

# みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

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## 1. Introduction

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It is no exaggeration to say that the study of the Formative Period begins and ends with the Chavín problem. The name Chavín comes from the archaeological site Chavín de Huántar, which is located in a small valley on the eastern slope of the Andean Mountains in the north-central highlands of Peru. The Chavín de Huántar was designated by the UNESCO as a World Cultural Heritage Site (Figure 1-1). Before mentioning the Chavín issue, I briefly introduce the Chavín de Huántar archaeological site.

### 1. The Chavín de Huántar Archaeological Site

Chavín de Huántar is located at the confluence of the Mosna and Huachecsa rivers, tributaries of the Amazon River. The site is located at an altitude of 3,150 m above sea level (*Quechua* Zone) and is not easily accessible (Figures 1-2 and 1-3). As much as 200 m<sup>2</sup> is occupied by stone structures. The northern part is said to have been the Old Temple (Figure 1-4). Until the Stanford University team led by John W. Rick, who contributed a paper to this book, investigated the site, it was generally accepted that the buildings were extended from the Old Temple to the New Temple on the southern side, which will be discussed later (Burger 1992; Rowe 1962).

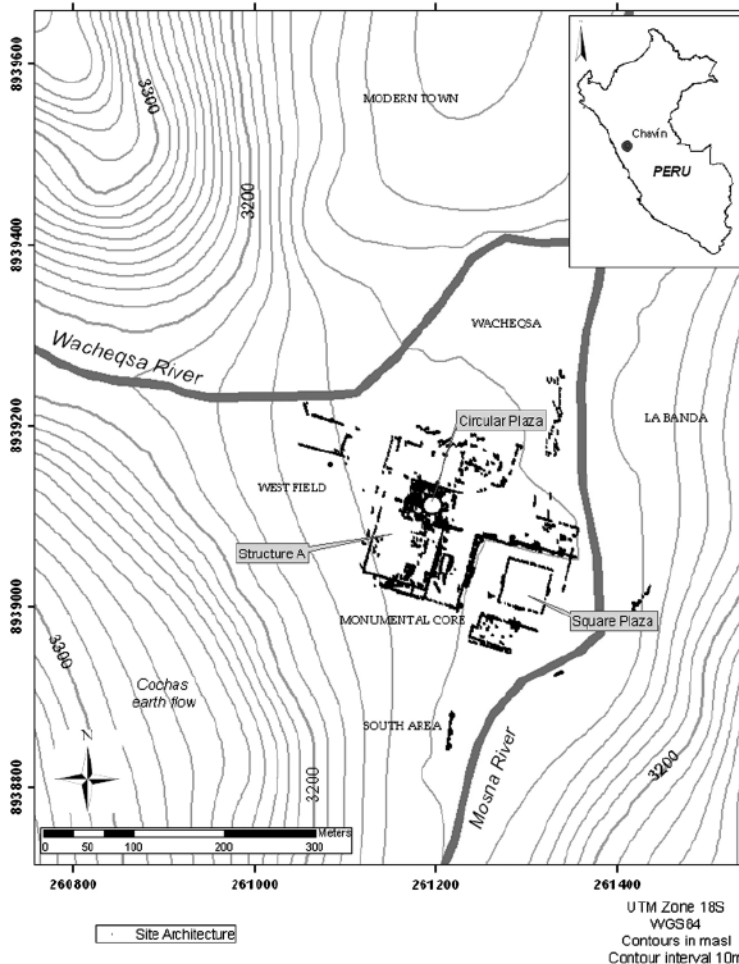


**Figure 1-1** Distant view of the Chavín de Huántar archaeological site (photo by Yuji Seki)



**Figure 1-2** Locations of the sites covered in this volume (produced by Yuji Seki)

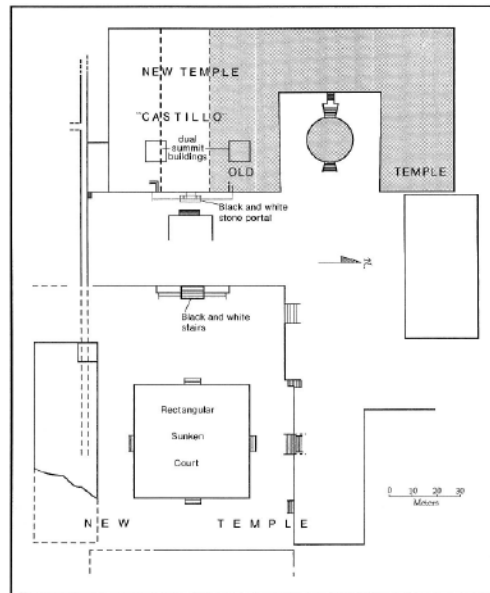
In the Old Temple, the main platforms are arranged in a U-shape, and a circular sunken plaza is located in the space enclosed by the platforms. The circular sunken plaza, 21 m in diameter, is flanked on both ends by wedge-shaped staircases, and the interior wall comprises square and rectangular polished stone slabs (Figure 1-5). The panels are decorated with shallow relief figures of humans, jaguars, and divine beings combined with birds of prey. The platform surrounding the plaza was built of cut stones and was 16 m high at its highest point. Sculpted jaguar heads were inserted into the top of the walls. Numerous corridors, ditches, and drainage channels run inside the platform and



**Figure 1-3** The Chavín de Huántar archaeological site is located between the Wacheqsa and Mosna rivers. The Wacheqsa area is near the confluence. The La Banda area is located across the Mosna River, to the east (From Contreras 2009: Fig.1).

under the plaza. After climbing the stairs in the center of the main platform and entering the interior, one eventually arrives at the intersection of two corridors. At this intersection, a 4.53 m high stone statue appears, called Lanzón (Spanish for spear) because it resembles a spear. The statue is carved with a snake for its hair, a jaguar for its face, and a human body. His right hand is raised and his left hand hangs down. The hands have claws. The statue was probably an important object of worship.

Outside the circular sunken plaza, subterranean spaces were built. The northern one is called the “Gallery of the Offerings (Galeria de las Ofrendas),” and as the name implies, as many as 800 pieces of complete pottery have been found there. The interior is divided into nine small rooms, and in addition to the pottery, a female burial, bones of



**Figure 1-4** Architectural layout at Chavín de Huántar (From Burger 1992: Fig.120). The process of expansion from the Old Temple to the New Temple has been considered, but Kembel's survey suggests a new process of extension.



**Figure 1-5** Circular Sunken Plaza at Chavín de Huántar (photo by Yuji Seki)

llamas, deer, and other animals, and shells have been found. The southern subterranean space is called the “Gallery of the Snails (Galeria de las Caracoles)” because marine *Strombus* shells have been found there. Numerous other corridors have been built at Chavín de Huántar. I leave their description to John Rick's paper in this volume.

To the south of the Old Temple is a group of platforms known as the New Temple. The main entrance to the New Temple is flanked on both sides by columns, on top of

which is a lintel stone. There is no stairway to the upper part of the platform after passing through the entrance, suggesting that there was access to the top through galleries or corridors inside the building. The columns are engraved with eagle and hawk figures, and the lintel stone is also engraved with the same birds of prey. A large square sunken plaza was set up in front of the New Temple, and other platforms were built in the northern and southern sides of the plaza. Here, as in the Old Temple, a U-shaped layout is seen. The plaza is 50 m by 50 m. Many galleries and drainage ditches run inside the New Temple and under the plaza.

Near the square sunken plaza, a magnificent stone carving, the “Tello Obelisk (Obelisco de Tello),” has been discovered. It is a square pillar about 2.5 m in height, carved with the bodies of a male and a female caiman crocodiles on each of the two sides of it. The male represents the divine being of the underground world, with plants that have root crops that play a supporting role in the iconography, whereas the female represents the divine being of the overground world. The seed crops are added as iconographic elements (e.g., Lathrap 1973). A stone ashlar 1.98 m high and 74 cm wide representing an anthropomorphic deity holding a staff in each hand, known as the “Raimondi Stone,” has also been found. Many other stone carvings were also made, but the shape and size of the “Raimondi Stone” are unique, and it is thought that it was given special meaning as an object of worship. The “Tello Obelisk” and the “Raimondi Stone” were excavated near the New Temple, which had been identified as the latest architecture in Chavín de Huántar, and it is often viewed that they were made in a later period than the Lanzón statue and became the supreme deity (e.g., Burger 1992; Rowe 1967 [1962]).

## **2. Chavín de Huántar and the Origin of the Andean Civilization**

Julio C. Tello conducted the first excavation of Chavín de Huántar in 1919 in the history of Peruvian archaeology and put the Chavín issue on the table for discussion. Tello proposed a hypothesis on the origin of the Andean Civilization by studying the iconography represented by architecture, pottery, stone bowls and carvings, and textiles found at Chavín de Huántar and at other Formative Period sites across Peru (Tello 1921, 1942, 1960). At the time, the Nazca and Moche cultures were becoming vaguely known, and it was also known that these cultures had already been abandoned by the time of the Inca Empire. However, Tello did not believe that these cultures were the origin of the Andean Civilization, and noted that there was always the possibility of an even older culture. His focus was on Chavín de Huántar, where he believed that the culture had spread over a vast area, not only in Peru, but also in southern Ecuador, Bolivia, and northern Argentina, and claimed the “Chavín culture.” No shortage of researchers followed his lead, and some began to consider Chavín a political group with a religious empire (Carrión Cachot 1948:19) and later, even a military campaign was discussed (Pozorski 1987: 28–30).

Tello’s theory reflects the academic currents of the first half of the 20th century when the idea of indigenismo (indigenous advocacy) flourished in Latin America (Seki

**Table 1-1** Chronological chart related to the archaeological sites covered in the chapters of this volume

Cal. B. C.	Chronology		Eastern Lowlands	Northern Highlands						Southern Highlands	
		Formative	Ingatambo	Pacopampa	Kuntur Wasi	Huacaloma	Chavin de Huántar			Canchas Uckro	Campanayuc Rumi
							Burger (2019)	Kembel/Rick	Mesia		
	Early Intermediate Period	Final			Sotera	Layzón					
250	Early Horizon	Late (latter)	Ingatambo	Pacopampa II	Copa	EL	Janabarriu	Post-Monumental	Janabarroid	Phase 2	Campanayuc II
550		Late (Early)				Kuntur Wasi		Late Huacaloma			
800	Inicial Period	Middle	Pomahuaca	Pacopampa I	Ídolo	Early Huacaloma	Urabarriu	Consolidation	Urrabaroid	Phase 1	Pre-platform
1200		Early									
1800	Preceramic Period	Inicial	Huancabamba	Pandanche				Separate Mound			
2500											

(produced by Yuji Seki)

2009). A wide range of indigenismo coexisted, from innovative ideas that demanded the independence rights of indigenous communities to ideas of political leaders who wanted indigenous peoples to be included as citizens to strengthen national integration. Tello, who was of indigenous origin, received support from the government in promoting indigenous integration as a national strategy. He studied at Harvard University in the USA and played an active role in archaeology and cultural policy. He vehemently refuted German archaeologist and cultural diffusionist Max Uhle's claim that the Andean Civilization originated in Mesoamerica. Tello believed that the ancient cultures of the Andes were formed by the same people and that unity in language and religion existed (Kaulicke 1998: 74; Tello 1942). This was because agriculture and pastoralism, which are important economic foundations, were established in the Central Andean region. He argued that the Chavín culture formed the basis of the ancient Andean Civilization. His argument resonated with the ideas of the government at the time in its aim for national unity.

Even if Tello's interpretation resonates with the political ideology of the time, the iconography in the artifacts shows elements from all over the Andes, including jaguars, caiman crocodiles, and eagles from the Amazon region and shells from warm-water



regions like Ecuador. Some pottery from the “Ofrendas Gallery” has been reported to be of the northern Peruvian highlands style and the Cupisnique style from the northern coast of Peru (Lumbreras 1989, 1993). The U-shaped building layout frequently seen in coastal areas has been adopted, and the square and circular sunken plazas are characteristic of the central coast. Most elements of the Central Andes are concentrated here. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is either the place of origin or the culmination of the cultural characteristics of the Formative Period. The key to either of these is chronology.

### 3. Chronological Sequence of Chavín de Huántar

Richard Burger provided a detailed framework for the chronological sequence. He did not excavate the Chavín de Huántar site, but rather the village of Chavín de Huántar, which was adjacent to the site. He established a chronology and linked it to the building and extension process of the Chavín de Huántar Temple complex advocated by Rowe. According to Burger (1984), the village can be subdivided into three phases: Urabarriu (850–460 BC), Chakinani (460–390 BC), and Janabarriu (390–200 BC). Urabarriu corresponds to the Old Temple on the northern side, where the circular sunken plaza and the statue of Lanzón are located. Chakinani corresponds to the partial extension of the Old Temple to the south. Janabarriu corresponds to the New Temple. The following is a summary of Burger’s view of each of these phases.

The construction of the Old Temple was the Urabarriu phase, and people were engaged in farming and herding, but also somewhat in hunting deer and camelids. Only about 500 people lived around the temple. In the Chakinani phase that followed, the emphasis finally shifted to farming and herding, and irrigation facilities were constructed. The population reached 1,000. Evidence of long-distance trade, such as shells and obsidian, also increased. This is related to the completion of the herding and the beginning of the use of llamas for transporting goods. Finally, during the Janabarriu phase, the New Temple was built and the society surrounding Chavín de Huántar expanded. The population grew from 2,000 to 3,000, and agriculture and long-distance trade intensified (Burger 1992: 159–172).

Subsequently, a lively debate over Burger’s chronological scheme has emerged in the investigation of Chavín de Huántar and other contemporaneous sites. Many critics are unanimous in their doubts about the chronology presented by Burger (Inokuchi 1999; Lumbreras 1989). Among them, John W. Rick and his team, who have intensively excavated the core of Chavín de Huántar since the beginning of the 2000s, have proposed a framework that emphasizes the chronological evolution of the architecture more than the excavated artifacts, and have attempted to reconstruct the chronology in conjunction with absolute dating. Based on a thorough survey of the architecture, including the interior of the galleries, and the dating of samples obtained from the mortar in the walls, the architectural process was divided into five stages in chronological order: the Separate Mound, Expansion, Consolidation, Black and White, and Support Construction stages (Kembel 2008: 68–72; Rick et al. 2010).

According to this chronology, the construction of the Chavín de Huántar Temple



begins around 1200 BC, and the Black and White stage, in which the last monumental architecture appears, begins between 900 and 780 BC. Then, Kembel and Rick say that the decline will begin around 500 BC (Figure 1-5). They also argued that the circular sunken plaza that Rowe and Burger considered the first phase was built in the Black and White stage, the period of the last monumental construction. Although the relationship with the pottery assemblage has not yet been determined, Janabarriu-style pottery has been found from the Black and White stage to the terminal phase [Rick (2014) recently used the name Janabarroide].

In contrast, Japanese or Japanese-Peruvian teams that have intensively studied sites in the northern highlands away from Chavín de Huántar, such as Huacaloma, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa, have not only established a meticulous chronology linking architectural and pottery changes for each site, but have also paid attention to relative chronology among sites. Thus, they have concluded that the appearance of pottery that would be associated with the Janabarriu style (which the Japanese team has emphasized as being related to the Cupisnique style of the northern coast) is between 800 and 700 BC, and they have proposed a chronology similar to that of Rick and others (Onuki 1995; Seki 2014).

In response to these criticisms, Burger recently reviewed the chronology with calibration while adding new samples. The new dating framework is Urabarriu (950–800 BC), Chakinani (800–700 BC), and Janabarriu (700–400 BC) (Burger 2019). This eliminates the discrepancies in the relative chronology between Chavín de Huántar and contemporaneous sites.

#### **4. The Chavín Cult Theory**

The chronological issues mentioned above are tied to the image of the Formative society presented by each researcher. Burger assumed the core nature of Chavín and then confirmed its sphere of influence or interaction. He argued that a reorganization of religious systems took place in the Janabarriu phase (Early Horizon), with Chavín de Huántar as the nucleus. In this phase, coastal ceremonial centers were largely abandoned. Although the cause of this phenomenon was often linked to climatic changes, he incorporated several architectural and iconographic elements possessed by various ceremonial centers (Burger 1992). The Chavín de Huántar, which became the Mecca of a new religious ideology, transmitted the “Chavín cult” in reverse through the channels that had previously linked it to various regions. However, this transmission was not based on territorial expansion by a concrete political organization, but was rather a religious transmission that took the form of a pilgrimage or other religious beliefs. This view differs significantly from that of Tello in that Burger acknowledged the existence of a political system unique to the region and “regional cults” that extended beyond its territorial limits. Kembel, considering the absolute age of the Black and White stage associated with Janabarriu-style pottery, pointed out that various ceremonial centers in the Central Andes were established in this period, and that these centers were not necessarily characterized by the expansion of the Chavín cult (Kembel 2008: 77–79;

Kembel and Rick 2004). Kembel denied the expansion of the Chavín cult and recognized the coexistence and competition of ceremonial centers instead. However, if we stand on the new chronological framework presented by Burger, the discrepancy becomes smaller, and the issue of the Chavín cult needs to be examined again.

The focal point in the reexamination of the relative chronology is the relationship between the Chavín de Huántar and other contemporaneous centers. The position of Japanese researchers is to emphasize regional autonomy. The sites discussed in this volume, Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa, located in the northern highlands of Peru, were once considered part of the Chavín culture and cult, but intensive excavation has pointed out many differences with the Chavín de Huántar in terms of architecture, excavated artifacts, and the use of plants and animals (Seki 2014). Differences exist even between sites in the same northern highlands. No matter how strong a religious system Chavín de Huántar established, there is little evidence that the centers in the northern highlands became influenced by its cult. The centers in the northern highlands maintained their religious system and had a loose interrelationship with other centers such as Chavín de Huántar (e.g., Inokuchi 2014; Seki et al. 2019; Shibata 2019).

Another view that focuses on regional specificity with an equal relationship with Chavín in mind also exists. Based on the assumption of regional autonomy, scholars who espouse this view treat the influence of Chavín as limited and are interested in elucidating the strategies of local leaders vis-à-vis social integration. Japanese research teams support this view and have been conducting research on site in the northern highlands of Peru for at least the past 40 years. The appearance of a site loosely connected to Chavín while developing architecture and ritual activities that were quite different from those of Chavín points to the dangers of equating the Late Formative Period to Chavín. The elaborate chronological system established in the northern highlands has greatly influenced the chronology of Chavín and its related sites and has provided a basis for examining the interrelationship among them in detail.

## **5. Rethinking the Chavín Phenomenon**

The debate over whether the Chavín cult expanded or coexisted with various ceremonial centers continues to date. In recent years, in the central and southern highlands of Peru, evidence that supports the expansion of the Chavín cult, such as the subterranean gallery, a characteristic feature of the Chavín architecture that has rarely been reported at Formative Period sites, has been found; it has also been pointed out that major architectonic modifications and social changes took place in the same period as the Janabarriu phase (Matsumoto 2019).

Burger was interested in the distribution of prestige and rare goods such as obsidian and cinnabar as evidence linking remote sites to Chavín de Huántar. He verified that obsidian in Peru is concentrated in the southern highlands, such as the Ayacucho or Arequipa regions, and those obsidian artifacts excavated from the Formative Period sites throughout the Andes proceed almost exclusively from this region, based on neutron activation analysis and X-ray fluorescence analysis (Burger and Glascock 2009;

Matsumoto et al. 2018). Cinnabar is found in the Huancavelica region of the central highlands, and the Atalla site was associated with its production (Cooke et al. 2013; Young 2020). Sites have been reported in some Andean regions that appear to be in the Chavín sphere of influence. They have also been found to be associated with the distribution of prestige goods. In this sense, the “Chavín cult” theory remains one of the most promising interpretations.

The current state of research on the Chavín issue or phenomenon shows that two directions coexist. The first is to explore the relationship between Chavín de Huántar and other sites in the same period based on the progress of chronological research. It stems from the awareness of the Chavín phenomenon since Tello or Burger’s “Chavín Horizon.” This position focuses on exploring the correlation between the nature of interregional exchange and social change from a macro perspective, with an emphasis on situating individual data within the dynamics of the Central Andes as a whole (e.g., Burger et al. 2019; Matsumoto 2019; Matsumoto et al. 2018; Yamamoto 2021; Young 2020).

The other position is to focus on the actual conditions at individual sites and to clarify what took place on each site and what changes occurred. At Chavín de Huántar, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa, where large-scale research has been conducted, evidence from the ceremonial architecture and the corresponding traces of various human activities have led to discussions on the conditions of ritual activities, identity or power formation, and the human sense that was used in the ritual space: The practices of the people of the time (e.g., Burger and Salazar 1993, 2008; Contreras 2010; Inokuchi and Druc 2019; Matsumoto 2012; Mesía Montenegro 2014; Nagaoka et al. 2018; Rick 2006, 2008; Sakai et al. 2019). In the face of ever-increasing data, we are finally able to have a deeper discussion on the Chavín issue or phenomenon. The importance of presenting data such as those in this book is being recognized again.

## 6. Recent Research Programs

Given these research trends, the editor launched a program called “Reinventing the Study of Andean Civilization through the Analysis of the Foundation of Power” with support from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) in 2011 and has been holding discussions with foreign researchers whose views differ from those of the Japanese research team described above. The following international meetings have been organized in Japan and abroad by the editor alone or jointly by the editor and foreign researchers. The meetings sought to clarify the origins of power in its Formative Period, the timing of its establishment, its foundation, and the process of change from various perspectives.

- Simposio Internacional “La complejidad social del periodo Formativo en los Andes” (July 19, 2012, 54th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, University of Vienna, Austria)
- Simposio Internacional “Nuevos horizontes de los estudios de Chavín” (November 30, 2013, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka)

- International Symposium “Comparative Studies among the Formative Period Cultures in the Andes” (November 29, 2014, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka)
- Simposio Internacional “Tradiciones tempranas de arquitectura pública de los Andes Centrales” (July 13, 2015, 55th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Universidad Francisco Gavidia, San Salvador)
- Simposio Internacional “Nuevas perspectivas a la formación de civilización temprana en los Andes: Cronología, interacción, y organización social” (March 21, 2019, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka)

The papers in this volume are based on papers presented at these symposiums and contain the latest data. I organized small study groups online and included discussions among researchers who were invited to these groups. In each case, we have tried to present both theory and concrete data.

## 7. Overview of the Chapters

I present an overview of each paper and its relationship with the work of the editor and others. The first half of this volume focuses on the study of Chavín de Huántar by the Stanford University team (Rick and Ortiz, Mesía Montenegro, Rosenfeld, Sayre, and Contreras). Rick and Ortiz present the galleries in detail and discuss their ritualistic roles. They point out that the gallery is intimately and intricately linked to the horizontal and vertical expansion and the renovation of the ceremonial architecture. It reminds ritual participants of their connection to the past by incorporating architecture from the past. This is in line with the editors’ recent argument that social memory formed through architecture was associated with power generation (Seki et al. 2019, 2023 in press).

Mesía Montenegro examines the power-forming foundations of the Chavín leadership by diachronically capturing traces of ritual feasts in the Wacheqsa area. He concludes that the feasts in the Wacheqsa area sought to make the power of the Chavín leaders visible to foreign elites so that they would accept the Chavín belief system. They also served to exert power over the craftsmen who worked in the Wacheqsa area and the workers who built the temple, thus reducing social inequalities. It also resonates with the editor’s discussion of the relationship between feasting, ancestral worship, and power generation at the Pacopampa site (Seki in this volume, 2023 in press).

Rosenfeld presents the provenance of bone artifacts in the La Banda area and Building C at Chavín de Huántar, concluding that La Banda produced tools and ornaments used in rituals, especially hallucinogenic rituals, performed by the elite in ceremonial architectures. She states that the earthenware and bone tools for textile production unearthed from Building C were subject to ritual dedication and destruction. At the Pacopampa site, bone artifacts such as pipes and spoons for stimulant inhalation were also excavated, which indicates that this type of ritual was central during the Late Formative Period (Arata 2017).

By analyzing plant remains collected from soil in several sectors of the Chavín de Huántar, Sayre argues that the Chavín people traded scarce goods from remote areas and that only a few staple goods, such as food, came from outside. Staple goods were

produced in the site's vicinity, and there were no warehouses for surplus products, which was common in later periods. This indicates that the power base in the Formative Period may not have depended on staple goods (Seki 2014).

Based on Bayesian modeling of  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates, Contreras demonstrates that interactions between centers in the Central Andes heightened between 850–550 BCE (Late Formative Period), confirming the starting point of Chavín and Early Horizon problems. These results confirm the accuracy of the Formative Period chronology that the Japanese team has established through absolute and relative dating.

This is followed by arguments from researchers who seek the Chavín interaction sphere primarily in the Peruvian highlands (Matsumoto and Cavero, Nesbitt and Ibarra). Matsumoto and Cavero compare the circular sunken plaza excavated at the central platform of the Campanayuq Rumi site in Ayacucho with plazas at other Formative Period sites. They note that its shape and architectural techniques are highly similar to that of Chavín. These data will be used to reexamine the chronological position of the plaza at Chavín.

Nesbitt and Ibarra study the Canchas Uckro site near the Chavín de Huántar. Ceremonial architectures dating back to the Middle Formative Period were abandoned in the Late Formative Period. They argue that the prosperity of Chavín led to population movements from Canchas Uckro to Chavín. Nesbitt and Ibarra are the first to discuss social changes around Chavín with empirical data.

The last group of papers (Inokuchi, Nakagawa et al., Seki et al., Uzawa et al., Takigami et al., and Yamamoto and Arias) comprises data based on continuous surveys that the Japanese or the Japan-Peru joint team has conducted in the northern highlands. Inokuchi describes the architecture, tombs, and excavated artifacts from the four phases of the Formative Period in the Kuntur Wasi site and summarizes the interactions with other areas in each phase. This is consistent with Contreras' argument that interaction was strengthened in the Late Formative Period.

It is important to examine whether the rise in interactions during the Late Formative Period can be positioned as the rise of individual ceremonial centers. Nakagawa et al. examine pottery and architectural data excavated at Pacopampa and surrounding sites and argue that architectural activity was most active in the Middle Formative Period. However, the space used for rituals decreased in the Late Formative Period, when interactions became more active and social differences became more apparent. The increase in interaction is not proportional to the increase in architectural activity.

Seki et al. analyze burials at the Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa sites during the Formative Period and argue that social differences became apparent in the Late Formative Period and that the power base of the leaders at both sites was related to ancestor worship. They state that power weakened in the latter half of the Late Formative Period at least in the Pacopampa site. This is an interesting argument that considers the end of the Formative Period society.

Uzawa et al. analyze animal bones excavated from Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa and point out that the full-scale introduction of camelids in the northern highlands occurred in the Late Formative Period and was associated with rituals and textile production in the

ceremonial centers. However, given the number of camelids unearthed and the presence of camelid sacrifices, they state that the incorporation of camelid sacrifices in the ritual system was more strongly recognized in the Pacopampa than in Kuntur Wasi site. This reflects differences in the ecological environment and social relationships with the breeding group.

Following Uzawa's discussion, Takigami et al. discuss the timing and process of introduction of camelid husbandry to the northern highlands of Peru based on the results of carbon, nitrogen, and strontium isotope ratios of animal bones excavated from the Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa sites. According to them, camelids were bred in areas of relatively high altitude and brought to relatively lower altitude ceremonial centers during the Middle Formative Period. In the Late Formative Period, camelid husbandry was performed along with maize cultivation around the ceremonial centers. Their results show that diverse groups were involved in camelid husbandry in the Late Formative Period. However, the use of camelids in the past should not be interpreted by using only colonial or current camelid animal use models, as in previous studies.

Finally, Yamamoto et al. provide a stimulating diachronic examination of the relationship between Cerro Narrio, a Formative Period site in the Cuenca region of southern Ecuador, and Formative Period sites in northern Peru, based on the results of their excavations. Previously, southern Ecuadorian and northern Peruvian sites were believed to have existed in close interaction with each other from the Middle Formative Period, based on a comparison of pottery styles. However, Yamamoto et al.'s excavations indicate that the pottery that was considered similar to that of northern Peru belongs to the Late Formative Period. Further research is needed to elucidate the actual state of interaction in the Late Formative Period. However, interactions should not be discussed solely based on the similarities or commonalities of simple pottery.

Thus, considering the data on ritual activities at the Chavín de Huántar, ceremonial centers in the central and southern highlands which established strong interaction with the Chavín de Huántar, and ceremonial centers in the northern highlands that developed competitive and independent activities with the Chavín de Huántar, it is clear that the Formative Period society of the Central Andes represents a complex mosaic situation that cannot be explained by any one unified model. I believe that the only way to escape from arbitrary interpretations is to clarify comparative indices by elaborating on the data from each ceremonial center and refining research methods, including scientific analysis.

## **8. Terminology on the Archaeological Chronology in This Publication**

Finally, it is necessary to mention the terminology of the chronology used in this volume. Two major chronologies are currently used in Andean archaeology. Rowe's chronology, which aims to eliminate evolutionary concepts, is the most common (Rowe 1962); he called the spread of culture over a relatively short period within a given geographic area a Horizon, and based on the assumption that this phenomenon occurred repeatedly, he named the Intermediate Period the Middle Horizon. The three Horizon periods, in chronological order, are the Early, Middle, and Late Horizons, and Chavín, Wari, and

Inca were considered to correspond to each of them. The periods between them are named the Early and Late Intermediate Periods. The period before the Early Horizon is named the Initial Period, and the period before that is named the Preceramic Period.

However, as mentioned earlier, problems have been pointed out regarding the role of the Chavín de Huántar in the Andes, so many researchers use the Formative Period in place of Early Horizon. This chronological sequence reflects the developmental or evolutionary stages, namely the Lithic, Archaic, Formative, and Regional Developmental Periods, the Wari Empire, Local Regional State, and Inca Empire (Lumbreras 1974). In any case, many researchers have used the term “Formative Period” only as an indicator for the chronological positioning of the target sites. Therefore, in this volume, the terminology of the chronological sequence is not unified but left to the judgment of the authors of the chapters.

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