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Henning Bischof
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TOWARD THE DEFINITION OF PRE- AND EARLY CHAVIN ART STYLES IN PERU

Henning Bischof
Völkerkundliche Sammlungen im
Reiss-Museum, Mannheim, Germany

Introduction

This paper explores the antecedents of the Chavín Style during the Initial Period, as well as in late Preceramic contexts that may be partly contemporaneous. A major point of reference among the relatively few images known from this time are the Cerro Sechín sculptures and paintings. Their early date was established by stratigraphic and archaeometric means during the Cerro Sechín Project (1980-1986). In structuring the corpus of relevant materials, priority is given to formal, "stylistic" qualities and to specific features that link individual objects, or set them apart, as material expressions of prehistoric traditions and interactions. Data on archaeological contexts or chronological positions are used as cues and controls. By the standards of much recent work on early central Andean cultures this amounts to inverse methodology. It has, however, permitted me to identify several style groups and to establish their sequence.

The stratigraphy of the site of Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley, investigated by J. C. Tello during the early thirties, shows that the *Punkurí Style*, named after the clay murals at that site, is older than the *Sechín Style* best known from Cerro Sechín, in the Casma Valley. Iconographic and design elements specific to Chavín start to appear in the following style group, originally named La Pampa. It is renamed *Chavín A* here and considered to be the first part of the Chavín AB period which had not been subdivided in the classic study of John H. Rowe (1962). Points of reference are the stone lintel at the town of La Pampa on the Manta River, a tributary of the Santa, and related materials from northern Peru. The Lanzón stele remains the principal monument assignable to the second part of the former Chavín AB period, or *Chavín B*. Two motifs are prominent in Chavín A iconography: *Yura-yako*

Anthropomorphs and *Pampa de las Llamas Ferals* which occur from the Jequetepeque region to the sites of Chavín de Huántar on the Mosna tributary of the Marañón River and Garagay in the Rimac Valley. In terms of radiocarbon measurements, the time span involved can be estimated to cover the middle of the third millennium to the second half of the second millennium B.C. (calibrated scale).

As long as the correct synchronisms of archaeological sites, or architectural events, and even basic ceramic history remain to be established (Lumbreras 1989:94-102, 183-204), discussion of the origins of the state in the Central Andes, relationships between postulated polities, or the wax and wane of religious institutions appears to be premature. Radiocarbon measurement alone cannot provide the answers (*ibid.*:108). Over most of the first millennium B.C. it is unsuitable as a dating method (Stuiver and Kra 1986). During other periods, it may at best serve as a guide for seriation and a crude gauge of the possibility of cultural contact and communication. Whether interaction actually occurred can only be shown by evidence provided by the archaeological record. Therefore, the remains of handicrafts, their sequence as determined by stratigraphy, their associations, spatial distributions, and their formal relationships traced by comparative studies, retain their traditional place as the main sources of archaeological knowledge.

This paper addresses the origins of the Chavín art style. Chavín art was, and still is, instrumental in the recognition of this culture. It most directly expresses the belief system of the various groups that came under its influence. It is the exponent of their aesthetic idiosyncrasies and technical skills. As elsewhere in the world, art and iconography can also be assumed to have preserved a sensitive record of historical relationships and change.

Grouping individual images by shared features can be expected to give some structure and coherence to the "myriad assemblages" of Initial Period and Early Horizon Peru (Burger 1992:60, on ceramics) and provide an antidote to its apparent "balkanization" (*ibid.*:75). It is, however, well to remember that "time" is only one variable among others, such as "subject matter" (Grieder *et al.* 1988:207-208). Sacred images, for example, would normally have been carefully kept and their features piously copied over long time periods, or even picked up again as archaisms (Rowe 1971). This might also apply to particular attributes now regarded as diagnostic and obscure their original chronological positions.

Another important variable, "space", has been introduced to account for differences between Chavín de Huántar and, particularly, Peruvian north coast materials (Roe 1974; Lumbreras 1989). The history of a poorly documented, complex art style formulated over a long time period will never be easy to unravel, and the fact that it covered an extended territory occupied by many groups of people does not simplify the task (Burger 1988). The present study shows, however, that there is still considerable potential in chronological interpretation regardless of the regional variation that might exist.

Art History at Chavín: A Review

The approach used here can best be described by the words of Terence Grieder in his thoughtful essay on La Galgada:

"Studies of the development of art styles, especially, have revealed that they are contingent parts of general cultural history which can be rediscovered by archaeology, but not apprehended by recourse to logic or natural law. Archaeological evidence is the basis on which theoretical constructions rest" (Grieder *et al.* 1988:212).

This is no novel proposition in Chavín art history. John H. Rowe's (1962) seriation proposal providing the first verifiable insights into site structure and chronology was based upon the association of Chavín de Huántar stone sculptures with specific construction

phases of the local "El Castillo" temple, and on an apparent succession of Chavín influences on the Paracas pottery at Ica. Subsequent studies suffered, however, from the implicit assumption that no Chavín buildings or art objects were older than the "Old Temple" building stage of the "Castillo" and its central "Lanzón" image. When some materials, especially from the (north) coast, could not be seriated in relation to Chavín de Huántar sculptures (Roe 1974), in the absence of clear dating evidence, this was taken to imply regional variation rather than a lacuna in the Rowe seriation.

After the discovery of additional *in situ* sculptures in the architectural context of the "Circular Plaza", a subdivision of Rowe's AB period seemed possible (Roe 1978). This proposition was taken up again by Richard Burger (1992:149), but the local evidence did not yet permit an extension of Chavín art history into pre-Lanzón times. The same limitation affected the alternative seriation of Allan R. Sawyer and Maureen E. Maitland (1983).

The difficulty of tracing stylistic change and squaring it against other kinds of archaeological evidence led Thomas and Shelia Pozorski to consider stylistic variation at Chavín de Huántar (T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1987:41) and at the north coast site of Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley (T. Pozorski 1980:108) as simply not chronologically relevant. Few culture historians would be prepared to agree, however difficult the definition and historical analysis of an art style might be, given present central Andean data. In fact, William J. Conklin (1985:figure 20) has since endeavored to demonstrate stylistic evolution at Huaca de los Reyes, applying Rowe's method under more favorable conditions.

New Perspectives

It was Burger's 1981 paper that pointed out the possibility that the Chavín art style, among other phenomena, was present at some coastal sites earlier than at Chavín de Huántar itself. His argument rested on the radiocarbon dates then available, and has since received critical commentary (Lumbreras 1989:107-110). Some of the

sites he cited, especially Huaca de los Reyes and Garagay (Central Mound atrium reliefs), are indeed linked by their attributes to later Chavín art, rather than to the materials upon which the present study is based. On the other hand, new sources have been recovered or published during the past few years that support Burger's basic position and permit us to be even more specific. Important evidence comes from Pampa de las Llamas/Moxeke in the Casma Valley (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1986, 1987; T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1988), and Punkurí, in the Nepeña Valley (Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología photo archives), from La Galgada in the north-central highlands (Grieder *et al.* 1988), Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley (Bird *et al.* 1985), and sites in the Jequetepeque/Zaña region (Alva A. 1985, 1986a, 1988; Burger 1989; Pimentel S. 1986; Tellenbach 1986).

Finally, the early date of the clay and stone sculptures of Cerro Sechín has been confirmed, as suspected long ago by Edward P. Lanning (1967:93; Samaniego *et al.* 1985; Fuchs 1990). Given the stratigraphic and archaeometric evidence for their pre-Chavín, probably even Preceramic age, their potential for tracing pre-Chavín and early Chavín artistic traditions was explored by this author in earlier studies (Bischof 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1991).

The first step was to search for objects that shared some attributes with Cerro Sechín, as several authors had done previously (*e.g.*, Kan 1972; Roe 1974; Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982; Thompson 1962). It appeared that other design elements associated with Sechín-related features on these objects, or their general configuration, warranted the definition of separate, though closely linked style groups, eventually resulting in a three-part seriation.¹ This can be set off against early "classic Chavín" sculpture at Chavín de Huántar, especially the "Lanzón" and the "Sunken Circular Plaza" reliefs, as well as against the iconography of the related "Ofrendas" ceramics. The newly established

chronological position of Cerro Sechín relative to Chavín permits a general ordering of the style groups. The latest of these groups, here named Chavín A, was sufficiently well-represented to permit a focus on the iconography of specific motifs, such as human or animal representations. For a few of them, geographical distributions were traced to test the hypothesis of Initial Period and Chavín regionalism.

Stylistic evidence was checked against what was known about archaeological contexts, and site reports were searched for additional materials from late Preceramic and Initial ceramic contexts, excluding textiles. Information is missing on some sensitive points, not surprising to anyone familiar with the state of Peruvian archaeology. Nevertheless, support for the temporal ordering of the proposed style groups can be found in the stratigraphies of Punkurí, Huaca Prieta in the Chicama Valley, La Galgada on the Tablachaca tributary of the Santa River, and Cerro Sechín, as well as other sites that yielded iconographic data (Figure 1). The radiocarbon evidence proved to be generally compatible within the usual margins of error. The information on their relative chronological positions does not exclude the possibility that the style groups or iconographic types here identified might for one reason or another in fact overlap in time. This remains to be clarified by additional studies but does not diminish the value of the clues provided at this stage of research on culture-historical relationships.

The Archaeological Evidence

Chavín de Huántar

A short review of the archaeological evidence at Chavín de Huántar may be useful. Rowe's identification of discrete construction phases of the Castillo complex has been challenged by other authors who suggested that the structural discontinuities did not represent former functional façades but interim surfaces marking steps of construction or perhaps tasks assigned to specific construction teams (Kauffmann D. 1985; T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1987). While there was an undeniable effort to maintain the same order of superimposed masonry types over the en-

¹ Some studies along these lines seem to have been conducted by Lanning. His far-sighted conclusions as summarized in his pioneering work (1967:93, 101) only now begin to be validated.

tire Castillo façade, the evidence of the interior passages tends to support Rowe's amplification mode. The plastered wall noted by Marino González in the "Lanzón Gallery" and the carefully wrought "Portal Gallery" doorway may serve as examples (Lumbreras 1971:figure 5). Because the relative sequence of events remains the same, the distinction between "functional façades" and "interim surfaces" is moot as long as the actual time lapse involved cannot be determined in either case.

On the other hand, not many *in situ* stone sculptures were known when Rowe formulated his proposal (Bischof 1987a; T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1987:39), and a few of them even seemed to occur out of phase with the building sequence. In these cases, Rowe (1962) had to consider reutilization, while proposing partial refurbishment as an explanation when supposedly later cornice slabs or stone heads occurred in earlier architectural contexts. Both explanations may be valid in particular cases but easily lead to circular argument.

While the architectural evidence supports the succession "Lanzón - Sunken Circular Plaza - Black-and-White-Portal sculptures", it is doubtful whether these represent more than a fraction of the total site history. Even if the relative positions of such sculptures as the Tello Obelisk or the Raimondi Stela are accepted as proposed by Rowe, or by Sawyer and Maitland, many other sculptures remain stylistically outside of this series, and their architectural contexts are either unknown or unpublished.² The full range of stylistic variation at Chavín de Huántar is still difficult to assess due to the lack of a comprehensive catalog of preserved stone sculptures,³ but if there were examples of "pre-Lanzón" art among them, they could not be recognized on the basis of locally available data.

At least two Chavín Style ceramic assemblages are known. These are the Rocas/Janabarriu assemblage and an earlier one

found in the Ofrendas Gallery, close in time to the stone sculptures of the Circular Plaza.⁴ In addition, the non- and possibly pre-Chavín Style ceramics within the "Urabarriu" materials point to the presence of a Kotosh-related component.⁵

The beginnings of monumental art and architecture also remain obscure. No excavations have so far penetrated the core of the Castillo complex, nor has the relative age of the northeastern "Tello Pyramid" been reliably established. Considering the amount of over-building noted at every early monumental site so far investigated in Peru, early structures and sculptures may yet exist at Chavín de Huántar that match in age some of the coastal sites listed by Burger (1981).

Radiocarbon measurements at Chavín mostly refer to the first millennium b.c. Only the bone samples from the Las Rocas gallery produced results between c.1400 and 900 b.c. (uncalibrated).⁶ These could scarcely apply to the physically associated Rocas/Janabarriu ceramics, for which consistently later readings have otherwise been obtained (Lumbreras 1989:111-114), but would be appropriate for the early materials that do occur at Chavín, as the present study suggests.

Punkurí

Precisely because of the conflicting assessments that have been published (Larco

⁴The homogeneity of the finds cannot be conclusively proven at this time because the gallery may have been used longer than was at first believed.

⁵When the ceramics of the Kotosh site are compared to the Urabarriu materials from Chavín (Burger 1984), the latter can be seen as a mixture of Kotosh-related and Chavín Style materials which may not necessarily be contemporaneous (Lumbreras 1989:94). As to their architectural contexts, it is always the most recent objects that date the deposit in which they are found, as well as any associated structure.

⁶The uncalibrated radiocarbon time spans given here (b.c.) are based on the often imprecise and contradictory assays that have been published, subtracting 1950 from the B.P. values. For calibrated B.C. results see sections "Absolute Dating" and "Conclusions". Figure 31 is an interpretative attempt to visualize the calibrated values.

²Examples can be found in Ayres (1961).

³In 1980-1984 the Volkswagen-Stiftung (Hannover), provided funds for a "Corpus of Chavín Stone Sculpture" to be assembled under the direction of Federico Kauffmann Doig.

H. 1941:9-10; Roe 1974:37), this low mound in the middle Nepeña Valley is of special interest. Punkurí was partially excavated by J. B. Harrison in 1929, and in 1933 by Tello (Daggett 1987:159-161), but little of this work has been published and the whereabouts of the finds are unknown. The best-known construction phase consists of a two-step platform built of conical adobes with a central stairway (Figure 2). Before its destruction by modern vandals, a puma figure of painted clay rose in the middle of the stairway that connected the first with the second platform level (Figure 3b). Stylistically the figure was related to the puma paintings of the first adobe construction phase at Cerro Sechín (Figure 14a-b).

The Punkurí building covers an earlier, two-level platform, probably also constructed of conical adobes and associated with three painted clay reliefs (Figure 3c-d). On both sides of the old central doorway near present ground level, two ferocious mythical animals were modeled, analogous to the Cerro Sechín felines painted in a similar head-to-head position (Figure 2, frontal view; Figure 3d). They have only been published in sketchy or heavily reconstructed versions which detracted from their real significance. Photographs in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología archives now prove that the rendering in Kauffmann D. (1978:272) is essentially correct, even though the design was symmetrically duplicated and placed upright. Because of the toothed mouth (no fangs), missing claws, and a fin-like tail, aquatic creatures such as sharks, killer whales, or even sea lions, rather than raptorial birds, seem to be represented. The third relief (Figure 3c) probably belongs to the upper platform of this construction phase. Its design is even more abstract and stylistically close to the sculptured stone bowl from a tomb in the fill below the access to the "Stairway of the Feline" (Figure 3a). The carved stone pestle from this tomb is only incidentally recorded in archive photographs and a carved sea-snail not at all (Daggett 1987:139). Available reports do not indicate whether the tomb penetrated the clay floor in front of the feline. It appears to have been found in the fill below the floor when Tello decided to excavate at this spot. In a similar

situation, a dedicatory burial is reported from Preceramic Aspero in the Supe Valley (Feldman 1985:78-81) and another possible dedicatory burial at the start of a rebuilding phase was found at Initial Period Montegrande, Jequetepeque Valley (Tellenbach 1986:129-130, plate 130). Fragments of what seems to be an additional incised mural at Punkurí were photographed by Lorenzo Samaniego R. (1976:part XII) but its architectural context is not indicated.

The superposition of a Sechín Style feline sculpture over Punkurí Style murals provides crucial evidence on the relative chronology of early Peruvian art. A good case can be made for the Preceramic age of Cerro Sechín (Fuchs 1990) and even more so for the stratigraphically older Punkurí Style, although artifact associations at Punkurí are unpublished⁷ and radiocarbon samples have not been taken.

Huaca Prieta

The fact that elaborate art was produced in a Preceramic context should not be surprising, in view of the evidence from Huaca Prieta (Figure 4) recorded in 1946 by Junius B. Bird and published, after his death, by John Hyslop and Milica D. Skinner (Bird *et al.* 1985). At that coastal, possibly marginal site, the number of non-textile art objects is quite small. Burial 903 contained some well-executed if small-scale samples, including the two famous pyroengraved gourds, associated with at least one figurative twined textile (Figures 4b-d). Stratigraphically, the tomb appears to be older than the first exposed containing wall at Huaca Prieta, while another tomb (no. 867), important for this argument, might even post-date the latest containing wall, implying an appreciable time difference (Figure 4a). The carving on the bone spatula from the latter tomb (Figure 4e)⁸ can be grouped with the "Yura-yako" type anthropomorphs of the Chavín A Style described below (Figure 18). In the strata be-

⁷ Ceramics are mentioned at Punkurí but neither their types nor their stratigraphic position in this multi-period site are specified.

⁸ Robert McK. Bird kindly provided a copy of his excellent drawing of this spatula.

tween the two tombs, the fragment of a carved gourd was found that preserves a curved design element known from the Pampa de las Llamas/Moxeke clay reliefs, also related to the Chavín A Style (Figure 4f).

Both the Punkurí and Huaca Prieta stratigraphies indicate the same sequence of art development for the north central and north coast of Peru. In non-textile media, realistically oriented styles (Sechín, Chavín A/Yurayako type) follow earlier, more conventionalized designs (Punkurí Style).

The time span involved can be roughly estimated at Huaca Prieta. For Layers M and Q, which sandwich Burial 903, there are two radiocarbon readings that together cover the time-span of 2700-2057 b.c. Layer E yielded the gourd fragment, and produced a ^{14}C -result of 2080-1480 b.c., but subjacent Layer J has another one of 1420-1220 b.c. This suggests a date around 1500 b.c. for the gourd fragment, which agrees with the Pampa de las Llamas readings. Burial 867 was excavated into Layer C and should be more recent than c. 1500 b.c., according to the assays cited above (Bird *et al.* 1985:51-58). There are older results for some layers at Huaca Prieta, but they may be compromised by organic materials churned up during construction activities.

Other Preceramic Coastal Sites

The sites of Asia, at the mouth of the Omas River, El Paraíso in the Chillón Valley, Río Seco near the Chancay Valley, Bandurria in the Huaura Valley, Aspero in the Supe Valley, and Salinas de Chao in the Chao Valley can safely be placed in the Preceramic cultural context represented by Huaca Prieta, because of their associated materials. They are considered as single-component sites for the purposes of this study.⁹ Their precise alignment is difficult to establish on the basis of artifacts. For the most part, with the possible exception of textiles, these are unsuitable for detailed chronological evaluation.

⁹ At Aspero, an early ceramic occupation partially overlies the site, while at Bandurria, the chronological position of some nearby platform mounds is uncertain.

The very low frequency of non-textile art objects in Preceramic contexts is evident at Asia, where only three have been found (Figure 10). At El Paraíso just one anthropomorphic head carved from bone was recovered (Figure 11a), in addition to several mural graffiti (Figures 11b-f). Aspero yielded one carved wooden tray (Figure 11h). A solitary incised stone vessel fragment was found at Salinas de Chao (Figure 11i). Only the anthropomorphic figurines of unbaked clay are a fairly recurrent feature (Figure 11g; Feldman 1991).

According to radiocarbon assays that are not always internally consistent within each site, some of the sites should be almost 1,000 years apart. For historical or archaeometric reasons there is also some overlap with ^{14}C -measurements from Initial (Ceramic) Period sites, most obviously in the cases of La Florida, in the Rimac Valley, and nearby El Paraíso in the Chillón Valley (Figure 31; Patterson 1985:64; Quilter 1985:281).

La Galgada

A long sequence of sophisticated stone architecture closely resembling that of the early phases at Kotosh was investigated by Terence Grieder and Alberto Bueno at La Galgada. Very few decorated non-textile objects have been recovered from the Preceramic floor levels (see Figure 5; Grieder *et al.* 1988). The rabbit pendant found in tomb D-11:C-3, cut from *Strombus* shell (Figure 5k; South Mound, floor 24), and even the associated looped textile, tend towards realism, at least when compared to the intricately conventionalized patterns of what may be called the "Huaca Prieta Style" found on most looped or twined textiles.

The stone mortar from later tomb C-12:D-1 (Figure 5h; South Mound, Floor 18) attributed to the Initial (Ceramic) Period shows a geometric step block design rarely encountered at Preceramic sites (Bird *et al.* 1985:figure 156). Antithetical stylized serpents on a unique ceramic vessel from contemporaneous tomb C-11:E-8 (Figure 5f; South Mound, Floor 17; lid found in tomb C-10:I-10) embody composition principles shared with late Preceramic Asia where pot-

tery also appears in the form of a single fancy object, the incised mirror back (Figure 10c).

An offering on one of the latest floor levels at the site (North Mound) contained, among other objects, four carved shell rings, two of them tied to a woven cloth, as well as a shell mosaic face glued to a circular slate back (Figures 5a-e; Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 84). The latter type of object is also documented for Asia, although it is non-figurative there (Engel 1963:figure 201). On the other hand, the mosaic face with eccentric eyes, and the agnathic heads with scrolls around their eyes, carved on one of the shell rings, are clear examples of Chavín conventions and symbolism.

La Galgada, then, presents an example of Chavín-related objects following earlier, more geometricized art. The evidence is, however, distributed between two mounds and, for that reason, is less compelling than the previous cases of direct stratigraphic superposition. For one reason or another, the same is true about many other sites, if the same demanding requirements for proof of their relative temporal positions are maintained.

Radiocarbon readings for La Galgada have mostly been taken from complicated architectural contexts or hearths, not from the tombs that yielded the artifacts cited here. The main Preceramic and Initial Period construction levels date from c. 1900-1200 b.c. A reading of 1640-1100 b.c. was obtained for the Chavín Style shell ring deposit. In view of its late stratigraphic position, a date in the lower range of this time span appears appropriate (Grieder *et al.* 1988:69).

Kotosh

Tello's 1935 discovery of pre-Chavín pottery (Tello 1943) guided a Japanese team to the site. Investigations in 1960, 1963, and 1966 uncovered a complicated succession of superimposed levels of ceremonial architecture from Preceramic Mito to Initial Ceramic Wairajirca and Kotosh, followed by Chavín and later occupations (Izumi and Sono 1963; Izumi and Terada 1972).

While the cultural sequence could be established in general terms, mixture and rede-

position within architectural fills impaired the definition of individual periods by their artifact contents, and there were no early grave lots to remedy that situation. Most identifiable Chavín materials were late (Janabarriu), providing no information on the origins of Chavín and its early expansion. Even a cursory comparison of the different Kotosh and Chavín type materials physically associated at Chavín (Urabarriu Phase), Kotosh (Kotosh Period), and nearby Shillacoto, Tomb 4 (Izumi *et al.* 1972), points at possible developmental stages within the Kotosh Period or cultural interactions that have not yet been traced.

Kotosh contributes little to the present study except for the Mito Period wall reliefs of the "Temple of the Crossed Hands" (Figure 16f), related to Cerro Sechín. The introduction of the Chavín Style and, presumably, ideology into the Huánuco region during the Kotosh Period is, however, illuminated by the finds from Shillacoto, Tomb 4, with Kotosh type bowl, bottles, and bone carvings (Izumi *et al.* 1972:plates 27-2, 27-3; 28-1; 45-6, 45-15), one anthropomorphic bottle related to Kotosh type figurines (*ibid.*:plate 28-2), and three additional bone carvings with unusual Chavín Style attributes that do not conform to Lanzón or Ofrendas stereotypes (Figures 21d-f; *ibid.*:plates 44; 45-48). In a similar way, ritual bone or shell artifacts with early Chavín (Chavín A) designs appear at Las Haldas, or La Galgada, within the context of iconographically unrelated cultural inventories.

Radiocarbon measurements for the various cultural periods at Kotosh overlap, reflecting site conditions, but, by and large, cultural stratigraphy as well (Lumbreras 1989:108). The Mito readings (c. 2000-1500 b.c.) agree with those for the same kind of Preceramic architecture at La Galgada, or Cerro Sechín sculpture, while the results from the ceramic Wairajirca and Kotosh Periods (c. 1300-900 b.c.) overlap those for early Chavín materials elsewhere (Izumi and Terada 1972:307-10).

Cerro Sechín

Excavations at Cerro Sechín, Casma, revealed a central ceremonial platform with

several superimposed building levels (Figure 6; Maldonado 1992; Samaniego *et al.* 1985). The oldest constructions are built of conical adobes and their mural art includes a pair of painted felines (AA), polychrome clay reliefs of human victims (BB), and, in what appears to be a later reprise, fishes in the context of bloody sacrifices (CC; see Figures 8 and 14a-b; Bischof 1988). The range of sculptural motifs on the late stone façade is shown in Figure 7. All belong to a single "Sacrificial Procession" theme composed of marching dignitaries, sectioned human bodies or body parts, and representations of two symbolic artifacts: a banner and what may be a belt or a sling.

As for artifact associations, no pottery or other datable artifacts have yet been found in association with any of the construction phases of the central ceremonial platform. Organic materials (textiles) are not preserved in the early layers due to soil humidity. Pottery of the oldest type reported for the Casma region ("Tortugas" ware, Fung P. 1972; S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:figures 17, 26), related to Early Guañape ceramics, is recorded only after the southern half of the sculptured stone façade had been covered by a fill (Fuchs 1990). The radiocarbon evidence is discussed in a separate section below.

Pampa de las Llamas

Only a few kilometers from Cerro Sechín, the multi-room Huaca A at Pampa de las Llamas faces the steep Moxeke mound across two huge plazas. Its construction history is probably simpler, and by implication shorter, than that of Moxeke. Two superimposed construction levels have been recognized. These at the side of the south entrance, not integrated into the architecture and possibly relocated (Figure 25a). A wooden figurine and other special finds, as well as finely-woven cotton textiles, are mentioned but not described in detail.

No ceramics have been published for Huaca A. The two radiocarbon assays run on directly associated material (1635-1495 and 1365-1245 b.c.; S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1990:484-5) suggest a date around 1400 b.c. If Huaca A is associated with the

"Tortugas" type pottery found elsewhere at Pampa de las Llamas (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:figures 17, 26), a correlation with the late remodeling of Cerro Sechín would be confirmed, as suggested by the radiocarbon readings (Figure 30).

Las Haldas

That conflicting data can be resolved by careful re-excavation is shown in the case of Las Haldas, a multi-period coastal site near Casma (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1987:16-30). Unfortunately, this does not allow one to reconstruct reliable archaeological associations for the three carved bone objects with figurative designs excavated in earlier years (Figures 27a-c). Even the best documented of these objects may actually come from mixed deposits (*ibid.*:23). At least, the radiocarbon assays (*ibid.*:10-11) indicate that Las Haldas was intensively occupied during the same time span as Pampa de las Llamas, Huaca A where murals have been found that are closely related to the iconography of the Las Haldas bone carvings (c. 1600-1300 b.c.).

Garagay

Formal relationships relevant to this study are restricted to the murals of the northeastern "Mound A" at Garagay (Ravines 1984) and do not include the well-published atrium reliefs of the penultimate construction phase of the central mound (Ravines and Isbell 1975) which are closer to later Chavín iconography, as Burger (1992:149) recognizes.

According to Burger's (1992:65) recent description, the two earliest superimposed construction levels of Mound A were built of adobe and are both embellished with painted clay reliefs. The atrium of the lowest building contains the relief of a net and its entrance is guarded by shield-carrying figures (Ravines 1984:figures 16-17). This is an ensemble possibly related to the trophy head theme, as Burger points out. The second construction level shows two symmetrical sets of three composite heads each, that are much more heavily stylized (*ibid.*:figures 19-22). Because neither artifact nor radiocarbon associations have been reported, independent dating evidence for Mound A is not available.

However, radiocarbon results from elsewhere at Garagay cluster between 1400 and 1100 b.c. overlapping those for Pampa de las Llamas (Figure 30), which agrees well with the stylistic correspondences noted (Ravines *et al.* 1984:135).

La Pampa

Situated between Chupacoto/Huaylas and La Galgada, this important site was first investigated in 1969. Of the ten separate mounds recorded at that time, only number 4 was tested. It yielded, among other ceramics, a sample of Janabarriu type Chavín pottery (Onuki and Fujii 1974).

In 1975, Mound 8 was found to consist of superimposed Yesopampa Period and other Formative constructions, with Late Intermediate Period and Inca occupations on top (Terada 1979). At this mound, the "La Pampa Polished" pottery assemblage included sherds with Chavín/Urabarriu attributes (*ibid.*:plate 102, 19-20), while Janabarriu type materials like those from Mound 4 were absent. Terada (*ibid.*:178) vacillated between a social and a chronological explanation for this situation. From the present vantage point it is obvious that there was a time difference involved.

Excavation was mostly done in architectural fills. Therefore, caution must be employed in assessing the validity of associations reported for architectural features, artifacts, and radiocarbon samples. The latter, spread between 1400 and 1000 b.c. for Yesopampa contexts, approximate the time-range established elsewhere for early Chavín Style materials. One animal-shaped mortar from a Mound 8 Yesopampa (Phase A) context indeed exhibits the "bicorned eye" feature important in Chavín A iconography as shown below (Figure 21g; Terada 1979:plates 35c-d, 124-1). The original architectural context of the carved stone lintel (Figure 23a) remains unknown, but the data from Mound 8 at least prove that constructions of compatible age exist at this site.

Monte grande

There may, or may not be, a time difference between the late Preceramic/Initial Pe-

riod tombs at La Galgada and the fully ceramic Initial Period Monte grande site in the Jequetepeque Valley, which presents some formal similarities (Tellenbach 1986). Of the few special finds, the *Spondylus* monkey pendant (Figure 9b) from an offering below one of the platform buildings, is similar in conception to the rabbit pendant from Preceramic La Galgada (Figure 5k) or the simple drawings from Asia (Figure 10). The step block design on a ceramic bowl from the settlement proper (Figure 9c) has its counterpart at Initial Period La Galgada as well (Figure 5h). A reference to the subsidiary quadrupeds on the Punkurí reliefs should be included as a reminder that simple reduction of figurative outlines does not prove contemporaneity.

Monte grande has also furnished us with one stone relief fragment, probably reused in a low terrace wall (Figure 9a). There appears to be a hand with four fingers. If it ever belonged to some larger figure, this is not recognizable. The hand is flanked by two stylized *en-face* serpents. This combination of anthropomorphic and serpent elements, a more accomplished version of which is documented on an Initial Period La Galgada textile (Figure 5g), can well be considered a precursor of one of the most conspicuous features of Chavín iconography.

Most of the tombs in the stone-faced, clay-plastered central platforms at Monte grande had been recently looted. The long-necked ceramic bottles with abstract designs that were overlooked (Figures 9d-e) do not occur in other Monte grande contexts, and have few counterparts elsewhere (Ulbert 1992:151-2). A similar bottle fragment is recorded from the late part of Early Huacaloma (Terada and Onuki 1982:plate 82, no. 31; Ulbert 1992:136), and there appears to be a relationship with "La Pampa Polished" pottery from La Pampa (compare Terada 1979:plate 102,17) as well as some Kotosh bottles (Izumi and Sono 1963:plate 135, no. 2). The few "Polished Incised" sherds from Monte grande lack the Chavín motifs that appear on Purulén pottery decorated in a similar technique. Otherwise, the bulk of Monte grande pottery is related to Early Huacaloma, which predates the Chavín Style in the Cajamarca Basin.

No radiocarbon assays seem to have been attempted. A date in excess of 1300 to 1200 b.c. can, however, be suggested, because no early Chavín Style objects are reported from Montegrande, although they occur at other nearby sites. This would agree with the radiocarbon readings for the related La Pampa/Yesopampa finds or for Purulén, Zaña Valley, and with the estimated age of Early Huacaloma, 1500-1000 b.c. (Terada and Onuki 1985:182).

Proposed Style Sequence

Late Preceramic Art

Late Preceramic art is anything but uniform. This lack of uniformity probably reflects chronological and regional heterogeneity, as well as the influence of different media. One common feature may be the geometricized, figurative textile design conditioned by textile structure, especially twining, which might be called the "Huaca Prieta Style". However, the evidence is still scanty, because most textiles have not been analyzed with the skill and time dedicated to the recovery of textile designs from Huaca Prieta, La Galgada, and Asia.

The scattered non-textile finds from sites on the central and south-central coasts show a tendency towards simplified "heraldic" outline forms. At the site of Asia Unit 1 (Engel 1963), there are animal figures reduced to a few curved outlines (Figure 10a) and painstakingly drilled images of felines or monkeys arranged in alternating pairs (Figure 10b). Several incised graffiti from El Paraíso can be described in much the same terms. They include two birds (Figure 11b-c), a "sun" disk (Figure 11d), and a possible trophy head with "dripping blood" appendages reminiscent of the actual trophy heads found at Preceramic Asia (Figure 11e). A forceful head carved from bone, with a unique net- or wing-like appendage, can still be included in this style (Figure 11a), as can the wooden tray from Aspero with its toad relief (Figure 11h), the carved shell rabbit from La Galgada (Figure 5k), and even some painted graffiti at Mito Phase Kotosh (Izumi and Terada 1972:figures 82, 94). This "Heraldic Style" might be derived from the "narrative" animal imagery of central Andean rock paintings

(Cardich 1964:figure 114), with a shift in emphasis from descriptive report to symbolic representation.

However, if radiocarbon assays are to be trusted at all, no simple developmental sequence can be constructed. The Punkurí and Sechín Styles had already appeared on the north coast when both El Paraíso and Asia flourished. Not surprisingly, an incised ceramic mirror-back from Asia seems to reflect influence by some highly conventionalized foreign design style (Figure 10c), and a graffito head from El Paraíso with a scroll in the mouth region (Figure 11f) resembles the Chavinoid bone carvings from a Kotosh-related burial at Shillacoto (Figure 21f) which, on the other hand, includes carved anthropomorphic faces similar to other graffiti at El Paraíso. There may also be some link between the "Heraldic Style" and the design tradition discussed above, represented by quadruped motifs with simplified outlines from La Galgada, Montegrande, and Punkurí. On the other hand, the wall paintings of the Hacha site in the Acarí Valley testify to the persistence of the "Narrative Style" often attributed to early central Andean hunting societies, within an Initial Period ceramic context of south coastal Peru (Riddell and Valdéz C. 1987-8:figure 10). The possible coexistence of Preceramic and Initial Period ceramic sites in different parts of the Peruvian coast was suspected long ago by Lanning (1967:23).

Reliable chronological data are needed to distinguish those sites that continued older traditions in marginal regions from others that participated in formulating new concepts in central Andean art and iconography. Perhaps significantly, no examples of the southern "Heraldic Style" are known as yet from Salinas de Chao and Huaca Prieta. It might also be observed that the complexity of architecture at inland sites such as La Galgada and Mito Phase Kotosh, and probably Punkurí and Cerro Sechín, casts some doubt on the prevalent tendency to regard "maritime" sites such as Asia, Río Seco, or Huaca Prieta, and even Aspero, Salinas de Chao, or Alto Salaverry, as representative of the achievements of the Central Andean Preceramic.

Punkurí Style

The three painted clay murals from the older construction phase at Punkurí are by far the most impressive known examples of this style (Figure 12). Some elements of the two lower reliefs are shared with Cerro Sechín, especially the "stepped" stripes on eyes and chest, the diagonally divided stepped field in the lower half of the figure, and the Sechín Style belt (Figure 12f). The more rigidly conventionalized design, however, differs from Sechín and has led this author to recognize the Punkurí Style as a separate entity. This is even more evident on the third relief at Punkurí (Figure 12e) which is executed in a different technique and may belong to another subphase. It may or may not exhibit animal features, but it very closely resembles the design on a stone bowl from the Nepeña or Santa Valleys (Figure 12c).

The more abstract, geometricized quality of the Punkurí Style is also evident on two stone bowls from northern Peru in the Brüning Museum (Lambayeque). One is illustrated in Figure 12d. The sample can be expanded by comparing these to the animals on one of the famous gourds from Huaca Prieta, usually shown shorn of their hairdos (Figure 13). The rectangular face, the bipartite hairdo filled with geometric elements, and the simplified feet are coincident features within a framework of very similar artistic conventions. Obviously, the Huaca Prieta gourds are not unique in Peruvian Preceramic art, as has been thought, and their relationship with Valdivia in Ecuador, although feasible in terms of radiocarbon measurements, needs to be reconsidered. In fact, Junius B. Bird expressed similar doubts (Bird *et al.* 1985:74).

Compared to Cerro Sechín or Chavín art, respectively, it becomes evident that we are dealing with a style group *sui generis* which can be amplified by at least two stone bowls from the Punkurí tomb (Figure 3a [= Figure 12a]) and from Huaca Suchiman in the Santa Valley (Figure 12b). A research team directed by Mercedes Cárdenas M. (1978:52-61) has been able to identify several early sites in the Santa Valley, including one near Alto Perú de Suchiman, associated with radiocarbon assays of the third to second millennia b.c. There may be a third stone bowl

from an unnamed site in the Nepeña Valley (Carrión C. 1948:plate 11,8) which is especially close in style to the upper mural of the first construction phase at Punkurí (Figure 12e).¹⁰ This same bowl seems to be shown in a photograph in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología archives, Lima, with only slight variations of design (Figure 12c). However, when the left edge of the photograph and the right edge of the drawing published by Tello (1943:figure 17c) for the Suchiman bowl are compared, it appears that both might refer to the same piece, a matter that could only be resolved by a re-discovery of these important examples of early Peruvian art in some private or public collection.

Sechín Style

Both the earlier clay and the later stone reliefs at Cerro Sechín render anthropomorphs, animals, or artifacts in simplified, forceful outlines that tend to be more realistic than stylized (Figures 7 and 8), expressing their organic and dynamic qualities. Internal surfaces are generally unencumbered by hachure or intricate designs. The feline and fish images of the adobe construction phases show a prevalence of geometricized body elements derived from curve segments (Figures 8c and 14a-b), but are still sufficiently reality-oriented to permit generic identification of their natural models (Bischof 1988).

Of the two non-biomorphic motifs of the construction phase 4 stone reliefs, the banners on both sides of the north, and formerly also the south, entrances are depicted in careful detail down to their seams and the knots

¹⁰ A similar, undoubtedly authentic stone bowl of unknown provenience has been kindly brought to my attention by A. R. Sawyer (personal communication, November, 1991). The carelessly scratched design on a stone bowl fragment from Salinas de Chao (Figure 11i) is more distantly related. It may, on the other hand, imitate figurative textile design of the "smiling snake type" known from Huaca Prieta, La Galgada, and Asia.

Burger (1992:figure 71) illustrates another stone bowl from the Poli collection (Lima) which, however, includes some unusual features. In view of the flourishing scene of young Peruvian lapidary artists well versed in antiquarian themes, it is essential to verify such otherwise unauthenticated objects carefully.

of the rope that ties them to the flagpole (Figure 7i).¹¹ More difficult to identify is the real-life model for the second motif (Figure 7h). If folded along the main axis, its shape approaches that of the loincloth worn by some of the dignitaries. It might also be derived from the central part of a sling.¹²

The limited number of motifs and the absence of composite or otherwise recognizably supernatural beings in the present sample of Sechín iconography restricts the field of comparison to feline and anthropomorphic images. There is also a fish motif but its value for comparative purposes is diminished by its rare occurrence elsewhere. The feline paintings of the earliest adobe construction phase (Figure 14a-b) help to clarify the geographical range of the Sechín Style (Figure 15) and its relationship to earlier art (Figures 2 and 3). Their closest known parallel has already been discussed. "Bicorned" eyes and double-arch wrists on an otherwise plain body connect the mid-stairs feline clay sculpture from the upper construction level of Punkurí to the painted felines at Cerro Sechín, in spite of the difficulty in comparing flat images with images executed in the round (Figure 3b [= 14c]). As noted above, this Sechín Style feline is stratigraphically superimposed over Punkurí Style murals.

Recently, Pimentel S. (1986:figure 59) has published a feline and raptorial bird rock carving from the Jequetepeque Valley which considerably amplifies the area of known distribution, confirming such associated features as the bicorned eye and the double-arch wrists (Figure 14d). The Jequetepeque petroglyph independently suggests an early date because of its "nested" composition akin to Preceramic Huaca Prieta textiles (*cf.* Bird *et al.* 1985:figures 101, 111) and the "stepped outline" feature on the wings of the bird, notable but not exclusively found in the Punkurí Style. Various authors have observed that

the Sechín felines also resemble at least one stone relief at Chavín de Huántar from an unknown architectural context (Figure 14e).¹³ A feline stone relief from a site in the Callejón de Huaylas is similar to the one from Chavín and can, therefore, be added to the list (Figure 21c).¹⁴ The subject matter, feline snatching human head, is also found on some Shillacoto bone carvings (Figure 21d-f). If details such as eye shapes, teeth, and wrist design are considered, differences emerge which caution against overstating the case for chronological or iconographical homogeneity. Chavín B or later felines like those of the Circular Plaza stone reliefs and the felines incised on the related "Ofrendas" ceramics, stand clearly apart from this group, however.

In the case of the anthropomorphic representations, there are subtle differences that distinguish the human figure modeled on a pillar of the Adobe Building, construction phase 1, from those on the stone-faced platform of construction phase 4 (Figures 7a and 8a [= 16a and 16c]). Consistent with its earlier temporal position, the incised lines that separate some body parts and the general tendency towards straight-line stylization notable on the clay relief are closer to the Punkurí Style Anthropomorphs on the Lambayeque mortar (Figure 12d). The architectural stratigraphy at Cerro Sechín thus provides additional support for the proposed style sequence.

Conversely the absence of internal dividing lines on most anthropomorphic images and their sinuous outlines emphasize the power and integrity of the human body as represented on the Cerro Sechín stone façade. There are no Chavín "kenings", but the "eccentric eye" also prominent in Chavín art indicates the special status of the marching dignitaries. Because this feature can be easily

¹¹ The southern pair of banners was later deleted and covered by anthropomorphic representations.

¹² In terms of symbolism, the important feature of this motif may have been its double arms joined by a "strong" center. Carved on the lintels above the exit and entrance doors of a ceremonial procession divided into two opposing groups, it may have served to remind the participants of common bonds.

¹³ There is some doubt whether the feline sculpture still preserved at Chavín is identical with the one published by Tello (1960:figure 62) and possibly lost in the 1945 mud flow (Lumbreras 1977:28).

¹⁴ Samaniego (personal communication) has pointed out the relationship of both this feline sculpture in the Huarás museum, and the anthropomorphic sculpture at Carhuas (Figure 16h), to Sechín art. Unfortunately, he was unable to secure any specific data on provenience.

mimicked in real life, I believe it denotes a mood, such as ferocity, rather than mythical beings in general, as Grieder has proposed (Grieder *et al.* 1988:216).¹⁵ The curved stripe across eyes and cheeks perhaps represents facial paint, and may well derive from feline pelage marks, especially of the ocelot (*Leopardus pardalis*), as a further symbol of ferocity. This does not compromise the human nature of the dignitaries, at least as far as their fangless mouths are concerned.

Several apparent geometric motifs at Sechín have been identified as human skeletal parts, such as the pelvis or vertebrae, while another body-related symbol that appears on many Sechín, as well as on some Chavín A Style, and possibly later reliefs, seems to represent "streams of blood" (Figures 7c, 8b, 19b). At this point, the proposed occurrence of the Lanzón and Moxeke pleated kilt (Figures 17a-b) at Sechín deserves comment because it has been taken to indicate contemporaneity (Roe 1974:36). Actually, no multiple-pleated kilt is known from Cerro Sechín. Several slabs do show a three-lobed appendage to sectioned body parts, but any similarity is purely superficial because this element has to be translated as the tattered edges of human flesh or dropping internal organs (Figure 17c-f).¹⁶

Sechín Style anthropomorphs have few precise counterparts and their area of distribution is rather limited at present. The original contexts of the relief from Sechín Alto, Casma (Figure 16e) and the reused Siete Huacas, Nepeña, monolith (Figure 16g) are unknown. On the other hand, the straight-

forward realistic modeling of the anthropomorphic forearms at the Mito Phase Temple of the Crossed Hands is not at all outside of Sechín Style norms, although less surely executed (Figure 16f). The same motif can, in fact, be found on the stone façade at Cerro Sechín (Figure 16b). Rather than representing a precocious isolated development, the Kotosh clay reliefs may reflect a tradition well-established elsewhere, and, in terms of radiocarbon measurements, their relationship to Cerro Sechín presents no problems at all.

Chavín A Style

Because animal, or explicitly supernatural motifs are lacking, the position of Sechín stone sculpture within the context of early Central Andean art can only be established on the basis of anthropomorphic images. Relationships with earlier representations have already been discussed. Two other related figures show, by their associated features, that the Sechín Style is also contiguous to the Chavín tradition. Monstrous fanged heads and Chavín Style snake heads appear on the incised *Strombus* shell from Chiclayo (Figure 18c; Tello 1937; Roe 1974:Features 71, 80), and there is an agnathic *en-face* hip mask on the stone plate in the Dumbarton Oaks Collections reportedly found at Limoncarro, Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 24a; Coelho 1969-72; Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982). This has led some authors to accommodate Cerro Sechín and other materials difficult to fit into the Rowe/Roe seriation within a separate north coastal "Cupisnique" facies of the Chavín Style.

However, the same iconographic elements are also found in the highlands, rather close to Chavín de Huántar. There are monstrous fanged heads on one of the carved shell rings from La Galgada (Figure 5d), and a similar agnathic mask on a stone lintel at La Pampa in the northern Callejón de Huaylas (Figure 23a). While the La Galgada shell ring could have been imported ready-made from the north coast, as its raw material certainly was, the lintel must have been carved close to the spot where it is conserved today. That regional variation was of minor importance as far as the materials considered in this study are concerned, is demonstrated by the

¹⁵ The eccentric eye can be seen on at least one sculpture of a severed head from Chupacoto/Huaylas which belongs to the somewhat later "Yura-yako" type discussed below (Figure 21b), and on the head in the teeth of a feline image from some site in the Callejón de Huaylas (Figure 21c). The curved stripe across eyes and cheeks, to my knowledge, is never found on trophy heads.

¹⁶ The double-arched line of sectioned Sechín bodies may relate to the bottom of the rib cage and is very similar indeed to the one across the abdomen of the Moxeke effigy. While most Moxeke figures seem to be alive and well, death symbolism is suggested by the closed eyes of the head in niche VI (Tello 1956:figure 27).

wide geographical distribution of the specific type of anthropomorphic images represented on the Dumbarton Oaks plate. It can be concluded that these objects occupy a relatively early place within the Chavín sequence because of their affinity with Cerro Sechín sculpture, and this is supported by some independent dating evidence, as will be seen.

Two attributes of the La Pampa figure can, in addition, be compared to Sechín Style and related felines (Figure 23a) - the double-arch wrist and the bicorned eye. The double-arch wrist feature is mostly known from early contexts, although it seems to have had a sporadic use extending into early "classic" Chavín art.¹⁷ On the other hand, the bicorned eye form, which evidently replicates feline features, is absent in "classic" Chavín art. Contrary to Peter Roe's opinion on a similar eye form (1974:18, Feature 145), it can be understood morphologically to precede the Chavín "snake eyes", with overarching linear eyebrows already found on the Lanzón (Roe's Feature 3). Indeed, it is dated at Pampa de las Llamas (Casma) to about 1500 b.c. In addition, there are two snakes on the La Pampa lintel which recall the "smiling snakes" of Preceramic art, unusual for a Chavín monument. Quite similar snake heads on pottery are dated at Purulén (Zaña Valley) to around 1200 b.c. (Alva A. 1988:figure 8).¹⁸

¹⁷ The double-arch wrist design can be seen on stone vessels related to the Punkurí Style (Figures 12b, 12d), on Sechín Style felines (Figure 14) and anthropomorphs at Cerro Sechín (Figure 7d), as well as on a Chavín A/Yura-yako type stone vessel (Rowe 1962:figure 39a) [compare also the "Larco" stone bowl from the Chicama Valley (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:figure 2)] and on ceramics from the Jequetepeque area (Figure 24d). On early Chavín B Style sculptures such as the feline stone mortar at the University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology in Philadelphia (Rowe 1962:figure 33), supposedly found near Chavín de Huántar, and on several feline reliefs of the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras 1989:figures 28, 29, 35), it may be considered an archaizing feature demonstrating continuity, not necessarily contemporaneity.

¹⁸ With a lozenge-shaped or trapezoidal head, or, frequently, two heads, this "smiling snake" is found from Asia (Engel 1963:figure 192) to Samanga, Piura (Polia 1986-7:plates 2, 7), frequently in late

The La Pampa lintel, then, is an early piece and was used to denominate the pre-Lanzón period of Chavín art in previous publications (Bischof 1985, 1991). To simplify the nomenclature, the term "Chavín A" is substituted here for "La Pampa", introducing a subdivision of the Chavín AB period as envisioned by John H. Rowe (1962:12), with the Lanzón and related sculptures remaining the reference standard for Chavín B. While agreeing with Peter Roe's (1978:3-7) placement of some Circular Plaza sculptures relative to the Lanzón, in my opinion, the "Chavín A" slot is more profitably employed for the major pre-Lanzón period here outlined, that is already characterized by specific Chavín iconography and conventions. The stylistic differences pointed out by Roe (*ibid.*) on the other hand, are of a magnitude that might well be expressed as substages of the Chavín B or even later periods (*cf.* Sawyer and Maitland 1983:53).

In quantity and variety Chavín A Style materials far surpass all earlier groups, and elements that presage prominent features of Chavín art become obvious. Several recurrent motifs can be recognized, the contemporaneity of which is proven by their combination on single figures or objects: Yura-yako Anthropomorphs, Agnathic Masks, and Pampa de las Llamas Ferals. The features shared by the La Pampa lintel and the Dumbarton Oaks plate found in the Jequetepeque Valley show that Chavín A was not restricted to the north-central Peruvian highlands, and this is even more clearly demonstrated by a petroglyph at Tolón, Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 23b).

Yura-yako Anthropomorphs

Despite a general impression of similarity, more differences than agreements emerge if the famous carved *Strombus* from Chiclayo (Figure 18c) is compared to Cerro Sechín sculptures. Most attributes are foreign to Sechín: the triangular Chavín Style loincloth with tasseled ends, ear ornaments related to those on the "Lanzón", a necklace, bracelets, and unique anklets, a specific cheek mark, Chavín Style snakes and grotesque heads,

Preceramic or Initial Period contexts (compare Figure 24d).

and an oblique double-scroll. The more rigidly conventionalized design of the Chiclayo dancer is especially notable in the geometricized hands and feet. Overall posture and proportions do not resemble the Cerro Sechín figures so much as a group of anthropomorphs of common design (Roe 1974:24-25, figures 27-28) which this author has designated as the Yura-yako type after a stone relief from Yura-yako near Chavín de Huántar (Figure 19b).

Yura-yako type bodies are generally stocky, not encumbered with Chavín "kenings", their heads squarish and frequently bald, eyes centrally focused and noses round, the mouth scowling with bared, mostly human teeth, not unlike Olmec imposition mimics. There is usually a pronounced "frowning" fold above the nose, a standard feature on Chavín iconography absent so far at Sechín.

The stylized human heads shown in a carrying net on the Dumbarton Oaks plate clearly conform to the Yura-yako type, not to the Sechín trophy heads with which they have been frequently compared. That the trophy-head theme was important in this context is proven by the stone relief from Yura-yako (Figure 19b). The otherwise congruous Chupacoto trophy heads have eccentric eyes (Figure 21a-b), a feature also seen on the central figure of the Dumbarton Oaks plate (Figure 24a), where it is more consistent with its usual main figure association (see note 15).

The distribution of iconographic accessories has not been intensively studied, but necklaces, bracelets, and anklets are common on Yura-yako type figures, in contrast to Sechín, and the "feather crown" element merits attention (Figures 4e [= 18a]) and 19d; on Jequetepeque ceramics see Alva A. 1986a:figures 11, 89).

When comparing Sechín and Yura-yako anthropomorphs, the belt or loincloth types are of special interest (Figure 20). The Sechín Style belt with expanding center (Figure 20a-c) continues a Punkurí model also recorded on Preceramic Aspero figurines (Figure 11g), but occasionally still worn by Yura-yako supernatural beings (Figure 19c).

There is not yet enough evidence on the associations of plain belts (Figures 20d-f), but they do seem to occur on early, rather than late figures. On the other hand, the tasseled ends of the Chavín Style belt with a triangular center (Figures 20g-k), worn by the Chiclayo dancer, can be counted among the Chavín-related elements of that image, because they reappear on a stone carving from Chavín de Huántar (Rowe 1962:figure 17). Concurrently, a "serpent-head" belt appendage, similar to the snake-heads of the Chiclayo *Strombus*, is recorded on a relief from Pójoc near Chavín (Figure 20i; Burger 1982:figure 19), suggesting that this type of anthropomorph continued into classic Chavín art (Roe 1974: Features 3, 33). In contrast, the serpent headgear of the shield dancers of the Alto de la Guitarra (Moche Valley) petroglyph does not conform to classic Chavín conventions, perhaps due to a slightly earlier temporal position (Figure 18d).¹⁹

The "worshippers" on one of the Punkurí Style stone bowls at the Brüning Museum (Figure 12d), the older and the more recent anthropomorphic images at Cerro Sechín (Figure 16), and the Yura-yako type figures, including the one on the Chiclayo *Strombus* (Figure 18c), represent, in this author's view, contiguous stages in the stylistic development of the anthropomorphic motif, whatever that means in Formative Period real-time. The symbolic elements of the Chiclayo *Strombus* are closer to classic Chavín norms than can be found on most other images of this group. What is striking is the wide geographical distribution of Yura-yako type anthropomorphs from Chiclayo to Garagay (Figure 18e), including Chavín de Huántar (Figure 18b), which does not favor the regionalism model of Chavín art development (Figure 22).

"Yura-yako" supernatural beings belong to the same anthropomorphic type, with animal body parts added. Examples include the mythical bird from a Chavín de Huántar stone

¹⁹ The stylistic variety of Alto de la Guitarra images indicates a rather extended period of activities (Disselhoff 1955; Núñez J. 1986 Volume 2:359-442). One of the anthropomorphic heads is rather close to Cerro Sechín (*ibid.*:400, figure 682), another one to Chavín A forms (*ibid.*:figure 683).

relief of unknown context, under present terms the oldest Chavín Style example of this motif (Figure 19a), the closely related, powerful, beaked headhunter on the Rondón stone cup from the Jequetepeque region, now in the Buffalo Museum of Science (Figure 19c), the demonic winged headhunter from Yura-yako (Figure 19b), or the puma-headed bird reported from Limoncarro in the Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 19d). The half-human crab (or spider) deity on the Dumbarton Oaks plate (Figure 24a) and another stone cup from Limoncarro (Cordy-Collins 1992:figure 6 = Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:figure 7), must be mentioned here as well. All figures express multi-role supernatural power by integrating heterogeneous parts into one composite image, while in Pre-ceramic contexts, different animal species are "nested" within one design, or joined externally, as shown by some Huaca Prieta textiles.

The same integration principle was applied to the composite head on the mural reliefs at Garagay (Mound A; Figure 27d) and to the double-bodied snake motif as rendered on Jequetepeque ceramics (Figure 24c). It is this integration of powerful body parts derived from different animal species that constitutes one of the main characteristics of classic Chavín iconography.

Agnathic Masks

The center of the La Pampa lintel shows a well-known motif of Chavín art, the agnathic animal head with large fangs. Two slightly S-shaped elements separated by nose circles compose the mouth, protruding in a flat curve as if seen from above. This mask-like configuration seems to develop elsewhere into the pronounced U-shape resembling the top view of a caiman's snout (Pimentel S. 1986:figure 54), so ubiquitous in later Chavín art.

Iconographically, the agnathic mouth motif is found in different contexts. There are cases when it appears as an isolated U-shaped symbol ending in scrolls, as on some petroglyphs in the Jequetepeque Valley (Pimentel S. 1986:figure 65). On the other hand, the two heads of the animal on the Chavín A "Larco Plate" from the Chicama

Valley closely resemble the agnathic masks here discussed (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:figure 2), proving that agnathic heads may guide autonomous beings. Agnathism is notable on the convoluted animal on a Chavín de Huántar stone relief (Figure 26b) that in some respects resembles the "Sechinoid" feline sculpture (Figure 14e).²⁰ This motif is also incised on two ceramic bottles from the Jequetepeque Valley (Figures 26a, 26c) and may be related to the nose "kenning" of one Garagay, Mound A, pilaster relief (Figure 27d). Of course, many of the tenoned stone heads from the Chavín Castillo are agnathic.

Agnathic masks with long teeth, often connected to a broad sash, cover the hip region of many supernatural beings, sometimes like a kind of lobster tail.²¹ The petroglyph at Tolón in the Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 23b) and the Dumbarton Oaks plate from the Jequetepeque region (Figure 24a) feature examples very similar to the figure on the La Pampa lintel, indicating the wide diffusion of some religious iconography in early Chavín art (Figure 29, triangles).²² Remains of what appears to have been the same kind of mask are visible between the legs of a personage on the Pampa de las Llamas clay reliefs (Figure 27f). Its central position and vertical orientation is difficult to reconcile with the felines in "normal" (horizontal) side view reconstructed by S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski (1986:figure 5, right), at least as far as original Chavín feline reliefs are concerned (Carrión C. 1948:plate 16, figure 8; Lumbreras 1989:figures 28-37). The fragments suggest a rare frontal representation of some supernatural being with anthropomorphic feet, like the one shown on the Chongoyape gold

²⁰ This sculpture seems to have been found in the rubble of the "New Temple" area together with other reliefs that are stylistically different (Burger 1992:177). In view of the similar size and specifically, a carved frame like the one that surrounds the other motifs, archaism might be involved in this case, although relocation from some older structure cannot be excluded.

²¹ Curiously, the Brooklyn Museum stone plate shows an agnathic mask in front of the main figure face (Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:figure 11).

²² Although represented in side view, the tail of one of the caimans on the "Tello Obelisk" seems to be based on the same model.

crown (Carrión C. 1948:plate 18, no. 4) and on the Circular Plaza relief at Chavín (Lumbreras 1989:figure 24). It is instructive to compare a later version of the mask motif on a bottle from the Ofrendas Gallery (*ibid.*:figure 89). One of the "New Temple" portal columns at Chavín de Huántar shows the same element as the hip or loincloth "kenning" of some mythical winged being, possibly with male gender connotations (Lyon 1978:102; Rowe 1962:figure 10).

Some iconographic relatives, or even ancestors of the La Pampa figure are known from stone reliefs at Pampa de las Llamas and Pacopampa (Figure 25). These include central *en-face* masks, not always agnathic, from which two serpents or serpentine bodies emanate, in two cases associated with hand or foot "impressions".²³ This motif again demonstrates iconographic congruity between north and central Peru. Although my search was by no means exhaustive, further examples were noted on the ceramic bottles of the "Tembladera" tradition mentioned above (Figure 24c, possibly d).²⁴ The precise temporal relationships of the individual representations remain to be established.

What appears to be an even later version of the Agnathic Being with snake appendices can be seen on the back of a Kuntur Wasi stele, perhaps personifying the main activity field of the supernatural represented on its front (Carrión C. 1948:plate 20). The hand-held pointed stick clearly refers to agriculture. Some metaphorical relationship between such analogous elements as the central tongue of

isolated *en-face* masks, a possible penis "kenning" on *en-face* hip masks, and this digging-stick cannot be excluded.

Pampa de las Llamas Ferals

Objects like the Dumbarton Oaks plate, supposedly found near Limoncarro, Jequetepeque Valley, and the Rondón cup from the same region, tie Yura-yako anthropomorphs to the agnathic hip masks and subsidiary animals with bicorned eyes. For the latter, the term "Pampa de las Llamas ferals" is proposed because samples appear on the murals of Pampa de las Llamas, Huaca A, although they are most frequent in the mobile art of the Jequetepeque region, on carved stone vessels, and advanced-technology ceramics (Figure 27; cf. 19c-d, 24c). Whether they represent reptiles, felines, snakes, or other animals is often difficult to decide.

If all bicorned eye forms are taken into account, they constitute quite a range, which may cover a considerable time span or geographical space. Some occur in association and appear to have separate, well-defined iconographical meanings (Figure 28); for example, they distinguish main and subsidiary mythical figures (cf. Figures 19c-d; 24a, 24c, 27d), as Peter Roe (1974) has pointed out for later materials.

The geographical distribution of Pampa de las Llamas ferals largely coincides with that of Yura-yako anthropomorphs from the Jequetepeque region to Garagay (Mound A), including at least one stone relief at Chavín de Huántar proper (Figure 24b), again proceeding from an unknown architectural context. Conspicuous by its absence is Huaca de los Reyes which, in other respects, is also more closely related to later Chavín art. Regionalization is not in evidence (Figure 29, circles).

The small group of bone objects with incised Pampa de las Llamas ferals, from Las Haldas and Pallka, both in the Casma Valley (Figures 27a-c, 27e), is not associated with similarly decorated advanced-technology ceramics or stone vessels so frequent in the Jequetepeque Valley. This suggests a foreign introduction either of the bone paraphernalia itself, or of the concepts and ritual behavioral patterns that determined its production and

²³ It can be argued that two snakes, instead of one double-headed snake, issue from the central mouth on the La Pampa lintel. The lozenge-shaped head of the Pampa de las Llamas stone relief (Figure 25a) closely resembles those of the double-headed snake on a twined textile from Asia which according to ¹⁴C-assays belongs to the same time range (Engel 1963:figure 192). In basic structure, the design resembles the Cerro Sechín "belt" motif in metaphorical disguise (Figure 7h; note 12). The Pampa de las Llamas sculpture was, indeed, found in the entrance area, while nothing is known about the architectural context of the other two slabs.

²⁴ The "hooks" below the serpent mouths on Figure 24c seem to link this ceramic bottle with the Alto de la Guitarra petroglyph (Figure 18d).

use. It will be interesting to know whether the same holds true for the unpublished mobile inventory associated with monumental architecture at Pampa de las Llamas, Huaca A (Figure 27f; S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1986), and Garagay, Mound A (Ravines 1984), where subsidiary "snake heads" of this type were also represented on clay reliefs.

As a proof of contemporaneity, S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski (1986) point out a circular design element shared by the Pampa de las Llamas murals with "club heads" on Cerro Sechín stone reliefs (Figure 7a), and ear ornaments on one of the Lambayeque stone vessels (Figure 12d). I consider this element to be traditional, especially because a different function seems to be implied in at least two of the three cases. The only dated context for Pampa de las Llamas ferals is provided by the eponymous site where radiocarbon assays point to the time-span around 1500 b.c. (Figure 30).

Further insights are provided by associated design elements: the modified step block element combined with the snake heads at Pampa de las Llamas is duplicated at Garagay (Mound A) together with the feather-plume elements so frequent in Chavín A iconography (Figure 27d). The Garagay motif also incorporates the specific bicorned eye form found on a Las Haldas bone carving (Figure 27a; Engel 1988:plate 10), where it is again associated with a step block element. A step block element can in turn be seen on Chavín de Huántar stone reliefs of related type (Figures 19a; 26b; Tello 1960:figure 72). Speculatively, the wing-like elements on the Cactus-Bearer from the Circular Plaza might be considered as a more explicit later version of this feature (Lumbreras 1989:figure 26), although a step block element plus wings appears on a Jequetepeque Valley image (Figure 19d).²⁵ As these examples show, there is a

multiple web of relationships which themselves must be checked before the time span and meaning of individual motifs or attributes on this small but growing body of relics can be established.

Absolute Dating

Although thermoluminescence dating has progressed considerably, radiocarbon measurement remains the mainstay of absolute chronology in Peru. For reasons that are only partly understood, the results are sometimes ambiguous. Radiocarbon readings from Preceramic coastal sites such as El Paraíso or Salinas de Chao overlap those from some Initial Ceramic Period sites, notably La Florida in the Rimac Valley. It is difficult to decide whether this is an artifact of sample quality and documentation deficiencies, or reflects actual cultural conditions (S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 1990, 1991; cf. Quilter 1991). On the other hand, some local series did give rather "fuzzy" results, for example at Kotosh, Huacaloma, Huaca Prieta, and even Chavín. Not coincidentally, all these sites have long histories of monumental architecture, implying the repeated re-deposition of large volumes of fill (Lumbreras 1989:107-114).

Within the framework of the present argument, a reasonably clear pattern begins to emerge, however. In addition to the physical evidence on its relative chronological position preserved at Punkurí, the age of the Punkurí Style can be gauged by the radiocarbon readings from Huaca Prieta that refer to the carved gourds of Burial 903. Among the first ever to be obtained from South America, these assays point to a time range before 2000 b.c., or the middle and second half of the third millennium b.c. if calibrated (Bird *et al.* 1985:52-55). This fits in before the Cerro Sechín series that starts at about 1800 b.c. or late in the third millennium B.C. if calibrated (Figure 31), admitting, in principle, the possibility of relationships with Valdivia in Ecuador.

²⁵ Lathrap (1973:93) has observed that both major early cult objects at Chavín de Huántar, the "Lanzón" and the "Tello Obelisk", share a step-like outline. According to Burger (1992:68), this may represent some sacred mountain within the context of water-related rituals that also involved the burning of offerings. That the smoke of burning offerings was thought to propitiate rain clouds in the cordillera does

not seem farfetched. This could explain unusual accumulations of burnt debris, for example at the Culebras site (Bischof 1988).

According to radiocarbon readings, the Punkurí and Sechín Styles occupy the same time-slot as Preceramic Kotosh Mito and early La Galgada. The absence of pottery associations reported so far for the main construction phases of Cerro Sechín supports this correlation. Compared to Punkurí and Cerro Sechín, the competence of stone architecture at both highland sites contrasts with a scarcity of mural art, one notable exception being the Temple of the Crossed Hands at Kotosh.

The temporal relationship of the four or five most important sites with early mural art on the coast of Peru can also be discussed in terms of radiocarbon assays (Figure 30). All Pampa de las Llamas measurements, except one, cluster between 1600 and 1200 b.c. or in the early half of the second millennium B.C. if calibrated. This makes it difficult, at first sight, to establish priorities relative to Cerro Sechín. However, the main construction phases of Cerro Sechín are actually bracketed by a group of radiocarbon results between 1500 and 1100 b.c. that stratigraphically postdate construction phase 4 of the central platform with its stone reliefs, and two readings of c. 1800 b.c. that precede or are contemporary with the beginnings of the adobe construction phases 1-3. Cerro Sechín, then, should be older than Pampa de las Llamas by a margin that might be relatively small, but could well amount to a few hundred years.

Three of the four measurements for Garagay average c. 1250 b.c., about 1500 B.C. on the calibrated scale. It is not known whether any of them refer to the northeast section (Mound A) or contemporary structures, but an age around 1500 B.C. would be expected on the basis of the formal relationships of the Mound A murals with Pampa de las Llamas. The Central Mound atrium reliefs at Garagay reflect a subsequent stage of Chavín Style developments, as has been mentioned.

In contrast to Garagay, assays from the Huaca de los Reyes complex in the Moche Valley are dispersed over so large a stretch of time that it is risky to assign any mean value. There are very few specific formal correspondences of the Huaca de los Reyes clay

murals with the sites included in this study, if there are any at all, while many can be traced to "classic" Chavín B and later materials. Stylistic comparison suggests a late chronological position for Huaca de los Reyes within the time-span covered by the radiocarbon readings for that site, or a date around 900 b.c., corresponding to the late second millennium B.C. if calibrated.

Radiocarbon measurements for almost all of these sites, as well as for the respective cultural periods identified at Kotosh, La Pampa (Yesopampa Period), Huaricoto, and La Galgada, are older than most assays reported from Chavín de Huántar. The upper limit of the time-range for Chavín overlaps the lower margin of the time-spans indicated for Garagay and Huaca de los Reyes and, indeed, both sites include structures, or at least construction phases, that from the stylistic point of view, are not too far removed from early "classic" Chavín.

At Chavín, the Circular Plaza and the approximately coeval Ofrendas Gallery occupy a relatively early place in the known architectural history of the Castillo complex. The associated stone reliefs and pottery vessels conform to "classic" Chavín B or later norms and in fact are accompanied by a radiocarbon reading of the early first millennium B.C. This, and the other radiocarbon measurements compiled by Lumbreras (1989:111-114), show that the Chavín B ("Lanzón") to EF periods, however defined, for the most part belong in the first millennium B.C. (Figure 31). An initial date for Chavín B late in the second millennium B.C. is possible in view of the La Galgada shell artifacts placed near 1300 B.C. (calibrated scale).

Conclusions

The comparative study of central and north Peruvian images has permitted me to identify possible antecedents to classic Chavín art. Some important information is still missing and a few cases of shared features might be weighted differently, among them the "club head" motif occurring at Cerro Sechín, Pampa de las Llamas, and on a Chichayo stone mortar. Otherwise, the stratigraphic and archaeometric evidence, though limited, is consistent with the proposed style

sequence and outlines its temporal dimensions.

The oldest style with a recognizable identity is named after the clay reliefs of Punkurí. Examples dating from the first half or the middle of the third millennium B.C. are found on the north/central coast between Nepeña and Chiclayo. No specific core area can be discerned at present. Around 2000 B.C. the Sechín Style continues modified Punkurí traditions for several centuries. Relationships extend from the central Casma/Nepeña region to the Jequetepeque Valley and Kotosh.

The first specific Chavín iconography, denominated Chavín A here, appeared somewhere on the Peruvian coast during the first half of the second millennium B.C. In northern Peru this early stage is represented by mobile art, especially fine lapidary work, and ceramics of excellent craftsmanship. However, no monumental architecture with Chavín A murals is known there as yet. The contributions of Chavín A to later "Cupisnique" art remain to be studied. In contrast, very little Chavín A mobile art has been reported from the central and north/central coast, except for some Casma Valley bone carvings which appear in an alien cultural context. Nevertheless, the monumental clay reliefs of Garagay (Mound A) and Pampa de las Llamas prove the imposing presence of Chavín A iconography in major ceremonial centers. In the highlands, Chavín A Style stone reliefs from unidentified structures show that Chavín de Huántar to some extent participated in these developments which, towards the end of the second millennium B.C., created "classic" Chavín art.

The wide distribution of Chavín A items shows that the integrating forces that Burger (1992:184) ascribes to the later Early Horizon were already operative in central and northern Peru hundreds of years before that time. In view of the dozens of monumental sites that have never been adequately investigated nor dated, I am also unconvinced of any general "collapse" episode between the Initial Period and the Early Horizon (*ibid.*:183-4). It is questionable in the case of Moxeke/Pampa de las Llamas, and if the dating of such sites as Garagay (Central Mound atrium reliefs) and

Huaca de los Reyes is revised according to their readily observable stylistic correspondences, the argument would also have to be reconsidered.

The emphasis on areas towards the west and north of Chavín de Huántar differs from the proposal of Tello (1960), Lathrap (1974), and Kano (1979) which assumed eastern sources for Chavín art. For the reasons noted above, the pre-Chavín age of diagnostic design elements such as the Eccentric Eye and the Fanged Mouth cannot be established at Kotosh (Kano 1979:figures 13-14). That the Chavín Style did not develop out of local traditions around Huánuco is best demonstrated by Shillacoto, Tomb 4, where the Chavinoid bone carvings stand out as foreign elements. Nevertheless, some motifs and design elements have evidently found their way from the eastern lowlands into the Chavín repertoire. The importance later given to the jaguar motif might prove to be one such link (*ibid.*:figures 14-15), although the feline image of Chavín seems to derive from the north-central and north coast models that probably represent the puma with its plain fur.

The position of Cerro Sechín art *vis à vis* Chavín can only be discussed on the basis of a very limited sample. While few Sechín Style motifs, apart from anthropomorphs, are recorded, this latter is a motif clearly carried on by the important "Yura-yako" type of Chavín A. The distribution of "Yura-yako" anthropomorphs ranges from Chiclayo to Lima, and includes Chavín de Huántar, where it is incorporated into the iconography of composite mythical beings, the favorite theme of later Chavín art.

The Cerro Sechín feline paintings have been compared to a stone relief at Chavín de Huántar that, however, shows few specific features (Figure 14e). Felines, or any mythical beings for that matter, are still unknown from the later construction phases at Cerro Sechín. For this reason, no direct relationship can be established with the Pampa de las Llamas ferals of Chavín A. Their most prominent feature, the bicorned eye, is of feline origin, and the cheek stripes of some Cerro Sechín or Chavín A images (Figures 7a, 19c), possibly even the "frowning" folds

of Chavín iconography, may as well derive from felines with pronounced pelt markings such as the ocelot (*Leopardus pardalis*). Representations like the one on the Pallka bone spatula seem to refer to the caiman. This could also indicate an increasingly prominent role of tropical forest animals in Chavín art and mythology. The distribution of Pampa de las Llamas ferals is much the same as that of Yura-yako anthropomorphs, covering the coast between Jequetepeque and Lima, as well as Chavín de Huántar, where the only stone reliefs of this type were found. *En-face* agnathic masks with bicorned eyes, not documented at Cerro Sechín, occupy a more limited area from northern Peru to the middle Santa Valley.

Perhaps because of their sacred nature, the motifs apparently were not easily transferred to other media or contexts at first. Early ceramics at Las Haldas, La Galgada, La Pampa (Yesopampa Period) and Shillacoto (Tomb 4), are cases in point. Farther north, the first ceramics to have carried Chavín iconography seem to be coastal Purulén pottery from about 1400 B.C., Jequetepeque "Tembladera" ware, and possibly some highland ceramics north of the Jequetepeque Valley. This transfer of religious iconography to ceramic design may have opened the way for its generalized use, although most finds, in fact, still proceed from ceremonial contexts.

Important traits of the ritual environment created by architecture are also of western or northern derivation. In addition to such frequently cited coastal features as the U-shaped ground plan and the sunken (circular) plaza, the subterranean rooms on the summits of the Purulén and Montegrande platforms, as well as the zigzag "gallery" staircase at Cerro Sechín, may foreshadow the complex internal structure of the Chavín de Huántar Castillo.

Monumental stone sculpture, another of the most prominent Chavín features, has antecedents at Montegrande and possibly Paco-

pampa (Burger 1989). Attention must also be paid to the northern petroglyph sites in the Jequetepeque and Moche regions and their pre-Chavín or Chavín A iconography. With some 400 known examples at Cerro Sechín, Sechín Alto, Pampa de las Llamas, Siete Huacas/Cuchipampa, La Pampa, and Chupacoto, stone sculpture was, however, most strongly established on the north/central Peruvian Coast and in the adjacent highlands, not too far from Chavín de Huántar where, like architecture, it reached its classic apogee.

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Figure 1 (*opposite page*). Preceramic and Formative Period sites in central and northern Peru.

Alto de la Guitarra	12
Alto Salaverry	11
Ancón	33
Asia	37
Bandurria	31
Cerro Sechín	19
Chavín de Huántar	28
Chiclayo (Airport site)	1
Chupacoto	26
Culebras	22
Curayacu	36
Disco Verde	38
El Aspero	30
El Paraíso	34
Garagay	35
Guañape	13
Hacha	39
Huacaloma	9
Huaca Prieta	10
Huaricoto	27
Kotosh	29
La Florida	35
La Galgada	24
La Pampa	25
Las Haldas	20
Limoncarro	5
Los Gavilanes	23
Montegrande	7
Pacopampa	2
Pallka	21
Pampa de las Llamas/Moxeke	19
Pandanche	2
Punkurí	16
Purulén	3
Quindén	8
Río Seco	32
Salinas de Chao	14
Sechín Alto	19
Shillacoto	29
Siete Huacas	17
Suchiman	15
Tolón	6
Tortugas	18
Udima	4
Waywaka	40
Yura-Yako	28

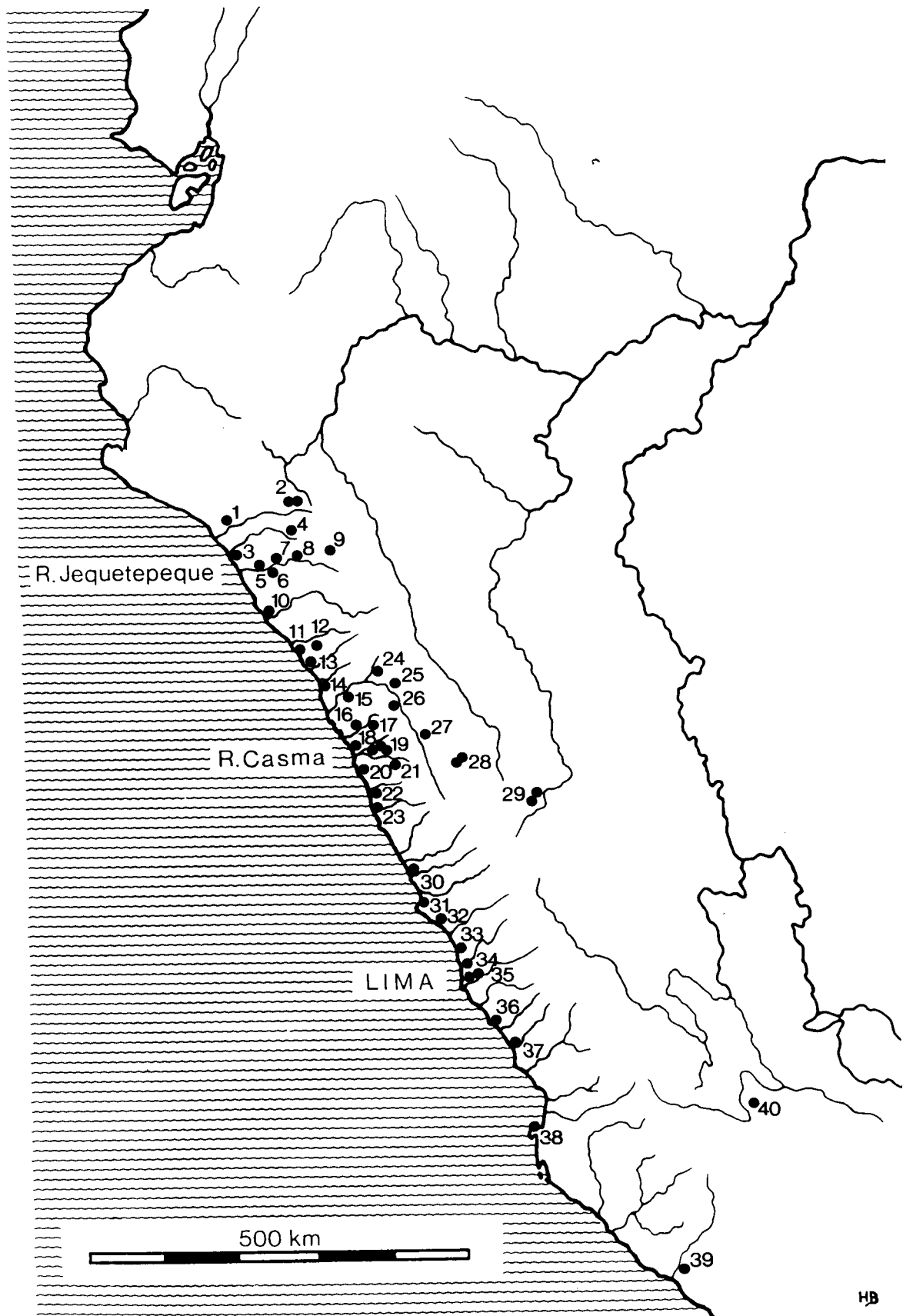
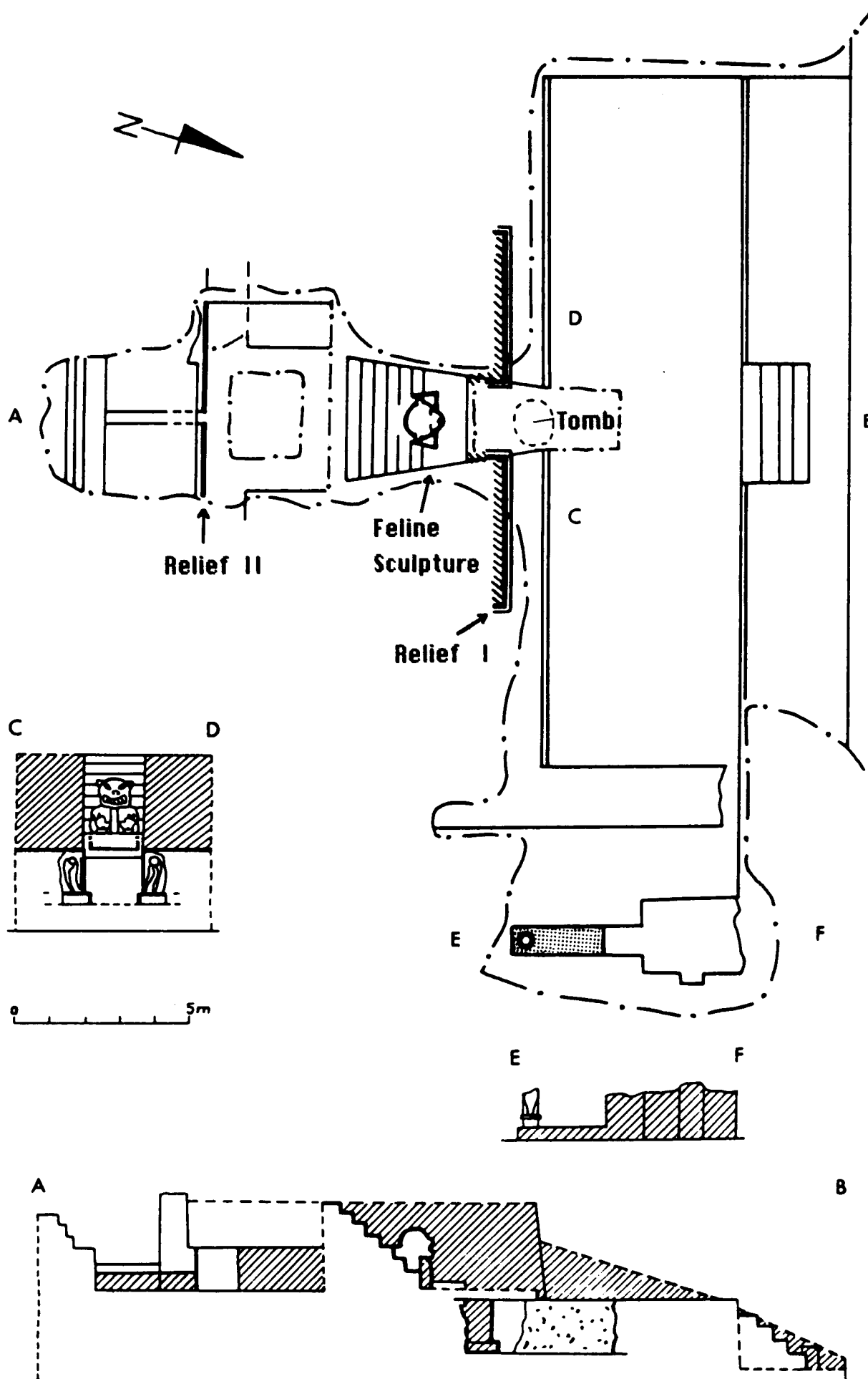


Figure 1 (caption on opposite page).



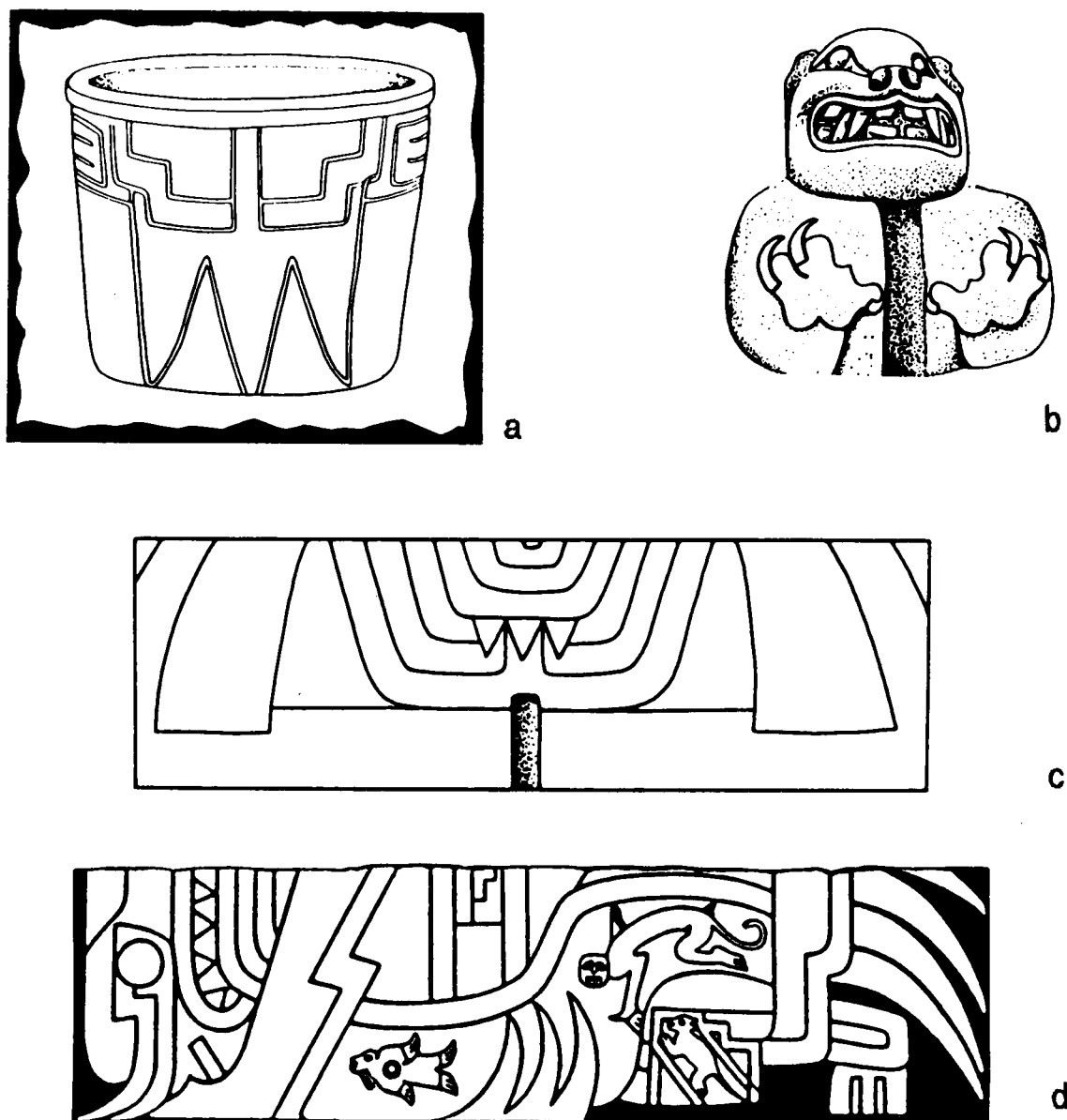
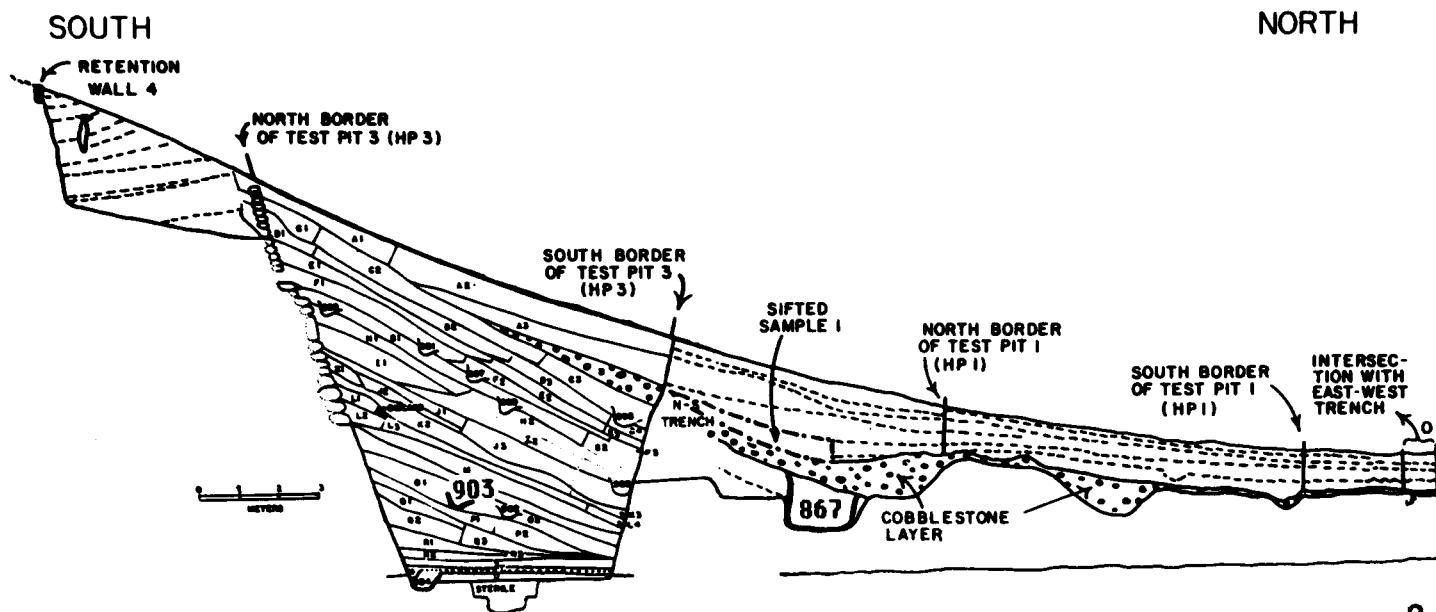


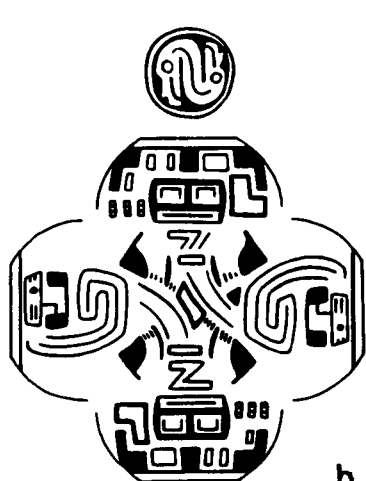
Figure 2. (*opposite page*) Punkurí mound, Nepeña Valley. After Larco H. 1938-39, Volume I:figures 18-19.

Figure 3. (*this page*) Punkurí, samples of mural and lapidary art. (a) Female burial. Stone bowl. Present location unknown (as is that of associated incised pestle). After Tello 1943:figure 17a. (b) Second construction phase, central staircase. Feline sculpture, painted clay. After Bischof 1985:figure 70. (c) First construction phase, upper central chamber. Incised and painted clay mural (Relief II). After Antúnez de Mayolo 1933 and photo in Larco H. 1938-39 Volume 1:figure 22. (d) First construction phase, lower platform. Modeled and painted clay mural (Relief I). After Kauffmann D. 1978:272. Position corrected and reconstructed sections eliminated after photographs in the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología (Lima) archive.

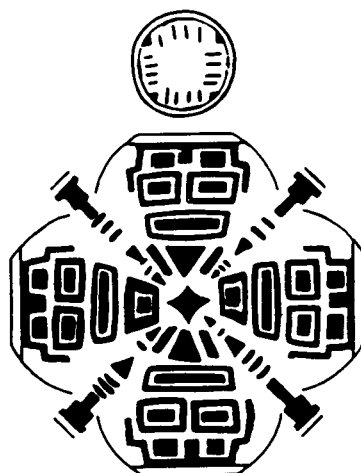
Figure 4. (*following page*) Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley. (a) Combined east profile of Test Pit 3 and North-South Trench. After Bird *et al.* 1985:figures 11, 20. (b) Burial 903. Pyroengraved gourd. From Bird *et al.* 1985:figure 43. (c) Burial 903. Pyroengraved gourd. From Bird *et al.* 1985:figure 43. (d) Burial 903. Twined cotton textile. From Bird *et al.* 1985:figure 115. (e) Burial 867. Carved bone spatula top. Drawing courtesy of Robert McK. Bird (*cf.* Bird *et al.* 1985:figure 36). (f) Layer E. Incised gourd fragment. Drawn from tracing of M. Skinner, courtesy of J. Hyslop, November 26, 1991. (*Cf.* Bird *et al.* 1985:figure 173).



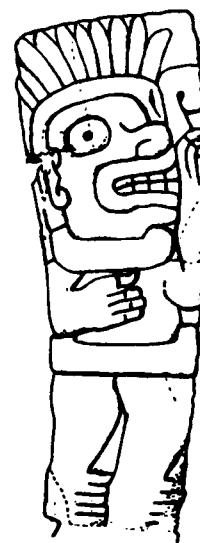
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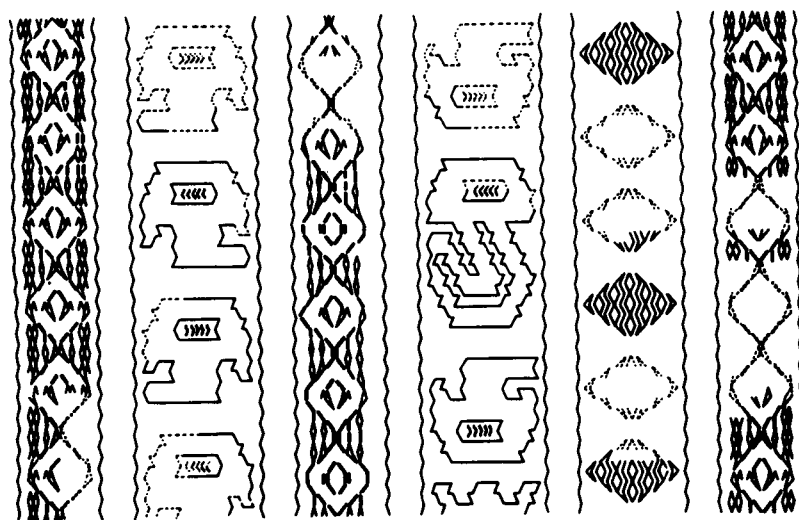
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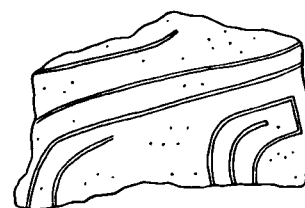
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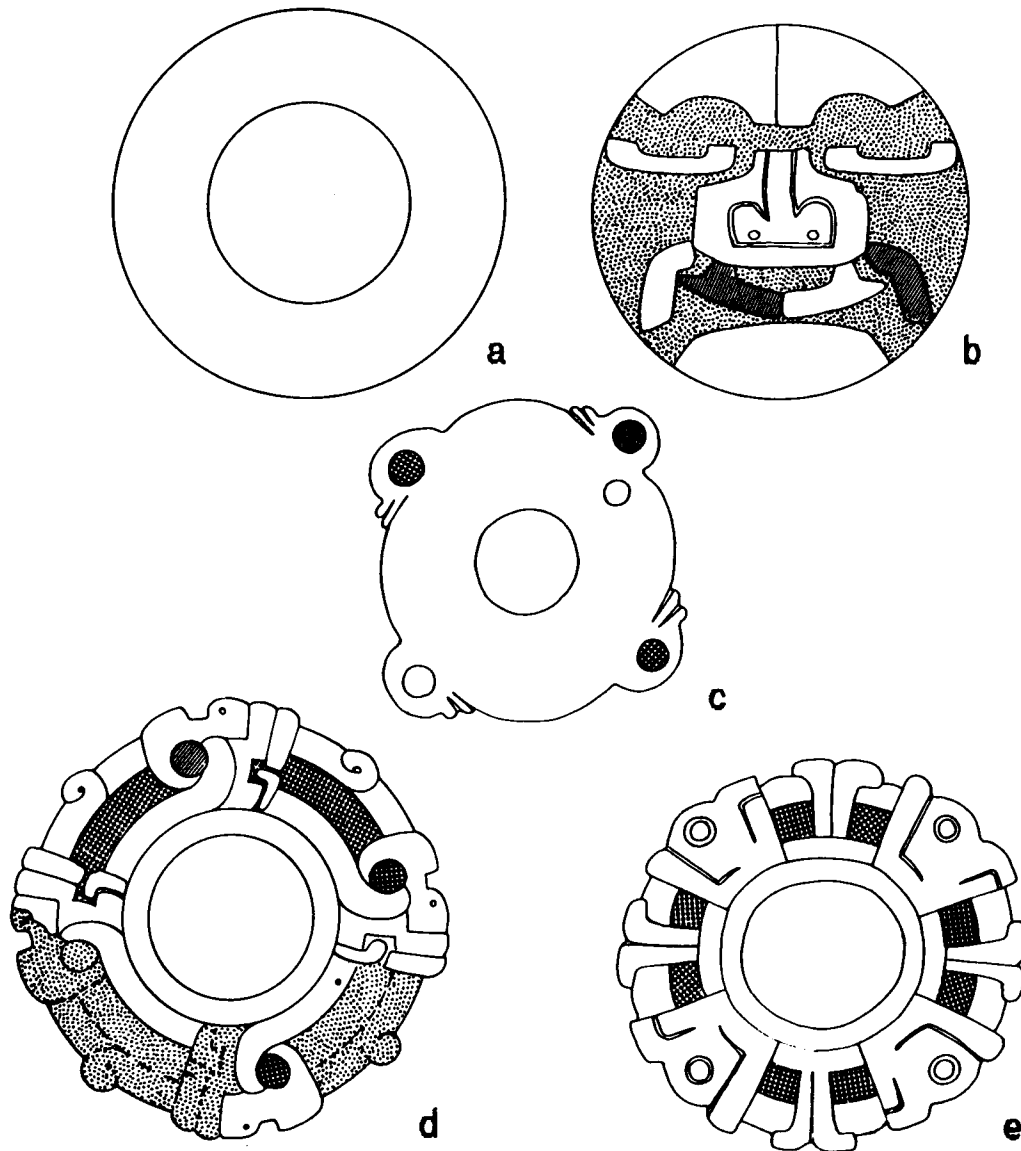
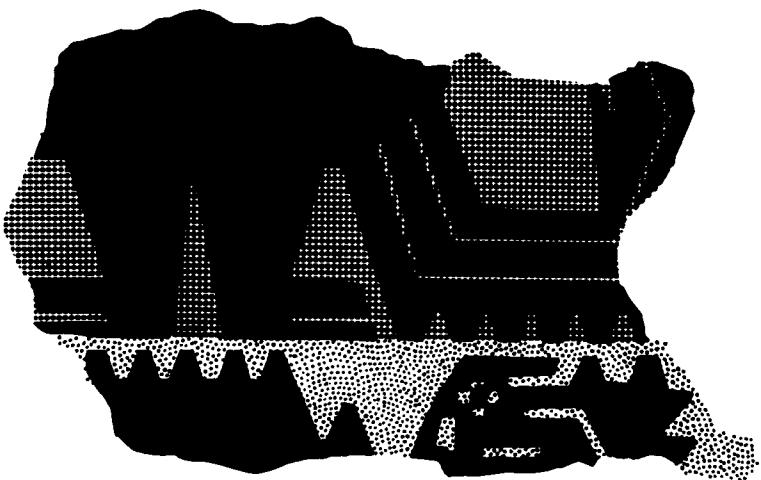
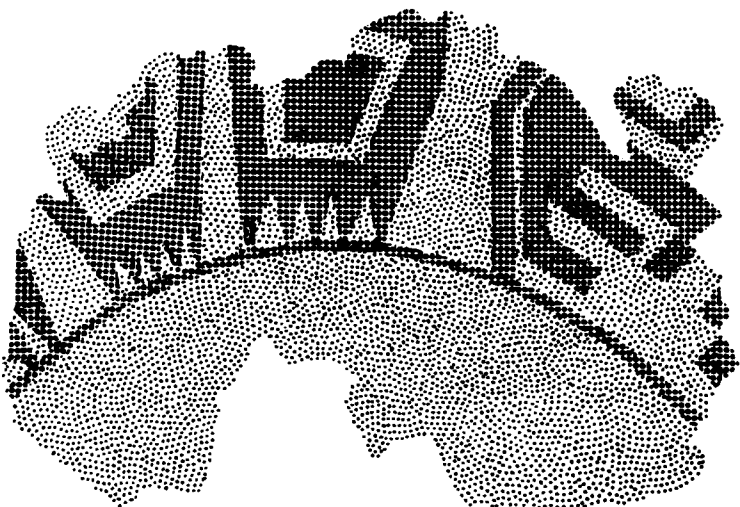


Figure 5. La Galgada, Tablachaca Valley, Preceramic and Initial Period art. (a) North Mound, floor 11, early Chavín offering deposit. Perforated shell disk. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 84,6. (b) North Mound, floor 11, early Chavín offering deposit. Slate disk with shell mosaic. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 84,9-10. (c) North Mound, floor 11, early Chavín offering deposit. Perforated *Spondylus* disk, with shell (?) and stone inlays. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 84,5. (d) North Mound, floor 11, early Chavín offering deposit. Perforated *Spondylus* disk, shell and red pigment inlays. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 84,8. (e) North Mound, floor 11, early Chavín offering deposit. Perforated shell disk, red pigment inlay. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 84,7. (continued on following page) (f) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. South Mound, floors 17/21, Burials C-11:E-8/C-10:I-10. Ceramic vessel and lid. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 159. (g) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. South Mound, floor 17, Burial C-11:E-8. Looped bag fragment. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 149. (h) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. South Mound, floor 18, Burial C-12:D-1. Stone mortar. From Grieder *et al.*:figure 89j. (i) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. Burial C-12:D-1. Interlaced belt fragment. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 151. (j) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. Burial C-12:D-1. Looped bag fragment. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 148. (k) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. South Mound, floor 24, Burial D-11:C-3 (body II). Strombus shell rabbit pendant with turquoise and shell inlays. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 74gg. (l) Preceramic and Initial Period levels. Burial D-11:C-3. Looped bag colored black-on-yellow. From Grieder *et al.* 1988:figure 134.



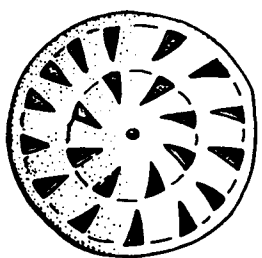
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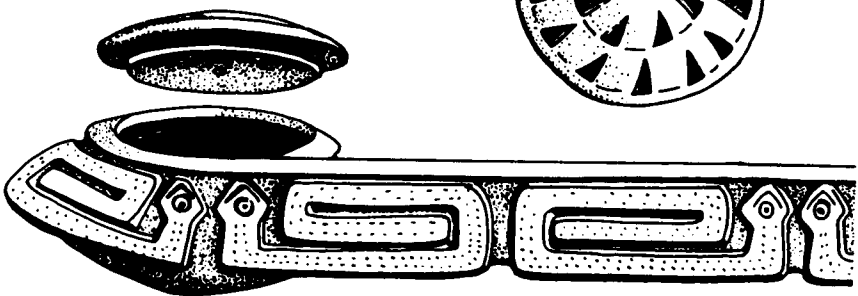
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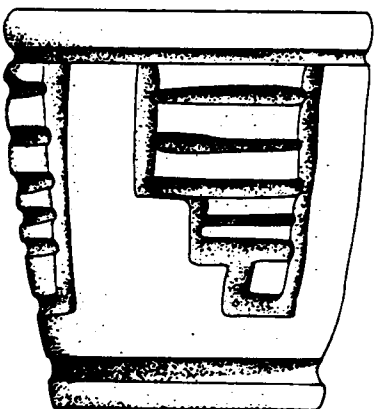
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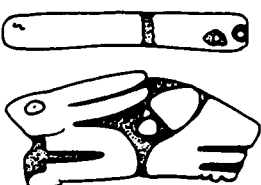


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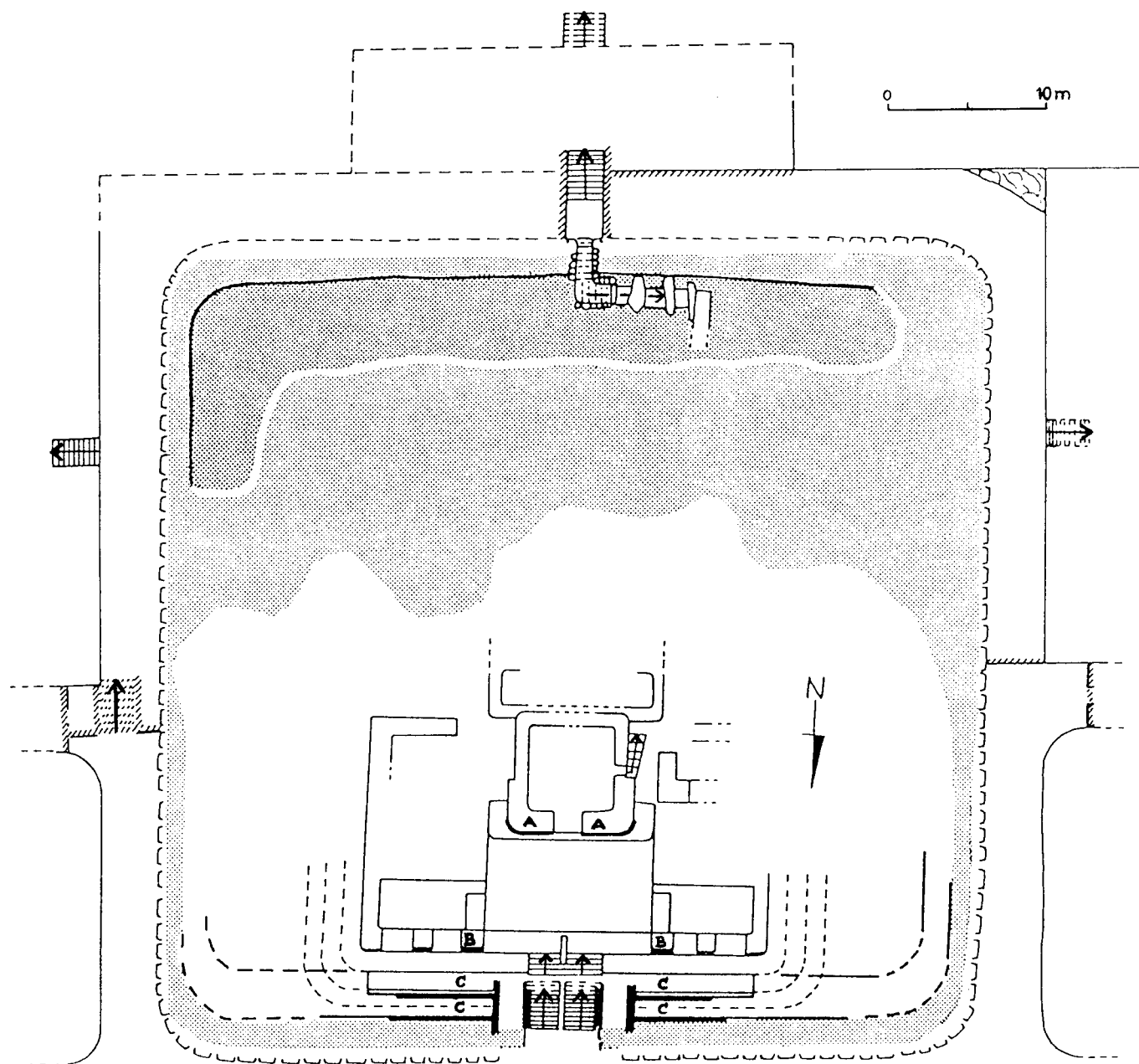


Figure 6. (*this page*) Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, construction phases and location of mural art. Central white area: Adobe construction phases I-III with locations of mural art (AA-CC). Hachure: Upper and lower platforms of construction phase IV, with the stone reliefs set into the lower containing wall. From Bischof 1987b:figure 3.

Figure 7. (*following page*) Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, construction phase IV, selected motifs of stone façade. (a) After Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:48. (b) After Tello 1956:figure 97. (c) After Tello 1956:figure 92. (d) After Tello 1956:figure 59. (e) After a photo by the author. (f) After Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:40. (g) After Tello 1956:figure 78. (h) After Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:22. (i) After Tello 1956:figure 53. Corrected after Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:30.

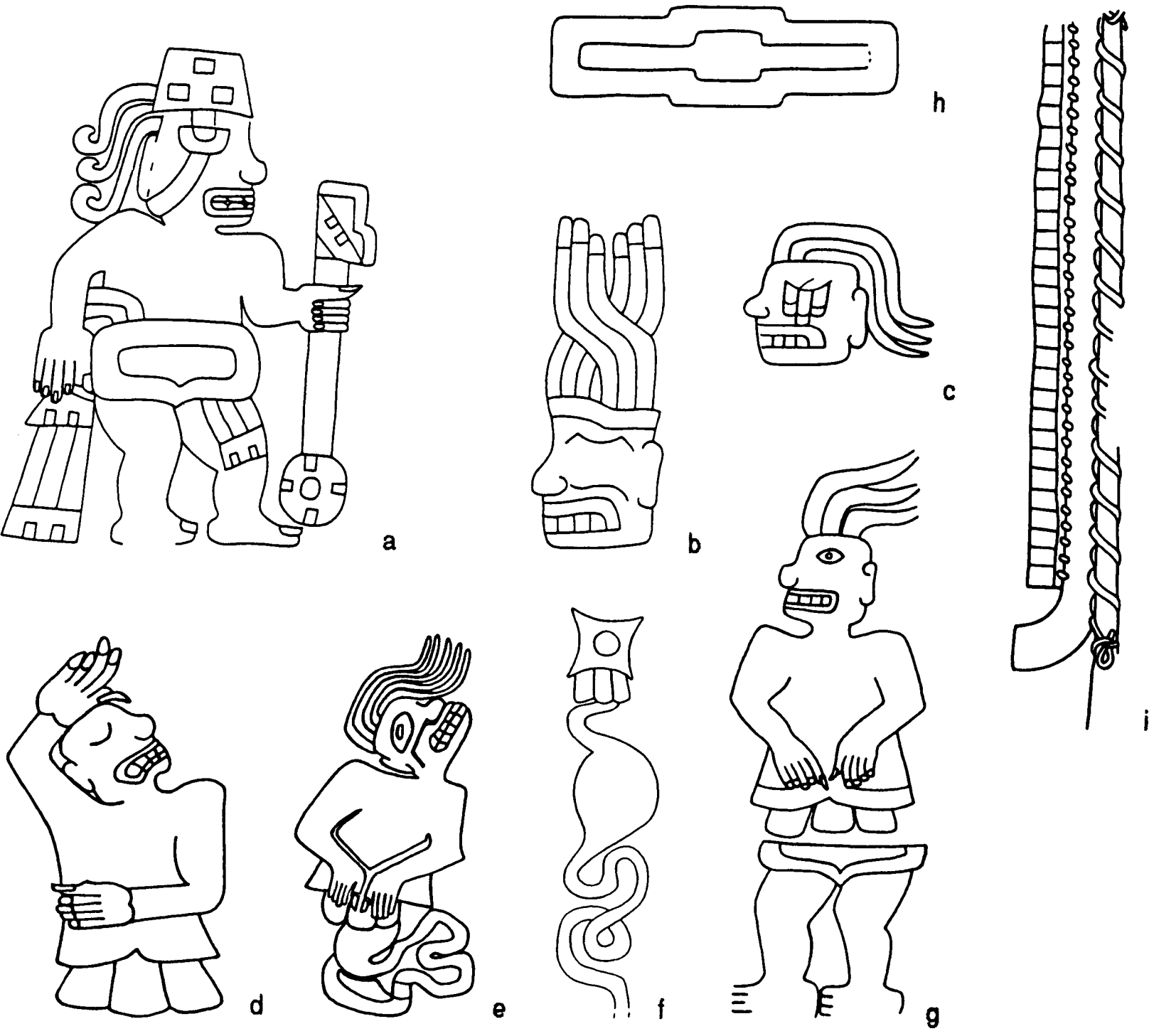


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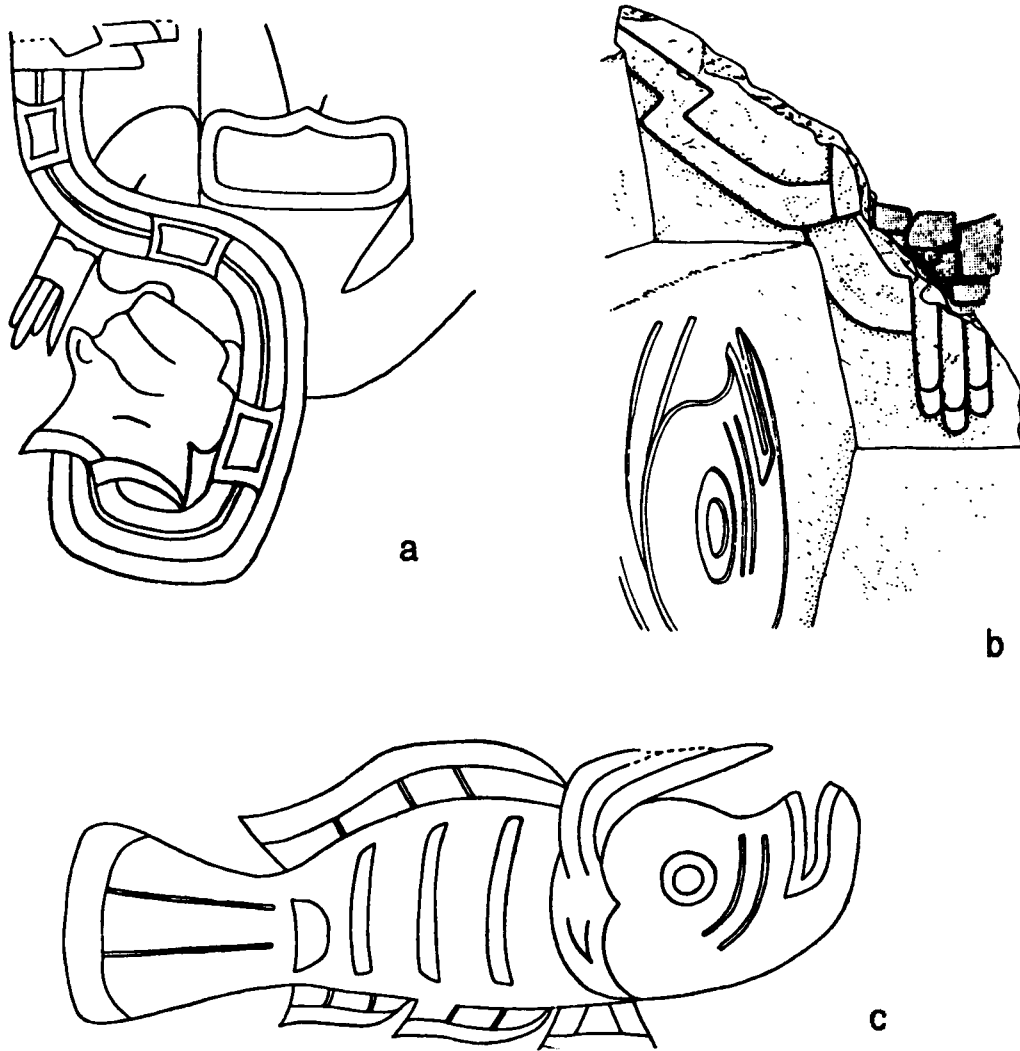


Figure 8. Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, construction phases I-III, motifs of adobe façades. (a) From Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:figure 2. (b) Drawn from photo by the author. (c) From Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:figure 3.

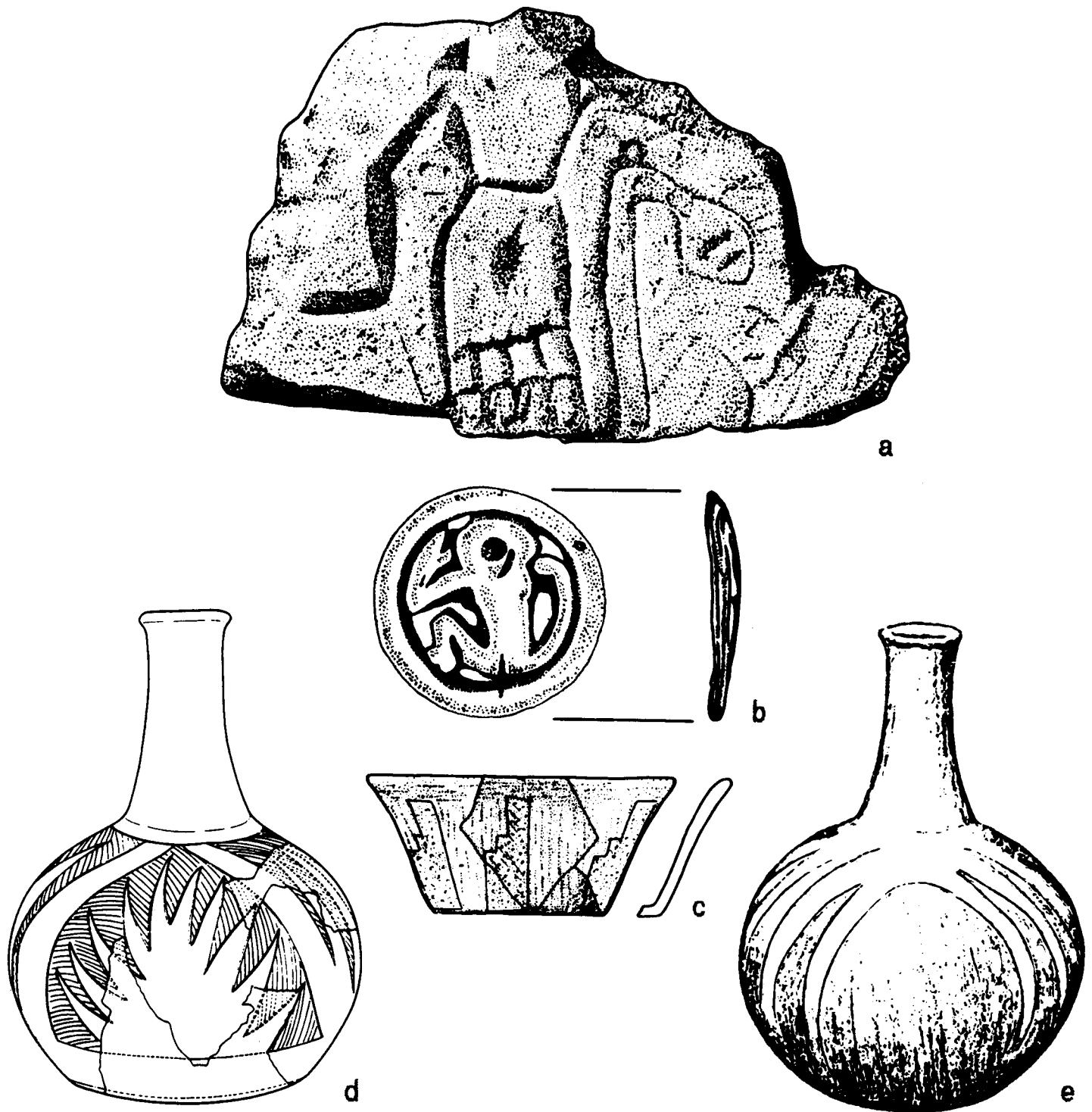


Figure 9. Initial Period art from Montegrande/Tembladera, Jequetepeque Valley. (a) Plaza terrace wall. Reused stone relief fragment. From Tellenbach 1986:plate 132,6. (b) South platform, early construction phase, offering deposit. *Spondylus* pendant with cutout design. From Tellenbach 1986:plate 132,1. (c) Ceramic bowl. From Tellenbach 1981:figure 8,3. (d) Looted burial in south platform. Long necked bottle. From Tellenbach 1986:plate 132,2. (e) Burial below south platform. Long necked bottle. After Tellenbach 1986:plate 131,4.

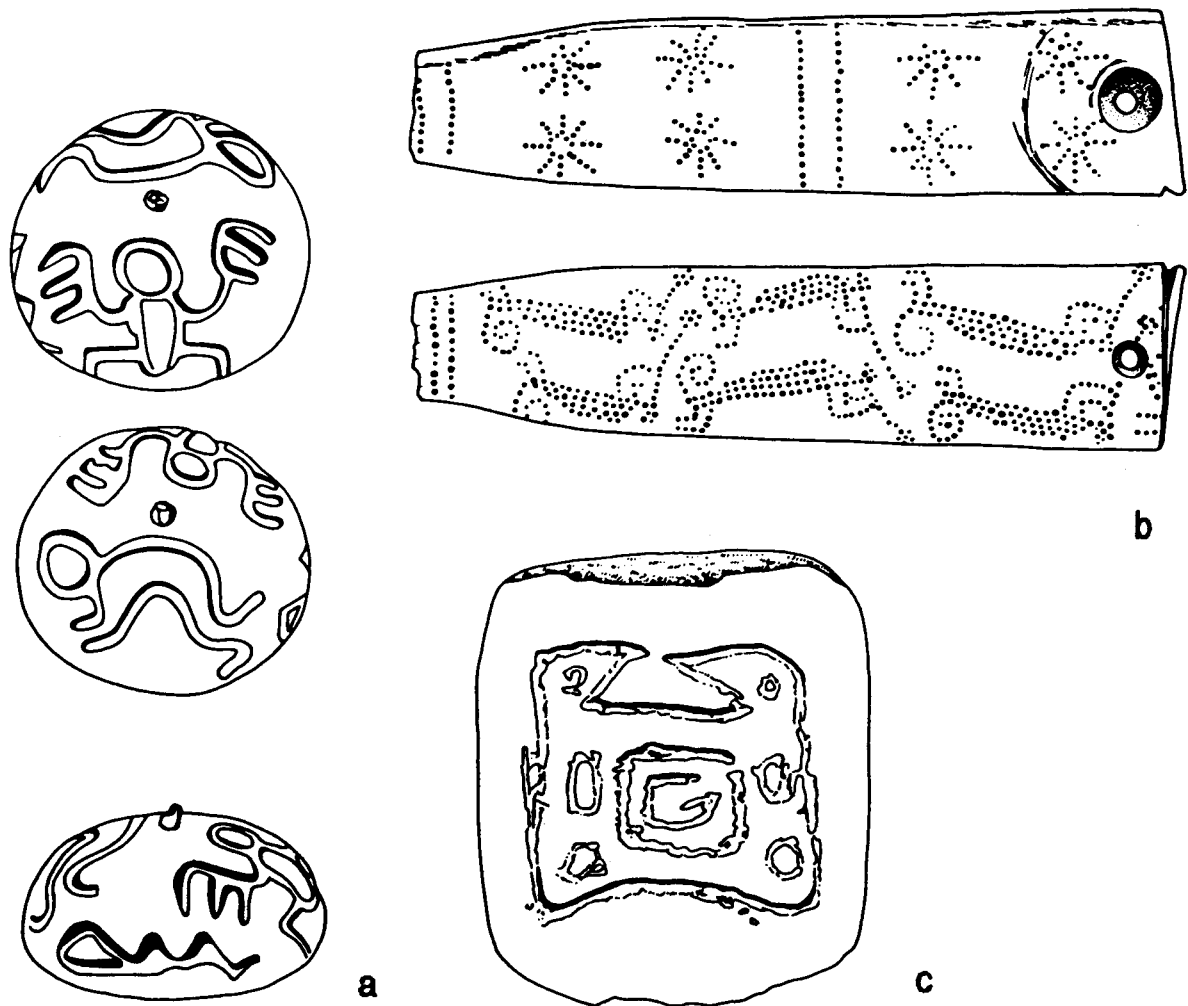


Figure 10. (*this page*) Preceramic art from Asia, Unit 1, Asia Valley. (a) Spindle whorl of organic material. After photograph by author. (b) Bone spatula fragment, reworked as a pendant. After photograph by author. (c) Ceramic mirror back, incised and painted red. After photograph by author.

Figure 11. (*following page*) Preceramic art from coastal sites. (a) El Paraíso, Chillón Valley, Unit 1. Bone Carving. From Engel 1967:figure 19. (b) El Paraíso, Chillón Valley, Unit 1. Incised mural graffito. From Engel 1967:figure 40. (c) El Paraíso, Chillón Valley, Unit 1. Incised mural graffito. From Engel 1967:figure 44. (d) El Paraíso, Chillón Valley, Unit 1. Incised mural graffito. From Engel 1967:figure 43. (e) El Paraíso, Chillón Valley, Unit 1. Incised mural graffito. From Engel 1967:figure 42. (f) El Paraíso, Chillón Valley, Unit 1. Incised mural graffito. From Engel 1967:figure 41. (g) Aspero, Supe Valley, Huaca de los Idolos, Room 2, cache. Figurine of unfired clay. From Feldman 1985:figure 7. (h) Aspero, Supe Valley, Huaca de los Sacrificios, cache. Carved wooden tray. From Feldman 1985:figure 5. (i) Salinas de Chao, Chao Valley. Fragment of incised stone bowl. After Alva A. 1986b:figure 19D.

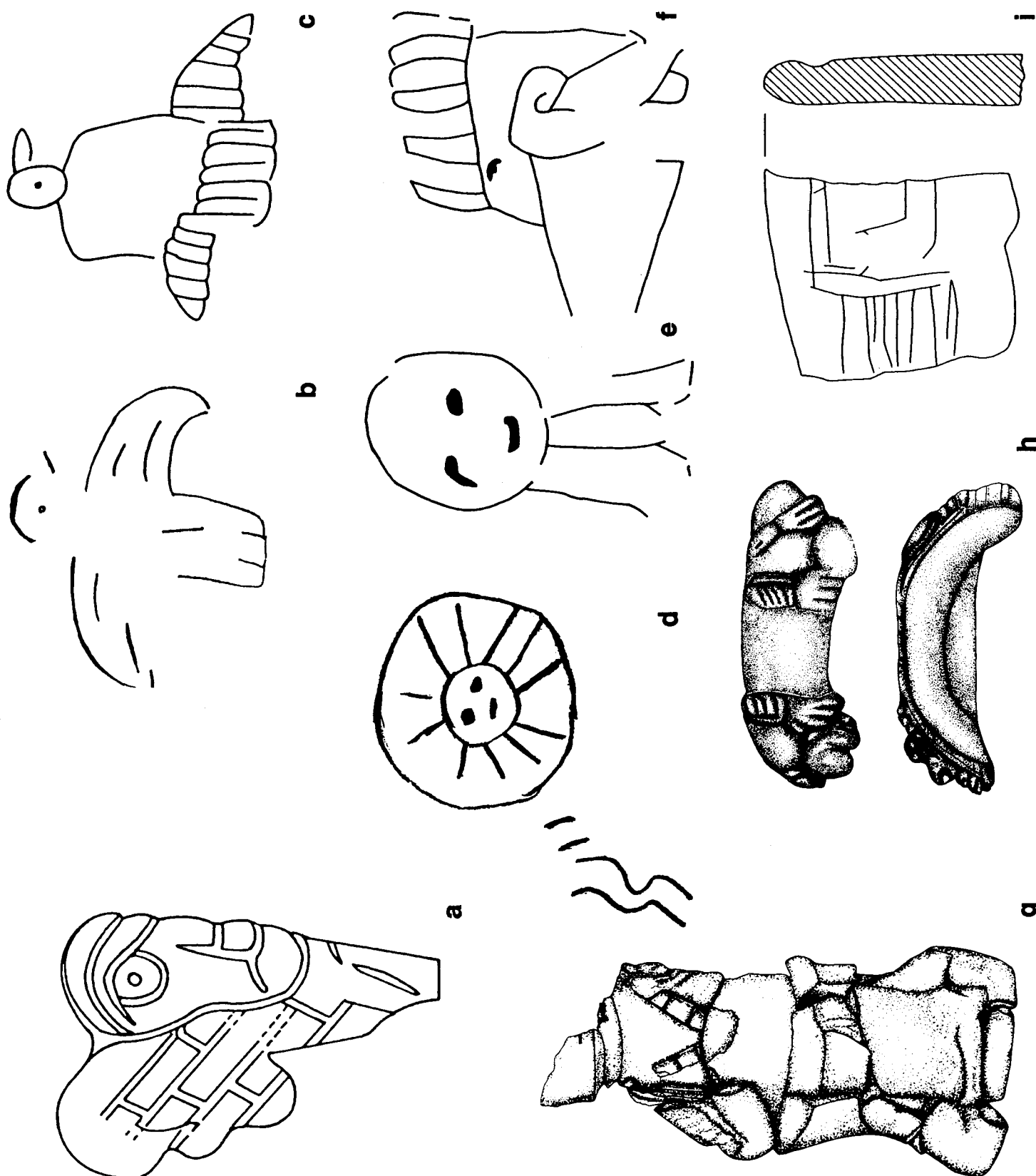


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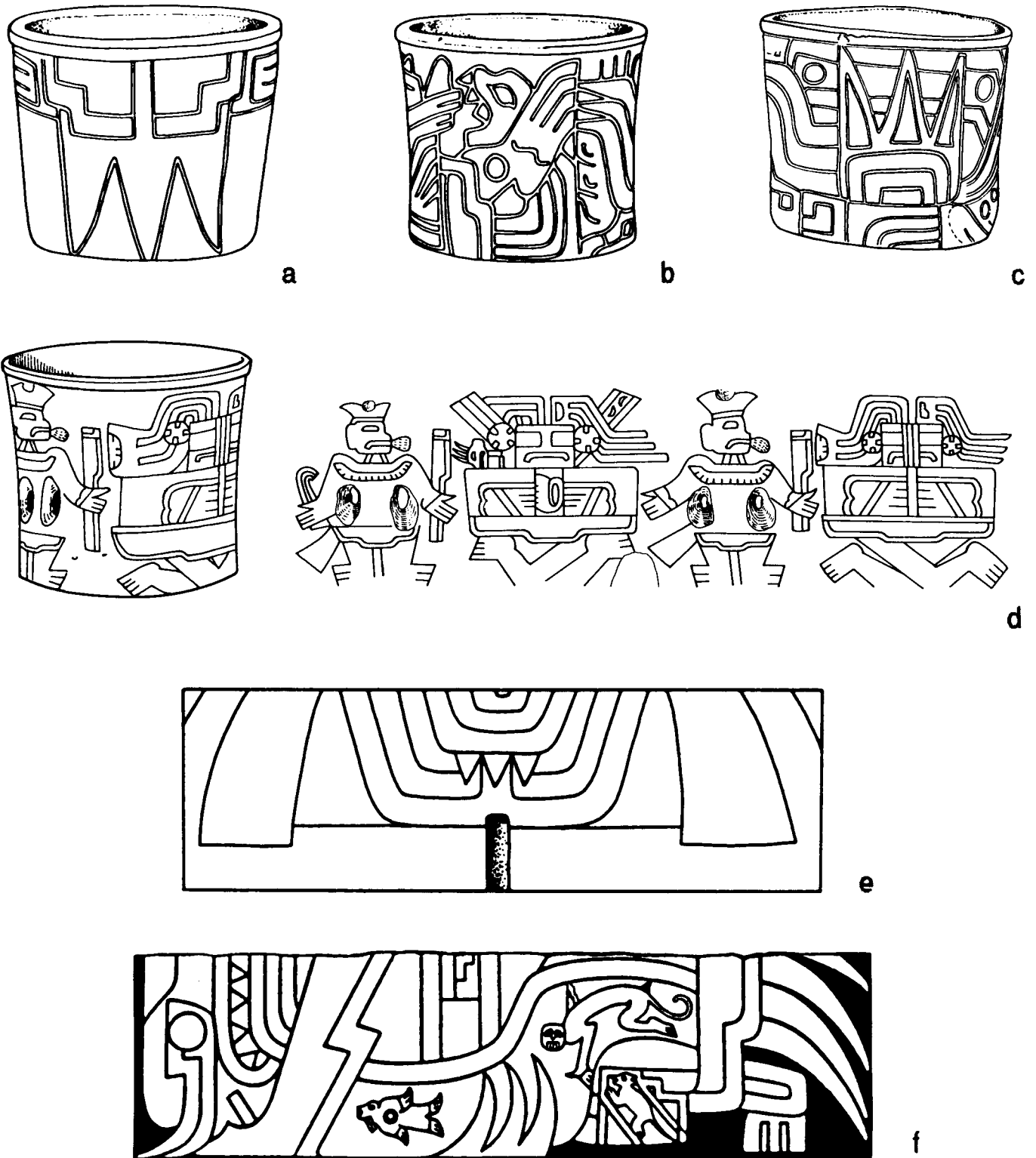


Figure 12 (caption on following page).

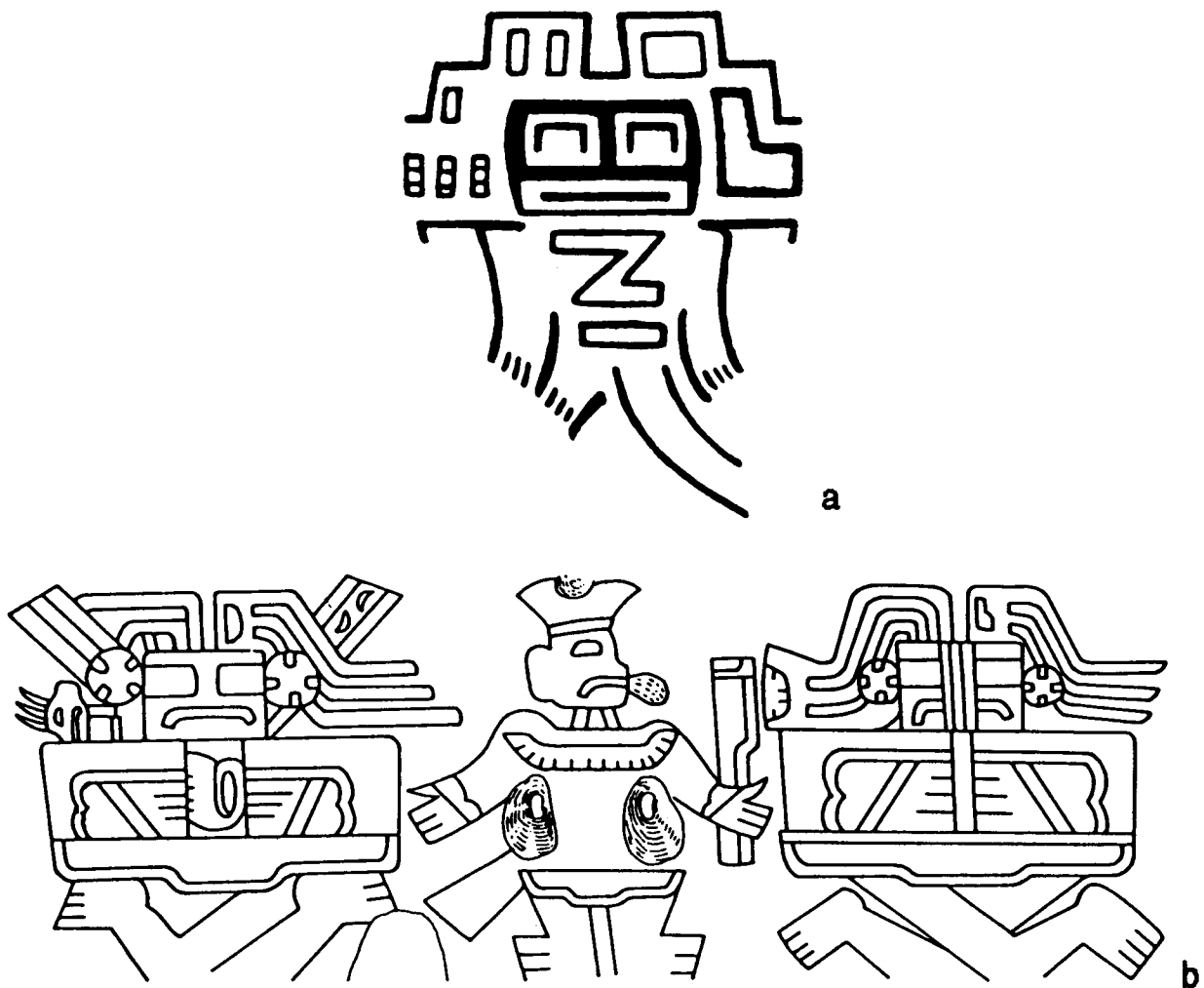


Figure 12. (*previous page*) Punkurí Style samples. (a) Punkurí, tomb. Stone bowl (see Figure 3a). (b) Huaca Suchiman. Santa Valley, stone bowl. After Tello 1943:figure 17b. (c) Stone bowl, probably the one also shown by Carrión C. 1948:plate XI,8, and attributed to the Nepeña Valley. After Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología archive photo. This bowl may, however, be identical with the "Suchiman" bowl (Figure 12b), the right side of which it seems to match. None of these bowls have ever been fully illustrated, and present locations are unknown for all. (d) Chiclayo region. Incised stone mortar in the Brüning Museum, Lambayeque. From Kauffmann D. and Eielson 1981:30, 31. (e) Punkurí. Upper mural of first construction phase (see Figure 3c). (f) Punkurí. Lower mural of first construction phase (see Figure 3d).

Figure 13. (*this page*) Design comparisons: (a) Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, Burial 903. Pyroengraved gourd, detail. After Bird *et al.* 1985:figures 42-43. (b) Chiclayo region. Incised stone mortar, second "worshipper" omitted (see Figure 12d).

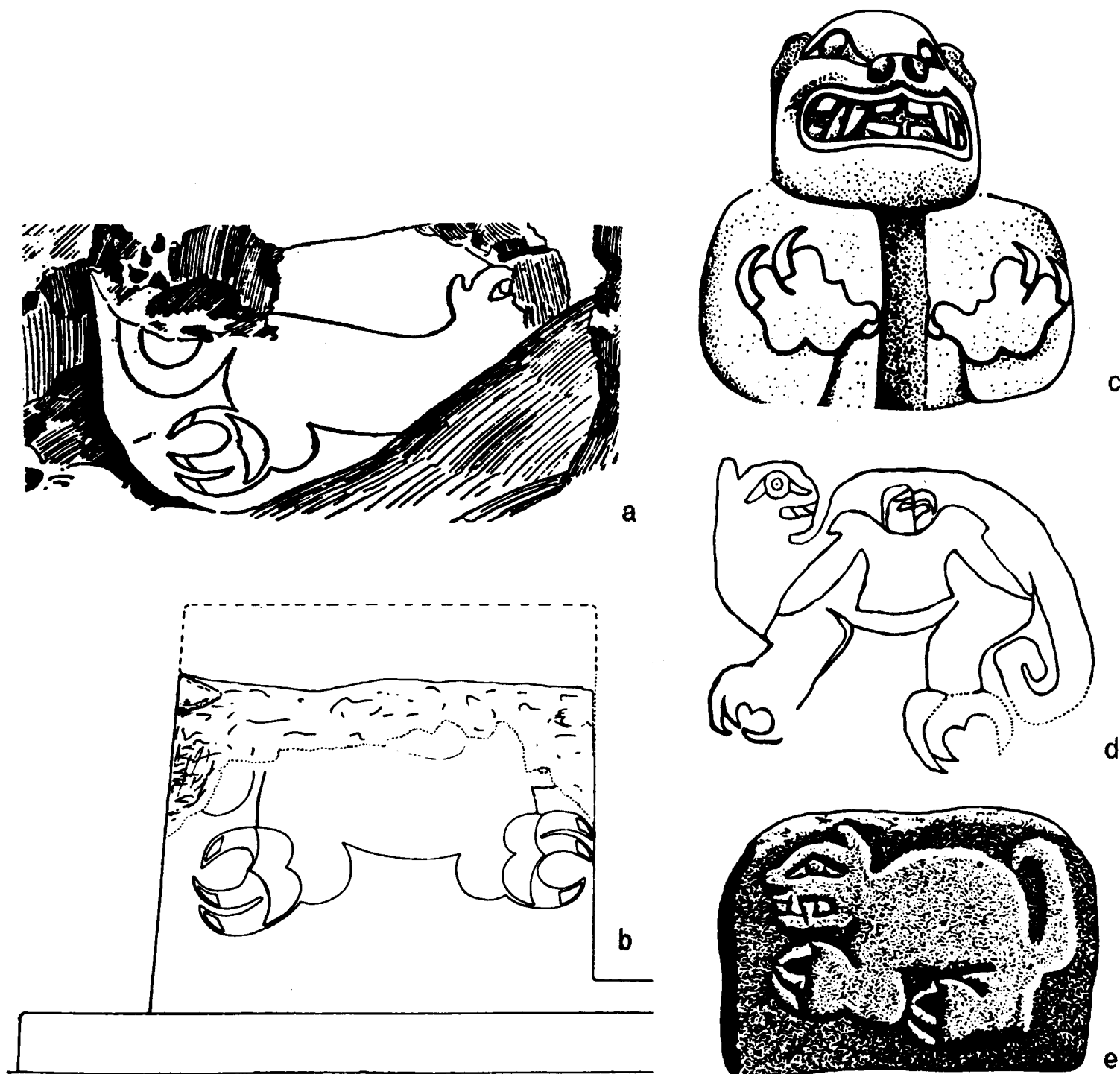


Figure 14. Sechín Style felines. (a) Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, construction phase I. Painted mural. From Tello 1956:figure 109. (b) Same mural after 1971 drawing by L. Samaniego R. From Bischof 1985:figure 69. (c) Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, second construction phase. Monumental clay sculpture (see Figure 3b). (d) Quebrada del Felino, Jequetepeque Valley, Boulder 3. Petroglyph. From Pimentel S. 1986:figure 59. (e) Chavín de Huántar, context unknown. Stone relief. From Tello 1960:figure 62. Compare Figure 21c.

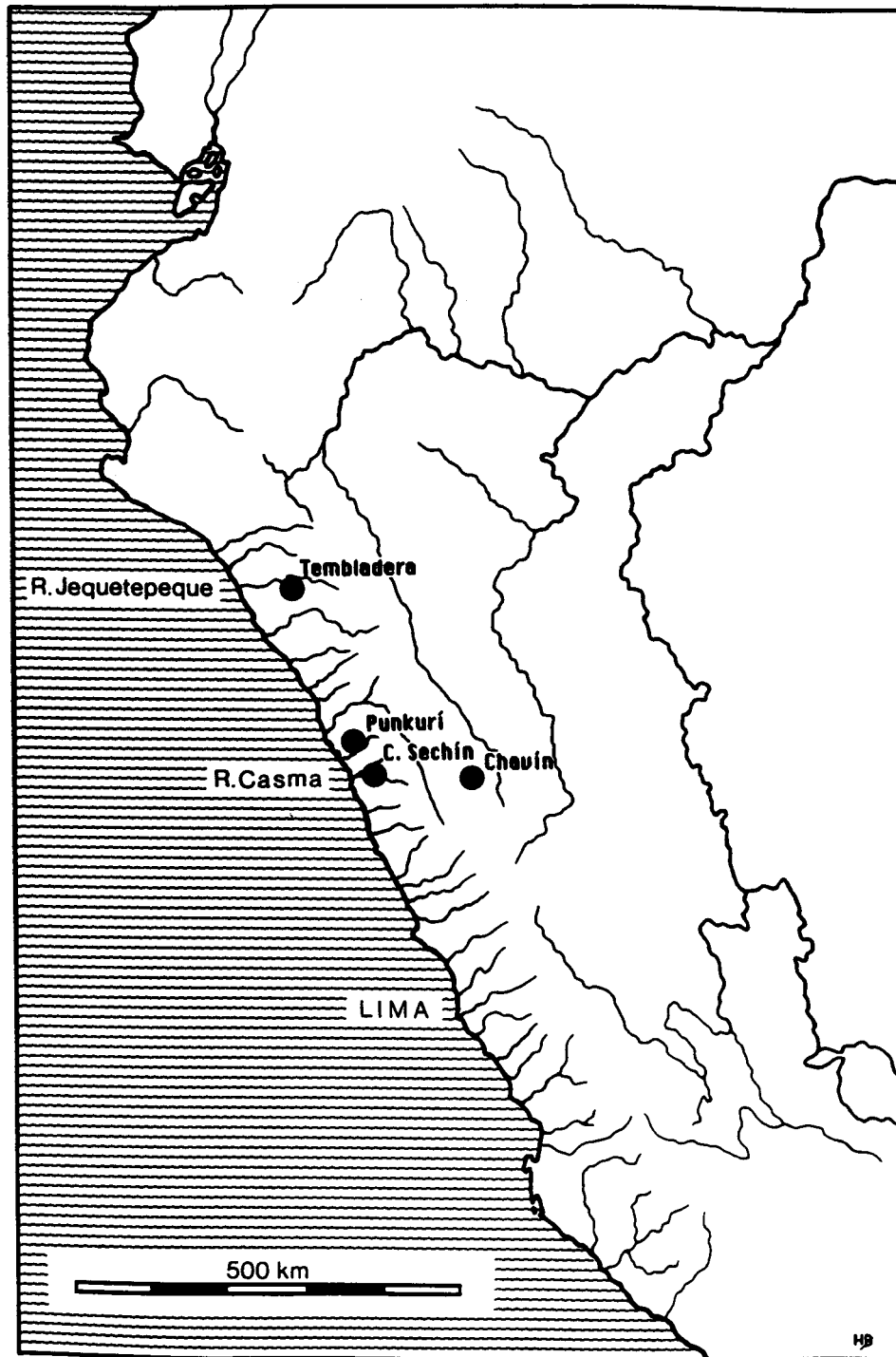


Figure 15. Geographical distribution of Sechín Style felines.

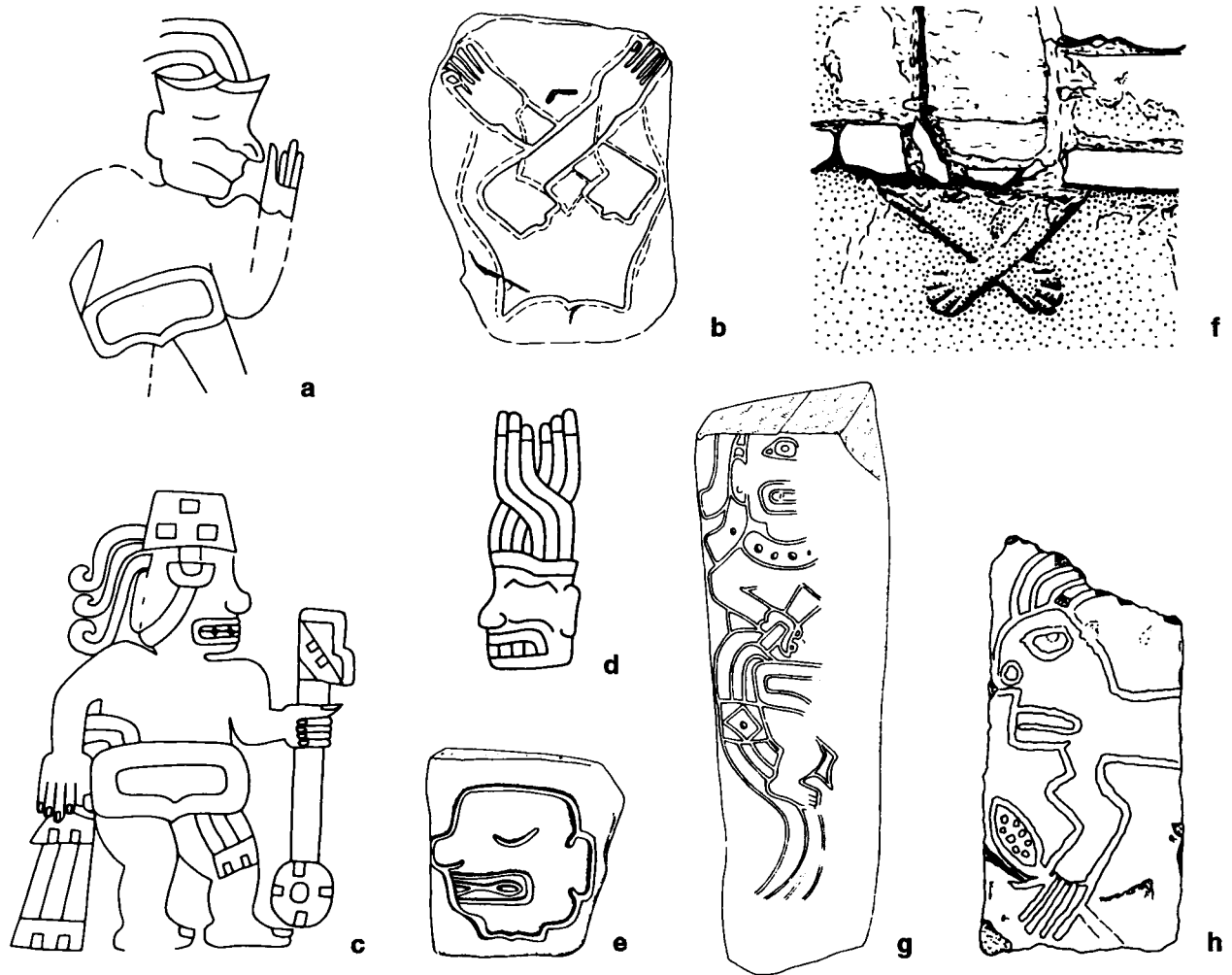


Figure 16. Sechín Style anthropomorphs. (a) Cerro Sechín, Construction Phase I. Clay relief (inverted here; see Figure 8a). (b) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone reliefs. After Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:26. (c) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone relief (see Figure 7a). (d) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone reliefs (see Figure 7b). (e) Sechín Alto, Casma Valley. Stone relief. From Bischof 1985:figure 84. (f) Kotosh, Temple of the Crossed Hands. Eastern wall relief, clay. After Izumi and Terada 1972:color plate 2. (g) Siete Huacas, Nepeña Valley. Stone relief reused as a lintel. Original context unknown. From photo by author. (h) Carhuas area, Callejón de Huaylas, unknown context. Stone relief. Stylistic affiliation unspecified, but simplicity of design resembles Sechín Style anthropomorphs. Carhuas, Parochial School. 97 cm high, 45 cm wide, 30 cm thick. From photo by author.

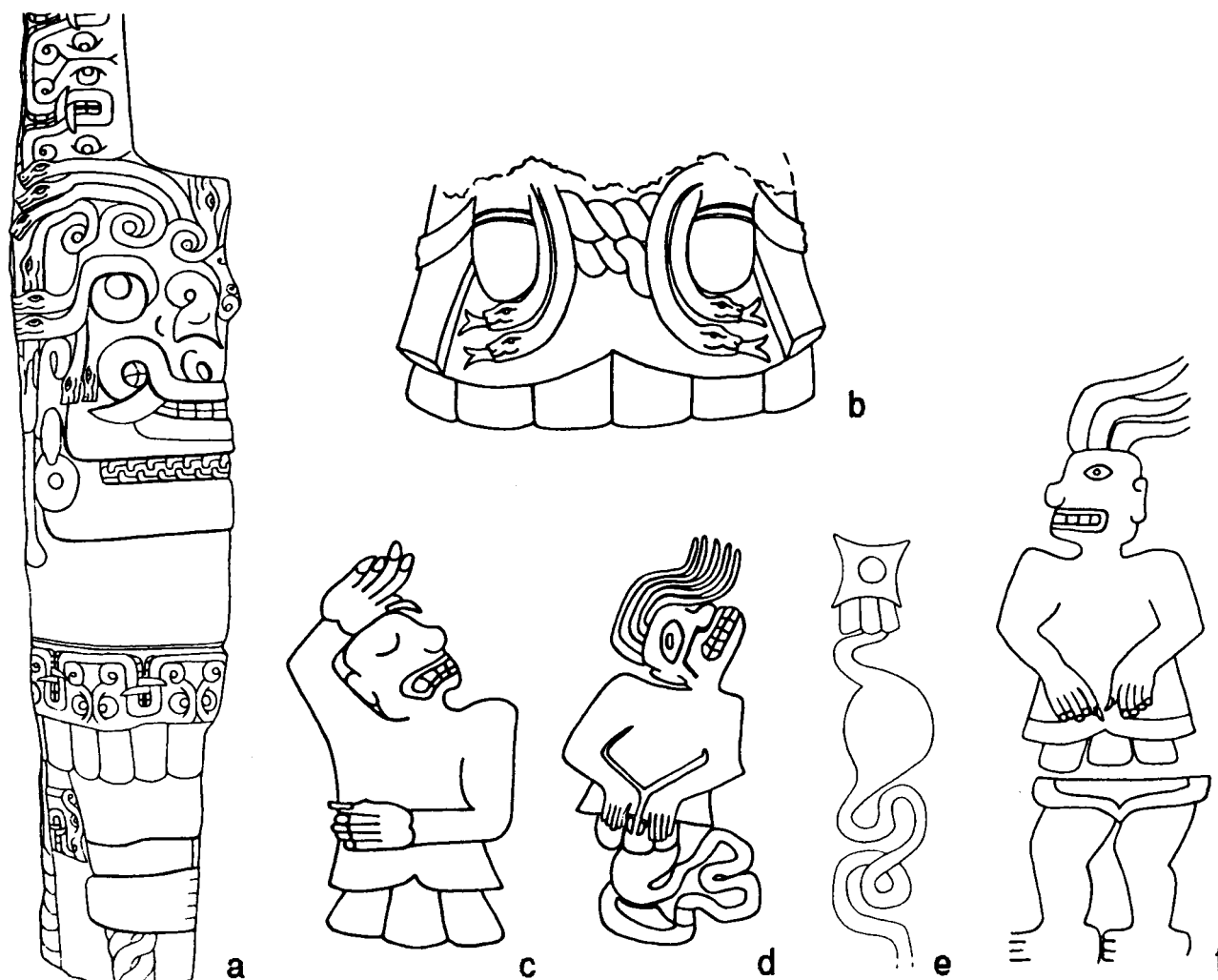


Figure 17. (*this page*) Lobed motif: skirt hem v. tattered flesh. (a) Chavín de Huántar, "Old Temple", Lanzón stone sculpture. From Rowe 1962:figure 7. (b) Moxeke, Casma Valley. Clay sculpture. After Tello 1956:figure 30. (c) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone relief, sectioned body with lobed appendices (spleen, liver? See Figure 7d). (d) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone relief, sectioned body with lobed appendices, stomach and intestines (see Figure 7e). (e) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone relief, extracted intestines with lobed appendices (see Figure 7f). (f) Cerro Sechín, construction phase IV. Stone relief, sectioned body with lobed appendices (see Figure 7g).

Figure 18. (*opposite page*) Chavín A Style: Yura-yako Type Anthropomorphs. (a) Huaca Prieta, Chicama, Burial 867. Carved bone spatula (see Figure 4 e). (b) Chavín de Huántar, unknown context. Stone relief. From Tello 1960:figure 82. (c) Chiclayo Airport. Incised "Strombus Pickman". From Bischof 1987b:figure 14. (d) Alto de la Guitarra, Moche Valley. Petroglyph. From Roe 1974:figure 27. (e) Garagay, Rimac Valley, Northeast section (Mound A). Painted clay relief. After Ravines 1984:figure 17.

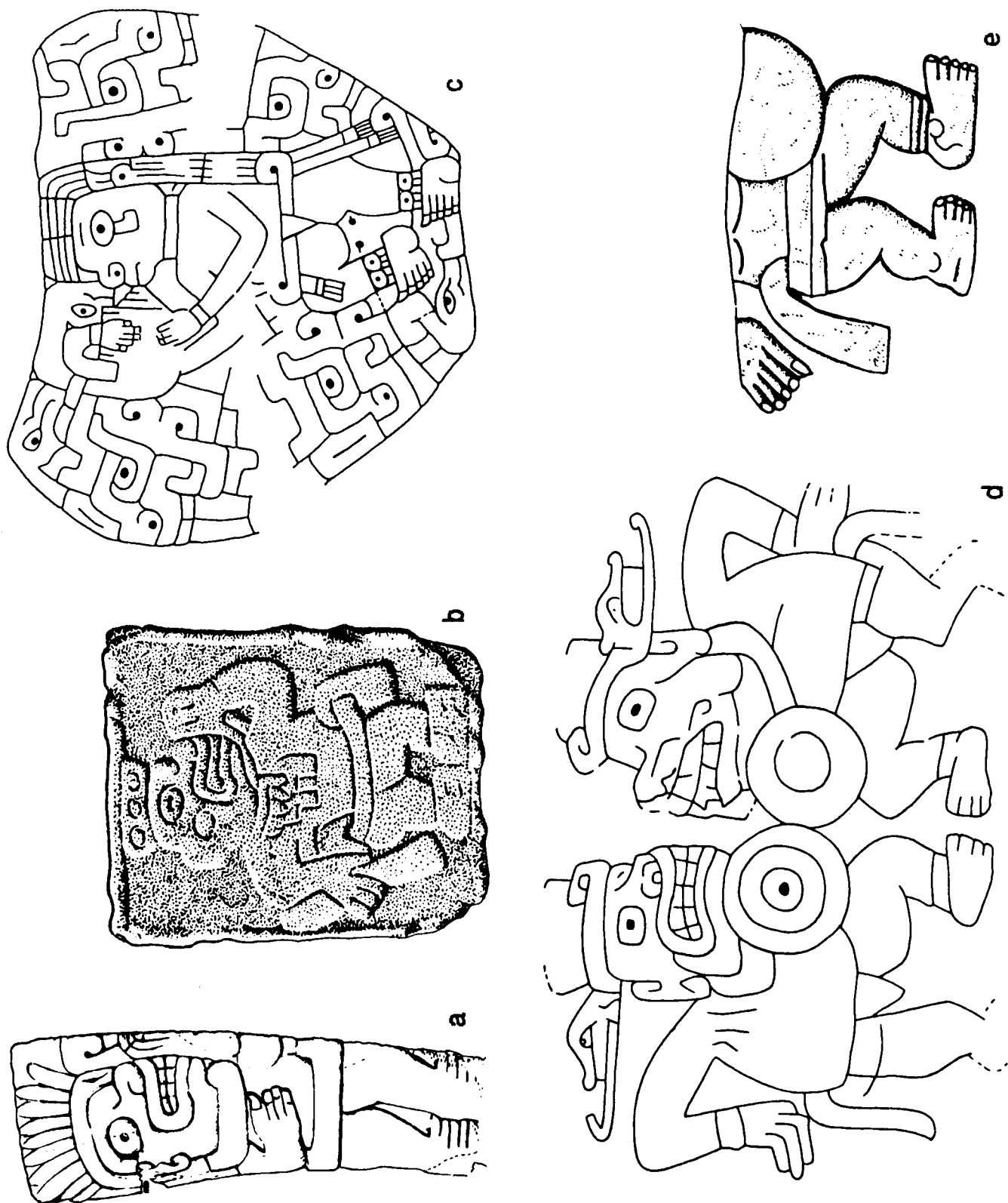


Figure 18 (caption on opposite page).

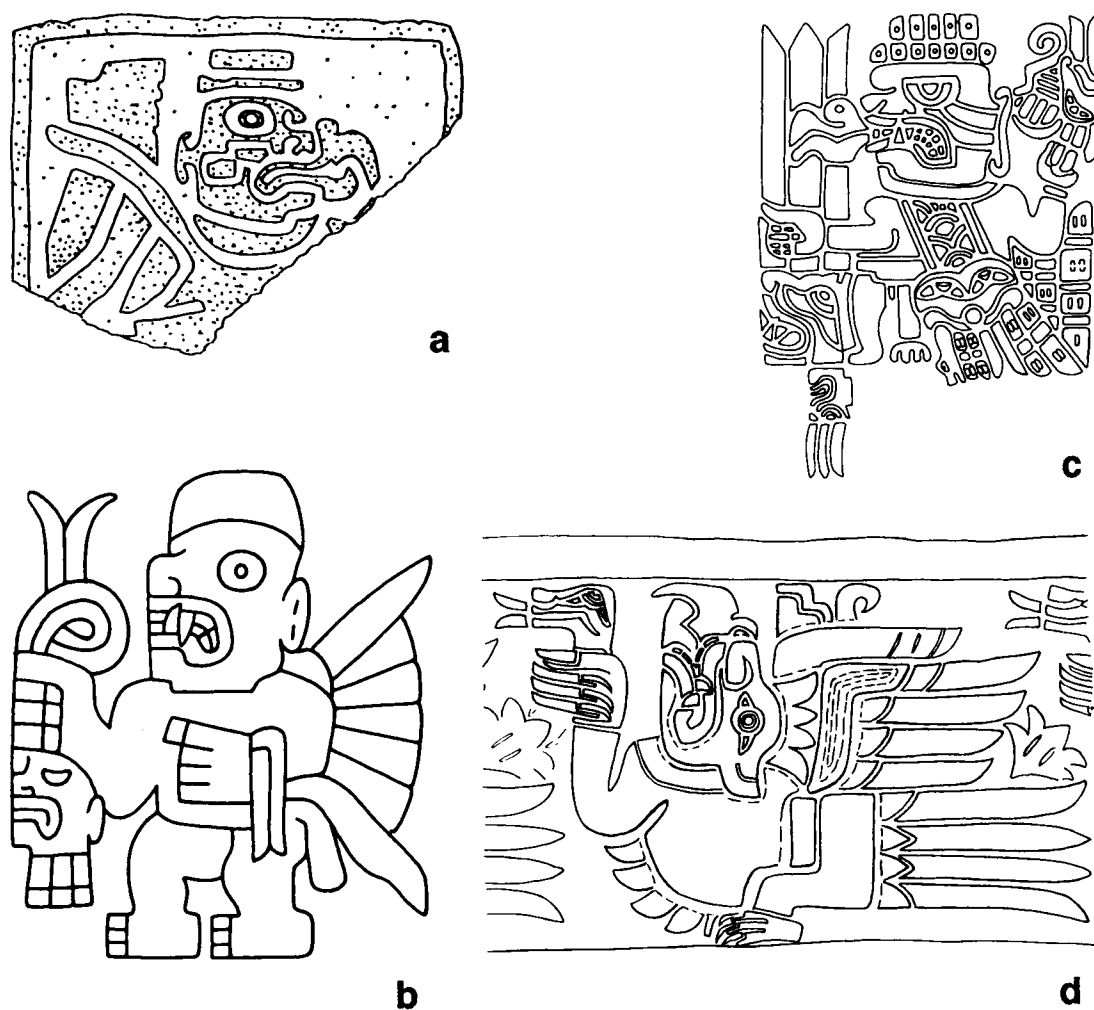


Figure 19. Chavín A Style: Yura-yako Type supernatural beings. (a) Chavín de Huántar, original context unknown. Stone relief of anthropomorphic bird. After Ayres 1961:figure 17. (b) Yura-yako, Chavín region, original context unknown. Stone relief of winged headhunter. From Roe 1974:figure 28e. (c) Jequetepeque region. "Rondón" miniature stone cup with (winged?) anthropomorphic bird headhunter. From Roe 1974:figure 34. (d) Reportedly Limoncarro, Jequetepeque region. Stone beaker with Puma-headed bird. After Lapiner 1976:figure 118. The upturned head facing the sky is a feature that can be noted repeatedly, for example on Figures 23b (original position on boulder), 24a, 24c, 26, and 27d (agnathic nose "kenning").

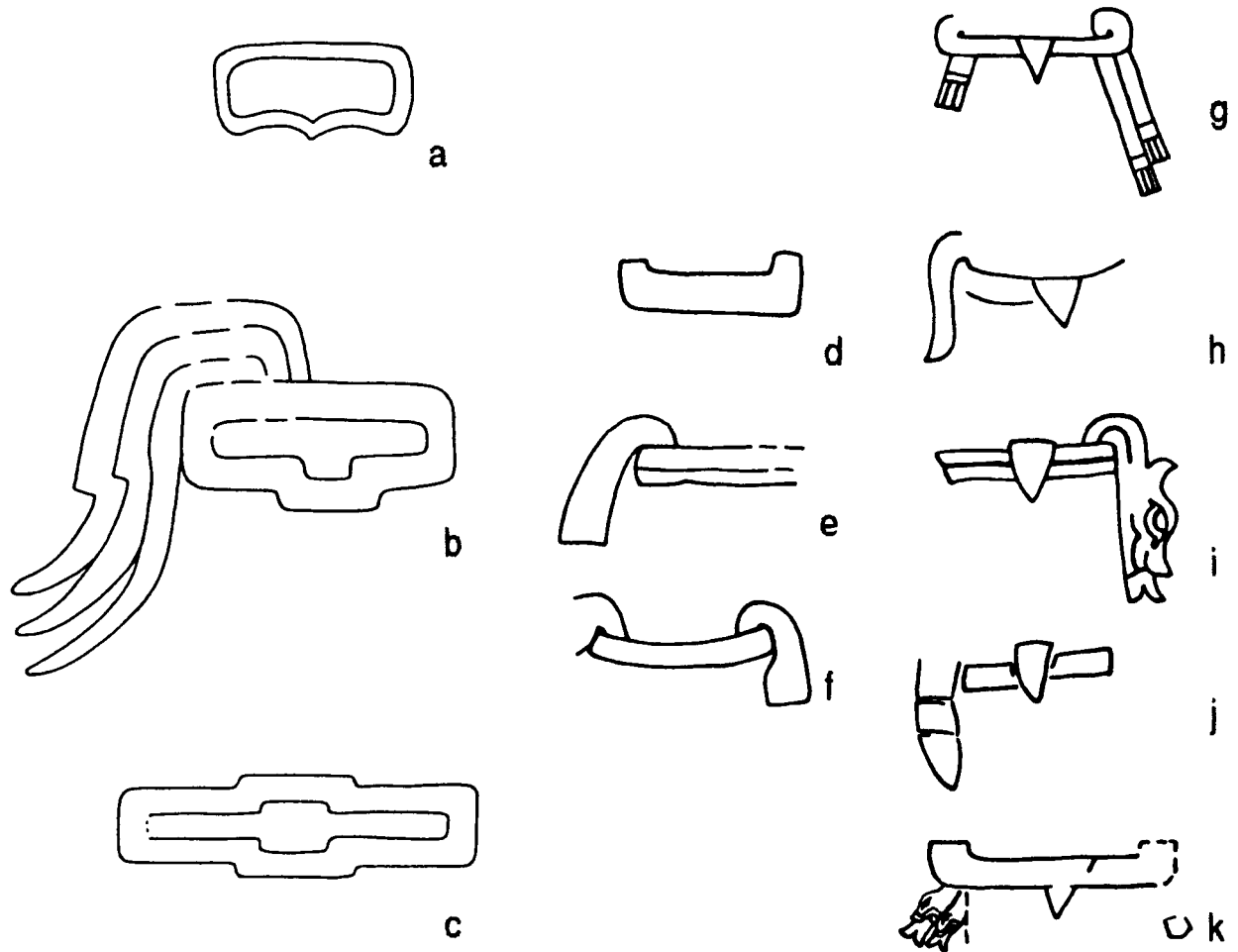


Figure 20. Design comparison: Belts. (a) Sechín Style belt from Cerro Sechín, as represented on clay sculpture (see Figure 8a). (b) Sechín Style belt from Cerro Sechín, as represented on stone sculpture. After Jiménez B. and Samaniego R. 1973:24 (c) Sechín Style belt from Cerro Sechín, as represented on stone sculpture (see Figure 7h). (d) Chavín Style belt from Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley. See Figure 4e. (e) Chavín Style belt from Garagay, Rimac Valley, Northeast section (Mound A). See Figure 18e. (f) Chavín Style belt from Chavín de Huántar. See Figure 18b. (g) Chavín Style belt from Chiclayo. See Figure 18c. (h) Chavín Style belt from Alto de los Idolos, Moche Valley. See Figure 18d. (i) Chavín Style belt from Pójoc near Chavín de Huántar. After Burger 1982:figure 19. (j) Chavín Style belt from Yura-yako near Chavín de Huántar. After Tello 1960:figure 80. (k) Chavín Style belt from Huaca de los Reyes, Moche Valley. After Pozorski 1975:figure 25.

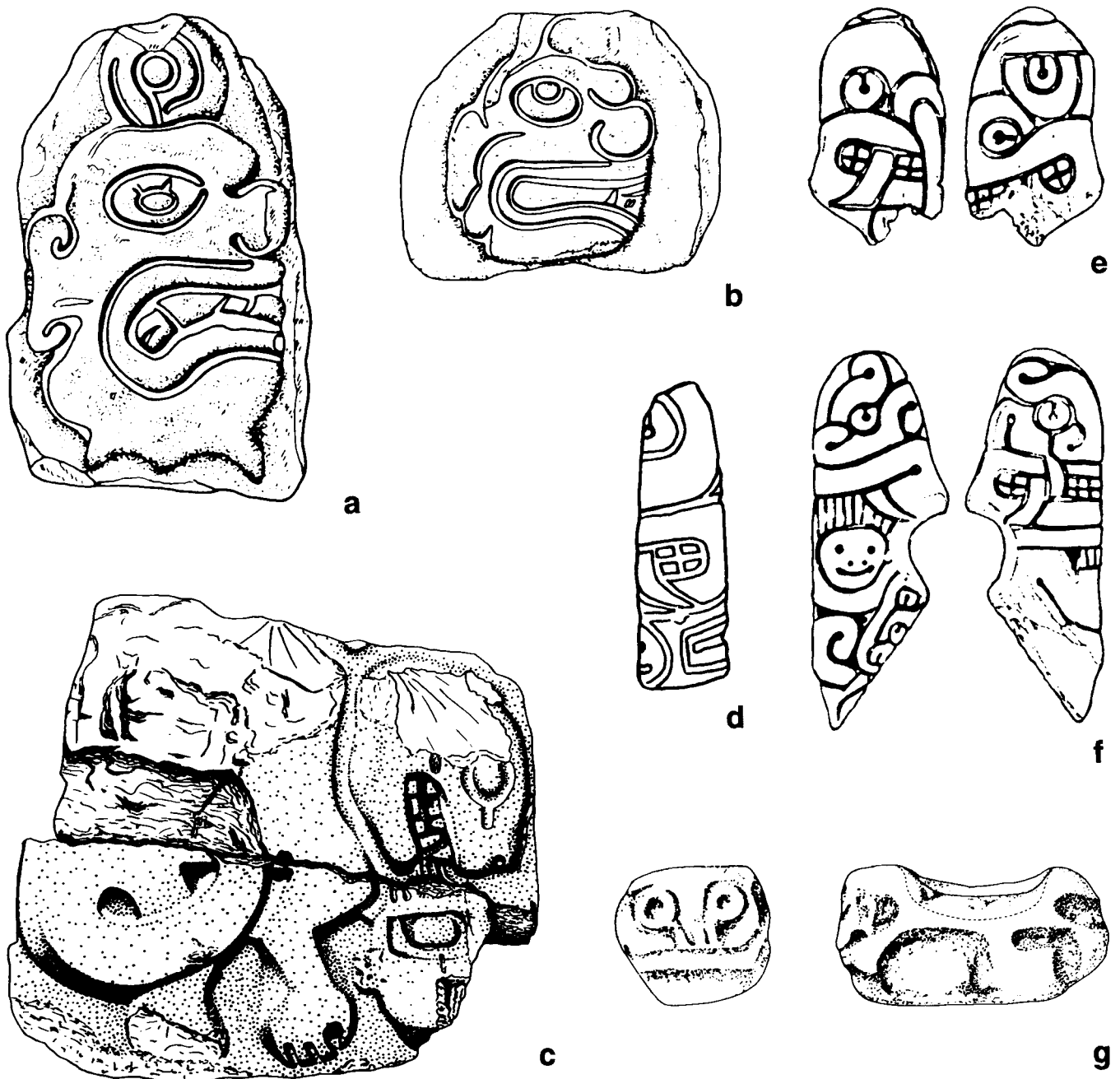


Figure 21. Early Chavín Style and related art in the Callejón de Huaylas and at Kotosh. (a) Chupacoto, Huaylas, context unknown. Stone relief, Yura-yako type anthropomorph. After photo by author. (b) Chupacoto, Huaylas, context unknown. Stone reliefs, Yura-yako type anthropomorph. After photo by author. (c) Callejón de Huaylas. Stone relief. Feline snatching human head. Huarás Museum; 70 cm high, 72 cm wide, 36 cm thick. Drawn from tracing and photograph by author, 1987; a third fragment seen by L. Samaniego R. was missing at the time. (d) Shillacoto, Huánuco, Tomb 4. Bone carving. Unspecified Chavín-related style. From Izumi *et al.* 1972:plate 45,8. (e) Shillacoto, Huánuco, Tomb 4. Bone carving. Unspecified Chavín-related style. From Izumi *et al.* 1972:figure 16. (f) Shillacoto, Huánuco, Tomb 4. Bone carving. Unspecified Chavín-related style. From Izumi *et al.* 1972:figure 16. (g) La Pampa, Callejón de Huaylas, Mound 8, R-11, Yesopampa Period. Animal-shaped stone mortar. From Terada 1979:plate 124,1.

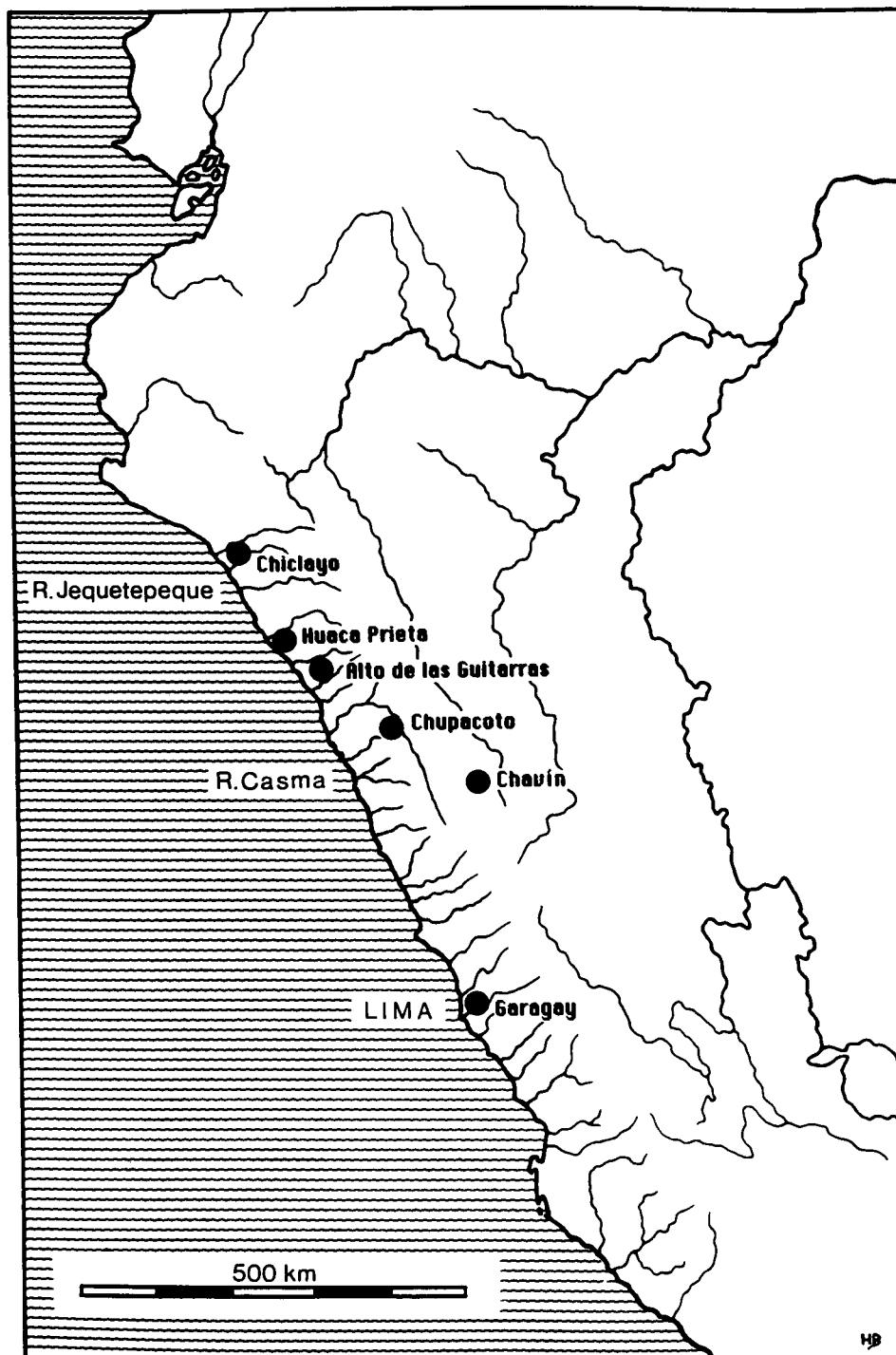


Figure 22. Geographical distribution of Yura-yako Type anthropomorphs.

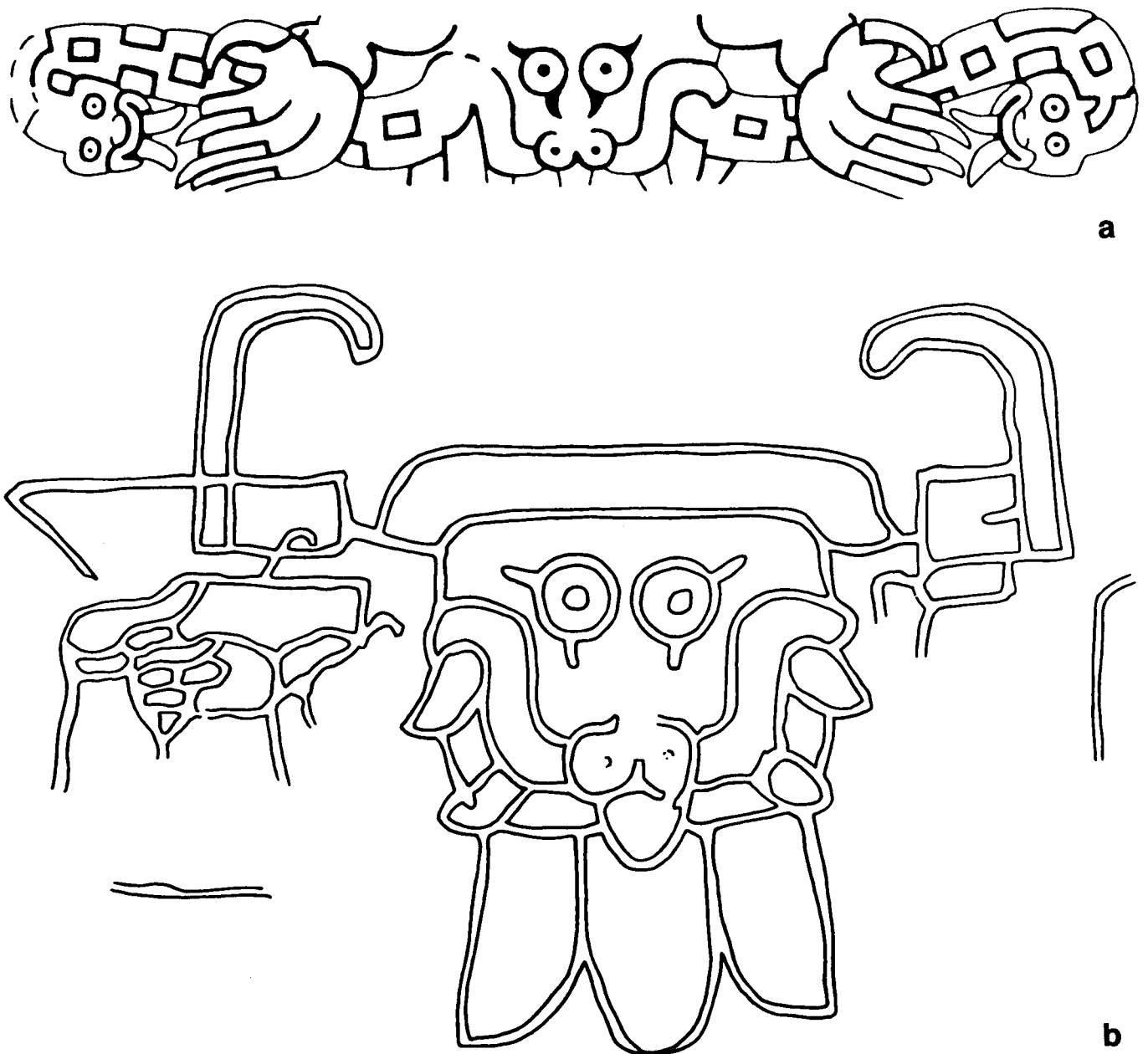


Figure 23. Chavín A Style: La Pampa lintel and related motif. (a) La Pampa, Callejón de Huaylas, original context unknown. Carved stone lintel. After Terada 1979:plate 129. (b) Tolón, Jequetepeque Valley, boulder 6. Petroglyph. After Pimentel 1986:figure 13.



Figure 24. Pampa de las Llamas ferals and related motifs. (a) Limoncarro area, Jequetepeque Valley. "Dumbarton Oaks" plate. After Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:figure 8. Compare tail mask with Figure 23. (b) Chavín de Huántar, context unknown. Stone relief. From Lumbreras 1977:figure 55. (c) Quindén, Jequetepeque Valley, looted tombs. Ceramic bottle. From Alva A. 1986a:figure 91. Compare to Figures 23a, 25, and 20c. (d) Quindén, Jequetepeque Valley, looted tombs. Ceramic bottle. From Alva 1986a:figure 66).

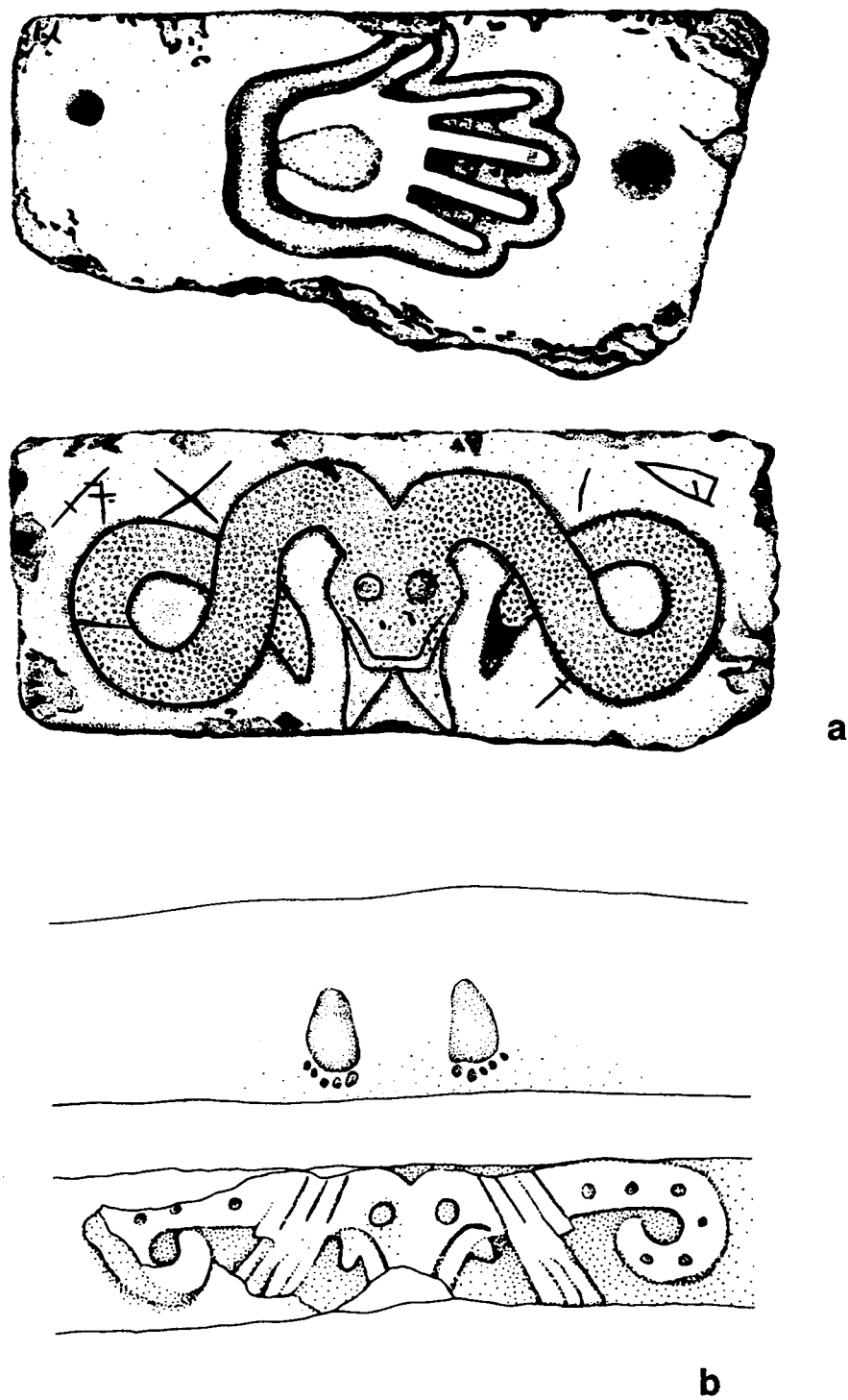


Figure 25. Double-bodied snake motifs. (a) Pampa de las Llamas, Casma Valley. Two faces of stone relief. From Pozorski and Pozorski 1988. (b) Pacopampa, Chotano Valley. Two faces of stone slab. From Burger 1992:figure 92.

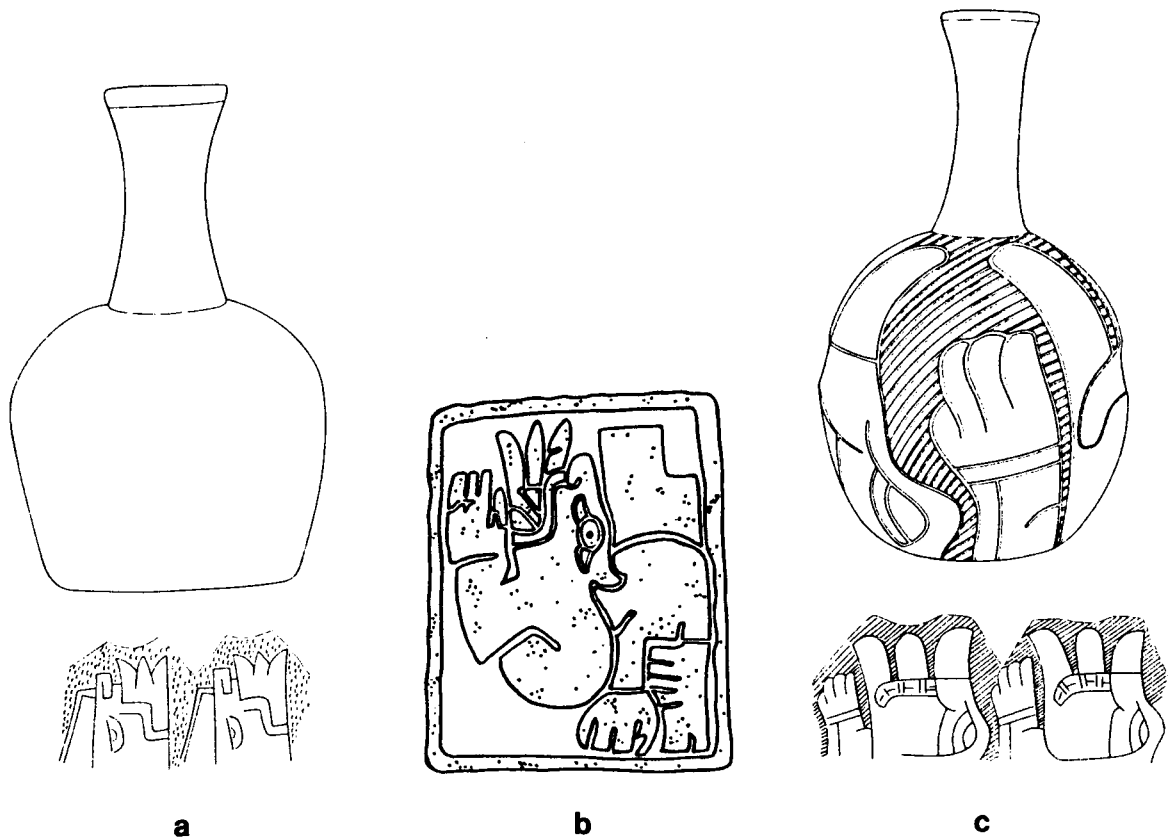


Figure 26. (*this page*) Agnathic animal motif. (a) Jequetepeque Valley, context unknown. Ceramic bottle with incised decoration. From Alva 1986a:figure 5. (b) Chavín de Huántar, context unknown. Stone relief. After Kauffmann 1978:237, 5. Cf. rubbing by Ayres 1961:figure 11. (c) Jequetepeque Valley, context unknown. Ceramic bottles with incised decoration. From Alva 1986a:figure 1.

Figure 27. (*following page*) Chavín A Style: Pampa de las Llamas ferals and related motifs. (a) Las Haldas, Casma Valley. Carving on handle of bone implement (*cf.* Figure 21f). Drawing by author. (b) Las Haldas, Casma Valley. Carving on center of bone spatula. From Disselhoff 1961:figure 10. (c) Las Haldas, Casma Valley. Bone carving. From Fung P. 1969:figure 22f. (d) Garagay, Rimac Valley, Northeast section (Mound A). Mural relief, clay. From Ravines 1984:figure 22. (e) Pallka, Casma Valley. Carving on bone spatula. From Tello 1956:figure 22. (f) Pampa de las Llamas, Casma Valley, Huaca A. Mural relief, clay. After Pozorski and Pozorski 1986.

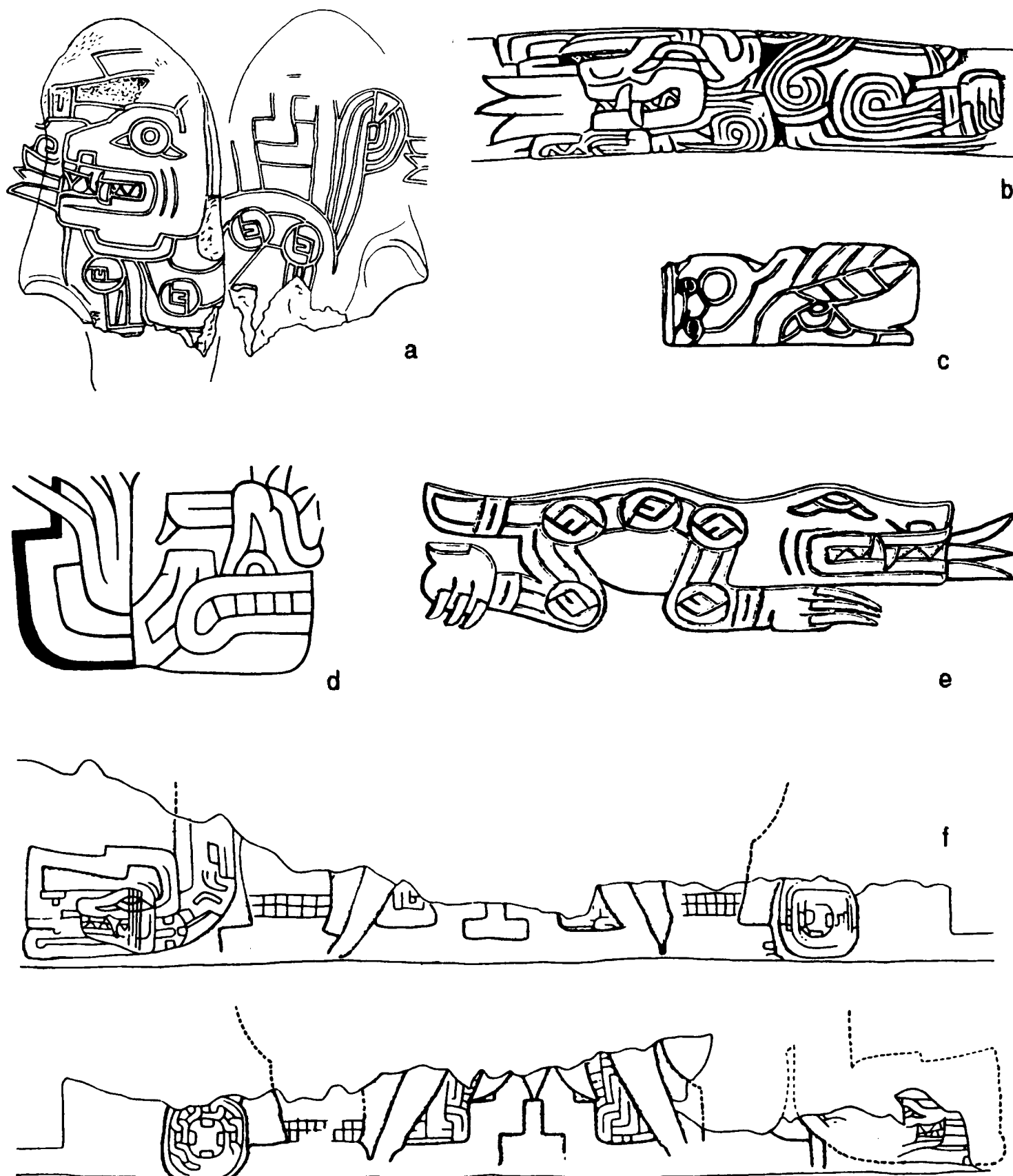


Figure 27 (caption on previous page).

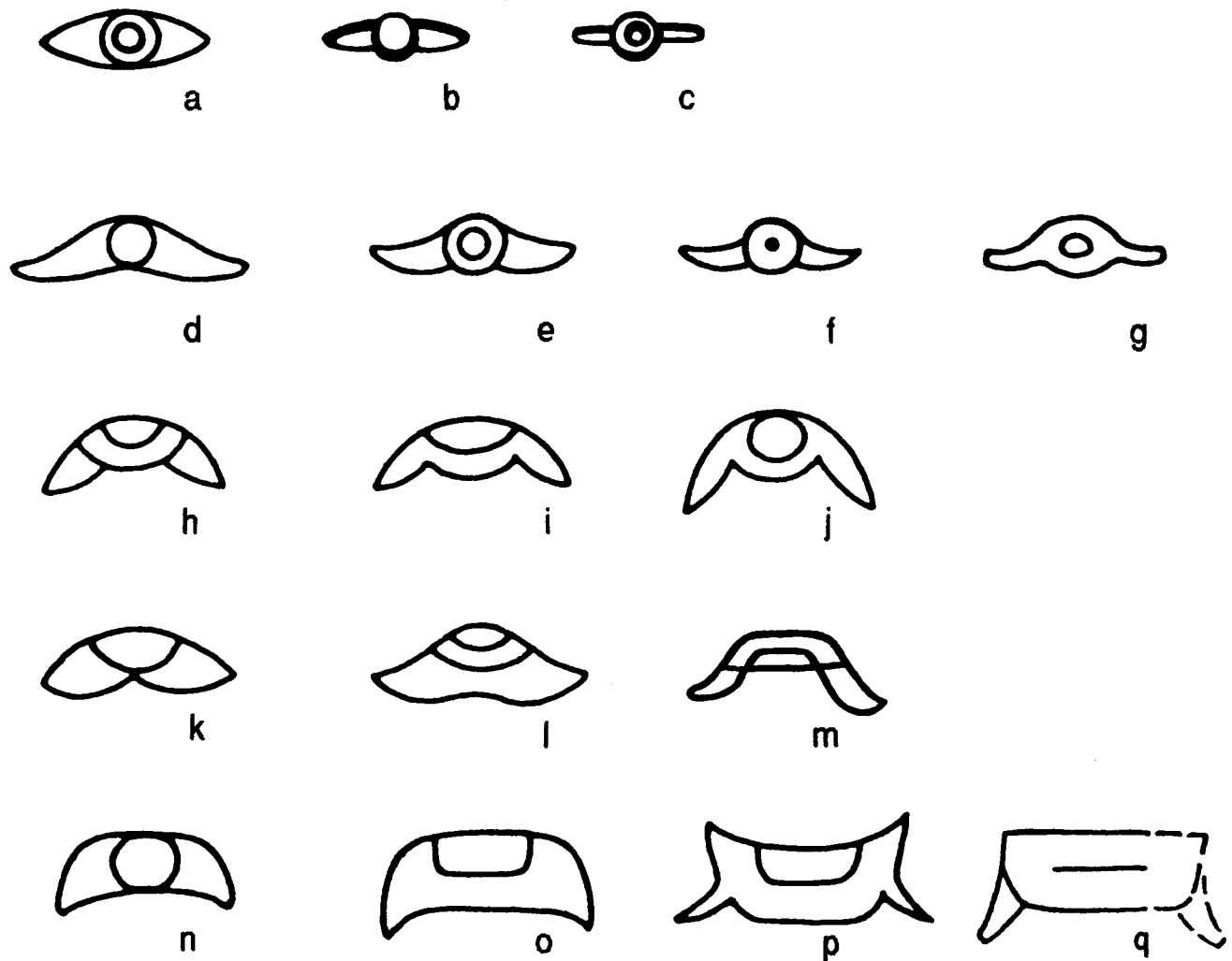


Figure 28. Bicorned eye forms (sample). (a) Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, and Siete Huacas, Nepeña Valley, stone reliefs, Jequetepeque region stone bowl. (b) Jequetepeque region pottery vessel. (c) Cerro Sechín post-monumental phase pottery figurines, and Jequetepeque pottery. (d) Punkurí, Nepeña Valley, feline clay sculpture. (e) Las Haldas, Casma Valley, bone carving, and Garagay, Rimac Valley, northeast section (Mound A) clay relief (completed from Figure 27d.) (f) La Pampa, Callejón de Huaylas, stone relief. (g) Callejón de Huaylas stone sculpture (see Figure 21c), Jequetepeque pottery. (h) Pampa de las Llamas, Huaca A, clay mural, Las Haldas and Pal-lka bone carvings (all Casma region), Chavín de Huántar feline stone relief, Chicama Valley stone bowl (after Salazar-Burger and Burger 1982:figure 2), Jequetepeque region stone and pottery vessels. (i) Jequetepeque region pottery vessels. (j) Jequetepeque region pottery vessels. (k) Chavín de Huántar stone relief (after Lumbreras 1989:figure 17G), Jequetepeque pottery. (l) Jequetepeque region pottery vessels. (m) Las Haldas bone carving. (n) Moxeke, Casma Valley, painted clay wall sculpture. (o) Huaca de los Reyes, Moche Valley, clay reliefs and Jequetepeque pottery. (p) Clay reliefs from Huaca de los Reyes, Moche Valley; Cerro Blanco, Nepeña Valley; Garagay, Rimac Valley, Central Atrium (variant). (q) Garagay, Rimac Valley, northeast section (Mound A) clay relief (same as Figure 27d).

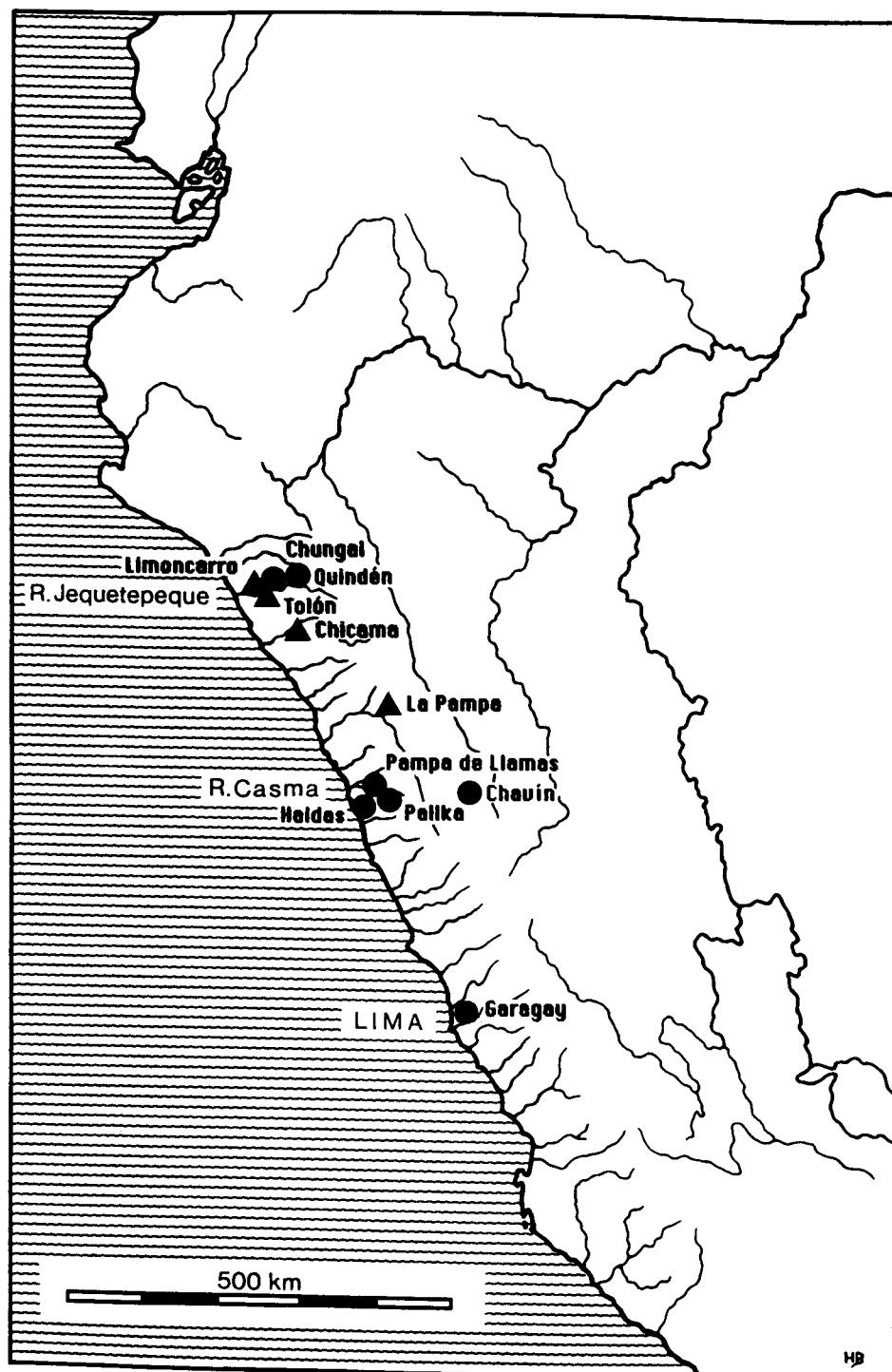


Figure 29. Geographical distribution of Pampa de las Llamas ferals and related motifs. Circles: Pampa de las Llamas ferals. Triangles: Agnathic masks.

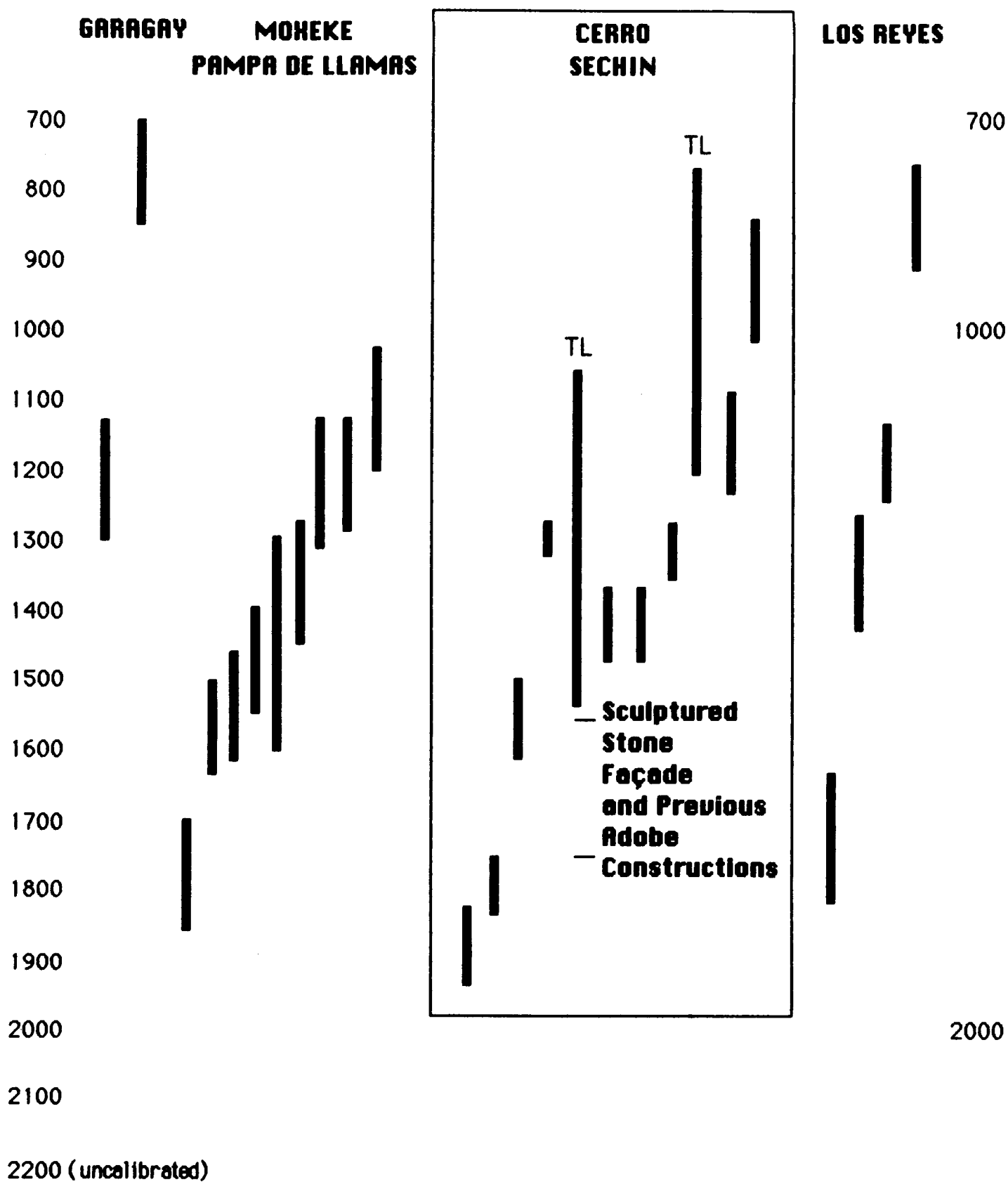


Figure 30. Comparison of radiocarbon dates. Garagay, Pampa de las Llamas/Moxeke (UGA-4510 = 4655 ± 95 B.P. omitted), Huaca de los Reyes, and Cerro Sechín (Burger 1981; Fuchs 1990; Pozorski and Pozorski 1987; Ravines *et al.* 1984; Samaniego *et al.* 1985).

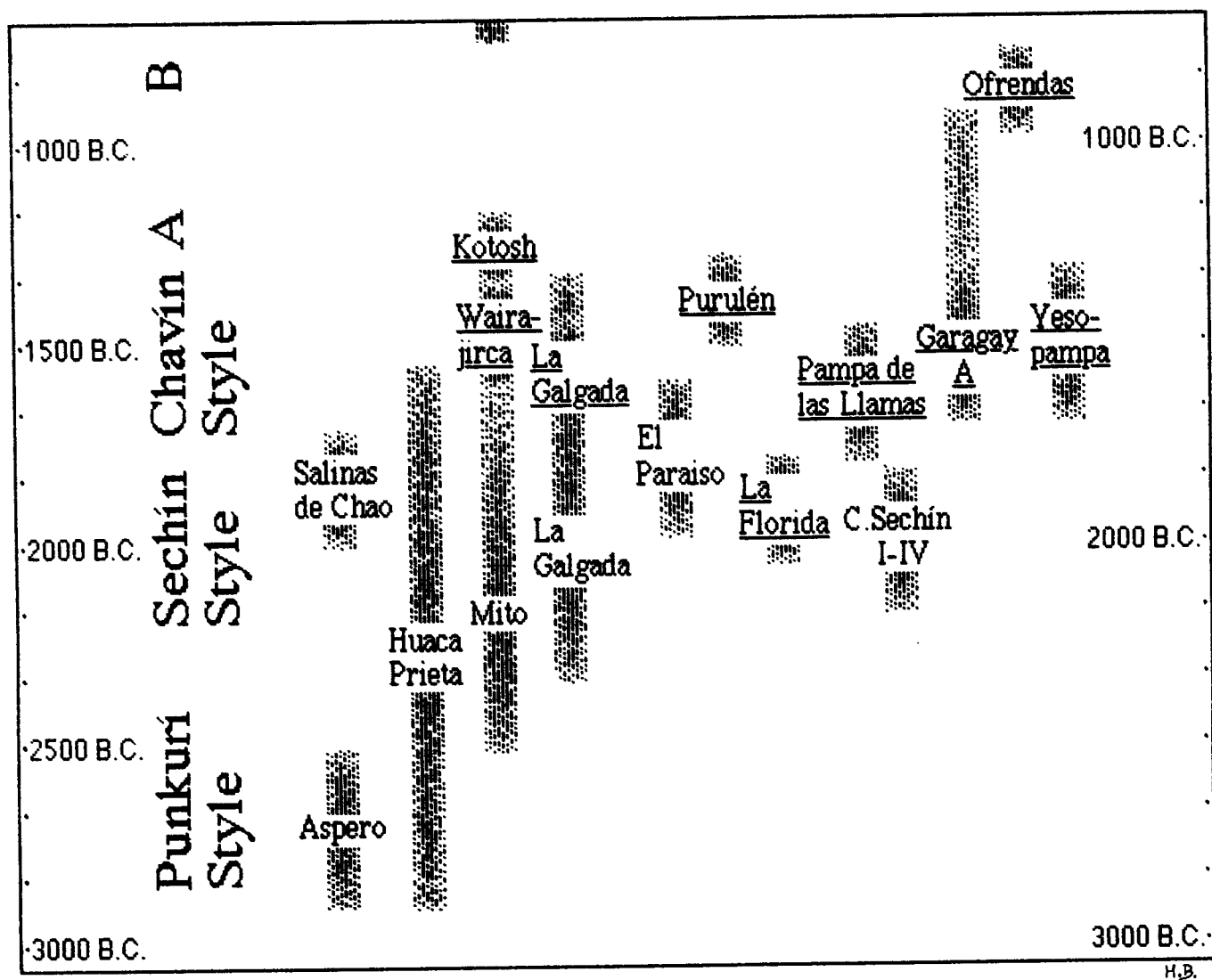


Figure 31. Chronology of Preceramic and Initial Period art. Underlined sites: ceramic associations, others: preceramic (associations of Garagay, Mound A, doubtful). This table represents a personal evaluation of radiocarbon assays, made difficult by their often rather extended standard error ranges or unspecified archaeological contexts. Calibration: Pearson and Stuiver (1986).