To Convince, Indoctrinate, and Rule : Religion and the Exercise of Power in Chavín de Huántar over an Intermediate Area in the Middle and Late Andean Formative

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3. To Convince, Indoctrinate, and Rule: Religion and the Exercise of Power in Chavín de Huántar over an Intermediate Area in the Middle and Late Andean Formative

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1. Introduction

The exercise of power has been the subject of lengthy disquisitions in the anthropological, sociological, and archaeological literature, some of which were based on the need to understand practical differences among the members of a social group. A study of the past can enlighten us on the evolution of the practices that allowed individuals to segregate themselves from others in the pursuit of power, prestige, and legitimacy, which translates into disparities in the quality of life among many individuals in a given society.

Given the striking monumentality and complexity of its culturally modified environment, Chavín de Huántar has been the epitome of social complexity in Andean Archeology (Burger 1992; Kembel and Rick 2004; Lumbreras 1989; Rick 2005; Tello 1929, 1942). In this paper, I elucidate the exercise of power by the authorities in charge ofá de Huántar, using the evidence found in an intermediate area, adjacent to the ceremonial center, called the Wacheqsa sector (Figure 1-1), which had a resident population attached to the ceremonial center in the Middle (1100–800 ANE) and Late Formative (800–500 ANE) Periods, (Mesía Montenegro 2022; Rick et al. 2010), which was also the location of garbage disposal that originated from supra communal banquets in the Late Formative Period (Mesía Montenegro 2007, 2014b, 2022). I discuss convincing and indoctrinating strategies, based on the archaeological evidence retrieved from this sector. I argue that these strategies were permeated by a strong religious component. Religion can transform economic surplus in power and induce others to surrender property control but religion alone cannot generate profound changes owing to unrealistic promises that never materialize (Aldenderfer 2010). However, when religion comes into play in economic and political ways, the scope of its influence expands, infiltrating vital aspects of the social system (Mesía Montenegro 2018b). I propose the term "Embedded Religiousness" as a modification of the term "Embedded Economy" used by Polanyi (Block and Polanyi 2003; Halperin 1984; Polanyi 1977, 2001) in describing economic processes within non-western traditional societies. Polanyi argued that the economy is embedded in social relations and cannot be separately dissected as an autonomous component of social practice. Thus, with the concept of Embedded Religiousness (Mesía Montenegro and Sanchez-Borjas in press; Mesía Montenegro and

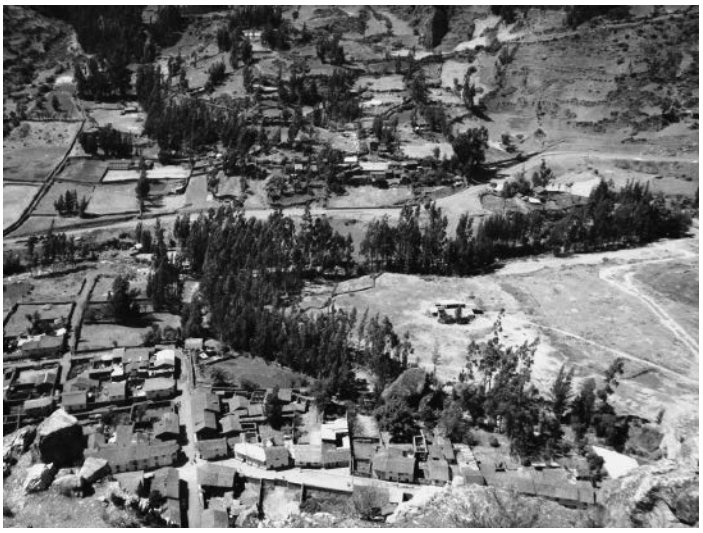


Figure 3-1 The Wacheqsa Sector viewed from the Shallapa viewpoint, west of the Chavín de Huántar (photo by Christian Mesía Montenegro)

Sánchez-Borjas 2022), I propose that religion is the element that cannot be segregated from social practice in the Andean world, which prevailed in Chavín de Huántar in the Formative period.

2. The Wacheqsa Sector

The Wacheqsa sector is located immediately to the north of the monumental core, enclosed by the Wacheqsa and Mosna Rivers to the north and east, respectively (Figure 3-1). It is a semi-trapezoidal field, located 30 m from Building D, with an estimated area of 1.4 ha, facing the Wacheqsa river. This sector is located between the monumental core and the domestic settlement that stretched north into the land occupied now by the modern town of Chavín. The modern topography of this sector is the outcome of the 1945 landslide that practically changed the landscape of the entire sector. In the map provided in his posthumous 1960 publication "Chavín Cultura Matríz," Tello showed two terraces and a probable one extending to the north (Tello 1960: 49) whereas today, no terrace is observed in this sector.

2.1 Wendell Bennett's Excavations

Wendell Bennett investigated the site in 1938. He excavated one unit, Ch-15, which was located approximately 100 m to the north of Building D with an extension of 4 x 1.5 m. He indicated that a substantial number of sherds were recovered in the first 1.5 m depth, decreasing in amount below that depth before disappearing entirely at over 2.00 m depth. Bennett noticed that "the materials [recovered] seem to be house refuse" (Bennett 1944: 80) and dissected this unit using horizontal arbitrary levels of 50 cm each, recovering

1465 ceramic sherds in all mixed with "animal bones, charcoal and sections of small and large stones" (Bennett 1944: 80). Judging from the materials he recovered, such as charcoal, animal bones, and fragments of large stones, it is possible that these materials were produced by the discharge of food consumption activities either at the household or supra household levels. Regrettably, there were no major indicators of the nature of the contexts excavated or the locations of these elements within these layers.

2.2 Julio C. Tello's Excavations

In 1940, Julio C. Tello excavated one unit sized 4 x 3 m (Ch-1), four meters south of where Bennett excavated unit Ch-15. Tello had two hypotheses on the nature of the Wacheqsa sector. He thought, as Bennett did, that it served as the location of the domestic settlement related to the Ceremonial Center as the Wacheqsa sector "must correspond to the places where hamlets and houses were. The kind of trash found there can be followed around the contours of the ruins and domestic wares can be observed" (Tello 1940: 25). His second hypothesis was, "These extensive cultivated lands have a thick layer of agricultural dirt and abundant domestic ceramic sherds on the surface, and for those reasons these lands could be considered as trash areas. This brownish or chocolate land only tends to appear at the edge of main buildings" (Tello 1940: 25). These hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, "as this brownish matrix is only present in the edges of the main buildings, it probably was an ancient trash area and consequently, the area where the domestic settlement was located" (Tello 1960: 317). Marino Gonzales supervised Ch-1, and identified four archaeological strata. The first layer is agricultural land in which post-Chavín material (Recuay) was recovered. The second layer produced Chavín ceramics, especially those that we now know as *janabarroid* (Mesía Montenegro 2017, 2022; Rick 2014; Rick et al. 2010). In this layer, Tello also found faunal remains of camelid and deer mixed with fragments of stone clubs and mortars. He wrote that the ceramics were highly polished with fine shallow engravings on the surface that belonged to the "classic Chavín period" (Tello 1960: 317). According to Tello, this layer could be "considered as the remains of a large midden" (Tello 1940: 27). The third layer contained Chavín ceramics, but in this case, I note the presence of a mixture of decoration and forms that can be *urrabarroid* and *janabarroid* (Tello 1960). These materials were found in a green matrix that, according to Tello, seemed to be the product of an alluvial flood that destroyed a domestic settlement located on the upper part of the civic ceremonial center (Tello 1960). Below the third layer, there was nothing but sterile soil. During my research, I excavated near the area Bennett and Tello excavated, finding for example in a 2 x 2 m unit, a total of 24 stratigraphic layers in average depth of 3.50 m, thus the stratigraphic complexity in the Wacheqsa sector is greater than the one Tello and Bennett recorded.

2.3 Rosa Fung's Excavations

After Tello's intervention, the entire site of Chavín de Huántar was covered by the 1945 landslide, and the Wacheqsa sector was entirely eroded and filled by mud to its current state. Research in this sector was conducted again in 1973, 1974, and 1975, by

archaeologist Rosa Fung. None of her data have been published yet. However, the materials she recovered are accessible in the storage rooms of the Archaeology and Anthropology Museum of the San Marcos National University. Rosa Fung excavated 39 units[1)] (regrettably, there is no information on the size of the units), located in the northern edge of the Wacheqsa sector. Most levels excavated yielded ceramics similar to the shapes and decorations identified as *urrabarroid*, whereas a few upper layers contained ceramics related to those recognized as *janabarroid* (Fung 2006). Rosa Fung believed that she had found a Kotosh-Kotosh component in her excavations, below a domestic floor that covered the Kotosh-Kotosh contexts (Fung 1975). There are ceramics resembling the styles associated with the Kotosh phase in Huánuco, specifically the Kotosh Grooved style, but these items are present in a mixed deposit with ceramics showing Late Formative elements (concentric circles with central dots) in layer 2, test pit 3. The ceramics Fung recovered (Figure 3-2) suggest a strong Middle Formative component along the northern edge of the Wacheqsa sector, a fact that was confirmed by my excavations in the same area in the beginning of my research. Rosa Fung identified a cremation area (Fung 2006) characterized by the presence of pale gray ashes that, according to her, may have been derived from the burning of human remains. Lumbreras took this idea and suggested that some of the carbonized human remains found in the Ofrendas Gallery may have been processed in the Wacheqsa sector (Lumbreras 1993), a hypothesis that is yet to be tested. In sum, before my research began, the existing information on the Wacheqsa sector could be organized as follows:

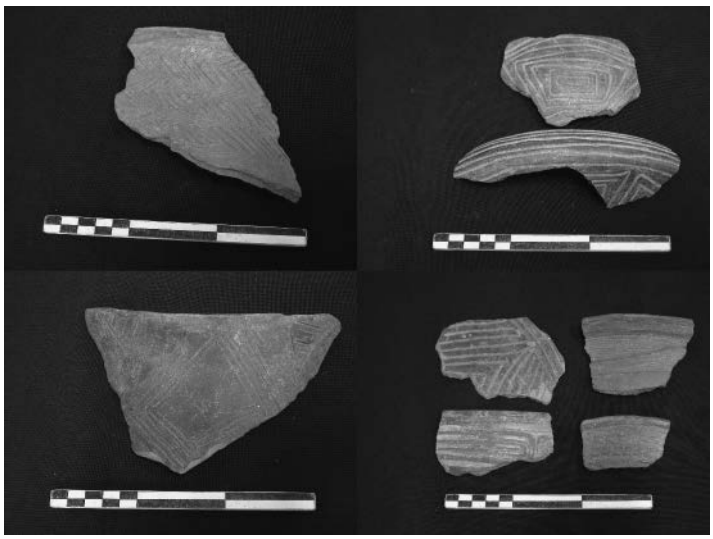


Figure 3-2 Ceramics retrieved by Rosa Fung at the Wacheqsa Sector were found in the same layer and below layers containing *janabarroid* ceramics (Bag code 242 F). Lower layers probably belong to the Middle Formative period. *Janabaorroid* ceramics come from the Late Formative period. As seen in the Wacheqsa sector, lower Late Formative layers have *urrabarroid* ceramics. Rosa Fung found the same behavior. (photo by Christian Mesía Montenegro)

- A midden associated with Late Formative ceramics is located in the southern section of the Wacheqsa sector. This is characterized by the presence of finely decorated Late Formative wares and abundant faunal remains (camelid and deer).
- Under the midden, an area with evidence of water flooding is associated with Middle Formative materials.
- A domestic component is located in the northern edge of the Wacheqsa sector. It is mostly associated with Middle Formative ceramics (including Kotosh-Kotosh ones).

3. The Prehistory of the Wacheqsa Sector

The Wacheqsa sector was occupied from 1100 BC to 500 BC (Mesía Montenegro 2014b, 2022; Rick et al. 2010) in the Middle and Late Formative Periods. I divided the prehistoric occupation into two phases. The architectural and pottery data discussed below were collected during my excavations.

3.1 Middle Formative (1100–800 BCE)

It encompassed two spatial units, namely the Early Platforms and Water Flood (Figure 3-3). The Early Platforms unit is in the northern section and represents the oldest domestic settlement in this sector. It has an estimated area of 1100 m^2 and an average depth of 2.04 m^2 below the surface. A total of 20.3 m^3 were excavated and 978 archaeological elements were recovered with an average density of 48 elements per m^3. The ceramics retrieved in this unit correspond to those broadly known as *urrabarroid* (Mesía Montenegro 2017, 2018a, 2022; Rick 2014; Rick et al. 2010). The Water Flood

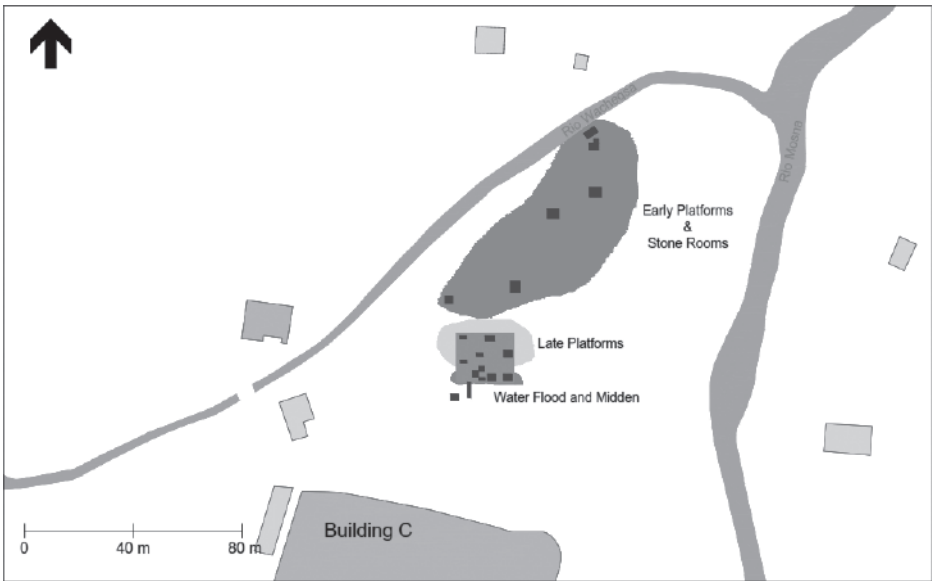


Figure 3-3 Spatial Units at the Wacheqsa Sector (produced by Christian Mesía Montenegro)

spatial unit provides evidence on the canalization of the Wacheqsa River in this phase, it is in the southern section and has an estimated area of 48 m^2 with an average depth of 3.05 m below surface. A total of 5.72 m^3 were excavated, with 330 archaeological elements recovered and a density of 57 elements per m^3. The ceramics recorded are like those from the Early Platforms unit.

3.2 Late Formative Period (800–550 BCE)

The latest occupation phase (800–500 BCE) encompassed the Late Platforms, Stone Rooms, and Midden spatial units (Figure 3-3). The Stone Room spatial unit represents a late settlement in the Wacheqsa sector. It encompasses an estimated area of 1717 m^2 and volume of 668.47 m^3. It is located between 1.8 m and 2 m below the surface. It had 10 stratigraphic layers and 12 features among all the units excavated. Stone rooms and interconnected alleys form part of the earliest occupation in this analytical unit. Alleys were covered by fill made of loose matrix mixed with middle-sized cobbles and angular stones. Once the alleys were filled, rooms and alley fills were covered by a platform almost entirely made of quadrangular middle-sized rocks mixed with the scarce loose matrix. Rooms and alleys were cleansed before they were filled, archaeological materials recovered in this analytical unit came from alleys and platform fills (Figure 3-4). In all 22.3 m^3 were excavated, recovering 3425 fragments of archaeological materials, giving an overall density of 154 fragments per m^3.

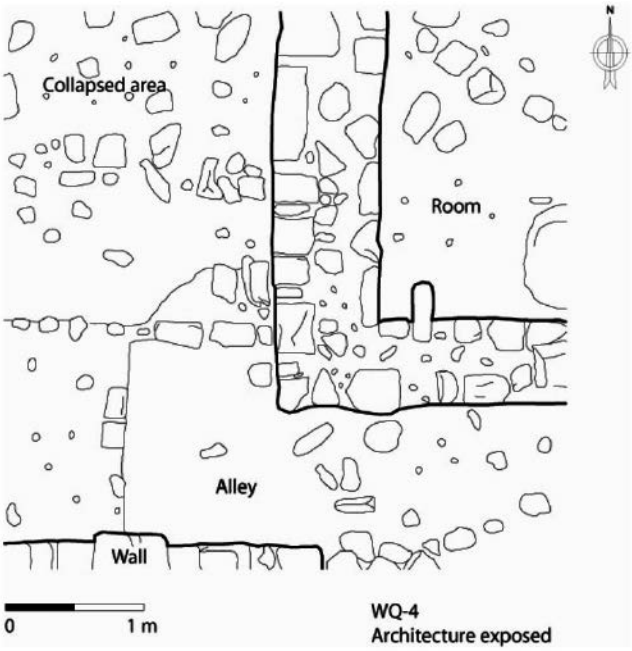


Figure 3-4 Plan for the exposed architecture at the Stone Room's unit (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2022)

The Midden provides evidence for supra household food and beverage consumption (Mesía Montenegro 2014b). It encompasses an estimated area of 48 m^2, and an estimated volume of 83 m^3, close to 2 m average thickness. The surface of this analytical unit is located at 1 m below the surface on average. It had 44 strata distributed among all units excavated. It is characterized by a semi-compact to compact matrix mixed with middle and large-sized angular stones and cobbles and a high density of fragmented archaeological materials. In all, 22.03 m^3 were excavated, recovering 15814 fragments of archaeological materials, with a general density of 718.18 fragments per m^3. A striking characteristic is the high density of burnt clay recovered in this analytical unit, 79 fragments per m^3 which is 11 times more than the density of the Stone Rooms analytical unit, the analytical unit with the next highest density of burnt clay fragments. This class of artifacts represents fragments of floors, walls, columns, and a molded frieze (Figures 3-5 and 3-6). In some cases, fragments were plastered with white and red colors. Most fragments show the imprints of canes in their interiors, suggesting that the construction technique used in the structures were clay tempered with straw and fired to a very hard consistency. The presence of such structures should not be surprising, as Tello reported the occurrence of these fragments on deposits located in front of the façade of Building A (Tello 1960).

Finally, the Late Platforms unit seems to be a buffer area between these two units. It encompasses an estimated area of 223 m^2 with an estimated volume of 276 m^3. It is situated between 1.5 m and 2 m below the surface. It had 34 strata distributed among all the units excavated, which are characterized by compact matrices mixed with abundant mid- and large-sized angular stones and cobbles and a very low density of fragmented archaeological materials. In all, 5.88 m^3 were excavated, recovering 102 fragments of

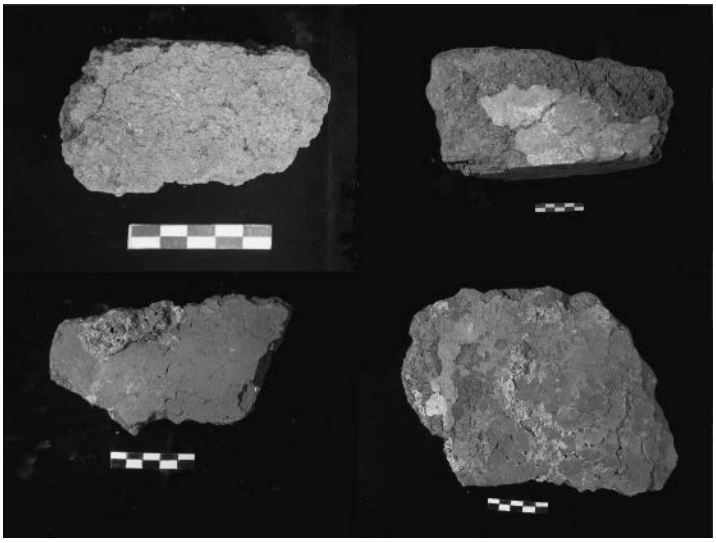


Figure 3-5 Clay floor fragments with evidence of intense fire retrieved at the Midden unit (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

Figure 3-6 Clay frieze found in the Midden unit (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

archaeological materials, with a general density of 17.3 fragments per m^3. This analytical unit has the lowest density of archaeological materials. The ceramics retrieved in these units can be labeled as *janabarroid* (Mesía Montenegro 2017, 2018a; Rick 2014; Rick et al. 2010).

4. Inferred Activities

4.1 Feasts

Evidence of feasting activities has been identified in the Wacheqsa midden (Mesía Montenegro 2014b). Here, densities of archaeological materials are extremely high when compared with those of other spatial units (Mesía Montenegro 2014a, 2022) (Figure 3-7), which immediately separates this context from others in the 1.4 ha area. As Dietler and Hayden indicated, it is important to differentiate communal consumption from "everyday domestic meals and from the simple exchange of food without communal consumption" (Dietler and Hayden 2001: 3). Large quantities of food items, unusually large numbers of serving and cooking vessels of large sizes, exotic items, and narcotic paraphernalia together served as indicators of feasting activities (Blitz 1993; DeBoer 2001; Dietler and Herbich 2001; Hayden 2001, 2014, 2018; Hayden and Villeneuve 2010; Mills 1999; Potter 2000; Rosenswig 2007).

A subset of 3020 diagnostic ceramic sherds was analyzed from the entire Wacheqsa sector. Six general types of ceramic vessels were identified in all spatial units at the Wacheqsa sector, which shows intra-site variability in their distributions (Mesía Montenegro 2012). Among these, neckless jars, bowls, and jars in general are consistently

present in all prehistoric spatial units, whereas bottles, cups, and plates are not significantly present in any but the Midden spatial unit. The most ubiquitous ceramic vessel present here is the bowl, with a unimodal distribution of a medium-sized bowl that makes up more than 50% of the analyzed Midden sample. The second ubiquitous type is the neckless jar that comprises 26% of the analyzed sample with bimodal distribution, but with a high predominance of large-sized vessels. The third is the jar type that comprises 11% of the ceramic sample analyzed with a unimodal distribution of small jars. The other types of ceramics are under 5% of the sample analyzed (Figure 3-8). The

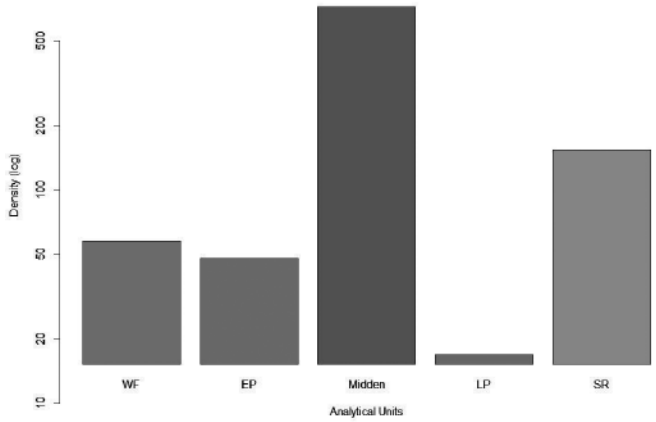


Figure 3-7 Density of archaeological materials per cubic meter per spatial unit. (WF, Water Flood; EP, Early Platforms; LP, Late Platforms; SR, Stone Rooms). Elaborated by Christian Mesía Montenegro.

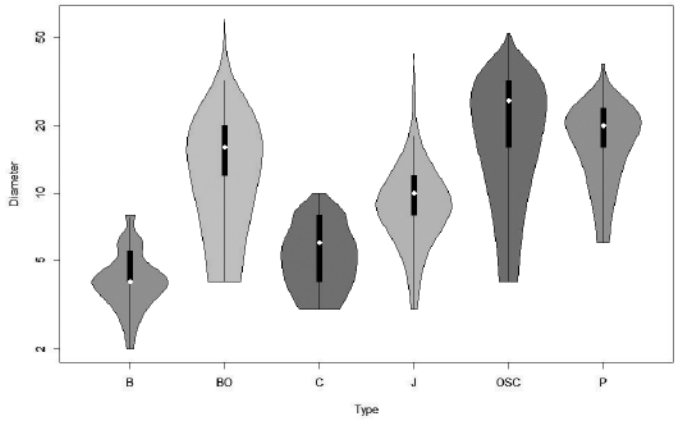


Figure 3-8 Kernel density violin plots from Midden ceramic forms (B, bottle; BO, bowl; P, plate; OSC, neckless jars; c, cup; J, jar). Elaborated by Christian Mesía Montenegro.

elevated number of bowls and several medium-sized bowls indicate both the consumption of substantial amounts of food, and the use of a standardized serving ration. Bowls are serving vessels that can either be used for solid food or liquids (DeBoer 2001; Ikehara et al. 2013; Lumbreras 2005; Rice 1987). Neckless jars can be used either for cooking or storage (Blitz 1993; Ikehara et al. 2013; Lumbreras 2005; Rice 1987). Bowls have unrestricted mouth orifices "unrestricted vessels are an advantage not only in getting the contents out, but also in putting materials in" (Rice 1987: 241). Unrestricted vessels, such as bowls, show the contents, which is an important feature of serving vessels. The bimodal distribution of neckless jars points towards the cooking or storage of either different types of food and/or for smaller and larger amounts of people. The size of an olla reflects the amount and type of the food being cooked or stored. The size of ollas can be a function of the amount and type of foods, "the relation between use and capacity of a vessel can be conceived in terms of the kind of materials the vessel contains, the amount, the length of time it is to be contained, the number of anticipated users of the material during that time and micro environmental factors such as availability of water and other necessities" (Rice 1987: 225). Neckless jars were fundamentally storing/serving vessels but primarily for liquids. Jars are restricted vessels with necks that prevent the contents from spilling. They are significant in the ceramic midden assemblage and the most typical jar is the mid-sized one. Bottles only comprised 3% of the sample analyzed indicating that jars, rather than bottles, were the more popular type of vessel for storing and/or serving liquids.

Food may have been cooked and/or carried in neckless jars to the feasting facility where it would have been distributed in bowls. It is not uncommon to find fragments of neckless jars in the sample analyzed with evidence of firing on their surfaces. Jars may have been used for storing beverages consumed during the feasting activity from which liquids could have been poured into bowls. Even though there are very few plates in the analyzed ceramic subset, it is interesting that the higher mode of plates represented is the large one. Plates may have been used for serving special types of food or for serving food to special attendees. There are unusually large numbers of cooking and serving vessels in the midden. Midden bowls constitute 84% of the entire bowl population and midden neckless jars make up 74% of the neckless jar population. At the site of Cerro Blanco, similar ceramic forms associated with feasting contexts have been identified (Ikehara et al. 2013; Ikehara and Shibata 2008) with the difference that at the Wacheqsa Midden, there were no vessels associated with food storage and fermentation (Tables 3-1 and 3-2). In Cerro Blanco, serving vessels constitute most of the identified pots in the three feasting events recorded, followed by cooking vessels, which is similar to the pattern identified at the Wacheqsa Midden (Ikehara and Shibata 2008: Tables 3, 4, and 5). In the case of Campanayuq Rumi, where a trash area produced by the discarded feasting remains was found, storing and/or fermented vessels (jars) were followed in numbers by serving and kitchen vessels (Matsumoto 2010: Tables 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5).

The ceramic data are more compelling when they are cross-referenced with the weight of faunal remains recovered in the Midden, which is extremely high when compared with the rest of the prehistoric spatial units (Mesía Montenegro 2014b). Faunal

Table 3-1 Forms and functions of vessels associated with feasts during the Late Formative

Function	Form
Cooking vessels	Neckless and necked jars
Storage and fermenting vessels	Necked jars and basins
Serving vessels	Bowls, plates, vases, and necked jars
Special serving vessels (emphasis in decoration)	Bottles
Not determined	Compoteras and floreros.

(taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

Table 3-2 Forms and functions of vessels associated with feasts from the Inca Period

Form	Function
Wide-mouthed ollas, pedestal-base pots, plates	Cooking
Cazuelas, bowls, aríbalos, keros, wide-necked jars	Service
Aríbalos, narrow-necked jars, wide-mouthed ollas	Storage
Aríbalos	Transport

(taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

remains can be considered evidence of substantial food consumption that aligns with what Mercer and Hayden suggested regarding faunal remains as a signature for banquets as feasting activities. "Feasting foods as well as actual feasts can often be recognized by copious food leftovers and much greater wastage than usual" (Mercer 1985: 100) and that "feasting refuse tends to occur in considerable quantities in single deposits" (Hayden 1995: 138). However, faunal evidence alone is not conclusive of feasting; when cross-referenced with the vessel modalities explained above, the argument is more robust. Further analyses will indicate the kinds of animals that were consumed in the course of feasting at Chavín de Huántar, but I believe that it is safe to hypothesize that a large proportion was probably camelids (Rosenfeld and Sayre 2016). Bone artifacts were present in the Midden archaeological assemblage, many of which are small, fragmented spoons and bone tubes of varied sizes (Figure 3-9). The presence of polished bone tubes and small spoons is interesting and hint at the possibility of drug consumption during feasting activities, "the equipment for the inhalation of psychoactive powders consists of a distinct set of implements: a small tray, a snuffing tube, a spoon, and leather pouches as containers for the powders" (Torres and Repke 2006: 11). Based on ethnographic evidence from South America and the Caribbean, Torres and Repke pointed out two general methods for snuffing powder: self-administered and cooperative. Self-administered consumption required inhalers made of bird bone and wood that were either single or double tubes, whereas cooperative consumption usually required long bird bones preloaded with powder that one individual blows into the nose of the other individual (Torres 2008; Torres and Repke 2006). Evidence from the Midden deposit hints at the self-administered consumption of psychoactive elements, possibly *Anadenanthera* as suggested by Torres, Repke, and Rick (Rick 2006; Torres 2008; Torres

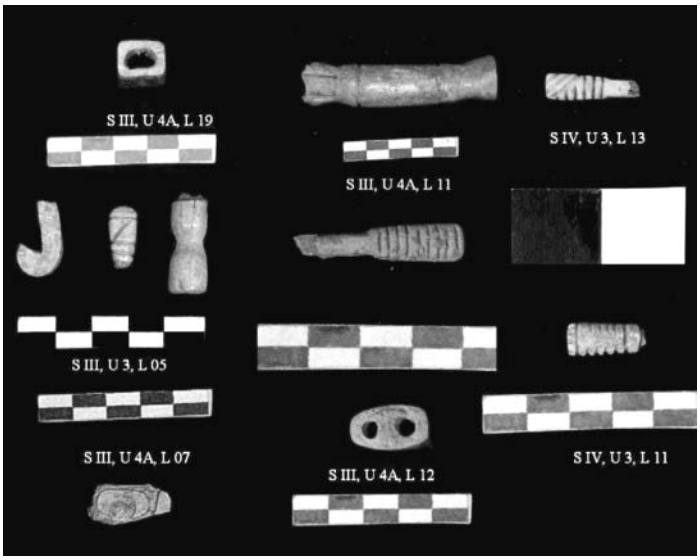


Figure 3-9 Bone artifacts possibly used for consumption of psychoactive substances retrieved at the Midden (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

and Repke 2006) and later by Burger (Burger 2011). Similar equipment has also been found in La Banda and has been interpreted as evidence of consumption of psychoactive substances (Rick 2006). In Campanayuq Rumi, similar instruments were found, which have been interpreted as evidence of hallucinogen consumption (Matsumoto 2010). A fragment of a service vessel (Figure 3-10) has a San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*) stamped on its surface, which could be considered an indicator of the consumption of San Pedro, a plant that has known hallucinogenic qualities (Torres 2008). Representations of San Pedro are common in Formative pottery from the Andes. In Chavín, the plant is endemic and well represented in the iconography of the Circular Plaza. Mollusks are also present in the midden deposit, although extremely rare, which is not surprising given that "Chavín established early trade connections with coastal peoples and engaged in the long-distance exchange of ecologically sensitive mollusks" (Sayre and Aldave 2010: 345), which also include marine mammals as demonstrated by isotopic evidence (Sayre et al. 2016). There is a very small amount of what can be considered bone pendants, probably worn around the neck (Mesía Montenegro 2014b). A fragment of a musical wind instrument (*quena*?; Figure 3-11) was found, which suggests that the music was part of feasting ceremonies at Chavín de Huántar.

While the exotic is not necessarily synonymous with prestige, it is something special or unusual, with the potential to become a prestige good if it serves an elite's purpose. Access to unusual goods requires an investment of resources that can be turned into assets of prestige or luxury (Seki and Yoneda 2005). Thus, all exotic items have the potential to become prestige items. These values (prestige, luxury, etc.) are incorporated into the exotic good, with cultural and ideological meanings adjusted to a particular

Figure 3-10 Fragment of a pottery vessel with representation of the San Pedro cactus retrieved at the Midden (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

Figure 3-11 Quena fragment retrieved at the Midden (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

context (religious, economic, and political) wherein consumption takes place (Seki and Yoneda 2004). Are the exotic goods identified in the Wacheqsa Midden elements of prestige? The shellfish consumption associated with elite domestic units (Burger 1988) and transportation costs from the coast to the Conchucos valley suggests it. Similarly, the likely presence of workshops specialized in the production of bone and chrysocolla

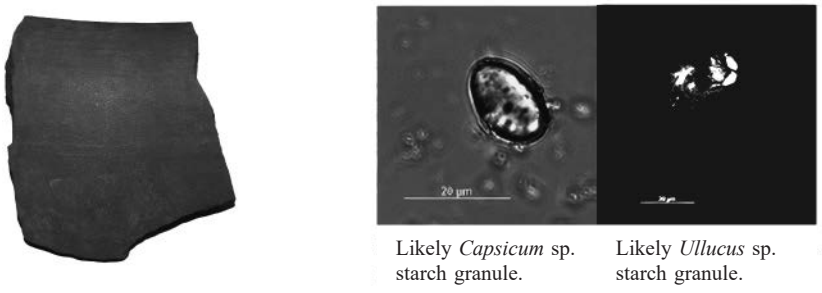
artifacts in La Banda (Rick 2005, 2008; Sayre 2010) and the Wacheqsa sector (Mesía Montenegro 2022), the absence of chrysocolla quarries in the Conchucos valley, and their limited circulation in various contexts excavated in Chavín seem to suggest that this item was prestigious. In Kuntur Wasi, chrysocolla artifacts were recovered in elite funerary contexts (Onuki 1995; Seki and Yoneda 2005).

As macro-botanical elements, samples were taken for flotation and processed, which resulted in the Midden having the greatest diversity of seeds than other ceremonial center areas, with maize, grasses, cucurbits, tubers, fabaceae, and chenopodium, among others (Table 3-3) (Mesía Montenegro 2014b; Sayre 2010). Conversely, starch grain analyses show the presence of maize, ulluco, and ají (Figure 3-12, Table 3-4) in the Midden (Mesía Montenegro and Weber 2017, in press). The presence of *Zea mays* may indicate their use in chicha preparation, a beverage commonly associated with feasts in the Andean Formative. In sites like Cerro Blanco (Ikehara and Shibata 2008; Ikehara et al. 2013) and Campanayuq Rumi (Matsumoto 2010, 2012), *Zea mays* has been identified in feasting contexts belonging to the Late Formative Period and in the Wacheqsa Midden.

Table 3-3 Macro botanical remains identified in the midden

Specie	n
Parenchyma	17
Fabaceae	16
Poaceae	2
Zea Mays Cupule	4
Chenopodium	2
Verbena sp	2
Mantaganaceae	3
Curcubitaceae	2
Desconocido	3
Inidentificable	3

(taken from Mesía Montenegro and Weber in press)



Likely *Capsicum* sp. starch granule.

Likely *Ullucus* sp. starch granule.

Figure 3-12 Midden neckless jar, showing *Capsicum* sp. and *Ullucus* sp. starches (Late Formative; taken from Mesía Montenegro and Weber in press)

Table 3-4 Starches identified per spatial unit and vessel type

Sample ID	Spatial Unit	Vessel Type	Zea mays	Ullucus tuberusus	Capsicum sp.	Phaseolus sp.	Indeterminate	Total
CdHW_2	Midden	Neckless Jar	2					2
CdHW_11	Midden	Neckless Jar	1	1	2			4
CdHW_14	Midden	Neckless Jar		1				1
CdHW_18	Midden	Bowl	1					1
CdHW_21	Midden	Bowl	1					1
CdHW_30	Midden	Bottle	7					7
CdHW_40	Early Platforms	Bowl					6	6
CdHW_41	Early Platforms	Bowl	5					5
CdHW_42	Early Platforms	Bowl	8				31	39
CdHW_46	Early Platforms	Jar		1				1
CdHW_50	Stone Rooms	Neckless Jar	1					1
CdHW_52	Stone Rooms	Neckless Jar	6					6
CdHW_53	Stone Rooms	Neckless Jar				1	12	13
CdHW_62	Stone Rooms	Jar	50					50
TOTAL			**82**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**49**	**137**

(taken from Mesía Montenegro and Weber in press)

Ikehara et al, as Matsumoto, argue that this presence is mainly due to the consumption of fermented corn beer consumed at banquets identified in both sites. The presence of large neckless jars in the Wacheqsa sector is suggestive in this regard, as corn was not only consumed boiled or roasted, but also prepared as liquor or "chicha" and, although this remained a hypothesis, there was to be a relationship between large pots and the production of chicha (Seki and Yoneda 2004, 2005). The use of large neckless jars and bowls for chicha production was found at Cerro Blanco (Ikehara et al. 2013). In the Wacheqsa sector, a marked increase in the use of large neckless jars was identified in the Late Formative, especially in the Midden (Figure 3-13 and 3-14) (Mesía Montenegro 2012, 2014b), which is consistent with the hypothesis of heavy usage of maize in the Late Formative (Ikehara et al. 2013; Kaulicke 2010; Seki and Yoneda 2004, 2005).

The quantity and quality of the archaeological materials suggest that the Midden resulted from activities that involved supra household consumption of food and probably the use of psychoactive substances. "Feasting activities by their very nature produce copious amounts of distinctive refuse at the locations where they occur, and feasting locations are often associated with notable ritual structures" (Dietler and Hayden 2001: 9). The evidence of large neckless jars, medium-sized bowls, abundant jars, unusually high densities of faunal remains, narcotic paraphernalia, and exotic artifacts points towards supra household consumption of food and liquids.

Nevertheless, there is only one set of materials that do not correspond in an obvious way to supra household food consumption activities: large fragments of columns, walls, and floors made of clay that in some cases show signs of fire. These fragments are present in the midden with a mean density of 96.96 fragments per cubic meter. They came from larger structures, finely plastered in white and red. Tello found similar materials in front of Building A that were most likely the remains of architecture and

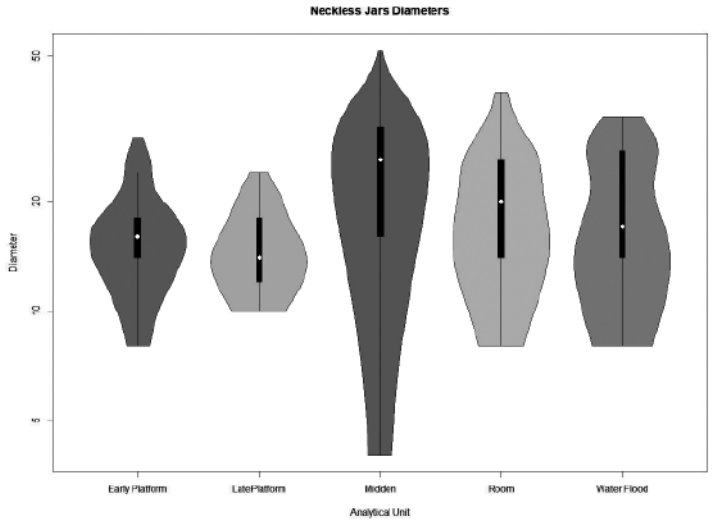


Figure 3-13 Diameter comparison among neckless jars from the analytical units (elaborated by Christian Mesía Montenegro)

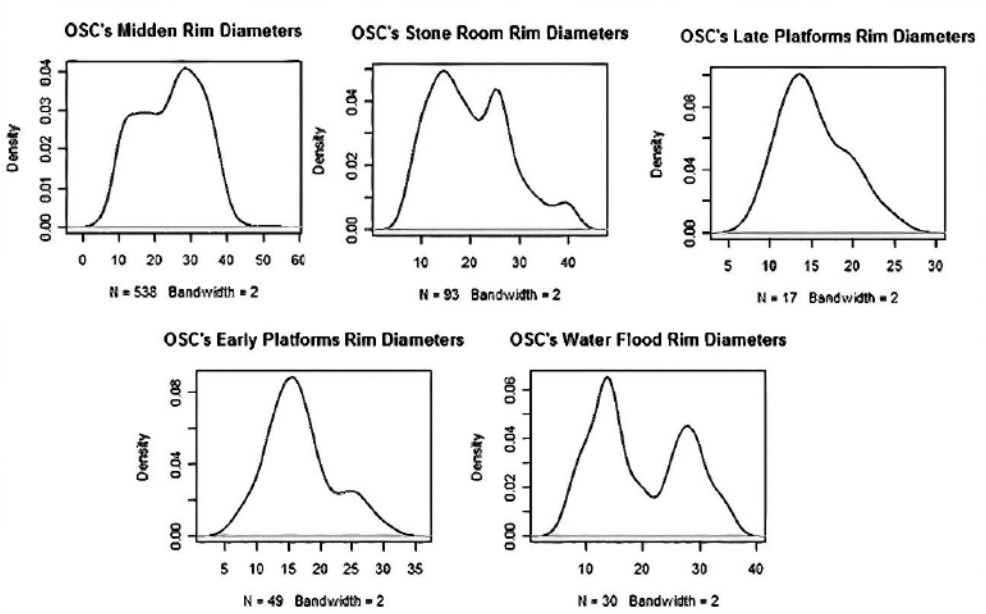


Figure 3-14 Kernel Density Estimations of Neckless Jars across all analytical units (taken from Mesía Montenegro 2012)

plaster that formed a part of the façade of Building A although Tello hypothesized that they were the product of a big fire at Chavín de Huántar, "in front of the staircase [south staircase in Building´s A façade] abundant pieces of burnt clay appear, several of them

heavily burnt and amorphous, suggesting that the combustion was very high and does not correspond to preparation techniques of wall plastering through firing. Most likely, either an intentional or unintentional fire was responsible for firing evidence in these materials" (Tello 1940: 50). A small fraction of the wall and floor materials found in the midden, show signs of vitrification on their surfaces suggesting elevated temperatures in their combustion. How can these elements be related to feasting activities? Would these fragments be part of the structures where banquets took place? Was some sort of ritual destruction involved in banquets? Or do these materials come from a separate set of contexts? The ceremonial breaking of vessels has been recorded for the Middle Horizon (700–1100 ACE) site of Conchopata in which ritual vessels were broken and then buried or disposed of, all this in a context of supra household feasting (Cook 2004). In extending this analogy to the architectural fragments mentioned above, would it be that portions of structures associated with feasting activities were disposed of after the conclusion of the ceremony?

A case worth mentioning is that of Campanayuq Rumi in Ayacucho (Matsumoto 2010, 2012). On this site, two feasting contexts were recorded, one of which comprised a midden produced by the continuous disposal of refuse produced by feasting events In Campanayuq Rumi, similar fragments of burned friezes were retrieved, and narcotic paraphernalia, abundant faunal remains, ceramics associated with the consumption and preparation of food and prestigious and/or exotic goods (gold and bone artifacts, obsidian points) (Matsumoto 2010, 2012; Matsumoto and Palomino 2012), which is similar to materials found in the Wacheqsa Midden. The other context is associated with the remodeling of a floor, an activity interpreted as related to a communal work event (Matsumoto 2010, 2012).

In Sajarapataq, Matsumoto and Tsurumi identified feasting contexts, one of which was associated with the construction of a new floor (Sajarapataq Phase 1), which covered an old floor in a circular structure on which the remains of a feasting event were only partially removed, leaving on the floor surface potsherds and ashes. In the Sajarapataq Phase 2, they found a similar context (the difference being that this one was not covered by a floor), which, according to the authors indicates feasting activities, as was associated with the renewal of ceremonial architecture (Matsumoto and Tsurumi 2011). It is likely that the presence of the floor, wall, and friezes fragments in these middens is effectively connected with architectural destruction, and the remodeling and construction of architectural spaces, related to forms of communal work (Hayden 2001, 2014, 2018; Stanish et al. 2018; Tantaleán and Rodríguez 2021; Vega-Centeno 2007), or that, without being related to any form of communal work, these events were another form of power display exerted by the authorities of the ceremonial center.

4.2 Attached Production and Domestic Settlers

Early platforms contain evidence of domestic activities and were used as domestic areas before the Late Formative Period and Black and White stage (Mesía Montenegro 2022). Decorated ceramics may be related to the types defined as *Urrabarroid*. The neckless jar was the most prevalent ceramic type of the Early Platforms, comprising 49% of the Early

Platforms' ceramic sample. The distribution of this type is characterized by the size bimodality of small and large-sized vessels, with a bias towards the former. Bowls comprise 30% of the Early Platforms sample size and have a bimodal distribution represented by small and medium-sized vessels with a strong bias towards small bowls. Jars comprise 4% of the Early Platform ceramic sample and have a unimodal distribution represented by small jars. Bottles and plates together make up less than 7% of the sample of the Early Platform analytical unit (Figure 3-15). Based on the ceramic assemblage analyzed, it can be inferred that cooking activities were carried out on these platforms. The predominance of small neckless jars points towards the preparation of food for small numbers of people in comparison to the food prepared for the feasting parties represented in the Midden analytical unit. This interpretation is reinforced by the prevalence of small bowls. Thus, the consumption of food was probably carried out at the household level. The presence of a small but consistent large vessel size mode in the neckless jar form may indicate the occasional consumption of food at a slightly larger scale. Faunal remains are present in this analytical unit but at a smaller scale than in the Midden. Only 32 kg of animal bone were recovered with a mean density of 1.5 kg per m^3 excavated in this analytical unit, in contrast with the Midden unit. Fragments of burnt clay have also been retrieved in this analytical unit. These fragments are smaller than those retrieved from the Midden analytical unit, they were not part of non-domestic architectural features such as large, formal columns, plastered walls and floors. The fragments recovered in the Early Platforms differ sharply, being characterized by their small size but overall narrow thickness (< 1.0 cm), suggesting a distinct architectural origin rather than being the result of site formation processes. Some have imprints of canes that were probably part of structures made of dried mud with large wooden canes providing an internal structure. Such structures are still ubiquitous in the modern town of Chavín de Huántar, where low stone walls serve as foundations for a wattle-and-daub superstructure. Regrettably, the

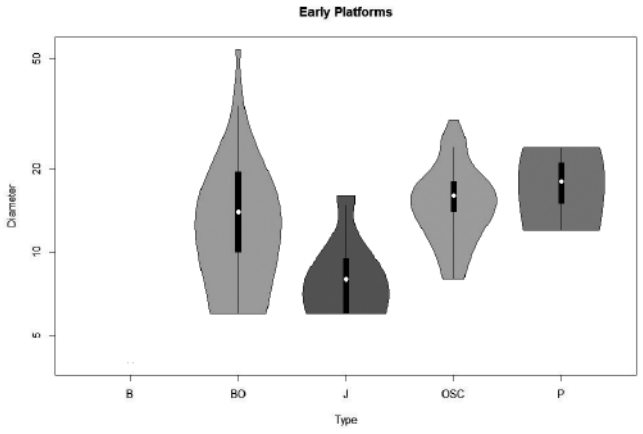


Figure 3-15 Kernel density violin plots from Early Platforms ceramic forms (B, bottle; BO, bowl; P, plate; OSC, neckless jars; J, jar; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2022)

foundations of the domestic units are yet to be found. Only a small hearth has been recorded.

In the Stone Rooms unit, bowls comprise almost 50% of the ceramic assemblage analyzed in the Stone Room analytical unit, with a unimodal distribution representing medium-sized bowls. Bowls dominate the ceramic assemblage, emphasizing the serving nature of the activities that originated the stratigraphic deposits. Neckless jars constituted 36% of the ceramic assemblage, with a multimodal distribution. The predominant mode is the one represented by large-sized vessels closely followed by medium-sized ones. Jars have a unimodal distribution with a mode represented by medium-sized vessels. Bottles, cups, and plates constitute less than 5% of the ceramic assemblage (Figure 3-16). The ceramic evidence shows that food was consumed in these rooms. Medium-sized bowls were likely used for this function.

The Early Platform neckless jar ceramic assemblage indicates the consumption of foodstuff at a household level whereas the ceramic assemblage in the Stone Rooms analytical unit may indicate consumption of food by a larger number of people. Medium-sized bowls and large neckless jars characterize the ceramic assemblage from the Stone Rooms analytical unit whereas small neckless jars and bowls are predominant in the Early Platforms. Cautiously, it can be suggested that a change in ceramic modalities can be interpreted as an increase in the population living in the Wacheqsa sector, or a change in the type of inhabitants living there, from the Middle to the Late Formative Periods. A change from small to large neckless jars and bowls indicates that more food and liquids were being produced and stored, if more food was being cooked (neckless jars) and served (bowls) it can be argued that more people were being fed or that a small number of people was abundantly consuming food. Prestigious items such as obsidian, shells, and anthracite mirrors are present in this analytical unit. Anthracite mirrors are almost absent in the Early Platforms but are present in the Stone Room analytical unit as seven

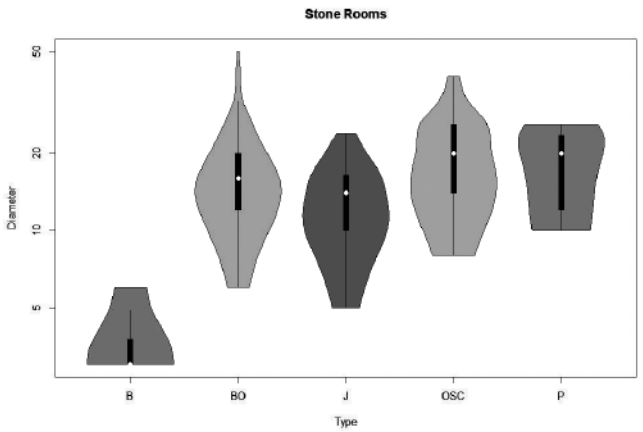


Figure 3-16 Kernel density violin plots from Late Platforms ceramic forms (B, bottle; BO, bowl; P, plate; OSC, neckless jars; J, jar; taken from Mesía Montenegro 2022)

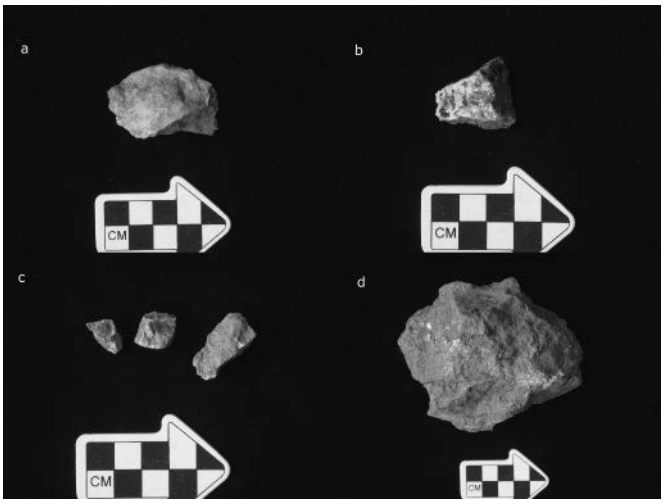


Figure 3-17 Raw chrysocolla fragments (a, b, and c) and raw copper ore (d) (taken from Mesía Montenegro 2014b)

fragments were recovered. Other special elements in the record of this analytical unit are beads made of chrysocolla, which is a hydrated copper silicate often used as an ornamental stone. I placed special importance on three pieces of unworked chrysocolla, the only fragments of this type found in the Wacheqsa area. Another special material is a fist-sized fragment of native copper ore. There are three reported cooper ore sources less than a kilometer from Chavín de Huántar that could have been perfectly exploited to get raw materials to produce copper artifacts. These items are important as they provide indications of the occurrence of metal production at the Wacheqsa sector in the Late Formative Period (Figure 3-17). I argue that during the Middle Formative Period, a support population lived in the Wacheqsa sector, whereas during the Late Formative Period, a community of artisans dwelled there (Mesía Montenegro 2022).

5. Discussion

5.1 Convincing Foreigners

Evidence from the midden suggests that supra household food consumption occurred at Chavín de Huántar. Feasting is a plausible interpretation of the Midden archaeological record. The occurrence of supra household feasting at Chavín de Huántar would not be surprising, given the extent of the site in terms of energy invested in their architecture, art, and landscape modification that took place there (Contreras 2017; Kembel 2008; Kembel and Haas 2015; Rick 2008). The occurrence of feasting at Chavín the Huántar carries implications for the interpretation of power strategies and corporate activities sponsored at Chavín during the Andean Formative. Power cannot be related to force, as it is a complex mixture of traditional rights, individual prowess, charisma, inheritance, persuasion, and even more, where the use of force only enters when the calculations of costs and benefits of resistance are rendered negative (Phillips and Sebastian 2004), thus

feasts are examples of power being exerted without the use of physical force. Feasts can be evidence of social inequality (Whalen and Minnis 2001), and as seen in the sites of Paquime-north-central Mexico, (Phillips and Sebastian 2004) and Huambacho (DeMarrais et al. 1996), and even in U Shape Buildings such as Cardal –where there are circular plazas outside the core architecture (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991). In Chavín, one could find different strata of feasting, in which some feasts were open to everyone, others were limited to a few and some were restricted to a certain elite. In Huambacho, feasts served as mechanisms for the legitimation of inequalities in a period of "intense intercommunity competition" (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 433), in Cerro Lampay, they served as mechanisms to maintain power in the context of the elite's limited command (Vega-Centeno 2007); in Chinchawas they served as a mechanism to mobilize labor (Torres and Repke 2006); and in Chavín, they were a mechanism of propaganda as competition may exceed the local level.

Why would the authorities of Chavín have invested a significant number of resources in holding large feasts? Ceremonial centers populating the Andes in the Late Formative Period shared a basic iconographic set that has been characterized as Chavínoid. John Rick and Silvia Kembel argued for the presence of a competitive condition among ceremonial centers in this period (Kembel and Rick 2004; Rick 2005). Competition is one of the many ways in which peer polity interaction can manifest (Renfrew and Cherry 1986). The reason for this competitive process lies in the need to gain prestige for the survival of the belief system sponsored by authorities. Prestige is connected to reputation; reputation is internalized by a social group that develops acceptance or rejection towards the religious system that is materialized in the ceremonial center that possesses prestige, "competition for prestige consists of rivalry for continual public recognition by supporters […] vying for prestige is the equivalent of competing for people or their labor, power and support" (Clark and Blake 1996: 260).

Competition can increase a center's prestige to lure more people into their religious system. In most cases, newcomers would contribute economically to the center in the form of labor or offerings. Individuals had to identify the center to which they would support or contribute. Why were these social systems inclined to ally with any center? The answer could be found in the definition of power, which is understood as the ability to do or influence something or anything, or to operate upon a person or thing, it is "the probability that one actor within the social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Weber 1978: 53). Elites arrived at Chavín de Huántar to be initiated in a belief system that would give them legitimate authority and therefore rightful power, and thus a convincing system had to be put into action. Authority is legitimized through the manipulation of religion. A major issue for this Chavín strategy would have been identifying a means to materialize power and prestige in a competitive environment. DeMarrais et al. (DeMarrais et al. 1996) argued that power and authority can be materialized through ceremonial events, symbolic objects, public monuments, and writing. At Chavín de Huántar, the impressive architecture can be considered a statement of authority and food events can be considered one of the activities sponsored by Chavín

authorities as part of their political strategy. Supra household feasting provides an opportunity for the display of success as it implies an effective organization of labor and the presence of a well-supported economic base, "trying to impress attendees means obtaining and preparing labor-intensive foods, drinks, serving vessels, prestige items and ritual items" (Hayden 2001: 30). As expensive as the organization and practice of feasting activities may have been for the authorities of Chavín, they had adaptive value, which "referred to behavior that generates some practical benefit for survival, reproduction, health or standard of living" (Hayden 2001: 28). In the context of regional competition, any possible display of success is a good way to advertise the benefits of a system of beliefs, especially while trying to convince others to be part of it, and competitive feasts mostly take place in singular physical locations such as corporate buildings (Hayden 2001, 2014, 2018). Numerous aspects of feasting operate as public counting and ordering devices, which reduce the vagueness of social and political situations by promoting social comparison. For example, based on the quantity and quality of resources mobilized for communal feasts and the frequency with which they are mobilized, feasting can be a quantitative measure of the abilities of the host as an efficient, skillful, vital, and generous leader (Potter 2000).

Sponsored feasts can serve as environments in which ritual and knowledge are controlled and manipulated (Hayden 2014; Ikehara et al. 2013; Rosenswig 2007; Stanish et al. 2018). Jar frequencies suggest that with large amounts of food, large amounts of beverages were consumed, which may have been alcoholic beverages as they are pervasive in worldwide feasting ceremonies (Blitz 1993; DeBoer 2001; Dietler and Hayden 2001; Hayden 1995, 2014, 2018; Jennings 2005; Potter 2000). Jars are to be the more appropriate vessels for liquids as they have necks and restricted mouth orifices that are useful for keeping the contents and are adaptations for containing liquids (Rice 1987). Bone tubes provide evidence of the presence of psychoactive drugs incorporated into feasting activities (Mesía Montenegro 2014b).

Feasting at Chavín de Huántar was a way to materialize power. It was an avenue for authorities' propaganda, a way to control ritual knowledge and convince people, and an opportunity for the display of success. It was part of the convincing system created to attract followers and contributions that came with them. Feasts are settings in which the rank is made clear by serving order − like present-day pachamancas, the order in which a person gets his/her food and the amount of food given directly reflects the rank in most cases. Feasting was a conscious, important means of creating a competitive advantage that allowed the authorities of Chavín de Huántar to maintain the prestige of the ceremonial center and the flow of practitioners and their contributions to the site.

5.2 Indoctrinating the Locals

Before recent research in the Wacheqsa sector, domestic activities were only suggested but never confirmed. Bennett and Tello (Bennett 1944; Tello 1960) thought that the deposits they excavated were formed by domestic refuse but as I have shown, they only excavated the Midden spatial unit. Other documentation of the presence of a domestic area in the Wacheqsa sector came from Rosa Fung, who stated that the northern edge of

the Wacheqsa sector was a domestic area located on top of a pre-Chavín occupation, "during our last excavations at Chavín de Huántar, in domestic areas, we have found Kotosh-Kotosh ceramics in deep strata, but it cannot be said that the superimposed Chavín ceramics descend from them" (Fung 1975: 199). Burger's excavations retrieved imported Kotosh-Kotosh vessels associated with *urrabarroid* ceramics, indicating a contemporaneity between these ceramics and the Kotosh-Kotosh phase at Kotosh. I concur with this idea, which, in turn indicates that the domestic units reported by Rosa Fung were Chavín rather than pre-Chavín. In describing the extent of the earliest domestic settlement at Chavín de Huántar, Burger stated that "The residential zone nearest the old temple extended to the banks of the Huacheqsa River. Part of the sector nearest the monumental architecture was probably occupied by the people responsible for the religious activities and the construction and maintenance of the buildings" (Burger 1992: 159). The evidence recovered in my research indicates that Fung and Burger were correct in stating the existence of an early domestic area in the northern area of the Wacheqsa sector, a domestic area that occupied the northern half of the Wacheqsa sector as suggested by the extension of the Early Platforms spatial unit.

Burger proposed that people living in this area were either responsible for the religious activities or for the construction and maintenance of the temple. Two inferences can be drawn from this statement, namely that authorities and laborers lived in this sector. If authorities lived in the Wacheqsa sector in the Middle Formative, one can expect the presence of expensive constructions, high-quality ceramics, and a fair quantity of prestige items. Ceramics recovered in the Early Platforms are not sumptuous; the vast majority is formed by small *ollas sin cuello* (neckless jars). House foundations have not been found but a fair number of wall fragments made of clay have been retrieved, suggesting that house foundations were made of non-resistant materials. Food consumption was at the household level, given the small predominant mode of *ollas sin cuello* and bowls existing in the ceramic assemblage, inhabitants had access to special materials like shells and obsidian, but there is an absence of chrysocolla and anthracite artifacts.

In the Late Formative Period, the situation changed drastically, and the Stone Room analytical unit provides relevant information. Late Formative structures are ubiquitous above the Middle Formative domestic settlement. They were made of two or three rows of quadrangular medium-sized rocks. Clay or mud was still used for the construction of walls given the evidence recovered. There was an increase in obsidian artifacts and the additional presence of chrysocolla and anthracite artifacts, which was previously unseen in the Early Platforms analytical Unit. Chrysocolla and copper ore were present as raw materials, which is in contrast to the Early Platforms analytical unit. Artisans were probably living in these structures, a possibility that needs to be seriously considered. Inhabitants of the stone structures had greater access to special items such as obsidian and anthracite mirrors and to raw materials like chrysocolla and copper ore. The ceramic assemblage analyzed from this spatial unit indicates that food was consumed on a larger scale than in the Early Platforms. The inhabitants of the Stone Rooms spatial unit had durable structures and had access to items such as anthracite, chrysocolla, and copper ore

that were not present in the Early Platforms analytical unit. The appearance of previously unknown archaeological materials in the Stone Rooms analytical unit is contemporary with the Black and White stage, which was characterized as a period of architectural stability, with no major constructions erected (Kembel and Haas 2015) but with most energy invested in maintaining the architecture and its associated galleries, plazas, sculptures, and preserving the cultural topography of the area (Contreras 2017).

The Wacheqsa sector was part of the ceremonial center, located in a *tinkuy*, a geographical point where two rivers meet. *Tinkuys* have been interpreted as important landmarks in Andean landscapes (Burger 1992; Lumbreras 1989). The Wacheqsa sector is also located in an area that can easily be monitored from the top of Buildings C and D. Kembel and Rick argued that constant construction at the ceremonial center could have been a representation of the Chavín rulers' prestige and power and that it was part of the well-crafted, convincing system created by the rulers (Kembel and Rick 2004). Analogously, the continuous display of activities related to the maintenance of the ceremonial center in the Wacheqsa area could have served the same ends. Given the monumental nature of the ceremonial center, it would not be surprising to find evidence of a permanent support population living in the Wacheqsa area. I select two of the various questions that may be asked on the relationship between these inhabitants and the authorities of the ceremonial center: What were the social statuses of the people living in this area? What social mechanisms did the authorities of Chavín utilize to exert control over them? Residents of the Wacheqsa sector occupied an area immediately adjacent to the monumental core and enclosed by the Wacheqsa and Mosna Rivers. Residents were probably attached to the ceremonial center, fulfilling the needs of those who oversaw it.

Indoctrination involves "the instilling of beliefs of some sort or another" (Lopez 2013: 11). The following questions should be addressed to get a better understanding of the indoctrination process: a) what are the aims of the indoctrinator? b) What are the beliefs to be instilled? And c) what are the methods employed by the indoctrinator? I will focus on questions a and c, while question b will be tangentially dealt with as its answering will exceed the scope of this paper.

The Wacheqsa area is enclosed by the junction of the Wacheqsa and Mosna rivers, which provides a space of physical confinement for the people established there. It also provides a space where the authorities can observe the inhabitants' activities. Arnold suggested that "As rising elites begin to accrue power, privilege, and status, they draw increasingly economically dependent sectors of the population into important production roles of labor-intensive group activities. If rising elites learn to control the information or technology critical to economic success and thus orchestrate networks of interdependencies that limit power outside their small circle, then nonelites become marginalized from positions of substantial political or economic influence" (Arnold 1995: 208).

In Chavín, the religious acted in matters of religion and assumed traditional roles and responsibilities of both a political and economic system, which makes sense as archaeology and ethnography in the Central Andes show that political and economic management have a strong religious underpinning, which transforms them into religious

acts, with acceptance of those decisions bordering on acceptance of the will of the gods. The power structure in the Chavín system acted primarily to normalize and validate the interests of authorities using religion, which was embedded within the social system, normalizing political, economic and even secular activities. Its tools for indoctrination, enforcement and propagation of the power structure primarily included deceptive actions, the deliberate physical location of laborers in a controllable area, the creation of an outer world through impressive monumental architecture and the creation of different strategies meant to convince and indoctrinating purposes (Hayden 2014, 2018; Rick 2005, 2008). These theoretically driven reconstructions place the domestic settlements of the Wacheqsa sector and its midden in a broader anthropological perspective about the ceremonial center. The Wacheqsa sector was not isolated from what happened at the monumental core. Rather, both sectors were intimately related.

5.3 Power Dynamics at the Wacheqsa Sector

Previously, differences between convincing and indoctrinate were established to differentiate the political purposes involved within a particular social system. In political terms, the act of convincing is related to making others believe in something they have not previously believed, and the act of indoctrinating is related to instructing all about the aspects of a dogma, or the steps to follow to be incorporated into it and make the most of it (spiritual, political, economic, etc.). The strategies of persuasion and indoctrination can be intercepted, as they follow similar logic and would like to obtain the same goals diversifying their strategies. I argue that there were two political strategies materialized at the Wacheqsa sector, one intended to persuade elites, and another designed to indoctrinate workers assigned to the ceremonial center. In the first strategy, the display of power and resources was intended to convince those elites of the strengths of the religion sponsored by the authorities of Chavín, as "lavish food entertainment is part of the ancient tradition of food hospitality used mainly to impress strangers" (Fox 2003: 4). Feasts were one of the many strategies used to encourage the abandonment of traditions or political affiliations different or like the one represented in Chavín and to accept the Chavín system as legitimate. Although in the case of the feasts recorded in the Wacheqsa sector, the absence of religious pottery like that recorded in the Ofrendas gallery, points to the lack of religious elements. This would make sense, as it is expected that the elites will persuade their peers, not on spiritual grounds, but rather based on the exercise of power that would later be shown to be acquired through accessing sacred knowledge. The promotion of sacred knowledge may be rather linked to doctrinal issues. However, the doctrine can be observed at least from two points of view (and probably some others), from the standpoint of the one who builds the doctrine and the one who receives it. Those who constructed the doctrine made it align with tradition, and elements that are recognizable, identifiable, and popular. In Chavín, the transmission of the doctrine could have had two levels, one related to foreign elites (those with the responsibility to replicate and impart the doctrine far from Chavín) and the other to those who accept the doctrine and have no power or authority position. Eventually, what determines an indoctrination act, are the goals sought by the indoctrinator (Lopez 2013),

which in Chavín were the securing of power through maintenance of social cohesion and social coherence, using religion as a catalyzer.

What could have been the unit of selection that allowed the doctrine to be successfully replicated in Chavín? I argue that it was religion, which was managed, replicated, and controlled by those in possession of power and authority. The beauty of the role of religion is that it was pervasive in administrative, political, and economic endeavors, it was embedded in the system and acknowledged through icons, symbols, practices, rituals, and performances. This embeddedness allowed the doctrine to be enforced through daily activities, through ritualization and constant repetition. Religion and its associated propaganda served as an endless source of icons, rituals, performances, and myths which would reinforce its legitimacy through social cohesion and social coherence offered by the fulfillment of several promises given by those in charge of the system to those being convinced and indoctrinated. If promises were broken social cohesion and coherence would be disturbed and religion (and those behind it) would be the culprit. Religion can be selected as an advantage to obtain, legitimize, and preserve authority, which can thus be replicated to future members of the system, and normalized through rituals and cultural values which become a material manifestation of a higher selected trait that is being constantly legitimized. Ritual and cultural practices can change as adaptive strategies for the survival of the main trait selected (see Catholic religion as an example). I argued that religion is the main trait selected that allows authorities to preserve their privileged social position, especially when religion powerfully permeates the social relations of production (Mesía Montenegro 2017, 2018b). When an advantageous position becomes too advantageous and risks overexploiting those at the base, becomes a non-adaptive trait that must be regulated if those with the upper hand want to keep their privileges. Given these considerations, embedded religiousness (Figure 3-18) would be then the appropriate term to describe the nature of societies like Chavín and others from previous periods like the Late Archaic (Mesía Montenegro and Sanchez-Borjas in press; Mesía Montenegro and Sánchez-Borjas 2022).

Rick accurately stated that cultural continuity is a flexible space for legitimization, from which Chavín authorities had a privileged position (Rick 2005). Nevertheless, the success of the authorities of Chavín in building an efficient convincing system allowed them to move to the next item, the doctrine.

In the Wacheqsa sector, the confinement imposed by the tinkuy and ceremonial center, allows the continuous observation of the activities that took place there, unfolding a space where behaviors were channeled and a "perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly. A central point would be both the source of light illuminating everything, and a locus of convergence for everything that must be known" (Foucault 1976: 178). I could hypothesize that the rulers' visual control and the strategic location of laborers would both reinforce the hierarchical relationship between the elites and the ruled and create a compelling environment in which laborers would feel bound to increase their productivity. Stanish noted that "in the absence of pressures or inducements to the contrary, households substantially underproduce and under consume relative to their economic capacity" (Stanish 2003: 23)

which articulates with the notion that controlling is a defined action that must be part of any productive process (Foucault 1976). Elites managed labor, information, and transportation. They chose what to give and what to place in circulation, therefore subjecting people to their authority. The inclusion of laborers in an internal circulation network of prestige-building events within the system would produce and reinforce the dependent relationship between workers and rulers but, in return, would have also provided workers with different status in comparison with those who do not participate in this internal system. That would explain the presence of maritime resources, obsidian, chrysocolla, anthracite and copper ore in the Early Platforms and Stone Rooms spatial units. During the Late Formative, the inhabitants of the Wacheqsa sector were part of a craft specialist establishment located in the northern half of it.

I explained the archaeological evidence supporting the existence of households in the north end of the Wacheqsa sector (during the Middle and Late Formative), which was also identified by Rosa Fung as mentioned above. I have also explained the archaeological evidence pointing to the existence of a community of artisans settled in this sector during the Late Formative. Under constant supervision and surveillance craft production tends to increase its productivity of it, so it needs to be attached, located in spaces where control and supervision can be exercised. Could this be considered an indoctrination strategy? Yes, indeed. The normalization of behavior through surveillance generates a change in it. In the specific case of the artisans that inhabited the Wacheqsa sector during the Late Formative, the doctrine probably involved a strict checking of what was being produced, how was it produced and how it circulated. The indoctrination in artisans must be deep to prevent the alteration of the stylistic canons as the slight modification of them would alter the ideological message (considering that several centers were probably competing amongst themselves to attract more believers and their resources), as in societies with no writing system, iconography becomes a powerful transmitter of ideas. The situation is more complicated when the indoctrinated is the one who produces the elements used to indoctrinate. In comparative terms, deeper devotions are expressed through the strict discipline, as it can be observed in contemporary religious systems such as Catholicism, Judaism, Protestantism, and Islam, in where Orthodox devotion is characterized by an unconditional adherence to the dogma, in such a way that the discipline is not observed as an imposition of power, but rather as an act of faith. And this discipline is not usually followed by those who are responsible for the construction of the system, but rather by the disciplined. We don't have information about the exercise of draconian coercive strategies (physical violence) at Chavín de Huántar, so coercion exercised in non-violent ways might have happened in the Wacheqsa sector.

Both these strategies (feasts and territorial circumscription), constitute only a small part of the various strategies used by the authorities of Chavín as the exercise of power becomes more efficient when the governed are convinced and indoctrinated. The ruling becomes more efficient when those who are governed are convinced and indoctrinated. Even if adhesions were not fully made on religious grounds, they would look like that, given the embedded character of religion in the system.

Note

1) This number was obtained by looking at the information labels that are still inside the material´s collecting bags.

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