

The Initial Period and Early Horizon: Chavín de Huántar

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- Note on dates in Kembel and Rick reading
 - These are the newest and probably best dates for the IP and EH, based on a better understanding of the site of Chavín
 - they shift the period boundaries several centuries earlier than previously thought
 - BUT: the dates they give are all in uncalibrated form
 - Here they are in calibrated years, rounded to the nearest century:
 - Initial Period (IP): 2200-1000 cal BC (given as 1800-900 uncal BC)
 - Early Horizon (EH): 1000-200 cal BC (given as 900-200 uncal BC)
 - (the two scales happen to almost match around 200 BC)

- the discussion here draws heavily on
 - Sylvia Kembel's 2001 Stanford dissertation, which radically revises our view of the Early Horizon and Chavín de Huántar
 - with lots of information from Richard Burger (1992)
 - and to a lesser extent on Ivan Ghezzi's recent work dating Chanquillo in the Casma valley
 - there has been a lot of rethinking going on, and it is not necessarily done yet

- Decline on the coast: 1000-700 cal BC: the first part of the Early Horizon
 - Initial Period U-shaped temples had been built, expanded, and used with only minor overall change in design or (apparently) social context for roughly 1000 years
 - in some valleys there were several of these centers
 - by the late Initial Period in the Lurin valley, for example, ten different temple complexes were in use at the same time
 - each probably serving the people in one small segment of the valley
 - around 1000 cal BC, some of these groups began to have trouble rebuilding and expanding their temples, and eventually abandoned them
 - at Mina Perdida, for example, they stopped building in stone, and switched to adobe and cane construction
 - shortly thereafter, the Mina Perdida ceremonial complex was abandoned
 - a century later in the same valley, another site, Cardal, began to decline and was abandoned
 - the last reconstruction episode was of poorer quality and was never finished
 - a half-life-size figurine was simply left laying on the main staircase
 - an anthropomorphic supernatural creature with big fangs
 - made of clay modeled over a plant fiber core
 - painted several colors
 - like Mina Perdida, the site was not trashed, lived in by squatters, burned, or in any other way mistreated
 - people just left, leaving the work unfinished and the figurine laying on the steps to be covered as the walls gradually crumbled

- a century later yet (800-700 cal BC), another center (Manchay Bajo) went through a similar decline and was abandoned
 - in the last rebuilding, instead of filling the old rooms completely, they cut down the upper parts of the walls so they would not have to bring in so much fill
 - that is, they skimmed and cut costs for a while before giving up on rebuilding completely
- Las Haldas, in the Casma valley: stairway plastering job stopped halfway through
 - leaving pegs and string in place
 - never rebuilt again, simply abandoned
- Taucachi-Konkan, in the Casma valley, has numerous unfinished structures that apparently date to the late Initial period or early Early Horizon
- many other examples of unfinished projects, all apparently dating to roughly the same lengthy period of 300 to 400 years
- what caused this gradual decline and collapse of the Initial Period U-shaped temple tradition?
 - were they encountering bad times, political problems, loss of religious fervor, or...?
 - some indication that El Niño events were becoming more common
 - they bring unexpected rains, floods, mudslides to the coast
 - maybe a string of them shook peoples' confidence in their gods or religious elites?
 - perhaps the last U-shaped temple complex to be abandoned in the Lurin valley was Manchay Bajo
 - located on a hillside with a wall above it that partially protected it from flooding and mudslides on several occasions
 - the wall had been built centuries earlier, maybe for some other purpose
 - Burger points out that because of this wall, Manchay Bajo may have resisted destruction by El Niños better than the other Initial period centers
 - which might have allowed it to retain some respect for a bit longer
- other changes on the coast around the same time:
 - coastal people finally started growing maize in significant amounts
 - maybe introduced from the highlands?
 - as described later, pottery and textile styles and technology changed
 - metalwork (copper, and especially gold) developed
 - all of these changes could represent a wave of influence from the highlands
 - if so, did this highlands influence cause or contribute to the decline and end of the coastal U-shaped temple tradition?
 - or did it come in to fill a vacuum left by the decline of the coastal tradition?
- about the same time in the highlands: Chavín de Huántar
 - really the late Initial Period and first half of Early Horizon
 - Early Horizon is now dated to 1000-200 cal BC
 - The term Early Horizon has two meanings
 - a period of time marked by a wide distribution of objects with the Chavín style of iconography
 - the cultural phenomenon that caused this wide distribution of the Chavín style

- until recently (and still by some) thought to be the spread of a religious cult originating at Chavín de Huántar
- But the nature and reality of this "horizon" is becoming increasingly unclear (See Kembel and Rick reading)
 - for example, some examples of supposedly Chavín style art and architecture on the coast are much earlier than Chavín itself
 - while the site of Chavín now seems to have been contemporary with later Initial Period centers, rather than arising after they declined
 - this leads Kembel and Rick to
 - minimize the distinction between the two named periods
 - treat them as one period of continuous gradual development rather than two clearly distinct cultural patterns
 - so they lump the IP and EH with their term IP/EH
 - using radiocarbon dates to order events with the IP/EH
 - we can still talk about "the late IP" or "the early EH" as shorthand for date ranges
 - Burger has compiled evidence that the Early Horizon was a time of increased regional interaction
 - but it now appears that most of this happened not during the heyday of Chavín de Huántar, but after its abandonment
- Chavín de Huántar
 - formerly thought to have arisen as the coastal Initial Period sites collapsed, maybe causing or responding to their decline
 - new and better dating shows that
 - Chavín de Huántar was just one of many late IP and early EH centers
 - it was contemporary with the later ones on the coast
 - all had some general concepts in common and many probably interacted and competed to a limited extent
 - Chavín was the most impressive such center known in the highlands
 - the beginning date of construction is unknown, but was probably well before the end of the Initial Period
 - the temple reached its greatest size and elaboration around 850 cal BC (750 uncal BC)
 - it continued in use but decayed
 - eventually supporting walls were added to shore up sections threatening to collapse
 - it finally fell out of ritual use by about 600 cal BC (500 uncal BC)
 - very quickly, people moved in and lived around and on top of the site, showing it no special respect at all
 - Setting: confluence of Mosna and Wacheksa (Huachecsa) rivers
 - Amazon drainage / eastern slopes of Andes
 - possible jungle influence
 - typical high valley location, OK but not outstanding for agriculture
 - sometimes said to be at a key point for travel from eastern slopes and jungle to highlands and Pacific coast
 - although others say there are better routes, so this may or may not be a real factor in its importance

- 3,150 masl (10,325 feet)
- The ceremonial center (check out the photographic virtual reality website, available from the class web page!)
 - less than 1/10th the size of the Sechín Alto platform
 - built and expanded in at least 15 episodes
 - at first it was similar to other highland Initial Period platform mound sites
 - but with some unusual features like numerous interior galleries
 - in later stages, it picked up more coastal features, such as U-shaped layouts and a sunken circular court
 - oddly enough, it never seems to have been a Kotosh style center
 - at least as far as we can tell now...
- description of features of the final form of the site
 - A U-shaped platform with a sunken circular court, ringed by low-relief carvings
 - with a series of felines
 - and a row of larger supernatural figures holding San Pedro cacti, which are used to make a hallucinogenic potion
 - paved with two colors of stone, forming a black X on a white background
 - stairs leading up into a doorway low on the tall vertical front wall, continuing up inside
 - holes on the top surface of one of the steps suggest that something could have been propped up there
 - a mannequin like the one from Cardal?
 - a scaffolding to support something else?
 - a sighting pole for astronomical/calendrical observations?
 - probably some ceremony was done here, watched by people in the sunken court
 - the mounds are basically solid, but honeycombed with corridors, tiny rooms, drains, niches, small air passages or sighting shafts
 - one of the main drains opens into the sunken court from the foot of the stairs
 - claim that operators of the building could have run canal water into it from the rear and caused it to gush out at the foot of the stairs
 - and that the corridors and small shafts would have reverberated with the rushing sound, making the building roar...
- Lanzón
 - in the very center, in a cross-shaped gallery
 - fangs, claws, trophy heads
 - originally, this was probably an open rectangular court with the Lanzón standing in the center
 - as the mound grew around it, the court was partially filled in to create spaces narrow enough to lay stones across to roof it
 - the tip pokes up through a hole in the roof
 - either a small opening to the sky, surrounded by walls on top of the mound
 - or into a room in a second story, apparently a second gallery running directly above the one the Lanzón is in

- hard to tell because the upper part of the mound was badly damaged in a landslide in 1945
- gallery or room above the chamber with a hole over the Lanzón
 - was it so someone there could make the Lanzón seem to speak?
 - analogy to Pachacamac, where the Spanish observed such a “speaking” deity in action
 - we will look at this more carefully next time
- other portions focus on a larger rectangular court
 - Taller, with “Black and White Portal”
 - two intentionally contrasting colors of stones
 - duality? male/female? life/death? etc.
 - covered with low reliefs
 - the carvings are subtle, hard to grasp
 - like other Chavín art, may imply "esoteric knowledge" to understand; training for initiates; maybe revelation experiences
 - and sunken rectangular court aligned in front of it
 - additional galleries, stairways, etc., may have permitted ritual specialists to appear and disappear from view unexpectedly or otherwise put on a show for people in the rectangular court
 - some carvings inside retain traces of red, green, and blue pigments
 - hinting that much more of Chavín might once have been painted in bright colors
 - tennoned heads decorated the exterior
 - ranging from normal human to supernatural animals
 - some with mucus coming from the nose
 - they may show shamans/priests transforming from human to animal form
 - possibly assisted by a hallucinogen
 - variable styles
 - maybe indicates that heads or carvers came from different groups or places
 - a carved lintel (the Raimondi stela) makes sense both “right-side up” and “upside down”
 - “getting” this might have been a revelatory experience
 - one gallery runs below the surface of the low platform in front of the wall with the Black and White Portal
 - it has numerous odd, narrow, chimney-like shafts that open to the surface as small holes, not visible from the sunken rectangular court
 - music, noise, or smoke made in the gallery would have risen from these holes in front of the main face of the monument...
 - another set of galleries was filled with pottery, llama bone, guinea pig bone, fish bone, shell; thought to be offerings placed there and sealed in permanently
 - one contained burnt bone, including burnt human bone
 - but human bone NOT found in domestic contexts (i.e. not dietary cannibalism)
 - another set of galleries contained 20 well-worn *Strombus* shell trumpets with Chavín style carvings
 - storage of ritual paraphernalia

- that would have made a loud and ghostly noise, especially if played inside the galleries
- Highly recommended: the Chavín photographic virtual reality website. Explore Chavín, outside and inside, through the link on the class page!
- The prehistoric town of Chavín de Huántar
 - earliest stage documented, around 900 cal BC to 500 cal BC (first half of Early Horizon)
 - this would be the time of greatest size and use of the temple
 - 6 ha (hectares) near and around the temple, on both sides of the Huachecsa river
 - the river was crossed by a monolithic stone bridge that still carried trucks until it was destroyed by a landslide in 1945 (used for about 2500 years!)
 - estimated around 500 people in this stage
 - the huge temple must have served and been built by people from a larger region
 - although the local population, especially their ritual experts, probably gained prestige and wealth from the visitors
 - craft work was done in homes, without separate shops
 - they worked animal bone into beads, needles, etc.
 - bone weaving implements and needles suggest textile production
 - but probably mostly for local consumption; it was pretty small-scale
 - some exotic materials suggest a modest amount of goods were being brought to the temple from distant places, maybe as gifts or offerings
 - two pieces of jaguar or puma bone that were left over from making something from the bone
 - the bone would have come from the jungle to the east
 - a few pieces of obsidian from distant sources
 - fragments of a few decorated ceramics from different parts of the coast
- Society at Chavín de Huántar when the temple was in use
 - the temple implies leadership to organize and mobilize
 - vast amounts of labor
 - production, exchange, offerings, etc. to support it
 - a complex cult that would have required training numerous converts in esoteric knowledge to serve as ritual experts
 - yet, as on the coast, there is minimal evidence of a wealthy, high-status elite
 - no high-status burials until later in the EH (?)
 - the town is small, usually indicating little hierarchy
 - no attempt in the art to glorify individual humans
 - Kempl and Rick see this as a theocracy, with virtually all social complexity focused on ritual and the elaborate infrastructure for it
 - perhaps indicating a growing religious institution that was expanding its influence
 - maybe to the benefit of some leaders
 - but nothing approaching a government or a state
 - a form of society that does not exist today or in the ethnographic record
- Chavín art (see the reading by John Rowe)

- Chavín art style and motifs, are clearly in the same general tradition as the Initial period temple reliefs at many sites
 - concern with felines
 - toothy mouths, sometimes agnathic (without lower jaw)
 - "split representation"
 - "modular width" of lines
 - snakes as visual metaphors for hair, flowing liquids, etc.
 - treatment of eyes, lips, claws, etc.
- Chavín style is a variant of coastal IP/EH concepts
 - apparently with the addition of imagery and ideas from the jungle to the east
- some unusual stylistic features
 - "kenning": visual metaphors
 - snakes (present in Initial Period, but more exaggerated in Chavín art)
 - toothy mouths from which appendages emerge
 - duality and bilateral symmetry (often, not always)
 - black and white portal, plaza steps, etc.
 - male and female sides of some monuments
 - the Tello obelisk
 - "anotropic" design
 - parts of the design are "right side up" in either orientation
 - possible viewing of monuments both "right side up" and "upside down"
 - suggests a hallucinogenic and/or enlightenment experience?
 - reversible organization
 - parts of the design are "right side up" if the image is rotated 90° to left or right
 - suggested by Burger, less convincing to me as a discrete characteristic
 - double-profile composition, or "split representation"
 - profile heads joined at face so that they can be seen as a single front-face view
 - similar or identical to "split representation" used by North American northwest coast traditions and others
 - variant: the "flayed-pelt" representation of caimans
- content
 - the "staff god"
 - the Raimondi stela
 - this figure, or one very like it, continues or reappears in later religious art
 - and may have already existed in earlier art, but not certainly
 - the "smiling" (or snarling) god
 - Lazón and other examples
 - might be the principal deity at Chavín
 - animals, possibly supernatural
 - caiman (similar to an alligator; found in Amazon basin)
 - felines with spots
 - raptorial birds (bird of prey with hooked beaks)
 - humans in elaborate costume

- but usually as minor figures along with animals, etc.
- not the principal figures
- not apparently as specific individuals
- not shown receiving blessings or status, as in many representational traditions
- point: the iconography does *not* seem to assert the status of a ruler or ruling class
- many of the animals and plants come from the jungle
- possible male-female fertility ideas
 - seem linked to agricultural crops
- few clearly warlike motifs (although there were a few possible ones)
 - a big contrast to the bloody imagery of the Initial period in the Casma valley
- Rowe proposed a sequence of substyles
 - based on association of carvings with different stages of construction at Chavín de Huántar
 - seems to hold up reasonably well...
 - don't worry about learning this scheme, though
- Technological developments
 - rapid development of goldworking technology
 - prior to the Early Horizon, there was only limited evidence of simple hammering of copper and gold foil
 - earliest good evidence is late Initial Period at the U-shaped temple of Mina Perdida, between about 1400 and 1100 cal BC
 - but in the Early Horizon, they mastered elaborate forming, soldering, repoussé, alloying gold and silver
 - most examples are from far away on the coast
 - apparently from a limited number of rich burials with gold headdresses, gauntlets, pectorals, earspools, etc.
 - these are the first known burials of obviously high-status people with items that few would have access to
 - so did these people have anything to do with Chavín, or were their roles really coastal developments after the Initial Period centers declined?
 - people adopted numerous new textile technologies
 - dyed wool (in addition to the older cotton textile tradition)
 - tapestry weaving techniques
 - textile painting, tie-dying, and batik ("resist" painting)
- Other Early Horizon centers
 - There were a few other Chavín-like centers in the highlands, but all much smaller than Chavín de Huántar
 - example: Pacopampa
 - On the coast, some Initial period centers that had been abandoned were briefly reused and slightly remodeled in Chavín style
 - including the summit of Sechin Alto
 - which the Chavín occupants treated like a natural hill rather than a building
 - mining it for building materials

- not maintaining the outer retaining walls or decorations
- and Huaca de los Reyes
 - where the last remodelings show Chavín influence
 - these interpretations may need to be revised, based on the new, older dates for Chavín
- Chavín did NOT export carved stonework, nor pottery
 - it had a wide influence (or shared in widespread ideas), but apparently did not produce a lot of craft goods for trade
 - Chavín stone carving style was not very widespread
 - where it does appear, as at Pacopampa and Kuntur Wasi (remember those?)
 - it is in variants that were probably local interpretations, not made in Chavín or by Chavín carvers
 - in distant places, pottery was probably made locally in Chavín-like styles and variants
 - iconography and technology, rather than objects themselves, is what was widely dispersed
 - gold objects and textiles may be exceptions, since they are more uniform in even distant areas
 - this makes sense in the new view of Chavín as just one of numerous contemporary temple centers based on broadly shared concepts
- most Chavín-style objects on the coast are portable
 - and most seem to be drug paraphernalia
 - small, decorated mortars and pestles
 - possibly analogous to small, special-purpose mortars used by 16th century shamans to grind vilca, a hallucinogenic snuff
 - decorated bone tubes
 - bone and metal spatulas and spoons
 - also ceramics in Chavín style, often with hallucinogenic motifs like San Pedro cactus, weird hybrid creatures, etc.
 - this suggests that Chavín influence was tied to religious ideas, especially rituals involving hallucinogens
 - as opposed to military dominance, large-scale trade, or other alternatives
- Chavín style in portable objects and decoration of ceremonial buildings coexisted with local styles of the IP/EH at coastal sites
 - could this reflect Chavín proselytizers at distant, contemporary sites?
 - or IP/EH ritual specialists using impressive, exotic items to bolster their local performances?
- Second half of the Early Horizon, about 500-200 cal BC
 - IP/EH temple centers, including Chavín de Huántar, had been abandoned
 - many IP/EH public buildings left unfinished, both on the coast and in the highlands
 - one late style sculpture at Chavín was never finished; maybe it was part of the last project of an institution that was losing the ability to support specialists
 - some highland sites just abandoned
 - others in the highlands occupied by “squatters” living in ordinary houses build among and over the ceremonial structures

- carved stones were used for ordinary house construction
 - at Chavín de Huántar, Kotosh and many other highland ritual sites
- ending the sacred uses of places that had been ritual centers for many centuries
- this differs from the respect apparently paid to the coastal sites that were abandoned around the same time
- in most places on the coast, no large centers replaced the abandoned IP/EH temples
 - in fact, even the farming population has been hard to find evidence of
 - some may have moved further up into the valleys
 - some may have just continued using the ordinary pottery and housing styles of the Initial period, so they are not easy to recognize
 - apparently the coastal groups that once could build and use big ceremonial centers broke down into smaller, less organized chiefdoms
 - in at least some areas, fortresses on hill slopes and tops suggest that they were in military competition with each other... more on this below
- yet at this time, the town of Chavín de Huántar grew larger and more complex
 - people moved in from surrounding regions to settle on the flat land formerly occupied by the temple, now out of use
 - the town gradually grew, reaching 42 hectares and 2,000 to 3,000 people by late in the Early Horizon
 - at this maximum extent, it was some 20 times larger than the surrounding villages
 - wild animal bone virtually disappeared, replaced by domesticated camelid bone
 - with a surprising lack of foot bones and heads
 - the bones that did reach Chavín may correspond to the bones that would be included in portions of charki (dried, or really freeze-dried meat)
 - that is a lot of meat was coming in freeze-dried, not as live animals
 - this freeze-drying process can only be done at higher elevations than Chavín
 - so it must have been imported, not made by Chavín residents
 - this might indicate trade
 - since charki could be produced in the puna, transported, stored, and traded for other goods
 - also exotic foods from the coast
 - marine shell and fish bone
 - increasing obsidian trade and *Spondylus* shell from Ecuadorian coast
 - shell bead workshop (using imported marine shell)
 - wood or hide workshop
 - i.e. trade and craft production were becoming more important
 - what was going on here?
 - the growth of the town and increase in regional exchange clearly were NOT due to the temple, which was abandoned
- social stratification
 - houses close to the ruins of temple and further away were excavated. The houses closer to the abandoned temple had:
 - stone walls with niches, compared to the adobe walls of the houses farther away
 - more foreign pottery

- more marine shell and fish bone
- the only gold artifact found in a residential area
- a higher fraction of young llamas among the bones
 - that is, more preferred, tender meat
- this suggests some status differentiation -- after the temple was abandoned
 - maybe with higher status among people who had lived closest to the temple, presumably the leaders and specialists who operated it?
 - or among those who were first to grab the land that became available when it was abandoned?
- maybe the population growth and increasing status hierarchy had to do with an elite that was formed when the temple was in use, but which had to find other ways to maintain their status when it was abandoned
 - maybe using their prestige to foment craft production and/or trade?
 - maybe getting involved in raiding or other forms of competition with other groups?
- now there were goods that embodied a lot of skilled labor and exotic materials that had to be collected and transported from far away
 - such as fancy textiles and goldwork
 - the owner somehow had to control or exchange something for others' labor to have these
 - not everyone had such things; some were better off than others
- Rich burials, at least on the coast
 - a few with many gold objects
 - one, at Karwa, with huge quantities of painted textiles
 - are these things wealth, or ritual paraphernalia?
- and long-distance trade did seem to increase
 - much more obsidian was traded, especially in the later part of the Early Horizon
 - from a source that is 470 south of Chavín de Huántar
 - this suggests more interaction between groups
 - again, this was after Chavín de Huántar and other IP/EH centers were abandoned
 - so this increasing interaction must have taken place in a world without major temple centers
 - but one with some towns growing in size
 - and some people or families starting to live in notably better housing, with fancier goods and better food
 - maybe the increasing regional exchange fueled the concentration of some people into towns and increasing social stratification
 - or maybe the elites the began to emerge from the temple centers were encouraging regional exchange to solidify their high-status positions
 - or...?
- but settlements were still fairly small in both the highlands and the coast, largest probably just several thousand people
 - little evidence of regional administrative or economic control
 - and no “administrative centers” or hierarchy of site sizes
 - no town walls or other defensive features at *residential* sites

- although some coastal valleys did have "fortresses" that may indicate warfare -- or ritual?
- no clear storage facilities for concentrating large amounts of surplus collected from farmers
- instead, large regional *influence* in pottery, art styles
 - increasing trade?
- craft production and exchange finally were playing a role in social organization, although still not a great one

- The decline of the Early Horizon, starting probably a bit before 300-200 cal BC
 - regional interaction faded
 - local styles of pottery developed, now much more varied than during the Early Horizon
 - suggesting less interaction between neighboring groups
 - the changes in iconography seem abrupt, not gradual evolution
 - indicating a rejection of religious ideas?
 - or just poor understanding of the ceramic chronology?
 - some decline in interregional exchange of cinnabar (a red mineral pigment) and obsidian
 - presumably due to rising interregional tensions, unsafe travel, etc.
 - For the first time, coastal and highland people started building structures that look like fortresses
 - But when?
 - Burger sees two periods of fortress building
 - one at the end of the Early Horizon, which he dates to 200-1 cal BC
 - also an earlier one associated with the decline of coastal U-shaped centers and an increase in highland influences
 - but recent work at one of these sites, Chanquillo (below), by Ivan Ghezzi, dates major construction there to around 300 cal BC, right before the *end* of the Early Horizon
 - so unless other examples are much earlier, the appearance of fortress-like structures would be related not to the rise, but rather the later decline of highland influence
 - if the highlands had anything to do with it at all
 - this leaves an odd gap in construction activity on the coast, especially in places like the Casma valley
 - the Initial Period centers went out of use, but centuries passed before people built the large "fortress" of Chanquillo and maybe the others
 - did they just abandon big constructions for many generations?
 - or have the real Early Horizon sites not been identified yet?
 - one interpretation is that they really are fortresses
 - which would mean that warfare changed from rare or symbolic to real
 - which might mean that the decline of the U-shaped temple tradition, or the social left by their abandonment, involved warfare and social upheaval, eventually leading to the building of fortresses
 - supporting this view, a cemetery of the immediately post-Early Horizon Salinar culture on the coast has many burials lacking limbs or heads, a pattern not seen before
 - maybe indicates more violence as regional interaction of the Early Horizon waned

- another interpretation is that these buildings are not really fortresses at all
 - people continued to live in villages and small towns of up to several thousand people - or at least we have no evidence to the contrary yet
 - settlements were evidently located in accessible places near farmland
 - since none are known in defensible places
 - nor particularly close to the supposed fortresses
 - both of which you would expect if warfare was a serious threat
- Chanquillo (or Chankillo)
 - an example of a “fortress”
 - on a high, defensible point
 - massive, tall, double round outer walls, baffled entries, limited interior space
 - but some features aren’t right for a fortress
 - not much space for people, animals, or storage
 - no water source...
 - not located next to a major settlement that might have needed a defensible refuge
 - doors that could be barred from the *outside*
 - this and some other “fortresses” of this period (such as Chimu Capac) seem to “defend” nothing but bedrock outcrops
 - ridiculously overbuilt for any reasonable threat
 - maybe they are not really practical defenses, but some sort of ritual constructions
 - maybe related to *tinku* or some related concept of ritualized conflict?
 - maybe they restricted access to or otherwise honored the rock outcrops at their centers?
 - other examples were rectangular or irregular in shape
 - all in defensible locations
 - typically have complex, baffled gates
 - all have massive walls
 - whatever they were, this was a radically different tradition
 - presumably associated with new ideas and conditions
 - maybe with new people, for example from the highlands -- or not
- Burger argues that the emergence of social stratification (the presence of marked elites) during the Early Horizon meant that local societies could not just go back to their former egalitarian ways
 - not when the IP/EH centers were abandoned
 - now there were elites who would work to keep their status and advance their own interests, even if the temples were losing prestige
 - and perhaps even less when the regional interaction of the later Early Horizon faded away, for whatever reason
 - since they seem to have established real differences in wealth and presumably power by then
- The societal rules had fundamentally changed from the relatively egalitarian model of the Initial Period
 - unless Caral and La Galgada really indicates status differences in the Initial period

- competing elites might have encouraged group conflict, and made it more severe by their ability to mobilize fighters, build fortresses, etc.
- if so, then the society that developed out of the IP/EH emphasis on ritual and monumental building for it set the stage for the development of complex, stratified societies with classes and elites who would attain real economic and military power...