was the foundation (or its commemoration) of the whole site, a focal point of the aura of such a place. If so, then the position of the staff thrust into the ground, standing vertically but hidden from sight, seems to harken to the Lanzón, which also appears to be thrust vertically into the earth and buried in the subterranean room within the Old Temple. More importantly, perhaps, is that, like the Lanzón, which through material (stone) and iconography (Amazonian references to the nonlocal), the figurines around the "bronze" bar evoke the foreigner or outsider, just as it is evoked at Tiwanaku in the sunken courtyard by the heads surrounding and facing the standing sculptures in the center. Also, at Tiwanaku, the Bennett stela was placed at the center, around which were placed the "foreign sculptures."

Cook notes that the figures surrounding the staff have different headdresses, and she posits that this may indicate different ethnic groups. It is of course unclear what these figures surrounding the lance were intended to mean, but if they do indicate by their headdress the concept of foreignness or outsider, then this could be linked to the idea at Chavín de Huántar that the Lanzón comes from somewhere else.

Cusco

The scale difference between the Lanzón, the Tiwanaku sculptures, and the Pikillacta cache of figurines and staff is extreme, but then scale in the Andes has never been really investigated, so the miniature and the monumental are not fully understood in relation to each other. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that these different images are expressions of similar concepts that unite notions of fecundity and foundation myths. This suggestion arises from what we know about the foundational myths of Cusco, through which we can link narrative to symbolic acts and visual expression. Now I realize, of course, that such an explanatory method that branches enormous geographic and temporal expanses presupposes a rather static view of Andean myths, rituals, and society; however, by describing possible similarities and associating them as enduring expressions of certain Andean precepts, this method allows some inkling of what the Lanzón may have been and how it may have been understood. At the very least, the Inca myth allows us to understand the relation between fecundity, the piercing of soil, and the foundation of a sacred site in an Andean ritual/political center at the time of the Spanish conquest.

There are many variants to the foundation myth of Manco Capac as he and his siblings emerged from the caves at Paccaritambo, but I want to lay stress on those narratives that set them wandering to find their destination and the actions and signs by which their telos is recognized. These are elements of Inca foundational mythology that are not often emphasized.

Manco Capac, upon emerging from Tambotocco, carries with him a number of objects, including a pair of gold *aquillas* (drinking vessels), a gold ax, and a staff given to him by Viracocha. The first two items become part of the symbolic regalia for the investiture of each new *Sapa Inca*, handed to him by his father on the day of his investiture (Cummins 2002:68–79). The staff, however, plays a different, more critical and immediate role in the imperial origins of the Inca and their settlement in Cusco. Manco Capac had been told by his father, the Sun, to search for a propitious place, a place that could sustain his people through the fruits of a fecund earth. In order to recognize this place, he was told to use the lance that he carried with him, and wheresoever it stuck in the earth, he should settle. In one version, it was upon standing atop Huanacauri, overlooking the valley of Cusco, that Manco sunk his lance, which disappeared completely into the soft fertile earth.[8] Manco Capac took this as a sign that it was "in this valley that our father, the Sun, commands us to stop and make our place of dwelling according to his will." The fecundity of the site was commemorated by a temple dedicated to the Sun and related to the more famous temple of the Sun, the Coricancha, replete with its equally famous gold and silver garden. In another version, both Mama Huaco and Manco Capac first settled outside of Cusco, in Matahua, for two years. At that time, either Mama Huaco or Manco Capac threw a staff which sank easily into the ground of Huanaypata, which signaled the fertility of the area and therefore made them determined to settle there and establish Cusco (Sarmiento 1988 [1572]:58–59). That either Mama Huaco or Manco Capac is said to have thrown the staff is probably related to the foundation of Cusco, according to the moiety principles of Hanan and Hurin as personified by Mama Huaco and Manco Capac (Garcilaso de la Vega 1963 [1609]: Ch. 16). And while there is no mention in the chronicles, it would not be surprising to learn from some source that a golden lance or spear was at the center of the garden in the Coricancha, thrust vertically into the ground to mark the fertility of Cusco. More importantly, for my argument, the sinking of a staff into the ground recalls not only the form of the Lanzón, but the way it pierces the soil, as if driven into it.

Was the golden staff that Manco Capac used to pierce the soil to mark the fertile place of foundation somehow akin to the Lanzón, the sculptures at Tiwanaku, and the miniature staff at Pikillacta? One can never say for sure. There are, nonetheless, many features of the Inca myth that seem to parallel the structural features of all three, enough so that I believe that Tello's characterization of the sculpture at Chavín de Huántar as the Lanzón may not be so off the mark. At the very least, one can posit a typology of a centralizing element that is based on a thrusting vertical figuration, which, though hidden from normal view,

below ground (the Lanzón is encapsulated below the surface, the figures from Pikillacta are buried, the lance in Cusco, according to some myths, sunk below ground), nonetheless alludes to a piercing of the earth, marking its fertility. Furthermore, this marking device has a recognizable external or foreign character.

Finally, one need only think about what is understood to be the principal image of the greatest pre-Columbian huaca of all, Pachacamac, the shrine for which was an inter-Andean place of pilgrimage. The Inca came to take possession of the shrine, as did Pedro Pizarro who entered the secret chamber to find that, like Delphi, it was an oracle that divined through the voice of a hidden priest, answering to the future. An image, now displayed in the museum of Pachacamac as the oracle image, is a carved wooden staff with a Janus-faced head. It would have stood fully in the round, and one would have had to walk around it to see all of its iconographic complexity.[9] And if indeed it is the true image of Pachacamac, it is structurally similar to all those already mentioned. The sculpture, also made of a nonlocal material, would have stood upright and was the compelling reason for pilgrims to travel from throughout the Andes to seek council. And as with the Lanzón, only a few were ever admitted into the inner sanctum of its presence, but all would have been aware of its placement.

Huacho

From the founding myths of Inca Cusco, the sculptures at Tiwanaku, and the cache of figurines at Pikillacta, I now turn to a mid-colonial *Relación* written by Felipe de Medina, *visitador* of the Archdiocese of Lima. It begins with his account concerning a coastal huaca that he uncovered near Huacho in 1650 (Medina 1904 [1650]: 215–216). Medina found that it was the principal huaca of the area and that it attracted an ongoing interregional pilgrimage. The importance of the huaca is underscored in his *Relación*, as he not only describes its form and destruction but also gives a rare account of the architectural layout of the entrance to and interior of the temple, as well as the significance of the rituals dedicated to the principal image through which the idol gains a transformative agency. Medina writes about the sanctuary at Huacho that

> the temple lies on a low hill, on the right hand side of the *camino real*; the traveler begins to walk, entering this temple by a narrow pathway of walls built on either side, handmade of stone and mud, well and very carefully formed; it is more than a city block long and one enters the temple, which is also walled and made of the same material as the pathway, by different compartments and divisions, some that serve for those from highlands (*serranos*) and others that serve for those from the lowlands (*yungas*), and for the women of these (two regions) there are also different entrances. . . .[10]

Medina also describes the hill where the temple compound with its entrance was found to have the same horseshoe (*herradura*) or U-shape as the "Old Temple" at Chavín de Huántar wherein stood the Lanzón, and it is extremely probable that the mound that Medina thought was natural was, in fact, the remains of a very ancient and much larger artificial structure. Medina, therefore, gives much greater attention to the site, as it was not just an old ruin. Rather, he recognized it as an ongoing shrine and describes the ingress, noting that not only did one proceed along a passageway, but that one also entered a labyrinthine interior that finally led the traveler through one of four entrances into the huaca's innermost chamber. Each entrance was differently accessed, depending on both the gender and geographic (ethnic?) identity of the pilgrim. All four passages came together at the center of the temple, arriving from four different directions.

In the center of the temple there was what Medina called an "idol," which he describes in the following manner:

> [T]he idol was (made) of an extraordinary stone, and not like any from this area, rather it was brought from far away; I noted that it stood three and a half *varas* tall and three *varas* wide. It has very small eyes carved into its surface and carved appropriately; it also has carved in to it two very large horns that twist downward in the form of canals, with a depth

> of about two inches, ending in the snout itself, by which they pour the blood and *chicha* (corn beer) that they offer to it in sacrifice and there they study [interpret] its [the idol's] signs.
>
> I found further on, a small [statue] of native sheep [llama] that they call mamallama, for the increase of them . . . that I judge to be (made) of low quality gold, found with all kinds of vessels and ceramic and wooden plates and others still that here are kept with their *keros* (wooden drinking vessel) in which they say that they feast with their dead ancestors. . . .[11]

Just slightly later, Medina ends his *Relación* by describing how the sculpted image was used and what its name was in Quechua:

> [I]t is the case that when they offer it (the statue) sacrifices of *chicha* and blood it (the liquid) ran through the canals of the idol, and it gave the appearance of how urine or some other liquid spilled onto the ground. The idol is called Ispana which means urinal or the place where one urinates.[12]

Medina's account is a rich source for many reasons. What I want to stress here is that the description of an idol called Choque Ispana recalls the Lanzón in so many ways. First of all, it is at the center of this huaca, to which people come from both the sierra and the coast in order to consult it and interpret its messages, a common attribute of important Andean huacas. As already mentioned, the temple compound is described so as to suggest having a horseshoe or U-shaped configuration. This form certainly has resonance with the layout of the "Old Temple" in which the Lanzón was placed. More importantly, perhaps, we also learn that the access to the inner sanctum was built in a way that would spatially denote Andean notions of differentiation according to gender and geography/ethnicity, such that there were four distinct passages opening onto it. One wonders if the original access to the Old Temple also had entrances that demarcated similar social differentiations. At the very least, the four entrances and vistas of the central chamber surrounding and encapsulating the Lanzón are similar to the quadripartite entrances of the huaca at Huacho as described by Medina.

What also seems extraordinary is that the sculpture placed in the center at Huacho, called Choque Ispana, was made of a stone that was not local, something so clear that it was recognizable even to Medina as coming from far away. That is, the sculpture was not autochthonous, yet it marked the goal of the pilgrimage, ending at the heart of the sanctuary. These features recall both the nature of the material of the Lanzón as well as the lance driven into the ground by Manco Capac. The shape of the Huacho sculpture is different from the Lanzón or Manco's lance, however. The Choque Ispana is much more cubic and therefore less vertical than the other two. However, like the Lanzón, the surface of Choque Ispana is carved, though not in terms of being fully in the round but, rather, as Medina writes, "grabado." That is, the surface is carved in low relief such that the lines that form the anthropomorphic features of eyes, horns, and the like also create the channels through which the libations poured from the top, coursing down the figure until they spill to the ground. This ritual act is nominalized by the sculpture, at least as understood by Medina. He specifically says that the sculpture is called Ispana, a term that he translates as "place where one urinates." It is clear that this is the name of the figure and that it is associated with the way the rituals enliven the sculpture. However, what does the term *ispana* really mean, and how might this be interpreted in relation to the Lanzón?

It is important first to think of the kinetic quality of the two sculptures/huacas. Chicha and/or blood is poured down the figure, emphasizing the relation of the huaca to the ground in and on which it is placed. In the case of the huaca Ispana, the liquids—blood and chicha[13]—are offered to it by being poured at the top, or head, so as to run down the figure through the incisions that create its iconography. The orientation of the sculptural form can therefore only be conceived as being downward, just as it is with the Lanzón, even though its iconography suggests a standing figure. Moreover, this movement acts to transform the liquids as they course down the canals, such that they take on a different state of being—from

blood to urine. Urine is thus one of the properties of liquid, which essentially is in a continuous transformational process, a process that at Huacho is given a specific manifestation by the kinetic or fluid movement of the liquid down the canals of the idol called Ispana.

The symbolic transformation of chicha or blood (two liquid forms that themselves can symbolically stand for each other) into urine as it is imagined in the offerings poured down the sculpture is not, then, to be understood as something disagreeable—human waste—but as part of the essence of liquid, the continuous circulation of which is essential to the fecundity of the earth (Skar 1987). Certainly this is implied in a prayer printed less than 20 years before Medina wrote his *Relación* concerning the idol Choque Ispana. Recorded by Juan Pérez de Bocanegra (1631:133) in the southern highlands, the prayer written in Spanish and Quechua is dedicated to irrigation sources. In the Spanish version, rain is prayed for: ". . . mother fountain, lake or spring, give me nonstop water, do not cease to urinate. . . ." (". . . madre fuente, laguna o manantial, dame agua sin cessar, orina sin parar. . .). The term used by Bocanegra in the Quechua text for urinate is *ispani*.[14] In this sense, the circulation of liquid takes the form of rain as it becomes lake and river water and then passes to the ocean and back again in the cosmic chain of circulation.[15] These are all nature's secretions, just like the secretions of liquid from humans, such as blood, sweat, milk, semen, and urine. They all form a part of the process of the unending flow and transformation from one stage to another.[16] This is, of course, what *pacchas* are as well, as Carrión Cachot's work so many years ago so amply demonstrated (1955). The recent works of Sarah Skar (1987) and Frank Salomon (1991) have also demonstrated the nature of liquid in the Andes and its transformations, a process unknowingly described by Medina. More importantly, in 1657 Vega Bazán understood Chavín de Huántar as a huaca with particular properties. It was the place of the *wari*, the deity or force that was attributed to fecundity, and the pacifiers and distributors of lands (Duviols 1973:156–159).

Equally important, the huaca/god called *Wari* in 1656 by Hacas Poma not only distributed land, but water. As Hacas Poma told it to a priest inquisitor, the wari, Coricuicayan, "urinated in two parts and two *puquios* (springs) appeared called Ocopuquio and Cucupuquio that are next to the fields of this *ayllu*, and Capabilaca urinated in three parts, and there appeared three *puquios* called Ucupampa, Colcacocha, and Muchacpuquio that are also next to the fields of this *ayllu* with which they water them, and those from this *ayllu* venerate (*mochan*) them (*puquios*) with live guinea pigs that they offer them. And these aforementioned idols, recognizing the power and knowledge that they (each) had, became friends, and they divided the fields between themselves, and when they died they turned into stone and those from this *ayllu* have venerated these idols ever since."[17] The "idol" found and described by Medina only six years prior to Hacas Poma's testimony was called Choque Ispana and also is clearly associated with urination, water, and fecundity.

CONCLUSION: THE LANZÓN, A FELICITOUS NAME?

So, what, if anything is the Lanzón's legacy? Medina's description certainly makes one think about how the Lanzón might also have been seen and understood in the seventeenth century. Sometimes I wonder if Medina were not actually describing the coastal counterpart to Chavín de Huántar.[18] Huacho is situated about a mile from the coast, with the Huaura River running through it. Immediate access into the sierra is had by retracing the path of the river back to its source in the highlands, perhaps meeting with an ancient road that led the knowing traveler to Chavín de Huántar and the Lanzón, and on to other revered pan-Andean huacas. Whether or not such a particular road existed, Andeans from the coast and the sierras were moving along some ancient routes toward the Lanzón as late as 1616, when Vásquez de Espinoza characterized Chavín de Huántar as one of the principal huacas of Peru, a pilgrimage site "like Rome or Jerusalem with us: the Indians used to come and make their offerings and sacrifices, for the Devil pronounced many oracles for them here, and so they repaired here from all over the kingdom" (1942 [1629]:

491). This was written only 34 years before Medina learned of the coastal pilgrimage sanctuary at Huacho and destroyed it. And just six years after Medina's discovery, native priests could still be found inside Chavín de Huántar seeking communication with the divinities (Burger 1992b: 265–266). Clearly, these ancient sites never lost their oracular aura.

Whether or not these huacas and sanctuaries were in any way connected, or whether the seventeenth-century rituals encountered by the Spaniards had anything to do with more ancient practices, is unknown. But I suggest that the Lanzón is one manifestation of a type of sculpture/huaca that performed several roles in Andean cosmology throughout history, and it is for that reason that Medina's description of the Choque Ispana at Huacho seems so appropriate to the Lanzón as well. Moreover, these are roles that are perhaps more specific than just being generically categorized as an axis mundi, and they do seem to have substantial traces in the larger historical and archaeological records.

There is no such thing as a universal axis mundi, though the Andean version seems to have had certain characteristics that endured over the millennia. First, origin myths in the Andes most often stress coming from the outside, that is, from a foreign source—the culture heroes, the Wari, and their petrifaction (Duviols 1973). And certainly all the monuments I have mentioned in their various forms, including the Inca foundation myth of Cusco written by Garcilaso de la Vega, somehow acknowledge that fact, either by material of the "sculpture" or its iconography or both. The iconography of the Lanzón as well as the Tello obelisk and the Raimondi stela clearly stress the nonlocal, Amazonian presence at Chavín de Huántar, something that is immediately recognizable, just as the Pucará fragment at Tiwanaku would have been recognizable as foreign in the sense of time and place. And Chavín de Huántar was probably the "templo muy grande de el dicho *Wari*" as mentioned by Vega Bazán in 1657 and described as a "laberinto" (Vega Bazán 156:389, as cited by Duviols 1973:157). Second, the object through its form and placement stakes a claim to where it is and its right to be there by its penetration of the soil, a soil that (at least in the cases of the Lanzón and the Ispana) are nourished by the liquids that flow down their channeled surfaces to moisten the autochthonous soil. Also, in the case of the Ispana, and perhaps the Lanzón with its four entrances, the space in which it is placed is so organized as to give not only an architectural form to social and gender categories and roles, but also a space in which to perform them by anyone who gains access to the image. And finally, like the metal bar around which were arranged the 40 "turquoise" figures at Pikillacta,[19] like the sculptures placed in the center of the sunken courtyard at Tiwanaku, like the staff thrust into the ground by Manco Capac, the Lanzón was a sculpture formed so as to appear to pierce the ground like a knife, a spear, or a foot plow. The piercing of the earth marked the very center of Chavín de Huántar, not simply as a fecund act but to stake a claim of foundation, coming from elsewhere.

To be sure, I have drawn tenuous links between these diverse Andean sculptures and mytho-historic rituals. These links, nonetheless, can be found well into the mid-seventeenth century when Andeans were still visiting Chavín de Huántar and Choque Ispana as sites where fecundity and origin were understood to reside, and new cults, such as wheat, arose. Tello's naming of the sculpture as the Lanzón, then, was neither so inaccurate nor infelicitous, but seems to describe precisely the sculpture's form, a form that expresses a set of underlying features concerning origin myths and the piercing of the earth's fecundity, *pachamama/acamama*.

NOTES

1. Burger (1992a:136–137) gives the most descriptive interpretation of the Lanzón in relation to its placement in the interior. However, as Chavín iconography seems to insistently refer to Amazonian creatures, Amazonian models are sometimes used as interpretive schemes (Lathrap 1973; Roe 1992a, 1992b) in a direct fashion. It is important, perhaps, to ask what "foreign" or "outside" means for the local within Andean iconography.
2. One need only think of the most sacred relics of Islamic, Christian, and Jewish beliefs to understand that the aura of the sacred does not neces-

sarily reside in the most visually complex forms and iconographies.

3. "[H]e discovered . . . a very large sanctuary of the so called Wari that was a popular temple of the Indians, which was all below land with very large streets and labyrinths made out of very large stone that was very well worked" ["descubrió . . . un templo muy grande de el dicho Huari que era común adoratorio de los Indios todo debajo de la tierra con unos callejones y laberintos muy dilitados, hechas de piedra muy grandes y muy labradas"]. (Estanislao de la Vega Bazán [1657:389] as cited in Duviols 1973:157)
4. Roe (1974) and Burger (1992a:136–137) articulate the concept of the Lanzón as *axis mundi* by which they mean that its vertical shape acts as a "conduit connecting the heavens, earth and the underworld" (Burger 1992a:137).
5. The archaeological/historical focus on what is considered to be the most important period of a site or building is a common approach, for which the temporal period is usually defined as the rise, duration, and fall of some overarching purity as recognized by stylistic traits, be they any combination of iconography, architecture, site planning, ceramic forms, cultural and social practices, and the like. This definition is often taken with the point of view that it is inherently difficult to project backward into this restricted archaeological/historical period what is done later to the architecture of a building or a site and what ritual practices were performed there.
6. The ascent from the east, up the river valley, would offer a very different initial view of Chavín de Huántar and, perhaps, a different understanding of the site as well. The phenomenology of movement in the Andes as an element to consider in pre-Columbian sites and architecture has yet to be explored, even though for the past 30 years the socioeconomics of Andean verticality has been studied as a critical factor in the development of Andean civilization (Murra 1972).
7. Burger (1992b:274) interprets the gesture as being internal to the meaning of the figure itself, expressing "eloquently the role of the deity as a mediator of opposites, a personification of the principle of balance and order." While the concept of cosmic mediation may very well be instantiated by the Lanzón, the pose of the arms references a human gesture, a gesture that is directed toward another being. Hence, any visitor is implicitly acknowledged by the sculpture to be within its space of interaction. Domingo de Santo Tomás (1995 [1560]:141) describes gestural forms of greeting for Quechua speakers in which an inferior says nothing but shows an open right hand, held before the mouth.
8. Garcilaso de la Vega (1963 [1609]:26) says that Manco Capac sank the golden staff in Huanacauri. This passage is copied and slightly altered by Bernabé Cobo (1956 [1653]:62).
9. There is no real evidence that this sculpture was the principal image that was seen by Pizarro at Pachacamac. It is more probable that it was not, as Pizarro had it pulled down. However, it may resemble the original.
10. "[E]l adoratorio cae en una media loma, a mano derecha del camino real; empiezase a caminar y entrar a este adoratorio por un callejón de paredes, por una y otra banda, hecho a mano de piedra y barro, bien formado y muy curioso; tiene mas de una cuadra largo y se entra al adoratorio (que también está cercado y hecho de la misma pared que el callejón) por diferentes compartimientos y divisiones, unas que servian para los serranos y otros para los yungas, y para las mujeres destos hacían tambien diferentes entradas. . ." (Medina 1904 [1650]:215).
11. ". . . [E]l Idolo era de piedra extraordinaria, y no como las de por alli sino traido de muy lejos; noté que tenia de largo tres varas media y de ancho tres, los ojos tenia muy pequeño, grabados y hecho al propósito; tenia grabados tambien dos cuernos muy grandes que desde arriba venian retorcidos y en forma de canales, de hondo como cuatro dedos, a rematar en el mismo hocico, por donde derramaban al sangre y chicha que le ofrecian en sacrificio y allí se dieron las señales dél. Hallé mas adelante un carnerito de la tierra que llaman mamallama, por el augmento dellos . . . que juzgo de oro bajo, halló con toda esa vajilla de madera y barro y otras más que aca quedan con sus keros en que se dicen bebían y coman sus difuntos. . ." (Medina 1904 [1650]:216).
12. "[E]s el caso que cuando le ofrecían sacrificios de chicha y sangre corria por los canales del Idolo y hacía una como semejanza de cuando tal vez corre la orina u otra liquida por el suelo. El Idolo se llama Ispana que quiere decir orinal o lugar donde se orina" (Medina 1904 [1650]:216).
13. Blood and chicha are understood to be two instantiations of the same thing. In colonial literature, this Andean understanding is transformed into European rhetoric such that chicha becomes a metaphor for blood (see Cummins 2002:90).
14. Diego González Holguín defines *ysppani yspacuni* as "orinar y por honestidad lo toman por proueerse" (1989 [1608]:370).

15. For a full explanation of this Andean phenomenon of cosmic liquid circulation, see Urton 1981.
16. In both Murúa manuscripts (1590:128r; 1615) and in Guaman Poma's manuscript (ca. 1615:86), Cusco's first name is said to be acamama, or "mother chicha," implying that the circulation of liquid was also of paramount importance. In addition, an Andean metaphor was recorded in the early twentieth century in which it was believed that gold was the sweat of the sun and silver was the tears of the moon, implying an even broader concept of ispana (see Pizarro 1921:520, no. 97).
17. "Y el dicho Coricuicayan orinó en dos partes y salieron dos puquios llamados Ocopuquio y Cucupuquio que estan en las chacaras deste aillo y Capabilaca orinó en tres partes y salieron tres puquios llamados Ucupampa, Colcacocha y Muchacpuquio que estan tambien junto a las chacras deste aillo con que las riegan y los mochan los de este aillo con cuyes vibos que les ofresen y estos dichos ydolos conociendo el poder y sabiduria que tenian se hisieron amigos y repatieron las chacras en si y quando murieron se conbirtieron en piedras y los deste aillo an mochado siempre estos ydolos" (Hacas Poma, folio 28, as cited in Duviols 1973.)
18. The pairing of highland and coastal huacas is not unusual. For example, the highland huaca of Lake Titicaca was paired with the lowland huaca of Pachacamac by the Inca (Anonymous 1991 [1607]: 111– 113).
19. The 40 turquoise figurines from Pikillacta were associated with Felipe de Medina's *Relación* by Valcarcel (1933:5, as cited by Cook 1992:359). After Medina destroyed the huaca of Ispana, he turned his attention to the "idolo de Corquín," in the port town of the same name, which was then sparsely populated, having been devastated by disease. Alerted by Juan Solac, a native of the town, Medina and Solac went to the cemetery where the huaca was buried and where a new type of idolatry had taken place. Among the offerings they found were "two closed shells stuck together" ("dos conchas cerradas y pegadas"). Upon opening the shells, Medina found four green stones and he was told that "the green idol represented their founder, and that three other pebbles or grains, also green, represented the origin of the beans; one represented the beans, the second pebble represented wheat that had been brought from Spain, and the third represented hot chile pepper that they call *misquihuche*, from Colijo, that now is Spanish land. And where they plant wheat and beans, they offer (sacrifices) to these idols so that there will be growth and increase in the harvest. Thus this type of idolatry was invented in our times, once they were already Christian, and there is no doubt that there are many (idolaters/apostates) among them. They call those three grains *mamantrigo*, *mamanpallar*, y *mamanchucha*" ["Ese idolo verde del primer progenitor suyo, que así me declararon con esas tres piedracitas ó granos, también verdes, que dicen ser el origen de los pallares, semilla que se truxo de España, y del trigo, que le significa es otro grano, que el tercero es de ají, que llaman ellos misquihuche, de que colijo que ya era tierra esta de españoles y ellos sembraban ya el trigo y pallares cuando ofrecieron su semejanza para el augmento de uno o otro: así que este género de idolatría, en nuestro tiempos le inventaron, y ya siendo christianos ellos, y así no hay duda hay mucho de esto entre ellos: llaman esos tres granos mamantrigo, mamanpallar, y mamanchucha]" (Medina 1904 [1650]:216–217). The four buried green stones conceptually are related to the figurines of Pikillacta inasmuch as the three of them represent things that come from the outside. One is the progenitor of the people of the village and the other two represent the foods brought from Spain and their ritual incorporation into the coastal community.

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