The most complex and regionally extensive society of the Late Intermediate Period:
- the kingdom of Chimor
- Chimu culture: culture of the citizens of Chimor
- located in roughly the same portion of the north coast as the Moche had been
  - culturally and biologically descended from the Moche
  - but separated from them by a period of political disunity
  - that started with the collapse of the Moche, as discussed by Moseley
- geographically large, Chimor encompassed
  - 1000 km of Pacific coastline
  - two-thirds of the arable land on the desert coast
  - presumably, about two-thirds of the coastal population
- the largest polity in the Andes in the Late Intermediate Period
- notable for a widespread, standardized corporate style of art and ideology
  - in ceramics
  - textiles
  - copper, bronze, gold, silver
  - carved wooden items, etc.
- conquered by the Inka around 1470 AD
  - Chimu craft workers, especially metalworkers, provided much of the skill and labor for Inka luxury good production
  - and Chimor was a model for some Inka political and economic arrangements
- arose out of the remnants of the Moche state(s), starting 700-800 AD
  - initially, there were two separate Chimu polities
    - Sican to the north, also called Lambayeque
    - and Chimor to the south
  - each first united a single valley
  - then each incorporated several adjacent valleys, each forming a state with a large capital
  - then Chimor conquered and incorporated Sican to form the full Chimor state or empire
  - which was, in turn, conquered by the Inka and incorporated into the Inka empire

- All this happened recently enough that oral history remained to be recorded by early Spanish writers, despite Inka attempts to incorporate the area and break it up to prevent rebellion

- some Chimu oral history, as recorded by the Spanish and synthesized by Moseley in the text:
  - Chan Chan, the capital city of Chimor, was ruled by kings of the Taycanamu dynasty
    - thus Chimor was headed by centralized rulers
    - Moseley suggests that Chimor was probably ruled by an unequal pair of kings in a dual organization system
    - with a señor and a segunda persona, each representing a part of the polity
  - the Lambayeque area to the north was ruled by members of the Naymlap dynasty
apparently more of a confederacy of large, powerful centers, each with a ruler claiming descent from the possibly mythical founding ancestor, Naymlap
ethnohistorical sources mix mythologized stories with more realistic accounts
and where they are roughly corroborated by archaeological evidence, they tend to compress centuries of development into a few generations of dramatic events, much as Inka lore did

Lambayeque (Sican) origins and development
- The Lambayeque valley is a huge, wide, fertile valley on the far north coast
- exploited prehistorically and today with extensive irrigation systems
- this was part of the north coast region where the valleys were big enough to support a Moche elite without having to conquer other valleys
- Naymlap story, probably highly mythologized
  - Naymlap and his retinue arrived by sea on many rafts (called balsas)
  - they established Naymlap's court at Chot
    - maybe the site of Chotuna, a complex of platform mounds and many-roomed adobe compounds with evidence of craft production
    - but work there did not find any definitive evidence linking it to the Naymlap story
      - not surprising -- what could?
  - Naymlap's sons founded additional centers, and 12 generations of leaders followed
    - Fempellec, the 12th leader, moved Naymlap's greenstone idol
      - causing 30 days of rain -- a disaster on the coast of Peru
      - possibly a bad El Nino?
      - so he was overthrown and dynastic rule broke down
    - this left Lambayeque vulnerable to conquest by Chimor
  - no evidence of a literal invasion of foreigners from the sea
  - maybe the Lambayeque centers developed from the declining Moche capital of Pampa Grande?
    - as Moche V Pampa Grande lost regional power, highlanders from Cajamarca established colonies in the Lambayeque (and other north coast) valleys
      - this may have been relatively neutral multiethnic settlement, if there was space
      - or it may have involved conflict
      - but the Cajamarca sites in coastal valleys don’t appear particularly defensible
    - This period (700-900 AD) was ripe for change
      - decline of Moche meant that no state existed to control a corporate style
      - Cajamarca influence brought in new ideas
        - Limited numbers of Wari artifacts in elite burials suggest some influence, too
        - the result was a new, synthetic north coast art (and presumably ideological) style:
          - Lambayeque, or Sican
            - not to be confused with Sipan, the rich Moche burial mound site from centuries earlier
            - lots of stamped and molded decoration on polished blackware ceramics
      - Middle Sican 900 - 1100 AD
        - mound construction increased dramatically
        - and a corporate style was formalized around the “Sican Lord”
          - again, not to be confused with the Moche “Lord of Sipan”
− Moseley suggests that this figure represents Naymlap -- could be
− perhaps ten polities in the Lambayeque area, each with a huge mound complex as its administrative center
− Moseley is very reasonable in suggesting that the Naymlap story may have been adjusted after the fact to justify alliances between these centers by creating a common origin

− Batan Grande, the biggest early and middle Sican site
− in the Leche valley
− monumental core is 4 square kilometers
− over a dozen huge platform mounds
− flat-topped
− perpendicular ramps and ramps with bends
− constructed by chamber and fill -- a “cheaper” way to make mounds that was adopted by the late Moche at Pampa Grande
− with marked adobes for walls, continuing the Moche tradition

− Batan Grande was a huge center of production of copper and bronze, especially "naipes"
− lots of copper smelting, refining, and working done at Batan Grande
− on a large scale
− complexes of highly specialized shops that each did only one part of the whole process from ore to object
− naipes
− I-shaped copper or bronze sheet cutouts
− often found in neat, tied bundles of up to hundreds of nearly-identical naipes
− apparently a means of storing and exchanging wealth, like a currency
− they are common at Batan Grande, but rare elsewhere
− in Ecuador, there are "money axes", functionless sheetmetal cutouts that were used for exchange
− but not naipes
− so they weren't used for currency with outsiders? or…?
− also other forms, like long, thin, concave "leaves" or spatulas
− also found in tied stacks of many
− probably other metal production done there, too, especially gold work, but shops are not as well documented
− the seafaring merchants of Chincha, far to the south, apparently traded for copper or bronze from Lambayeque
− huge cemeteries with tens of thousands of burials
− Batan Grande was presumably a desired burial place for higher-status people in a large surrounding region, not just the immediate occupants of the site
− burials are seated and flexed, vs earlier extended position of Moche burials
− Moseley suggests that this means a big change in ideology
− maybe influenced by Wari’s flexed burial tradition
− some burials (mostly looted for private collectors) had incredible quantities of gold, copper/bronze, pottery, etc.
− one looted burial had around 200 artifacts, including
− gold and silver necklaces
− gold keros with modeled faces
− mummy masks
− tumi knives
− shell, turquoise, lapis, emerald inlays, pendants, and beads, etc.
− another had
  − 17 human sacrifices
  − lots of Spondylus, lapis, gold, etc.
  − over 500 kilos of copper, much of it in the form of stacks of hundreds of naiipes
− 1100 AD, Batan Grande was flooded
  − then burned and largely abandoned
  − this may relate to the drought that supposedly brought down Tiwanaku
    − El Niño events typically cause drought in the highlands and rain on the coast
    − probably the same event is also what damaged Chotuna, Pacatnamu, and Chan Chan, but they were rebuilt, not abandoned afterwards
− Late Sican 1100 - 1370
  − El Purgatorio, in the Leche valley, replaced Batan Grande as the large mound center
  − The Sican Lord disappeared from the art style
    − rejected due to his failure to prevent the 1100 AD flooding?
− Chimor origins and development
  − Moche valley, well south of Lambayeque
    − early in his long (and continuing) career, Michael Moseley led a major project to study Chan Chan, so this part of the text is first-hand
      − Alan Kolata, who ran the Tiwanaku project, also worked with Moseley at Chan Chan
      − Tradition has Chimor founded by Taycanamu, who arrived from the sea to govern
        − his sons and descendents established centers and conquered surrounding areas
        − the reality appears to have been more gradual
    − Chimor was the direct cultural descendent of the remains of the Moche V state, with its capital at Pampa Grande in Lambayeque
      − Pampa Grande was abandoned and burned around 700 AD
      − the Moche broke up into small, competing chiefdoms
      − around 850 AD, the Moche valley was reunited and monumental construction began at Chan Chan
  − Capital at Chan Chan
    − not to be confused with Chen Chen, in Moquegua
    − at north edge of the mouth of the Moche valley
    − area marked out by huge adobe walls is over 20 square kilometers
    − dense core is about 6 square kilometers
    − 9 to 11 (depending on which you count) huge rectangular compounds ("ciudadelas") with high adobe walls
    − surrounded by large areas of dense, more informal, much smaller perishable cane-walled compounds of rooms around open patios "SIAR"
− Ciudadelas
− outer walls of cast adobe (tapia) or mud bricks
  − built in independent segments
    − maybe corresponding to work groups, like the columns of bricks in the Huaca del Sol
    − possibly for technical reasons having to do with use of tapia molds or drying or cracking issues
  − a single, narrow entrance in the north wall
  − containing courts, small areas of high-status and servants' residences, storage areas, and a royal burial mound
  − high walls divide the interiors into three (sometimes four) sectors
    − southern sector: only impermanent cane architecture, presumably residences of servants
    − middle and northern sectors: large courts, decorative friezes, ramps, corridors, audiencia chambers, blocks of small probable storerooms
  − audiencias
    − small U-shaped structures inside the large compounds
      − often on a low platform
      − in a small walled court
      − often gabled, probably roofed
      − often have interior niches
    − most compounds have many of them
    − thought to be "offices" or "court chambers" for rulers and upper-to-middle-level administrators
    − once said to have controlled access to storage areas, and each other
      − but recent studies show that while some could have controlled storage areas and access routes, many are not well located for that purpose
  − burial mound, typically in the central sector
    − several meters tall
    − numerous interior chambers, all looted
    − in best-preserved, late examples, the central chamber is T-shaped and larger, presumably the royal tomb
    − the surrounding, smaller, roughly square chambers contain traces of wealth goods and human remains, especially young females
    − in some cases, smaller mounds were added onto the main one, with multiple smaller T-shaped cells
      − maybe for non-ruling descendents, siblings, etc. of the buried king?
      − maybe for heads of the institutions that venerated the king after his death (if that is the way it worked)?
    − mounds were looted severely and early, records show that they contained a lot of gold
  − So the function of the ciudadelas was apparently administrative for a while, and then mortuary
  − ciudadelas were apparently built in a sequence
    − apparently built and modified for a period -- maybe the ruler's lifetime, or several rulers' lifetimes -- then used for a long time thereafter with only minor modifications
earlier ones seem to have been modified for several generations, later ones only maybe one
may correspond to the sequence of rulers in ethnohistorical accounts
since each seems to contain a single royal burial
but remember that at least the exploits of the listed rulers is very compressed, probably really happened over a much longer period
Moseley suggests that they may have been built and used in pairs, according to dual organization of rule, rather than in simple sequence
suggestion by Conrad and Demarest that expansion of Chimor was based on a pattern of "split inheritance"
in which the lands gained by the ruler went to an institution in his name
to support an ancestor cult after his death
this institution would care for his mummy, and would operate out of his ciudadela
meanwhile, the new ruler got the title, but had to build his own ciudadela and either raise taxes or conquer new lands for his own cult
this creates a constant need for expansion, even beyond what seems economically sensible
even if true, this is probably idealized
since there would have been more kings in the history of Chimor than there are ciudadelas
the early ones were used for a long time
if it does work, it is probably fully true only for the last four or so ciudadelas

Intermediate architecture
look like mini-ciudadelas
with residences, storerooms, audiencias
but no burial platforms
and no decorative friezes
thought to be homes and offices of administrators/lower nobility

SIAR (Small Irregular Agglutinated Rooms)
cramped, dense, cane-walled urban areas with narrow, wandering streets
located in the spaces outside and between the ciudadelas and intermediate architecture complexes
very extensive, with thousands of rooms
residences and workplaces of families of craft producers
especially metalworking shops
melting, casting, hammering, polishing
also woodworking shops
shaping blocks with coral "files", carving
and stone jewelry making, especially beads
also weaving
possibly Chimu ceramics were also made in the SIAR, although the workshops have not been identified
mostly mass-produced, mold-made ceramics
- often a polished blackware
- at least some craftspeople wore earspools, suggesting that they were of moderately high status
- no fishing or farming population at Chan Chan
  - these all lived in other settlements outside the capital
- population
  - estimated around 26,000 craft producers lived at Chan Chan, mostly in the SIAR
  - plus another 3,000 people in similar structures directly against the ciudadelas, probably working for or inside them
  - administrative population lived in nicer adobe architecture
    - both ciudadelas and "intermediate" architecture
    - Moseley suggests a maximum of 6,000 such people
  - lower levels lived and apparently worked in "intermediate architecture" compounds
    - while uppermost levels lived in the ciudalelas
  - so the total would be up to 35,000 people, almost all with non-food-producing, specialized roles

- development of Chan Chan and Chimor
  - earliest ciudadelas were built close to the shore
    - got water from walk-in wells
    - outside the ciudadelas, sunken gardens allowed plants' roots to tap the water table
  - canal irrigation further inland kept the water table relatively high
  - Chimor initially focused mostly on local agricultural exploitation of the Moche area
    - then the 1100 floods badly damaged the canal system
      - repairs were apparently unsuccessful
      - they undertook to build the huge Chicama-Moche intervalley canal ("Le Cumbre" canal) to bring water from the neighboring valley to the land above Chan Chan
        - but apparently it never worked all the way, either
      - possibly due to rapid land uplift
  - so Chan Chan had to grow back towards the coast, rather than inland, because the water table was too deep to reach with wells inland without a lot of irrigation going on
    - they dug huge sunken gardens close to the shore, where the water table is high enough even without much artificial irrigation
  - Moseley suggests that these problems with getting water to farmland near Chan Chan led to military conquests of productive land for tribute
    - Kolata suggests that changes in ciudadela details support this
      - large increase in small storerooms, possibly to hold valuables looted from or extracted as tribute from conquered valleys
      - also what he considers to be jump in administrative architecture, reflecting more bureaucrats needed to manage the tribute and control of the conquered valleys
  - by 1200 AD, centers were built in the Jequetepeque and Viru valleys
    - both have burial platforms, suggesting that they were seats of subordinate kings
  - Kolata argues for a second wave of military expansion from 1300-1370 AD
    - conquering Lambayeque
− now the new centers did not have burial platforms, suggesting a shift to more centralized rule based at Chan Chan, operating indirectly through local leaders (Moseley)
− Lambayeque metalworkers were apparently brought to Chan Chan
  − (just as the Inka would later bring Chimu metalworkers from Chan Chan to Cuzco)
− lots of SIAR constructed at this time
− yet storage rooms in the later ciudadelas declined in size and number
  − Kolata argues that earlier storage was of many different kinds of goods, including bulky food that was locally produced
  − while after the conquest of Lambayeque, storage would have concentrated on metals, which are compact for their value and need less storage space
  − in part because local food production was reduced by irrigation problems
  − he also notes that there is more "intermediate" architecture outside the ciudadelas, with some storage to compensate for the decline in the ciudadelas
− summary of Kolata’s scheme
  − 1. economy based on local food production
  − 2. El Niño destroyed the canal system and drought denied water to rebuilt canals. Chan Chan's economy shifted to a mix of reduced local production plus extraction from a first round of conquered valleys
  − 3. In a second round of conquests, Chan Chan took control of Lambayeque. Chan Chan's economy shifted further, now based mostly on extraction of wealth goods from conquered valleys
− Kolata also claims to see an increasing isolation of the ruler from the rest of society, and increasing status marking of the nobility over time
  − culminating in the divine kingship known from ethnohistorical sources just before the Inka conquest
  − this was presumably related to the growing emphasis on conquest and tribute extraction, both as cause and effect
  − divine kings would have demanded expensive support, requiring conquests and tribute
  − and would have been able to mobilize people to do that
− The development of Chimor was cut short by the Inka
  − who conquered Chimor and intentionally weakened it to reduce the risk of rebellion
  − even so, the Chimu are said to have rebelled at least once against the Inka
  − many of the Chimu may have initially seen the Spanish as allies…
  − check out the last selection in the reader, by Rowe, for a vivid account of what they actually had to look forward to.