

Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory - Anthro 326: Class 21
The Late Intermediate Period: Warring Chiefdoms
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- Late Intermediate Period (or LIP)
 - starts roughly 1000 cal AD, with the collapses of Tiwanaku and Wari
 - ends around 1476 cal AD with the arrival of the Inka in the Ica valley
 - were the master ceramic sequence for the Period-Horizon system was developed
 - but many people adjust the end of the Late Intermediate Period for any given location to the time when the Inka incorporated the region
 - reminder: this expansion of the Inka empire marks the beginning of the Late Horizon
 - thus the Late Intermediate Period is intermediate between the Middle Horizon (Wari and Tiwanaku) and the Late Horizon (Inka)
 - some ethnohistorical sources record stories and claims about the later part of the LIP, adding a kind of information not available for earlier periods
- The collapse of Tiwanaku and Wari meant political fragmentation in most of the Andes
 - lots of little, competing groups
 - in some areas, these consolidated over time into sizable “señorios” or kingdoms / complex chiefdoms
 - in others, they remained relatively fragmented groups until the Inka conquered them
 - many different, localized styles of ceramics, textiles, and other aspects of material culture
 - very different political and economic patterns from region to region
 - but one widespread pattern, especially in the highlands:
 - widespread construction of fortified settlements throughout the Andes
 - not short-term retreats or ritual centers, but walled towns
 - usually on hilltops, ridges, or other defensible locations
 - in many regions, the general area of settlement shifted from near valley floors to higher on the slopes and hilltops
 - the emphasis on defense was outweighing the need to be close to farmland, water, open space, and warmer climate
 - serious raids or large-scale attacks must have been a real threat, and presumably occurred often enough to warrant living in an inconvenient location, packed behind defensive walls
 - many places showed clear chiefdom-level polities
 - high-status leaders with nicer houses and much richer burial offerings
 - but mostly without ability (or desire?) to build much monumental architecture
 - Ichma were an exception, with Pachacamac
 - Reasons:
 - climatic deterioration
 - led to competition for water?
 - led to more focus on herding (hence higher-elevation settlement)?
 - rising populations probably added to competition
 - increasing conflict
 - increasing labor available for terracing, defensive walls, etc.

- Evidence of both in upper valleys of Moquegua area
 - early LIP irrigation and field systems were built near rivers, on lower, shallower slopes, in the easiest way
 - suggests that the main concern was minimizing the expenditure of labor
 - that is, land and water were available, but labor was limited
 - later ones were built in steeper, more difficult terrain
 - requiring high terrace walls, canals that cross cliff faces, etc.
 - these fields required more labor to build and maintain
 - but reduced canal length and water loss due to seepage and evaporation
 - suggests that population was rising and demanding that more area be cultivated
 - and suggests that a major concern was minimizing losses of water
 - that is, land and water became the limiting factors, but more labor was available
- This is the milieu out of which the Inka state arose
 - and these are the kinds of polities that the Inka conquered and incorporated into their empire
- Moseley and the Conlee et al. reading start with altiplano señorios (Aymara kingdoms)
 - these were unusually large, generally later LIP developments
 - Lupaqa "kingdom", Colla "kingdom", etc.
 - now looks like these were not really permanent political groupings, but rather the maximum size groups in a segmentary system
 - that is, Lupaqa towns would unite to fight together against Colla towns if necessary, but in other contexts would act independently or fight among themselves in smaller, more localized subgroups
 - fortified settlements, mostly on high hilltops (over 4000 m = 13,000 feet)
 - in other cases, the forts are retreats, with people living nearby in more practical settlements
 - presumably farming on relatively steep slopes, but may not have done much terracing
 - large numbers of sites suggest rising population
 - more corrals suggest increased focus on camelid herding
 - no ceremonial architecture (mounds, sunken courts, etc.) known
 - chullpa burials
 - often on margins of settlements
 - or in visible locations on hilltops
 - Sillustani (the fancier chullpas here are actually Inka, a bit later)
 - contained multiple burials, up to 20 individuals
 - presumably powerful families
- But in some places on the coast, some societies were larger-scale and more complex; we will get to that next time
- The LIP (that is, just prior to the Inka) is when the “vertical archipelago” systems that Murra documented with ethnohistorical sources probably were most elaborated

- he argued that they were older, but the ethnohistorical sources do not go back that far, so this was just a hypothesis
- remember Van Buren's article, in which she argues that
 - the Lupaqa case, at least, was not really what Murra described at all
 - and that its documented relationships were partially products of post-conquest factors, not an LIP adaptation
- Some examples I happen to know well (but similar patterns in most areas)
- In Upper Mantaro valley Wanka chiefdoms (see D'Altroy reading)
 - probably pretty typical for much of the highlands
 - early in the LIP (Wanka I period), people lived in villages of several hundreds to maybe 1500 people, in all locations, without defenses
 - Wari's presence in the area had been minimal
 - the end of the Middle Horizon does not seem to have meant much here
 - By late in the LIP, though (Wanka II period), they are historically documented as constantly fighting until Inka conquered them
 - led by cinches, or chiefs who attained power by military actions, but often held it afterwards and tried to pass it on to their sons
 - was the warfare due to population rise and resource scarcity, or to self-interest by military-based leaders?
 - D'Altroy and his colleagues favor political motivations, not subsistence stress
 - lived packed into large defensible hilltop sites
 - surrounded by defensive walls, often two or three concentric walls with defensible gates
 - populations of two sites estimated around 6000-11,000 people, and 8000-13,000 people
 - some of these sites are divided by walls and/or open spaces into two parts
 - *hanan* and *urin* allys in a "dual organization" system?
 - relatively minor status variation in burials, but some "patio groups" had more, larger, and better-made houses
 - these also had more decorated ceramics
 - more metal goods
 - more camelid bone, etc.
 - little public or ceremonial architecture
 - although some sites have modest apparently public or administrative areas in the middle
 - sometimes with the site-splitting walls or corridors extending out from them, suggesting that they served both parts of the site
 - D'Altroy suggests that the bulk of public labor went into defensive walls and military activity, leaving little to spare for ritual monuments
 - this looks to be the case for much of the Andes, especially the highlands, in the LIP
 - In Moquegua
 - Tumilaca phase (early LIP) in upper Moquegua valleys
 - descendents of the Tiwanaku colonists
 - spread out into formerly less-used areas
 - seeking less competition
 - available land

- access to water upstream from competitors
- defensible locations of settlements
- town walls
- apparently broke into several slightly distinct groups within the single Moquegua drainage
 - plus other variants known from other valleys in the region
- little social status differentiation
- no ceremonial architecture known
- looks like a bunch of self-sufficient, competing agricultural villages, worried about raids or attacks
 - maybe loosely allied with a few neighbors
- Chiribaya (maybe starting during the very end of the Middle Horizon, continuing through most of the LIP)
 - unknown origin, possibly developed from fishing-farming people who had been there since the Archaic
 - mostly on the coast, but with a scattering of significant settlements all the way up the valley into the highlands
 - farming, herding, and fishing
 - multiethnic, contemporary settlement with Tumilaca people who immigrated into the valley when the Chiribaya were already well established
 - more stratified and centralized than Tumilaca culture
 - central site for high-status residences and burials: Chiribaya Alta
 - clearly important, wealthy people were buried there
 - richest burials have dozens of pots, bundled in fancy textiles, weapons, metal ornaments, etc.
 - one male with a feathered, gold-ornamented headdress was buried with piles of pots, textiles, baskets, food, and other artifacts, plus two richly-dressed females at the other end of the tomb, facing him
 - eventually built mounds and ditches partially walling off the site
 - this was the only site in the coastal valley with defensive works
 - maybe more for social isolation than actual defense?
 - highly developed crafts, implying specialized craft workers and some system for supporting or compensating them
 - pottery, textiles, metals, etc.
 - but ceremonialism was small-scale
 - lots of small buried offerings in residential areas and cemeteries
 - large shells, miniature pots, a mummy of a small monkey wrapped like a human...
 - llama burials, "dog cemetery"
 - small sunken rectangular courts (some villages had several)
 - suggests connections to Tiwanaku ideas, but big enough only for a few people, maybe up to a dozen
- Estuquiña (middle and late LIP)
 - higher elevation than others
 - extensive use of steep hillsides by terracing and long canals

- mostly highly defensible residential sites
 - located on points and ridgelines
 - walls (often double), sometimes with parapets for defenders to stand on, some with piles of stones along inside of walls, gates
 - rectangular stone houses packed densely inside walls
 - ditches cut across access routes
- modest burial variation
 - chullpa burial towers (all looted) to subterranean stonelined tombs with several ceramics and other items, to simple pits with few or no goods
 - not very ostentatious pottery or textiles, although some copper and gold objects
- Cuzco area
 - Killke culture: similar fighting chiefdoms and walled towns
 - except around Cuzco itself
 - maybe Cuzco was already big and powerful enough not to need walls
 - we would look at the evolution from the LIP into Inka culture and empire in a future class - but we are out of time, so you'll have to get it from the readings...
- south and central coast
 - Ica and Nazca valleys: Ica culture
 - lots of rich burials, presumably of an upper class
 - fancy pottery
 - silver and copper work
 - straight lines drawn on the pampa
 - Chincha
 - large, productive valley for the south
 - well documented ethnohistorically
 - specifically a trading center with 6,000 traders
 - bringing *Spondylus* down from Ecuador, trading for copper from the highlands
 - Chancay (Chancay valley)
 - apparently a complex chiefdom
 - some very wealthy, deep shaft burials with lots and lots of textiles
 - lots of "tapia" construction (large adobe sections cast in place)
 - "mass production" techniques
 - painted textiles
 - mold-made ceramics
 - tapia architecture
 - Ichma at Pachacamac (Lurin valley)
 - we already read about this, a large chiefdom
 - already important in Middle Horizon (Wari burials there)
 - building boom in the LIP
 - lots of tapia (cast-in-place mud blocks) architecture
- north coast: the Chimú, an different story entirely. We will look at this next time.