



Reconsidering the Chavín Phenomenon in the Twenty-First Century

RICHARD L. BURGER *and* **JASON NESBITT**, *editors*

RECONSIDERING THE CHAVÍN PHENOMENON
IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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Frauke Sachse

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RICHARD L. BURGER AND JASON NESBITT

Editors

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JACKET PHOTOGRAPH: Polychrome frieze AM-52 at Huaca Partida, depicting a raptorial bird. Photograph by Koichiro Shibata.

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Campanayuq Rumi and the Southern Periphery of the Chavín Phenomenon

YUICHI MATSUMOTO AND YURI CAVERO PALOMINO

The importance of the Peruvian south-central highlands is well recognized in the context of the Chavín Phenomenon, as it was a provider of important resources, such as cinnabar (Young, this volume) and obsidian, that were widely circulated in the Central Andes during the Early Horizon. However, the nature of the region's role in interregional interaction has not been well understood due to the scarcity of appropriate data sets. Our ongoing excavations at Campanayuq Rumi and survey in the Ayacucho region provide new information to examine this theme from a diachronic perspective. The main objective of this chapter is to describe the historical processes of interregional interaction between the “cores” of the Chavín Interaction Sphere and the sites located along its southern periphery. New data from recent excavations at Campanayuq Rumi and our survey around Vilcashuamán enable a synthesis that describes the formation of a regional interaction sphere that makes up an important part of the much larger pan-regional Chavín Interaction Sphere (Figure 13.1).

The South-Central Highlands as a Periphery of the Chavín Phenomenon

Interregional interaction is generally considered an important factor in the emergence of early complex societies in the Central Andes (Burger 1992, 2008; Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002; Goldstein 2000; Matsumoto 2010). In the study of the Chavín Phenomenon, exotic valuables such as obsidian, cinnabar, elaborated pottery, and spondylus and strombus shells are considered to be indicators of an interregional interaction sphere since they were exchanged over a wide geographic area during the late Initial Period (1100–800 BC) and the early half of the Early Horizon (ca. 800–400 BC) (Burger 1988, 1992, 2008, 2013; Druc 2004; Lumbreras 2007; Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto et al. 2018; Nesbitt and Matsumoto 2014; Onuki 1997; Rick 2008; Seki et al. 2010). In this context, the Peruvian south-central highlands figure prominently, since this region includes all the available sources of cinnabar and obsidian (Burger and Glascock 2000, 2002,

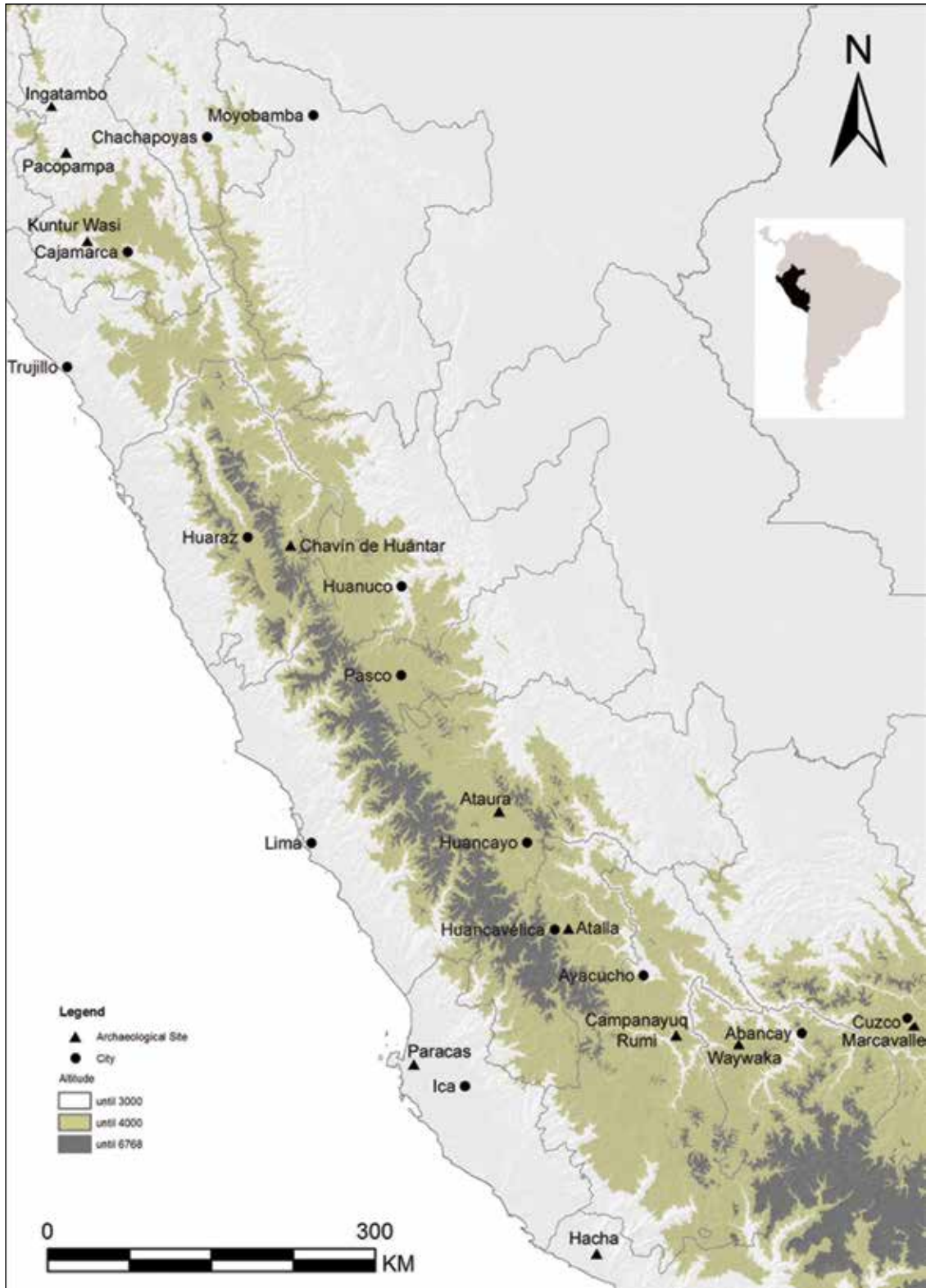


figure 13.1

The location of Campanayuc Rumi and other Chavín-related centers and areas mentioned in the text. Map by Bebel Ibarra Ascencios.

2009; Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002; Cooke et al. 2013; Tripcevich and Contreras 2011, 2013; Young, this volume). We argue that the distribution pattern of these resources, in accordance with other archaeological data, can be explained through World Systems and core-periphery perspectives (Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002; Hornborg 2014; Matsumoto et al. 2018). Although these views have been critiqued because of their assumptions of asymmetric and/or unidirectional relationships between core and periphery (Dietler 1998, 2005; Schreiber 2005; Stein 1998, 1999, 2002), recent modifications of these theoretical frameworks and the nature of new data from the south-central highlands show that these models, when carefully applied, remain a useful heuristic tool for interpreting the Early Horizon (Algaze 2005; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Hall, Kardulias, and Chase-Dunn 2011; Kardulias and Hall 2008; Smith and Berdan 2003).

It should be emphasized that we do not consider the Chavín Phenomenon to be the result of a single sociopolitical and economic system that unified the Central Andes (Burger and Nesbitt, this volume). Instead, we propose that the Chavín Phenomenon was a dynamic process of complex historical entanglements, in which multiple interaction spheres of different scale and character coexisted (Matsumoto 2019a; Young, this volume), and thus various local and regional agencies of the periphery need to be evaluated from a bottom-up perspective. This perspective does not require presumptions such as the core's exploitation of an underdeveloped periphery but is instead open to the possibility that mutually beneficial situations were generated that promoted socioeconomic developments in both the periphery and the core (Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Parkinson and Galaty 2007). Despite these caveats, Gil Stein's (2002) general critique of modified World Systems models is important. In his view, what remained from the original formulation of World Systems theory is little more than general characteristics of interregional interaction and thus its analytical value is limited. We value World Systems and core-periphery perspectives for the purpose of investigating the centers in the

south-central highlands and think it helps us interpret the varieties of intra- and interregional interactions that occurred in the Central Andes during the Chavín Phenomenon. This approach enables one to understand the nested nature of the Chavín Interaction Sphere as a complex entity of multiple overlapping spheres of different scales and to compare them and consider their relationships (Burger 1988, 2008; Matsumoto et al. 2018).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Early Horizon centers and societies tied to them experienced socioeconomic transformations that include the emergence of an elite social class that had differential access to wealth objects (Burger 1984, 1988, 1992; Dulanto, this volume; Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto, Cavero Palomino, and Gutiérrez Silva 2013; Matsumoto et al. 2016; Seki, this volume). These changes are best recognized in the centers distributed along the north and north-central highlands, such as Chavín de Huántar, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa, where large-scale and long-term excavations have been undertaken (Burger 1984, 1988, 1992; Inokuchi 2010; Lothrop 1941; Mesía 2007; Onuki 1995, 1997; Rick 2008; Sayre 2010; Seki 2014; Seki et al. 2010).

The political economies of these Early Horizon public centers are characterized by elite demand for non-local resources that come from distant sources that are sometimes hundreds of kilometers away (Burger and Nesbitt, this volume). Therefore, to better understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to adopt bottom-up perspectives that shed light on the provider of these resources. In other words, to understand the consumption and long-distance movement of exotic materials requires a far more nuanced understanding of the "peripheral" locations from which these varied items originate.

In this chapter, we will reconsider the southern periphery of the Chavín Phenomenon through archaeological data from Campanayuc Rumi and other sites situated in the south-central highlands (see Figure 13.1). For the purpose of considering the roles of these "peripheral" centers in the Chavín Interaction Sphere, the procurement and long-distance exchange of obsidian from this region are a matter of fundamental importance.

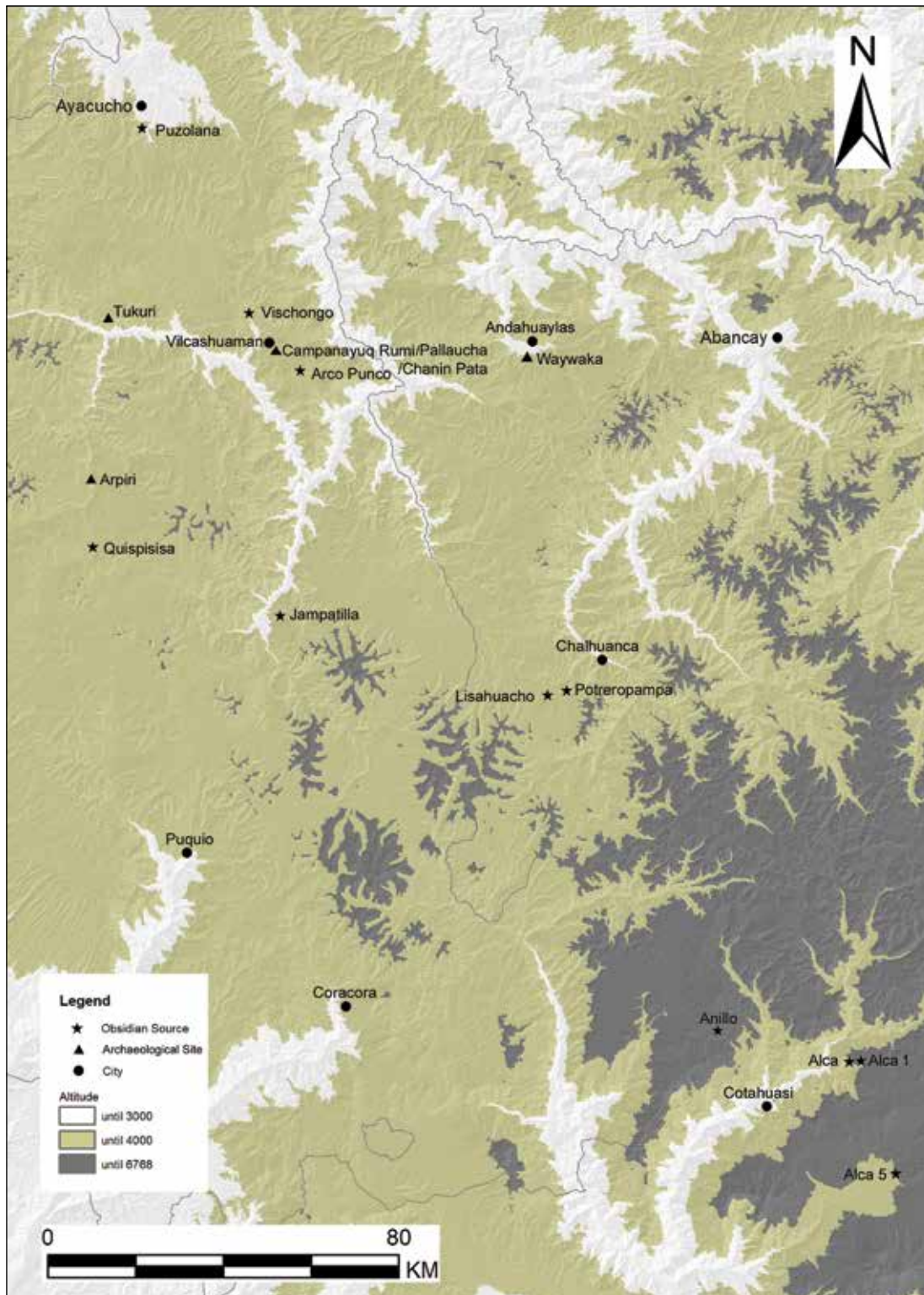


figure 13.2

Key obsidian sources and archaeological sites in the south-central highlands of Peru. Map by Bebel Ibarra Asencios.

Geochemical sourcing studies make it clear that all of the obsidian found at northern and north-central highland centers, including Chavín de Huántar, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa, came from quarries located over a broad swath of the south-central highlands (Figure 13.2) (Burger and Glascock 2000, 2002, 2009; Glascock, Speakman, and Burger 2007). However, despite the recent advance in sourcing studies of obsidian outcrops, the south-central highlands, with few notable exceptions, are poorly explored with respect to its occupation during the Initial Period and Early Horizon (Bauer, Kellett, and Aráoz Silva 2010; Grossman 1972; Lumbreras 1974, 1981; Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto, Caveró Palomino, and Nesbitt 2021; Mendoza 2010, 2018, 2020; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Caveró Palomino 2019). Past archaeological evidence clearly indicates that the most desired and preferred obsidian came from the Quispisisa source, situated roughly 16 km to the south of the modern town of Huancasancos in the Department of Ayacucho (Burger and Glascock 2000, 2002; see also Contreras 2011; Tripcevich and Contreras 2011, 2013). Richard L. Burger and Michael Glascock (2009) estimate that more than 90 percent of obsidian circulated in highland and coastal Peru during the Early Horizon came from this source.

Excavations at Campanayúq Rumi

Our excavations at the site of Campanayúq Rumi (Matsumoto 2010, 2012; Matsumoto and Caveró Palomino 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Matsumoto, Caveró Palomino, and Gutiérrez Silva 2013; Matsumoto et al. 2016), 52 km to the northeast of the Quispisisa source, provide a new corpus of archaeological data to reconsider the distribution of Quispisisa obsidian from its source region in the south, rather than from the perspective of recipients in the north (Matsumoto et al. 2018). Furthermore, research at Campanayúq Rumi enables us to better understand the development of sociopolitical complexity in a region long thought to be marginal to developments in the north.

In this section, we present a diachronic overview of the site of Campanayúq Rumi for the

purpose of providing a chronological baseline to integrate fragmented archeological data from the Ayacucho region.

Site Description

The site of Campanayúq Rumi is located at an altitude of 3,500 masl, just 600 m east of the town and Inca administrative center of Vilcashuamán (Caveró Palomino 2014; González Carré and Pozzi-Escot 2002), in the Department of Ayacucho. Campanayúq Rumi is a large-scale civic-ceremonial center that flourished from the late Initial Period to the Early Horizon (950–450 cal. BC). Despite the recent discovery of contemporary sites with public architecture (Mendoza 2018; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Caveró Palomino 2019; Young 2017), it seems that Campanayúq Rumi was one of the largest ceremonial centers in the south-central highlands during this time.

Our excavations have demonstrated that Campanayúq Rumi is composed of a monumental core with stone masonry platforms arranged in a U-shaped layout covering an area of 3.5 ha (Figure 13.3); it is surrounded to the north and south by two residential areas that increase the site's overall size by at least an additional 12 ha (Figure 13.4) (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caveró Palomino 2010a; Matsumoto, Caveró Palomino, and Gutiérrez Silva 2013; Matsumoto et al. 2016). In addition, based on the contextual correlations between the fifty-two AMS dates and relative chronology based on pottery styles and architectural sequences, the site history of Campanayúq Rumi can be divided into three phases: the Pre-Platform phase, Campanayúq I phase, and Campanayúq II phase (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto and Caveró Palomino 2010a).

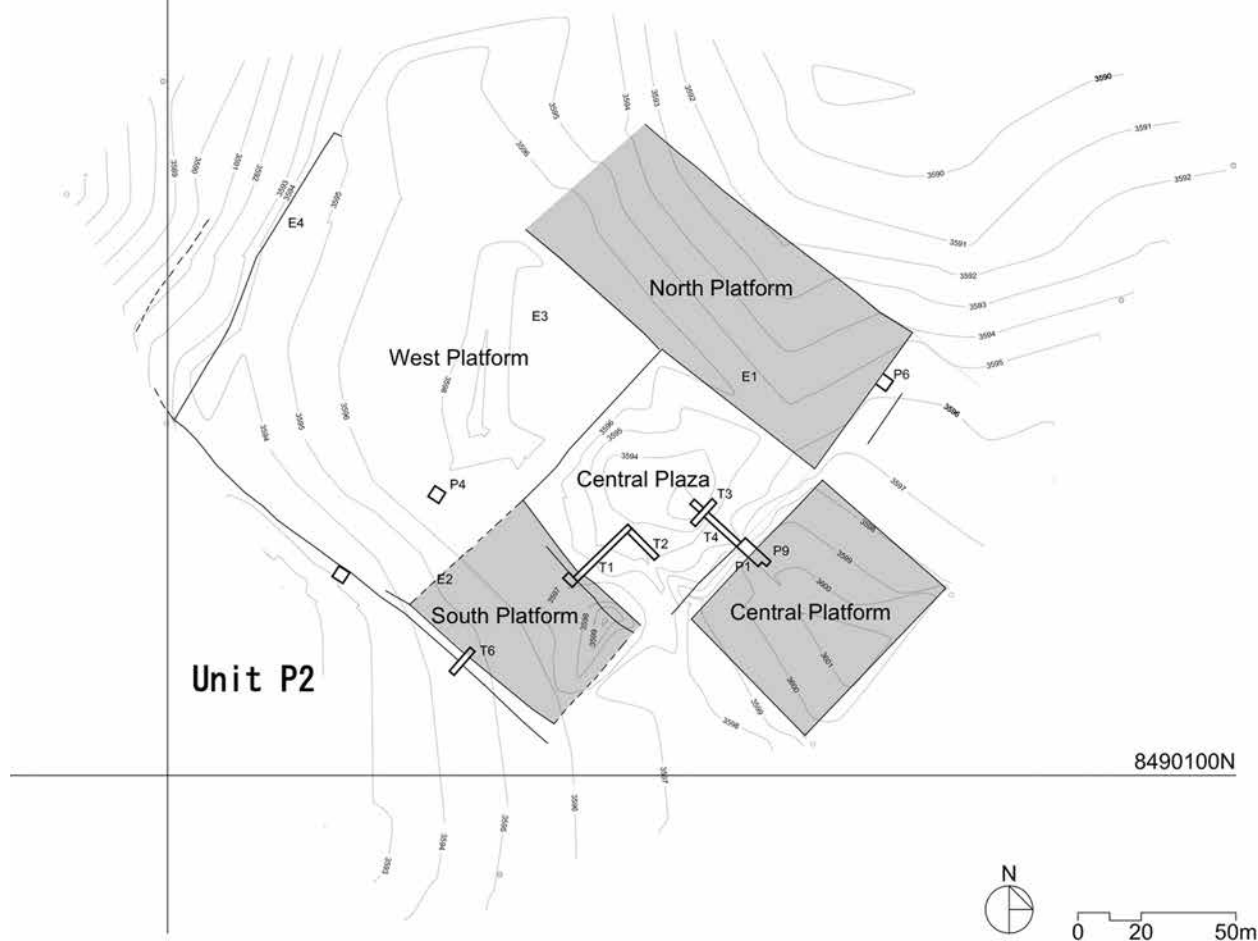
The Pre-Platform Phase (1300–950 BC)

The first phase of occupation at Campanayúq Rumi is referred to as the Pre-Platform phase (1300–950 BC); it is defined as the time before the appearance of monumental architecture at the site. Excavations in both the monumental core and occupational contexts show evidence for domestic activity that extended in most of the excavated areas at Campanayúq Rumi, indicating that there

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figure 13.3

The platform complex at Campanayuc Rumi. Map by Gentaro Miyano.



was a relatively small village settlement before the beginning of the first monumental construction project. In other words, during the Pre-Platform phase, Campanayuc Rumi was probably one of many small-scale settlements that characterized the south-central highlands during the second millennium BC, as represented by sites in the Andahuaylas region to the east of Campanayuc Rumi (Bauer, Kellett, and Aráoz Silva 2010:53–55; Grossman 1972, 1983).

Portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) analysis of eleven obsidian artifacts from Campanayuc Rumi demonstrates that all of them came from Quispisisa, suggesting that the population of Campanayuc Rumi obtained high-quality obsidian even before its transformation into a major civic-ceremonial center

(Matsumoto et al. 2018:54). A handful of offering contexts, including a cache of red and black stones, suggests the inhabitants practiced local/domestic rituals. Moreover, it is highly probable that there was a specific place for head offerings (Matsumoto et al. 2016), indicating the presence of local religious beliefs and communal ritual activities before the installation of the monumental architecture.

The Campanayuc I Phase (950–700 BC)

In the Campanayuc I phase, the site transformed into a large-scale civic-ceremonial center, probably in accordance with the beginning of interaction with Chavín de Huántar, which is strongly indicated by architectural emulation. At this time, the monumental core of Campanayuc Rumi formed

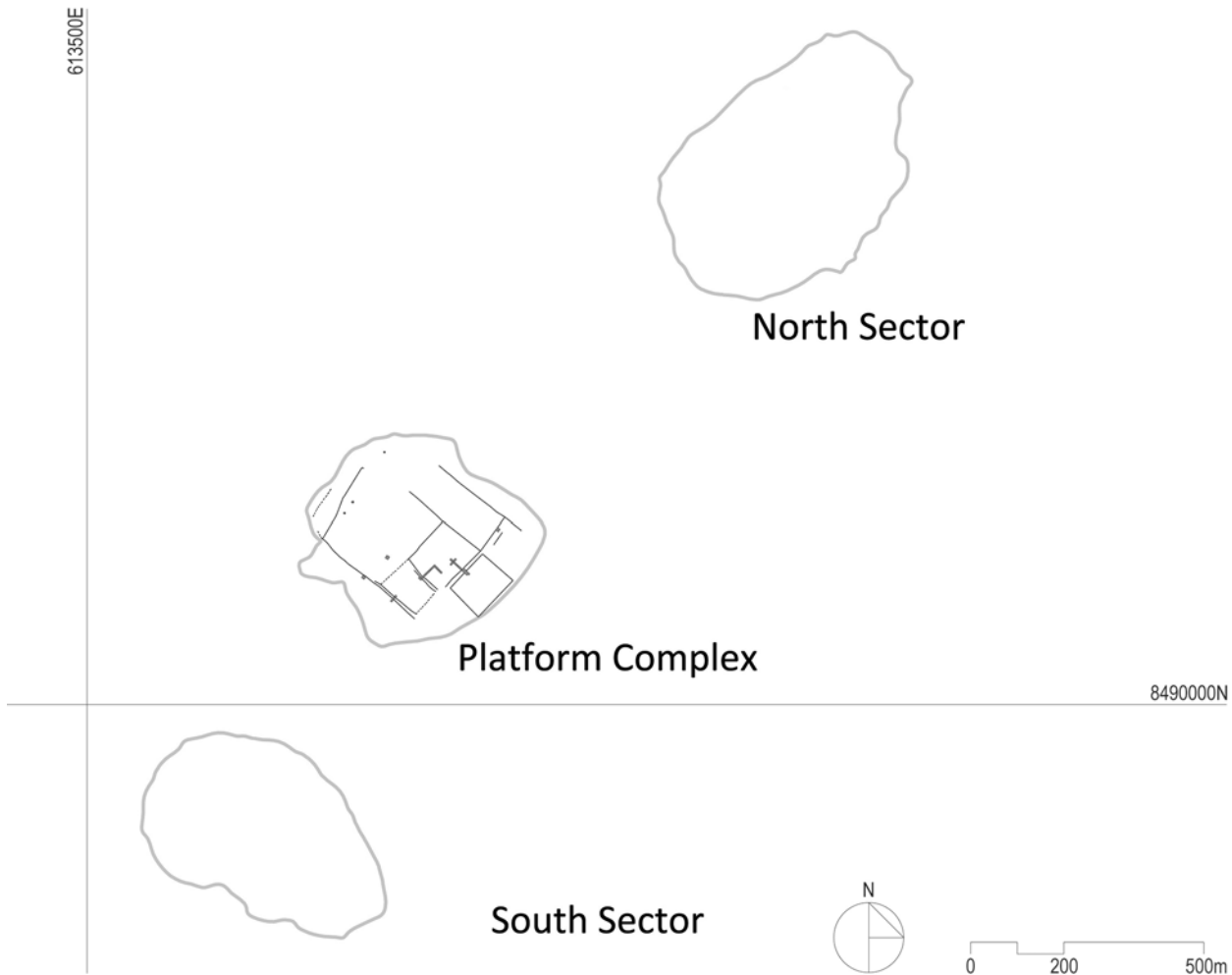


figure 13.4

Map of Campanayuy Rumi, showing the locations of the south and north sectors. Map by Gentaro Miyano.

a U-shaped layout composed of stone masonry platforms surrounding a sunken rectangular plaza (Figure 13.5), which is similar to Chavín de Huántar. Other shared characteristics between the two centers include the presence of at least one gallery within Campanayuy Rumi's southern platform (Figure 13.6) that is similar to some of the gallery complexes at Chavín de Huántar (Matsumoto 2010:424–425; see Rick, this volume). In addition, excavations in 2016 and 2018 uncovered a sunken circular plaza measuring 14 m in diameter on the summit of the central platform with two stairs, which also shows certain similarities to the one found at Chavín de Huántar (Lumbreras 2014).

The combination of a U-shaped arrangement (see Figure 13.3), circular plaza, and interior gallery points to a close relationship with Chavín de Huántar, despite an approximate distance of 600 km separating the two centers (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto, Caveró Palomino, and Nesbitt 2021; Matsumoto et al. 2018; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Caveró Palomino 2019). Although the precise identification of its chronological position in the site history requires AMS dating, its stratigraphy indicates that the circular plaza was constructed by digging into bedrock and was closed sometime during the Campanayuy II phase, suggesting that its original construction occurred prior to this time. We,

figure 13.5
Southeastern corner
of the sunken
rectangular plaza at
Campanayuq Rumi.
Photograph by
Yuichi Matsumoto.



figure 13.6
Gallery found at the
southern platform
of Campanayuq
Rumi. Photograph by
Yuichi Matsumoto.



therefore, hypothesize that this building was probably built in the Campanayuc I phase.

It remains difficult to precisely correlate these similarities with Chavín de Huántar, partially because of the ongoing debates over the relative and absolute chronology of its architectural sequence. In particular, the chronological position of the Circular Plaza of Chavín de Huántar is debated, with some scholars arguing that it is part of the temple's early phases and others placing it in its later phases (Burger 2021; Burger and Salazar 2008; Kembel 2008; Lumbreras 1977, 1993; Rick 2008; Rowe 1967; Watanabe 2013:50–64). Nevertheless, the greater scale and elaboration of the Chavín de Huántar public architecture, as well as the presence of earlier dates (Kembel and Haas 2015), strongly suggest that the ceremonial center of Campanayuc Rumi emulated Chavín architectural conventions. It should be emphasized that Campanayuc Rumi displays significantly greater monumentality than other Initial Period and Early Horizon centers known in the Ayacucho area (Cruzatt 1971; Lumbreras 1981). In the bottom lands of the Ayacucho Basin, the Wichqana site seems to be the earliest instance of public architecture in the region (Flores 1960; Lumbreras 1974, 1981:170–175). Luis Lumbreras excavated a possible rectangular plaza and platforms with a late Initial Period date (Lumbreras 1981:170, fig. 7-2). Though its precise size was unknown, the researchers believe that this site had a U-shape layout (Lumbreras 1981:171). If this was the case, Wichqana could have been an interesting comparative example to Campanayuc Rumi, but its destruction made their comparison impossible. However, in general, the stone masonry walls of Campanayuc Rumi were composed of large quarried stones and small flat stones. The spaces between the quarried stones were filled with flat stones and mud mortar. These stones were carefully selected and quarried to show a flat face on the wall surface, and thus they may have been used to create an aesthetic presentation of monumental architecture. It shows strong similarities to that of Chavín de Huántar, and this kind of architectural elaboration is lacking at Wichqana.

Chupas can be cited as another well-known early site in the Ayacucho region (Casafranca 1960;

Cruzatt 1966, 1971, 1977; Lumbreras 1981:177–181). Chupas is an early ceremonial center in the high grasslands at 3600 masl, about 20 km south of Wichqana, and the presence of an Early Horizon component was recognized from the pottery style and platform construction. Unlike Campanayuc Rumi, the monumental core of Chupas was composed of a single platform with multiple terraces. Several architectural phases were recognized, and during its final phase, the main platform was roughly 65 × 60 m and 5 m in height (Lumbreras 1981:178). The earliest phase of Chupas is not well-known, but its history might go back to the Initial Period. In any case, even in the final stage of its construction, the monumental core of Chupas extends less than 1 ha (Lumbreras 1981:176, fig. 7-10), making it much smaller than Campanayuc Rumi. Moreover, as was the case with Wichqana and Campanayuc Rumi, there seems to be obvious differences in the architectural sophistication and scale between Campanayuc Rumi and Chupas.

Despite the strong similarities observed in monumental architecture, the ceramic styles that characterize the Campanayuc I phase do not show clear affiliation to those of the contemporary Urabarriu phase at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984, 2019) or other contemporary assemblages in the Chavín heartland (Nesbitt, this volume). Instead, the ceramic assemblage of the Campanayuc I phase (Figure 13.7) was composed of styles that exhibit affinities with pottery documented in the south-central highlands and parts of the south coast (Matsumoto 2010, 2019b). For instance, stylistic linkages exist between Campanayuc Rumi and Pirwapukio in the Mantaro Valley (Browman 1970), Muyo Moqo in Andahuaylas (Bauer, Kellett, and Aráoz Silva 2010:51–52; Grossman 1972), Hacha in the Acari Valley (Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas 2000–2001; Riddell and Valdéz 1987–1988; Robinson 1994), and Marcavalle in Cuzco (Mohr Chávez 1977). A regional interaction sphere is indicated by the pottery styles mentioned above and it is to some extent concordant with the changes of the sources of obsidian artifacts at Campanayuc Rumi.

While Quispisisa obsidian continued to dominate, making up close to 90 percent of the sample,

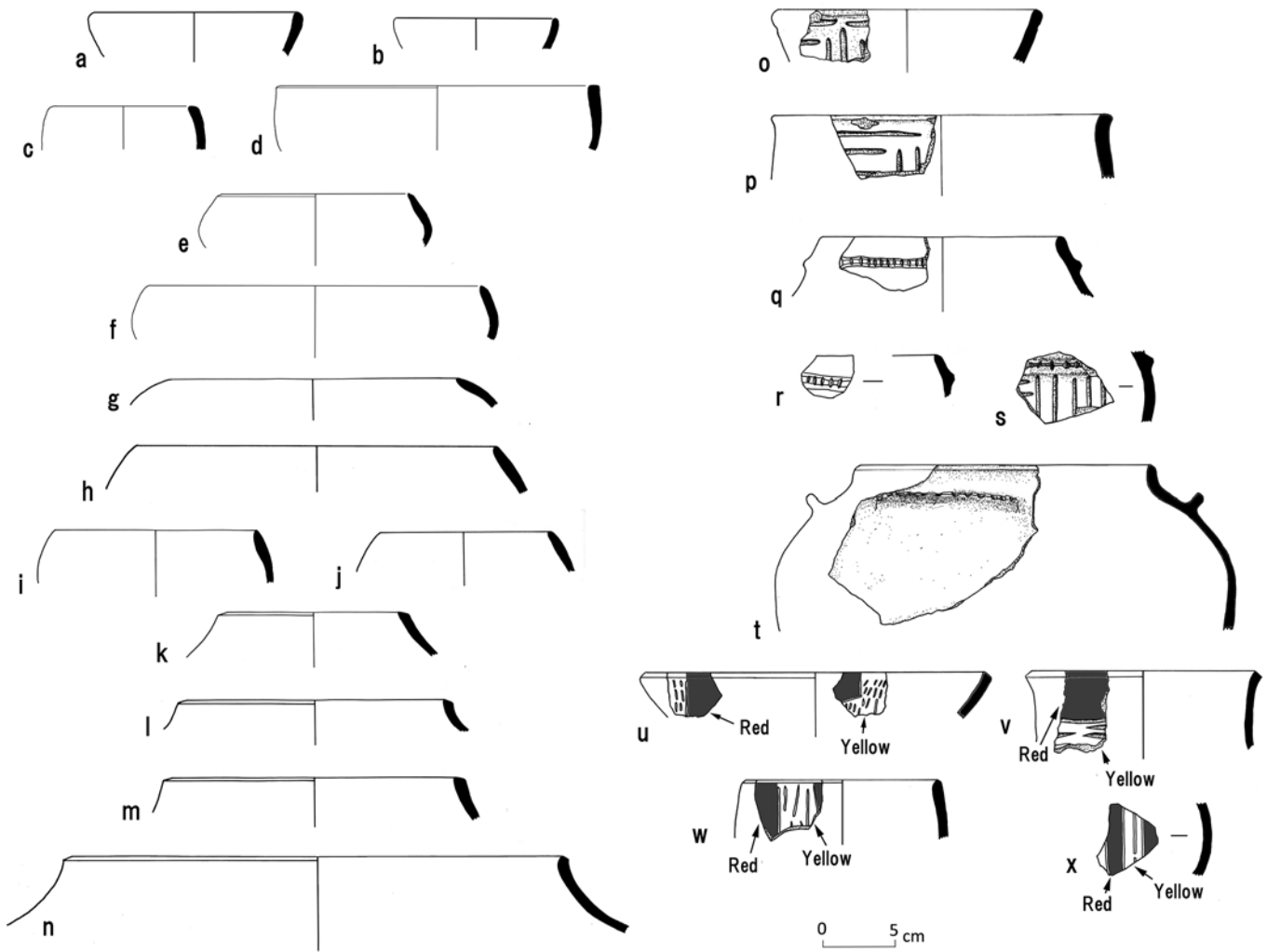


figure 13.7

Pottery assemblage of the Campanayuc I phase. Note that images u-x have bichrome painting. Drawing by Yuichi Matsumoto.

obsidian from other quarries appears in small quantities. Among them, it is important to note the presence of obsidian from the Alca source, which is located more than 200 km to the south of Campanayuc Rumi (Matsumoto et al. 2018). Despite the sporadic, though important, contact with Chavín de Huántar, Campanayuc Rumi also could have functioned as a regional node of interactions encompassing much of the south-central highlands. Although we believe that the changes in the Campanayuc I phase were partially linked to connections with Chavín de Huántar around 1000 BC, it is worth exploring and evaluating two alternative scenarios.

The first scenario assumes that the emergence of a U-shaped layout at Campanayuc Rumi was caused mainly by the interactions between Campanayuc Rumi and the U-shaped centers of the Manchay culture on the central coast (e.g., Burger and Salazar 1991, 2008, this volume; Ravines and Isbell 1976; Silva 1996; Williams 1985). The coexistence of a U-shaped platform layout and circular plazas at Cardal (Burger and Salazar 1991, 2008) might give the impression that Campanayuc Rumi possesses certain principal architectural elements in common with them. However, closer examination of these architectural features at the Manchay culture centers

reveal stylistic differences that are more pronounced than some of the superficial formal similarities. Firstly, the U-shaped architecture at Manchay centers is much larger in size and more complex in its organization than the cases of Campanayuq Rumi. This difference was probably caused by construction processes at Manchay culture centers. The monumental constructions were achieved through repetitive and continuous building events over several centuries (Burger and Salazar 2012), which apparently resulted in the large size and irregular shape of each platform making up the U-shaped layout. In contrast, in the case of Campanayuq Rumi, the U-shaped layout was basically achieved through the first planned monumental construction project and was composed of rectangular stone-masonry platforms (Matsumoto 2010:87–90). As for the circular courts, Burger and Lucy C. Salazar (2008:103) have observed the difference between Chavín de Huántar and Manchay culture, stating that “[t]he sunken circular courts on the central coast differed from the Circular Plaza at Chavín de Huántar and those on the north-central coast in fundamental ways, most notably their location in relation to the central mound and the absence of fan-shaped stairway entrances.” This observation is perfectly applicable to the circular plaza at Campanayuq Rumi and those of the Manchay culture, since the one at Campanayuq Rumi has two fan-shaped stairs (as at Chavín de Huántar) and is placed on the top of the central platform for public ceremonies. The core location of the circular plaza at Campanayuq Rumi contrasts well with that of Cardal, where circular courts/plazas are placed “on the periphery of the public architecture” (Burger and Salazar 2008:103). These data suggest that the circular plazas of the central coast are, as Burger and Salazar (2008) have observed, not the source of inspiration for those at Chavín de Huántar and Campanayuq Rumi. In addition, recent radiocarbon data imply that there is a chronological gap between them of more than a century (Burger and Salazar, this volume).

Other similarities in architectural techniques shared between Chavín de Huántar and Campanayuq Rumi, such as internal galleries and stone masonry composed of quarried and flat stones, are

also missing among the Manchay centers. These data negate the hypothesis that the central coast centers of the Initial Period interacted intensively with Campanayuq Rumi and caused its emergence as a civic-ceremonial center of regional importance.

The other possible scenario is to relate the architectural layout of Campanayuq Rumi to the monumental architecture of the Lake Titicaca region—that is, to platforms surrounding a rectangular plaza, as seen in Early Horizon contemporary sites such as Chiripa (Janusek 2004; Mohr Chávez 1989). This may sound convincing because the U-shaped layout of Campanayuq Rumi was composed of four, not three, platforms. The east platform closed the open part of the “U,” though the lack of excavation makes chronological estimation difficult. However, based on the stone masonry style observable on the surface and its base levels, we think it is reasonable to assume that the east platform was constructed during the Campanayuq I phase. In this case, there seems to be a chronological gap between the early monumental centers near Lake Titicaca and the Campanayuq I phase. At the Chiripa site, the radiocarbon dates indicate that the combination of a rectangular plaza and houses/platforms (lower house level) around it appeared somewhere between 800 and 400 BC (Bandy 1999:45), which is at least two centuries later than the beginning of Campanayuq Rumi as a large-scale civic-ceremonial center. In addition, interactions between Campanayuq Rumi and the south highlands of the Andes were not evident in the ceramic styles (Burger and Nesbitt, this volume; Matsumoto 2010; Steadman 1995, 1999). Most of the important data to demonstrate the lack of interaction between Campanayuq Rumi and the early centers around Lake Titicaca came from our recent study on obsidian provenience at Campanayuq Rumi. Campanayuq Rumi does not have any obsidian from the Chivay source located in the Colca Valley in the Department of Arequipa (Burger et al. 1998:210; Tripcevich and MacKay 2011). Available data indicate that Chivay obsidian was intensively exploited at Lake Titicaca sites such as Qaluyu and Chiripa (Burger et al. 1998:210; Burger, Mohr Chávez, and Chávez 2000) and thus the absence of

Chivay obsidian at Campanayuc Rumi delineates a clear boundary of interaction between these two regions (Matsumoto et al. 2018:57).

It is worth mentioning that despite the emulation of Chavín architectural conventions, local-style stone architecture was constructed in the residential sectors, and ritual activities represented by head offerings were carried out in specific ceremonial spaces. These features show some contrast to the situation at Chavín de Huántar and seem to reflect the local tradition. In other words, local domestic and religious traditions seem to have continued in residential sectors.

The Campanayuc II Phase (700–450 BC)

Several changes in architecture, ceramic styles, and social organization occur during the Campanayuc II phase (Matsumoto 2010). Around 700 BC, new pottery styles appeared in an intrusive manner, replacing some of the previous Campanayuc I-phase pottery styles (Matsumoto 2010, 2019b). Much of this pottery exhibits strong similarities to the ceramic styles of the contemporary Janabarriu phase at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1984; see also Rick et al. 2010), as well as the Early Paracas style of the south coast (Figure 13.8) (Dulanto 2013, this volume; García and Pinilla 1995; Isla and Reindel

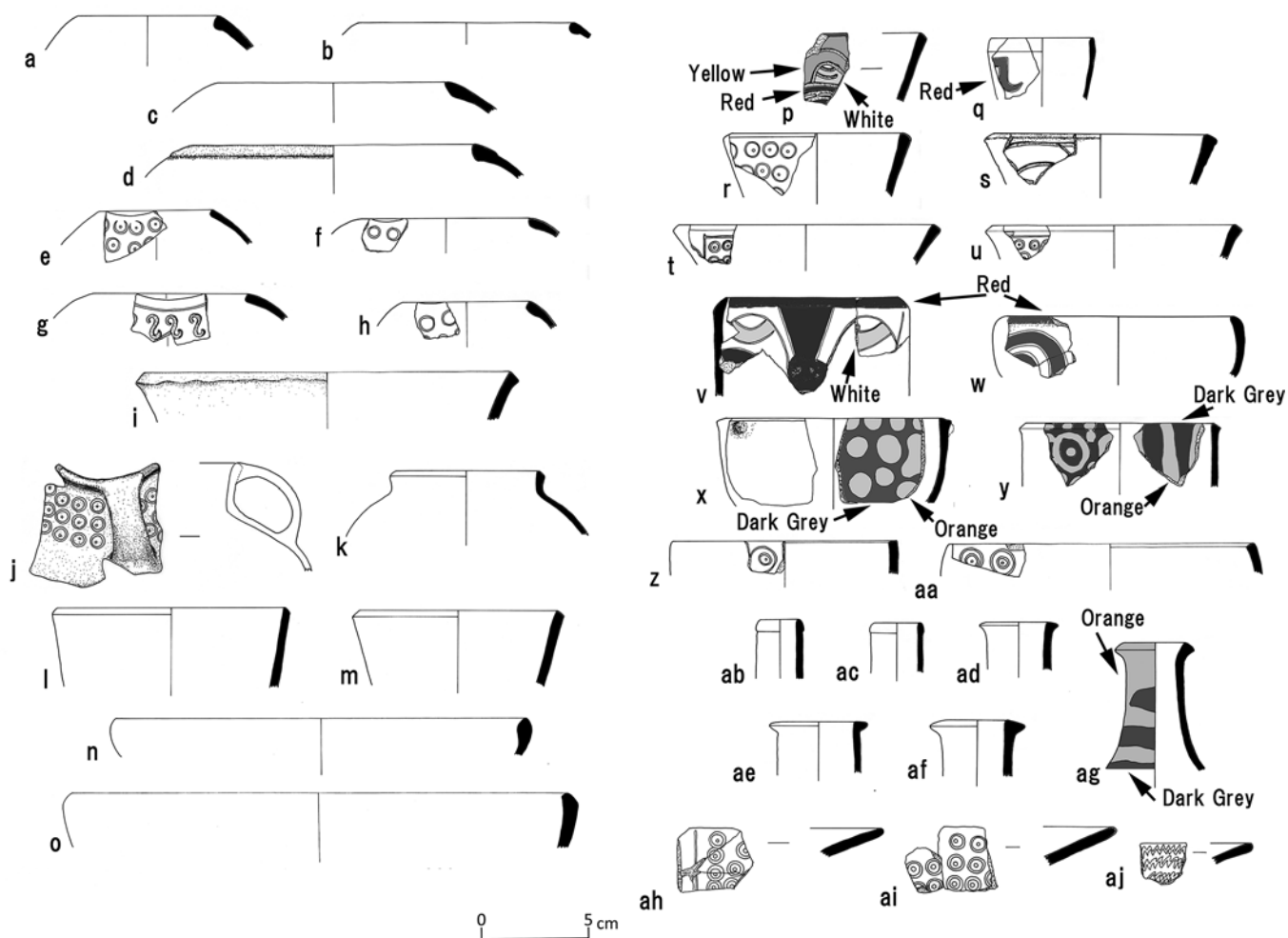


figure 13.8

Pottery assemblage of the Campanayuc II phase. Note that parts p, q, v, and w have postfired painting, and parts x, y, and ag have negative painting. Drawing by Yuichi Matsumoto.



figure 13.9
Local-style pottery of
the Campanayuc II
phase. Photograph by
Yuichi Matsumoto.

2006). It should be noted that the local pottery styles were not completely replaced (Matsumoto 2010:277, 2019b). Recent excavations in the residential sectors and the central platform demonstrate that certain aspects of the pottery assemblages, including utilitarian vessels, still maintain local styles (Figure 13.9) similar to the ones distributed in the south-central highlands such as Andahuaylas (Grossman 1972; Matsumoto 2019b).

This marked change in pottery style was associated with modifications in the monumental architecture. For instance, Campanayuc Rumi incorporated a new masonry technology of cut and polished stone referred to as ashlar. This new technique is important because it was popularized among the stone constructions of Chavín de Huántar (Kembel 2008) and applied only in important parts of the monumental core at Campanayuc Rumi, such as the staircase of the central platform (Figure 13.10). It is also during this time that the residential settlement of Campanayuc Rumi was occupied more intensively and possibly expanded (Matsumoto, Cavero Palomino, and Gutiérrez Silva 2013; Matsumoto et al. 2016).

The changes in material culture observed during the Campanayuc II phase serve as a proxy for significant socioeconomic transformations occurring at the site. Personal ornaments such as stone beads, bone ornaments with incised iconography, ear spools, gold jewelry (Figure 13.11), and elaborated pottery were used as funeral offerings (Figure 13.12) and suggest that social organization became more hierarchical during this phase (Matsumoto 2010, 2012; Matsumoto, Cavero Palomino, and Gutiérrez Silva 2013; Matsumoto et al. 2016). These artifacts also show clear stylistic affiliations to those found at Chavín de Huántar and other larger centers to the north such as Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa (Onuki 1995; Seki et al. 2010).

Based on a comparison of ritual paraphernalia shown in the stone sculptures of Chavín de Huántar with material correlates from a ceremonial trash context at Campanayuc Rumi, Yuichi Matsumoto (2012) has hypothesized that the ritual activities carried out in the monumental core during this phase were an emulation of those performed at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1992:200, 2013; Rick 2006). Based on this, Matsumoto concludes that “emulation of ceremonial

figure 13.10
Stone masonry platform
with a cut-stone staircase
at the central platform
of Campanayuq Rumi.
Photograph by Yuri
Cavero Palomino.



figure 13.11
Personal ornaments
unearthed from the
ceremonial trash of
the Campanayuq II
phase. Photograph by
Yuichi Matsumoto.





figure 13.12

Campanayuy II-phase burial and associated finely made vessels with religious iconography. Photograph by Yuichi Matsumoto.

activities suggests that people at Chavín de Huántar and Campanayuy Rumi shared specific religious experiences generated by similar ceremonies, which reflects the embracing of the religious ideology of Chavín de Huántar referred to as the ‘Chavín cult’ (Burger 1988, 1992)” (Matsumoto 2012:757).

This view is also supported by the changes in ritual activities in the residential sectors. Although head offerings continued to be carried out in the ritual spaces in the residential sector (Figure 13.13), several elements related to the religious activities carried out exclusively in the monumental core were associated with them. These includes small stone objects with possible feline iconography (Figure 13.14), clay architectural models depicting the temple platform (Figure 13.15), and a gold ear spool (Figure 13.16). In addition, there are several

examples in which high-quality Janabarriu-style vessels were used as offerings in residential areas. An offering placed at the time of architectural renovation in the north residential sector included both a local-style figurine and a typical Janabarriu bowl with a black-polished surface, pouring lip, and decorations of circles and dots (Figure 13.17).

It is reasonable to interpret this change as an intrusion of a foreign cult, even in the realm of local/domestic rituals. This is different from the Campanayuy I phase, where these rituals were clearly separated and coexisted independently. On the other hand, this might not have been a unidirectional change or an intrusion from the foreign tradition of the Chavín cult to the local ones. Local-style figurines popular in the residential sectors (Matsumoto, Cavero Palomino, and Gutiérrez Silva



figure 13.13

Circular structure found in the south sector of Campanayuc Rumi. Photograph by Yuri Cavero Palomino.



figure 13.14

Lithic artifact with Chavín-related feline iconography. Photograph by Yuichi Matsumoto.

2013:fig. 29) are found in the ceremonial trash contexts of the Campanayuc II phase mentioned earlier (Matsumoto 2010:fig.6.41), indicating that local-style ritual paraphernalia was partially utilized in the ceremonies of the monumental core of the site. It seems possible to assume that during this phase, the rituals conducted at the monumental architecture and residential sectors became interpenetrated in each other, suggesting the changing relationship between a local cult of the south-central highlands and a foreign “regional cult” (Werbner 1977), which might be referred to as the “Chavín Cult” (Burger 1988:113–114, 1992).

While these data indicate that in the Campanayuc II phase, Campanayuc Rumi was integrated into a much broader network of interregional interactions, both economic and religious, centered on



figure 13.15

Possible model of monumental architecture (41 cm in diameter) found in the circular structure in the south sector of Campanayuc Rumi (see Figure 13.13). Photograph by Jason Nesbitt.



figure 13.16

Gold ear spool (3,5 cm in diameter) found in the circular structure in the south sector of Campanayuc Rumi (see Figure 13.13). Photograph by Jason Nesbitt.

Chavín de Huántar, the obsidian proveniences of this phase enable us to take a more nuanced approach to the nature of interactions activated in this phase (Matsumoto et al. 2018). The obsidian sources of this phase are much more diverse than in previous phases. Though obsidian from the Quispisisa source still makes up the vast majority of the assemblage, it comprises a lower proportion of the assemblage than in the Campanayuc I phase and resulted in a much greater diversity of obsidian proveniences, as represented by a slight increase in obsidian coming from the Alca source. In addition, obsidian from three or possibly four new sources appear during this phase (see Figure 13.2). Among the most important sources is Potreropampa, which accounts for 5 percent of the obsidian at Campanayuc Rumi. Potreropampa is located in the southwest part of the Department of Apurimac, 104 km to the southeast of



figure 13.17

Local-style figurine and typical Janabarriu-related vessels found in an offering cache in the north sector at Campanayuc Rumi. Photograph by Yuichi Matsumoto.

Campanayuc Rumi (Burger, Fajardo, and Glascock 2006). An additional 4 percent of the obsidian comes from either Jampatilla or Lisahuacho, which are 62 km and 102 km to the south of Campanayuc Rumi, respectively (Burger, Schreiber, Glascock, and Ccencho 1998). Other sources present are distributed in the Andahuaylas and Arequipa regions with distances ranging from 60 to 200 km from Campanayuc Rumi. This obsidian data suggest that Campanayuc Rumi continued to be an important node of regional interactions in the south-central highlands despite its integration in the broader Chavín Interaction Sphere. The continuity of local pottery styles in coarse and utilitarian wares at Campanayuc Rumi also supports this view. Despite the decrease of bichrome decoration, several vessel forms and decorative techniques represented by appliqué and fine-line incisions survived during the Campanayuc II phase and these attributes are

popular in the contemporary sites in Vilcashuamán (Mendoza 2018) and Andahuaylas (Grossman 1972).

Summary: Campanayuc Rumi and the Chavín Phenomenon

The character of interaction at Campanayuc Rumi changed twice in its history. The first change occurred in the shift from the Pre-Platform phase to the Campanayuc I phase, corresponding to the transition from a small village to a major civic-ceremonial center that interacted with the south-central highlands and upper valleys of the south coast. During this time, Campanayuc Rumi first started emulating Chavín architectural conventions. The relationship between these two centers seems to have been religious rather than economic and might have caused certain interactions between them. The relative scarcity of obsidian in Chavín de Huántar's early phases (Burger 1984:188–195; Burger,

Asaro, and Michel 1984:264) probably suggests that the interactions between them were significant but sporadic. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that pilgrimage and exchange activities were not carried out on a regular basis. Though Campanayuq Rumi likely benefited from its links to Chavín de Huántar, as represented by the knowledge tied to ritual and religion as well as by associated techniques for monumental construction projects, it also maintained much of its political-economic independence. This view is supported by the selective introduction of iconographic elements and material styles, and the separation of local/domestic ritual activities from the monumental core that reflects foreign religious ideology.

The other major transformation occurs during the transition from the Campanayuq I phase to the Campanayuq II phase. This change can be characterized by much stronger influence from Chavín de Huántar in terms of material culture and associated socioeconomic transformations. Based on Burger's model of a pilgrimage network centered at Chavín de Huántar (Burger 1988, 1993), Matsumoto has hypothesized that Campanayuq Rumi was incorporated into this religious network and functioned as a branch shrine during the Campanayuq II phase (Matsumoto 2010). We further hypothesize that, in accordance with the demands for Quispisisa obsidian from the emerging elite class of the north and north-central highlands, Campanayuq Rumi became embedded within this pan-regional interaction sphere as a gateway community (Hirth 1978; Matsumoto et al. 2018). On the other hand, it is worth noting that the demands for obsidian did not appear solely in relation to a prestige goods economy; the demand for obsidian was also guided by more practical reasons, including its potential value in a crafting economy (Matsumoto et al. 2018:57; Nesbitt, Johnson, and Horowitz 2019). The data from contemporary Chavín de Huántar demonstrate that obsidian tools were utilized in both high- and low-status areas of its occupation and suggest that during the Janabarriu phase obsidian tools were utilized for craft production, including hide processing (Burger 1984:238). These data also support the character of Campanayuq Rumi as a gateway community.

It should be stressed that Campanayuq Rumi continued to play an important role in the regional interaction sphere that had been established during the previous phase and that covered the south-central highlands and parts of the south coast, including the regions where clear affiliations to the Chavín cult cannot be recognized thus far (Matsumoto 2019b). In other words, the Campanayuq II phase can be characterized as the node to connect two overlapping, but different, kinds of interaction spheres.

Local Architectural Traditions in the South-Central Highlands

As discussed earlier, the architectural techniques of Campanayuq Rumi, especially that of stone masonry as well as galleries, and architectural layout, can be interpreted as an emulation of architectural conventions at Chavín de Huántar. Yet despite these similarities, the processes of platform construction at Campanayuq Rumi were quite different from those at Chavín de Huántar.

In general, Chavín de Huántar's monumental architecture is situated on a flat space that enabled a long-term construction sequence of expansion. From the late Initial Period to the early part of the Early Horizon, platforms with complex internal galleries and sunken plazas continued to be added as part of the vertical and horizontal expansion (Kembel 2001, 2008; Rick, this volume). However, in the case of Campanayuq Rumi, our excavations demonstrated that the location of the monumental core was selected to take advantage of a small natural hill and depression. The central platform of Campanayuq Rumi took the form we see today during the Campanayuq II phase, but it is the final product of five architectural phases of at least a few hundred years. Therefore, during its earliest phases of construction, its appearance was quite different from what we see in its final phase. The stratigraphic evidence of the central platform indicates that Campanayuq Rumi's central platform was built over a natural hill (Matsumoto 2010:78). Excavations on the top of the platform reached bedrock well above

figure 13.18
Sunken circular plaza
found on top of the
central platform at
Campanayuc Rumi.
Photograph by Yuri
Cavero Palomino.



the level of the base of the platform, showing how a natural outcrop was incorporated into the first stages of monumental architecture. As for the most recent findings, in the 2016–2018 field seasons, we exposed about half of a circular plaza measuring 14 m in diameter (Figure 13.18). This plaza is placed on top of the central platform; it was constructed by digging into the bedrock and was sealed at some point in the Campanayuc II phase. In the early construction phases, the natural topography was not completely covered by the platform construction, exposing a hilltop and the low stone masonry walls surrounding it. This practice is somewhat reminiscent of the “framing” and “contouring” of sacred rock present in some instances of Inca architecture (Dean 2010:27–28; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Cavero Palomino 2019; see also Nesbitt 2012 for an example from the early Initial Period).

The Arpiri Site

We now believe that this architectural technique was common at other contemporary centers near Campanayuc Rumi. The one representative example

is the Arpiri site, which was identified by our survey in 2015 near the Quispisisa obsidian quarry (Matsumoto, Cavero Palomino, and Nesbitt 2021; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Cavero Palomino 2019). This site is situated 2 km to the southeast of the modern town of Huancasancos, above the eastern bank of the Caracha River at 3440 masl. Here, we recorded an artificial mound called Pasupata, where Initial Period/Early Horizon pottery sherds were recognized on the surface. Survey around the site located a stone wall and an Early Horizon ceramic sherd with a concentric circle motif that is typical of the Janabarriu-related pottery at Chavín de Huántar and the Campanayuc II phase at Campanayuc Rumi. Below Pasupata, several hills are located nearby and are artificially terraced by stone walls. Based on the survey there, we concluded that these hills, including Pasupata, made up a large site with monumental architecture, which is referred to as Arpiri by the local residents.

The site of Arpiri is composed of at least eight modified hills as well as the previously mentioned mound of Pasupata (Figure 13.19). On the surface

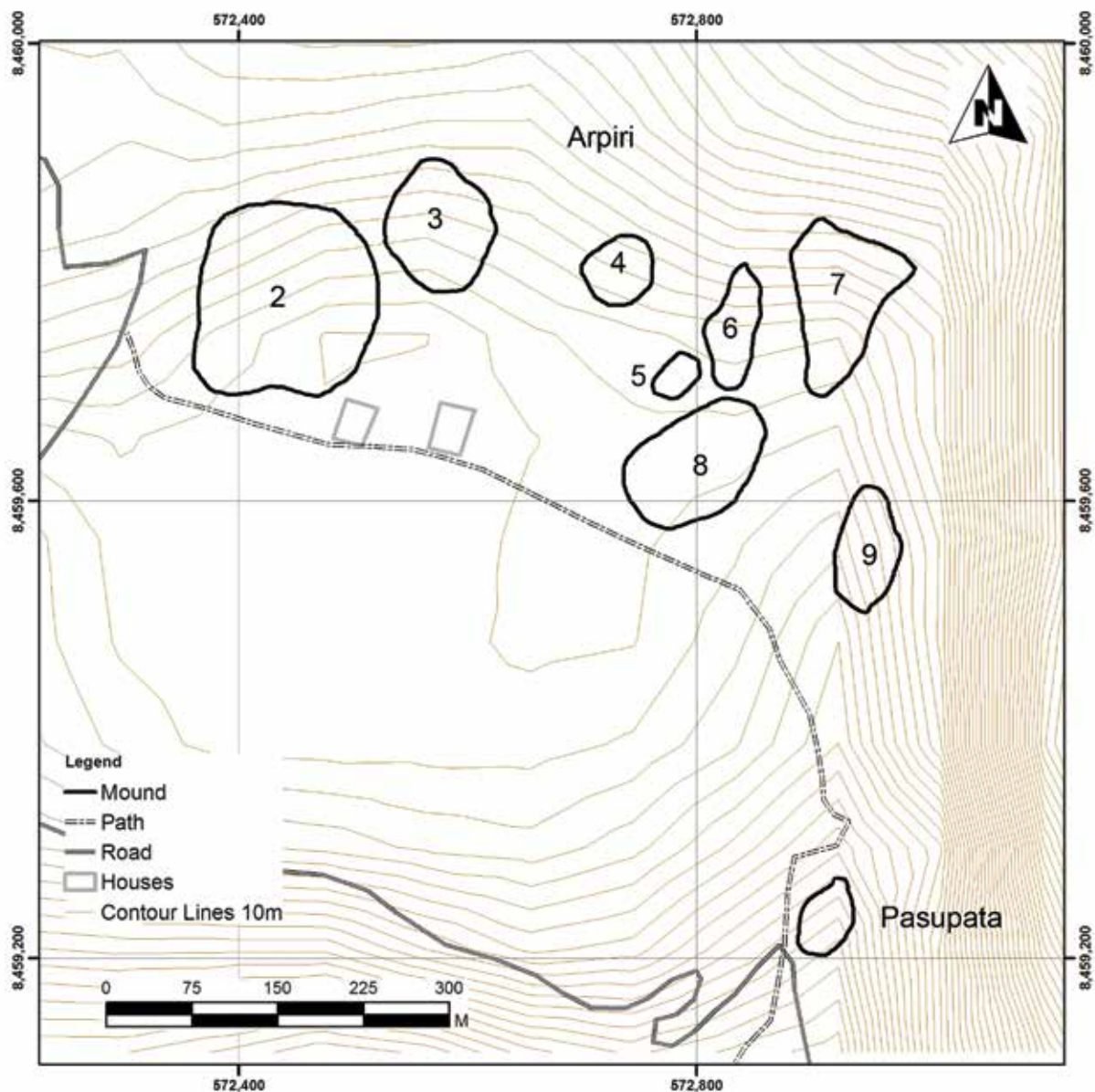


figure 13.19
Arpiri site. Map by Bebel Ibarra Ascencios.

of these hills, we found artifacts including abundant obsidian flakes and points, as well as ceramic sherds that are stylistically similar to pottery found at Campanayúq Rumi. Among the hills, at least five of them exhibit evidence for artificial alteration. In particular, Arpiri 6, 7, and 8 (Figure 13.20) were intensively terraced using large stone retaining walls surrounding their base. In addition, at least two probable sunken rectangular plazas are located

in the spaces at the base of these hills. These architectural elements show clear monumentality, suggesting that Arpiri functioned as a local ceremonial center contemporary with Campanayúq Rumi.

If all of the areas associated with traces of ancient human activities are included, the total extension of Arpiri reaches 20 ha (see Figure 13.19). Thus, in terms of total area, Arpiri rivals Campanayúq Rumi in size. However, in the case

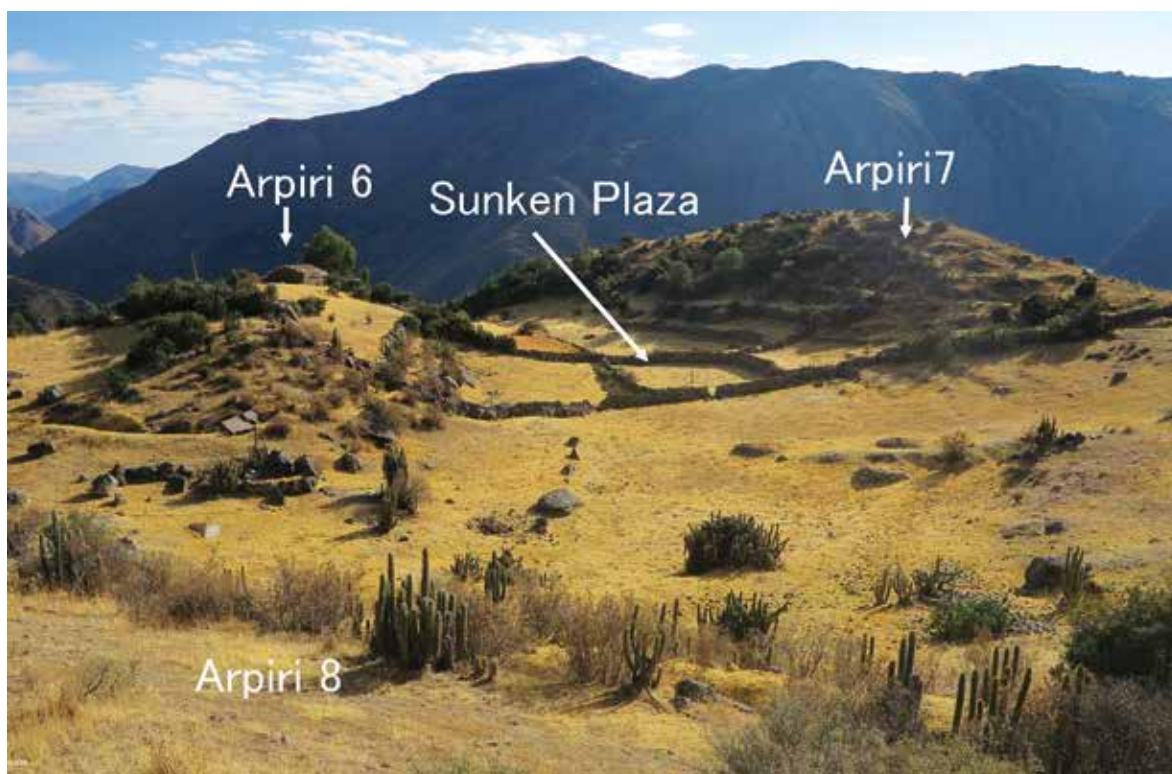


figure 13.20

Possible U-shaped layout at Arpiri, as seen from Arpiri 8. Photograph by Yuichi Matsumoto.

of Arpiri, labor investment for individual building projects, such as the terracing of natural hills and their associated retaining walls, is relatively modest when compared to the large volume invested in the construction of the largely artificial platforms of Campanayuc Rumi.

Many large quarried stones were used to construct walls of 10–50 m in length and 1–2 m in height. The largest walls at Arpiri were constructed from quarried stones that were probably brought from nearby rock outcrops, which would require low labor inputs by relatively small groups of people. Importantly, these walls only partially cover the hills; therefore, most of the natural landscape remained exposed. In other words, Arpiri exhibits an irregular architectural layout that integrates the local topography to create a type of natural monumentality. This does not fit the typical image of contemporary ceremonial centers such as Chavín de Huántar, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa (Burger 1992, 2008; Inokuchi 2014; Rick 2005, 2008; Seki 2014), where

artificial monumentality was displayed by impressive stone masonry platform complexes. However, the architectural technique of Arpiri is identical to that of the central platform at Campanayuc Rumi, at least its early construction stage, and we believe they share important similarities in layout.

Based on surface observations, it is probable that there are at least two sunken plazas of rectangular shape in the space surrounded by Arpiri 6, 7, and 8. As a result, Arpiri 6, 7, and 8 seem to form a layout in which rectangular plazas are surrounded by adjacent monuments/platforms; this layout appears to form a U-shape, though the shape of the “U” is somewhat irregular and distorted compared to Campanayuc Rumi. In the case of Arpiri, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the U-shaped layout was achieved not through the planning and construction of artificial platforms to create this kind of ground plan, but rather through the selection and modification of natural topographic features that already had a preexisting configuration resembling a U-shape

(Matsumoto, Cavero Palomino, and Nesbitt 2021; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Cavero Palomino 2019).

Other Sites near Campanayuq Rumi

It is conceivable that the architectural technique of utilizing the natural landscape to achieve platforms or even U-shaped constructions characterizes early architecture at Campanayuq Rumi and Arpiri. Similar architectural practices are also evident at the site of Chanin Pata and Pallaucha. Chanin Pata is located approximately 3 km to the north of Campanayuq Rumi (Mendoza 2010:149) and consists of a series of low stone walls forming artificial terraces surrounding natural outcrops. Some of the revetment walls exhibit stone masonry styles similar to Campanayuq Rumi, as well as spaces that are roughly rectangular in shape. During our survey of this site in 2015, we observed pottery similar to the Campanayuq II phase and obsidian on the surface.

Pallaucha is a site with a long-term occupation from the Early Horizon to the Late Intermediate Period. This site was excavated by Edison Mendoza; he successfully demonstrated that the site clearly shows the “framing” technique for constructing monumental architecture, which is contemporary with the Campanayuq II phase (Mendoza 2017, 2018).

Recently, an important new discovery in the south-central highlands was made at the site of Tukri-Apu Urqu by Edison Mendoza and Cirilo Vivanco. This site is located on the western bank of the Caracha River near the town of Pampa Cangallo, about 40 km to the west of Campanayuq Rumi. At Tukri-Apu Urqu, Mendoza and Vivanco found an Early Horizon ceremonial center that shows clear architectural similarities to Campanayuq Rumi and Chavín de Huántar, including stone masonry platforms and a well-preserved gallery (Edison Mendoza and Cirilo Vivanco, personal communication 2018).

Monumental Architecture in the Ayacucho Area

These new data from the Ayacucho region clearly indicate that the combination of natural hills surrounded by stone walls and sunken plazas represents a local type of monumental architecture common in the Ayacucho region during the late

Initial Period and Early Horizon. Architectural variation is clearly observable among the Early Horizon ceremonial centers in the broader region. For example, at the site of Atalla in Huancavelica (Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002; Young 2017, this volume) and Chupas near the modern city of Ayacucho (Cruzatt 1966; Lumbreras 1981), monumental architecture is basically composed of a single platform and does not form a U-shaped layout. On the other hand, it is still possible that these centers were constructed by adopting this local technique first and later creating platforms covering the exposed parts of natural hills. This suggests that locally meaningful topography in relation to adjacent landscape was emphasized through the principles of “framing” and “contouring” sacred rock (Dean 2010:27–28) that might be framed more generally as a process of transforming natural places into a monument (Bradley 2000:103–110). The central platform of the Campanayuq I phase, which exposed the natural hill, implies that this architectural technique could have existed before 1000 BC as a local tradition. Only excavations of these ceremonial centers in the south-central highlands will allow us to evaluate the distribution of this architectural technique of incorporating natural topography as an important part of a site’s monumentality and its chronological depth.

The presence of a possible Early Horizon U-shaped center with Janabarriu-related pottery that is positioned in a strategic location with respect to the Quispisisa quarry suggests that Arpiri, like Campanayuq Rumi, was closely connected to the interregional networks that characterize the Early Horizon. Yet, it is important to note that the U-shaped layout was achieved through local techniques, suggesting that foreign ideas were not passively accepted but rather actively modified and, in some instances, reinterpreted by local societies.

The Ayacucho Region and the Chavín Phenomenon

With these new findings, the picture of the late Initial Period and Early Horizon of the Ayacucho region in the south-central highlands is quite different

from the common perspectives that prevailed until the 1990s that asserted that small centers and villages such as Chupas, Wichqana, and Jargam-pata characterized the degree of regional sociopolitical organization (Cruzatt 1971; Lumbreras 1974, 1981; Ochatoma 1998). Instead, it is now apparent that this area is crucial for understanding regional socioeconomic development in relation to the Chavín Phenomenon.

It is worth emphasizing that the Chavín Phenomenon in this region needs to be considered through two events. One occurred around 1000–950 BC and corresponds to the beginning of the Campanayuc I phase, when Campanayuc Rumi appeared as a civic-ceremonial center of regional importance and was centered on a regional interaction sphere covering the south-central highlands and upper valleys of the south coast (Matsumoto 2019b; Matsumoto et al. 2018). During this period, Campanayuc Rumi emulated architectural conventions at Chavín de Huántar. It is important to note that no other Initial Period sites that show evidence of direct contact with Chavín de Huántar have been identified thus far in this region. The obsidian data from Campanayuc Rumi and Chavín de Huántar suggest that their relationships were not economically driven, and evidence of socioeconomic transformation at the side of Campanayuc Rumi is still scarce. Though contact between the two sites could have stimulated the formation of a regional interaction sphere in the late Initial Period, it did not cause radical socioeconomic transformations in this region. Even at Campanayuc Rumi, presumable influence of Chavín de Huántar is rather limited; the local pottery styles and ritual activities in the domestic areas continued. In addition, iconographic elements of Chavín de Huántar have not yet been recognized in its monumental architecture and artifact styles. For example, the circular plaza at Campanayuc Rumi was not decorated at all by religious iconographies, which is quite different from the Circular Plaza at Chavín de Huántar (Lumbreras 1977, 2014).

The second major transition corresponds to the Chavín Phenomenon in a narrow sense. As described earlier, artifact styles, architectural

techniques, and ritual activities in both the monumental core and residential areas significantly changed, suggesting much stronger affiliations to Chavín de Huántar. These changes occurred in accordance with the emergence of marked hierarchical organizations around 800–700 BC. As the data of obsidian proveniences suggest, the relationships between Chavín de Huántar and Campanayuc Rumi were both economic and religious (Burger 2013; Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Cavero Palomino 2019; Matsumoto et al. 2018:58). It is important to note that several civic-ceremonial centers appeared in the Ayacucho region in accordance with these changes. Despite the lack of AMS data outside of Campanayuc Rumi, pottery styles with stratigraphic evidence at Pallaucha (Mendoza 2017) and surface observations at other sites suggest that civic-ceremonial centers such as Pallaucha and Chanin-pata were probably constructed during this time. Arpiri and Tukri-Apu Urqu can also be included in this group (Nesbitt, Matsumoto, and Cavero Palomino 2019). These data probably indicate that a fundamental socioeconomic transformation occurred at a regional level. As represented by the recent discovery at Tukri-Apu Urqu, some sites show architectural configurations that are similar to Campanayuc Rumi. We argue that these regional changes were caused by their involvement in the larger Chavín Interaction Sphere. It should be noted that while this region was integrated into this pan-regional interaction network, it also maintained its more localized regional interaction sphere that was established in the late Initial Period. In other words, the sporadic but important contact between Chavín de Huántar and this region during the late Initial Period stimulated the formation of a regional interaction sphere where Campanayuc Rumi played an essential role. It is probable that the formation of this regional network during the late Initial Period prepared a feasible condition for this radical socioeconomic transformation in the Ayacucho region and south-central highlands in general during the Early Horizon. Even before the Early Horizon, the societies in the region had been aware of the ritual and religion of Chavín de Huántar through contact with Campanayuc Rumi, and information about the

societies in the Ayacucho region and their available resources, such as the presence of multiple obsidian sources, had reached Chavín de Huántar. These preconditions could have enabled the local societies in the Ayacucho region to accept the foreign religion and get involved in this larger network of interregional interaction, which we call the Chavín Interaction Sphere. It is, therefore, of fundamental importance to recognize that Campanayuc Rumi continued to center on a regional interaction sphere of the south-central highlands, which includes the regions where the foreign cult of Chavín de Huántar was never accepted, such as Andahuaylas and the upper Colca Valley. Despite the presence of important obsidian sources of Potreropampa and Alca, clear evidence of interactions with Chavín de Huántar and other northern centers are not recognized in these regions. Two different spheres, one interregional and the other regional, overlapped independently, though they were interconnected by the sites that accepted the Chavín cult, such as Campanayuc Rumi, Arpiri, and Tukri-Apu Urqu.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the Chavín Phenomenon triggered important socioeconomic changes at Campanayuc Rumi and more broadly in the south-central highlands during the Initial Period and Early Horizon (see also Young, this volume). While several material correlates suggest that the relationship between Campanayuc Rumi and Chavín de Huántar was significant, obsidian analysis likewise confirms the continued and broadened importance of Campanayuc Rumi as an important node of a regional interaction sphere within the south-central highlands, one that included portions of Arequipa, Apurímac, and the Peruvian south coast (Matsumoto et al. 2018).

The existence of a regional interaction sphere in south-central Peru during the Early Horizon is paralleled by other regional interaction spheres represented in northern Peru that incorporated highland Cajamarca. The pan-regional interaction sphere that emerged during the Early Horizon around 800–700 BC and covered the wide geographic area of the Central Andes should be considered as a complex entity of multiple regional spheres. These

regional interaction spheres articulated what is known as the Chavín Interaction Sphere (Matsumoto et al. 2018:59). These two are for now our best-documented and contrastive components, and we think comparing them is useful to capture the heterogeneity of the Chavín Phenomenon in a pan-regional perspective as suggested by Burger (1988). For this purpose, we tentatively name the southern part (that includes Campanayuc Rumi) as the “Ayacucho Sphere” and the northern as the “Cajamarca Sphere” (Inokuchi 2010; Seki et al. 2010).

The Cajamarca Sphere includes two representative sites: Pacopampa and Kuntur Wasi, which show monumentality comparable to Chavín de Huántar and experienced major socioeconomic transformations after 800 BC, as represented by the emergence of marked hierarchical organization, technological innovations in metallurgy, and the expansion of monumental architecture (Seki, this volume). Despite the synchronicity of socioeconomic change, the relationships between these sites and Chavín de Huántar are quite different from that of Campanayuc Rumi and Chavín de Huántar. Many cultural elements at Campanayuc Rumi can be better interpreted as emulations or acceptance of conventions at Chavín de Huántar, and they appeared as intrusions within a local cultural matrix. Monumental architecture and religious iconographies are two representative examples that appeared at Campanayuc Rumi without any local antecedents (Matsumoto 2010, 2019b). In contrast, Chavín de Huántar, Kuntur Wasi, and Pacopampa had already been established as independent large-scale civic-ceremonial centers from the late Initial Period. Although these two northern centers and Chavín de Huántar share similar religious iconographies rooted in the north and central coasts and northern highlands (Elera 1998; Larco 1941; Lumbreras 1993; Ravines and Isbell 1976; Terada and Onuki 1985) as “sources of inspiration” (Burger and Salazar 2008), they interpret them in different ways, as exemplified by the different ceramic sequences and artifact styles between Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa and by the lack of cultural elements from the central coast, despite the abundant presence at Chavín de Huántar as

shown by the Tello Obelisk and fine pottery vessels found at the Ofrendas Gallery (Lumbreras 1993). Pottery styles, architectural styles, and religious iconography at Kuntur Wasi and Pacopampa maintain local characteristics despite the radical socioeconomic changes that occurred simultaneously with Chavín de Huántar. We, therefore, argue that the Chavín Phenomenon in the Cajamarca Sphere should be understood as a process of “peer polity interactions” (Renfrew 1982; Renfrew and Cherry 1986) rather than the core–periphery relations that we believe are applicable to the sites in the Ayacucho Sphere. We have argued that by around 800–700 BC, Campanayuc Rumi developed into an important “gateway community” (Hirth 1978) that served as a central redistributive point to provide a reliable flow of obsidian to Chavín de Huántar and other centers during the Early Horizon (Matsumoto 2010; Matsumoto et al. 2018). Campanayuc Rumi was situated on an advantageous trade route that connected the site to the Quispisisa obsidian quarries (Contreras 2011; Matsumoto 2010). In this perspective, demand for Quispisisa obsidian created intensified connections between Chavín de Huántar and the south-central highlands. Considering it with the fact that the influence from Chavín de Huántar appeared at Campanayuc Rumi as a radical intrusion, the Chavín Phenomenon in the Ayacucho Sphere needs to be considered as a relationship between core and periphery (Matsumoto et al. 2018).

Although these two spheres are currently the best understood, there could have existed others that might be similar. For example, in the Huánuco region in the central highlands, archaeological data demonstrate that around 800–700 BC all the centers in the region experienced important changes in artifacts, architecture, and settlement patterns. These changes include the destruction and/or relocation of local centers and the discontinuities of local material styles (Matsumoto 2010, 2019b; Matsumoto and Tsurumi 2011). Although they can be interpreted as acceptance of new religious beliefs from Chavín de Huántar, the changes in Huánuco, as was the case of the Ayacucho Sphere, are different in that local religious traditions were rejected in an exhaustive

manner. Moreover, it is difficult to know if the centers in the Huánuco region functioned as gateway communities.

The data from Campanayuc Rumi and the Peruvian south-central highlands allow us to tentatively describe a regional process of the Chavín Phenomenon from the formation of a regional sphere to its integration to the pan-regional Chavín Interaction Sphere. Ongoing research in this and adjacent regions will provide archaeologists opportunities to evaluate how these different regional spheres are integrated to form a larger Chavín Interaction Sphere, in order to better understand the “unity and heterogeneity” (Burger 1988) of the Chavín Phenomenon from a macro perspective beyond a region.

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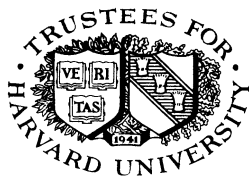
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