

DISCOVERY OF THE CHAVÍN CULTURE IN PERU



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DISCOVERY OF THE CHAVÍN CULTURE IN PERU¹

JULIO C. TELLO

THIS paper is a summary of the studies and surveys made in late years to acquire a knowledge of the characteristic features of the Chavín culture, and to determine its zone of diffusion in the territory of the Incas or Tawantinsuyo.

INTRODUCTION

In 1919, while exploring the basin of the Mariash or Pukcha River, one of the upper Amazon affluents, I found in Chavín de Huantar evidence of a culture that, up to then, had not been given due recognition. I proved that certain buildings and other products of aboriginal art found there belonged to a quite distinctive cycle of culture—that of the Chavín stone culture. Monolithic figures of serpents and felines, representing human heads, and stelae, obelisks, sundry utensils, and other objects decorated with incised or carved figures in plane, high or low relief, representing grotesque felines, serpents, fish, lizards and birds are the main features of this culture, whose area of diffusion had then been reconnoitered only in the provinces of Huari and Pomabamba.

Subsequently to 1919, I recognized in collections of Peruvian antiquities, in Peru and abroad, a few examples of pottery and gold-work decorated with Chavín motifs; such as a jug in the Elías y Elías collection made at Moropón in the Piura Valley; another in the Ramón Muñoz collection from Cajamarquilla, Department of Ancash; a gold plate in the Dalmau collection at Trujillo; two jugs in that of Lizandro Velez López at Trujillo; a jar in the Máximo Neira Collection in the same city; a jug in the Antonio Raymondi Collection, now in the San Carlos University Museum; a picture of a jug published in the well-known works of Charles Wiener, Arthur Baessler and Max Schmidt; a broken jug found by Max Uhle in one of the graves opened by him in front of the Huaca of the Moon in Moche; and various specimens, for the most part published by me, in the Trujillo Collection of the brothers Victor and Rafael Larco Herrera. I also recognized clear evidence of Chavín art in various gold pieces discovered by the Galloso brothers at Chongoyape, and in a specimen of the *Strombus* conch recovered by Abraham Pickman during work near the Chiclayo air base.

In the middle of 1925, I discovered in the rubbish heaps and burial caves of Cerro Colorado, in the Paracas Peninsula, a new kind of pot-

¹ This paper represents the result of work undertaken in part under the aegis of the Institute of Andean Research, which has made possible the publication of all of Dr. Tello's illustrations.



tery ornamented with the same motifs and worked with the same technique as in the Chavín art, though with the addition of new typical features that linked genetically with the classic Nazca pottery, such as the globular shapes derived from the gourd, tubular necks imitating the bones of birds, and polychrome painting with oil or resinous color.

In 1926 and 1927, while reviewing the works of Max Uhle for the purpose of appraising the foundations for his theory of the origin and development of Peruvian cultures, I was surprised to find that the remains of pottery found by him in the Ancón and Supe rubbish deposits were no other than remains of the classic Chavín pottery. Uhle believed these pottery remains belonged to a primitive culture of cannibal fisherman who, according to him, were settled on the coast prior to the appearance of the people that brought from abroad the advanced proto-Chimú and proto-Nazca cultures.

The Chavín culture, despite these dispersed finds, had not yet achieved a separate existence as a true cultural entity. Its sparse and sporadic components seemed to lack direct or immediate sequence. For this reason, the few known proofs of Chavín art were regarded as coming within the domain of Tiahuanaco culture, or within that of Nazca, but always as expressions of other cultures already identified.

NEPEÑA VALLEY: CERRO BLANCO AND PUNKURÍ

In 1933, I discovered in the Nepeña Valley two splendid examples of Chavín art: the temples of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí. For the first time, I proved that remains of Chavín civilization lay buried under the debris of buildings belonging to cultures hitherto considered to be the oldest and most advanced on the Peruvian coast.

Excavation of these monuments furnished fresh data on the characteristic features of Chavín culture in its adaptation to the physical conditions of the coast, on its two phases or stages of development, and on its great antiquity. The Cerro Blanco temple had been buried under a thick layer of mud, remains of old floods, upon which sugar cane is now being grown. In some areas, the temple was covered by two different types of structure; one that seemed to be merely a new local phase of Chavín proper; and another corresponding to the buildings, graves and rubbish heaps of a people who lived there later. On the lower level, the buildings were of stone; the walls were plastered with mud and decorated with figures in relief, admirably modeled in fine clay and painted in a variety of colors imitating the stone sculptures of Chavín (Pl. XII, *a*). In the fill of buildings destroyed and utilized as foundations of other buildings were found a few fragments of black vessels of the classic Chavín type (Pl. XIV, *a*). On the second level the construction was of

stone and small conical unbaked bricks, the walls plastered, smooth-finished and painted. In the debris that filled the rooms of the buildings erected above this level no fragments of pottery were found. On the upper level were found remains of the dwelling houses, rubbish and graves of a population that lived there and utilized, in their construction, the materials employed by their predecessors. These people belonged to the culture represented by the multicolored vessels of the Santa and Late Nepeña type, being contemporaries of the Chimú.

In the Punkurí temple, conditions were almost wholly repeated. The *huaca* has at one time been buried in great part under a mass of mud that seems to have spread over the entire valley. The lower level con-



FIG. 17.—*a*, Stone vase with engraved figures, Huaca Punkurí, Nepeña Valley.
b, Stone vase with engraved figures, Huaca Suchiman, Santa Valley.

tained stone structures with walls decorated in the classic Chavín style. These buildings were knocked down and used later as foundations for the new buildings of the middle level, and this, in turn, served in similar fashion for those of the upper level. As at Cerro Blanco, in the two lower levels, remains of Chavín culture were found: an idol made of stone and mud, representing in high relief the figure of a feline painted in different colors; a grave containing the body of a sacrificed woman, together with a spiral conch (*Strombus galeatus*), a handkerchief embroidered with turquoise sequins, and a mortar and pestle, both of diorite, polished and engraved with figures in the classic Chavín style (Fig. 17, *a*). In the middle level, the buildings had walls of conical mud bricks and were decorated with incised figures on a previously plastered surface. Above this level were also found remains of dwellings, rubbish and graves of the Late periods of Santa, Nepeña and Chimú (Fig. 17, *b*).



Consequently, we have ample proof in Nepeña that the Chavín culture had spread to the coast and had become adapted to the conditions peculiar to its new medium. In the first stage of such adaptation, it had faithfully preserved the characteristics of the original culture; by the second, it had undergone considerable modification. For instance, the structures of the first stage were exclusively of stone, and were ornamented with figures that accurately reproduced those of the temple at Chavín. In the second stage, the buildings were of conical unbaked bricks, plainly imitating the cuneiform stones used in the previous level, and painted figures copied the incised and relief figures of the original stone art. In the third stage, all features of both phases of the earlier art disappeared completely; the buildings were now of rectangular unbaked bricks, with plastered walls adorned with figures corresponding to an entirely new style. The structures of this period no doubt lasted until the Spanish Conquest.

Exploration of the Nepeña Valley, from Samanco Bay to the limits of the cis-Andine zone, permitted a fairly complete survey of the principal features of the cultures existing there. Among these are the following: (1) Ruins of towns, with burial grounds in the outskirts with more or less uniform contents, some built with rectangular mud bricks made in a mold, others with small stones and mud, all belonging to the last stage of occupation of the valley and situated at intervals along the side-valleys. (2) Pyramids in tiers, associated with other structures with large rectangular rooms built of mud bricks, and decorated, for the greater part, with multicolored frescoes representing war-like or mythological scenes, similar to those on Muchik vessels; also burial grounds in the outskirts with overlying graves and more or less uniform contents, hard to differentiate in respect of their two stages of development, for the later one seems to be simply a continuation of the preceding. The same type of pottery runs through the two stages, retaining its morphological and decorative features with the sole difference of a falling-off in the art quality of the latter stage. (3) Stone structures completely distinct in style from the above, but similar or identical to Andean megalithic constructions, such as those of Kusi Pampa, Pincha Marka, Kiske, Huaca Partida, Paña Marka and the second *huaca* of Cerro Blanco. In the lower part of the valley, these buildings are found buried by others of a later age, and in the upper part they are uncovered and of such pure style that they continue without any apparent differentiation up to the Callejón de Huaylas. In the structures of this archaic style situated in the lower valley, the characteristic style of Chavín architecture stands out clearly. These *huacas* have platforms at different heights, communication between platforms being

*a**b*

a, Cerro Blanco temple, Nepeña Valley. The inverted L's and the frames on the upright elements on the back wall are brick red; frames on the lower elements are greenish yellow. *b*, Moxeke, Casma Valley. Lower portion of idol made of stones, conical adobes and mud, faced with clay and decorated with white, yellow, black and red pigment, and placed in one of niches running length of outer terrace.



a

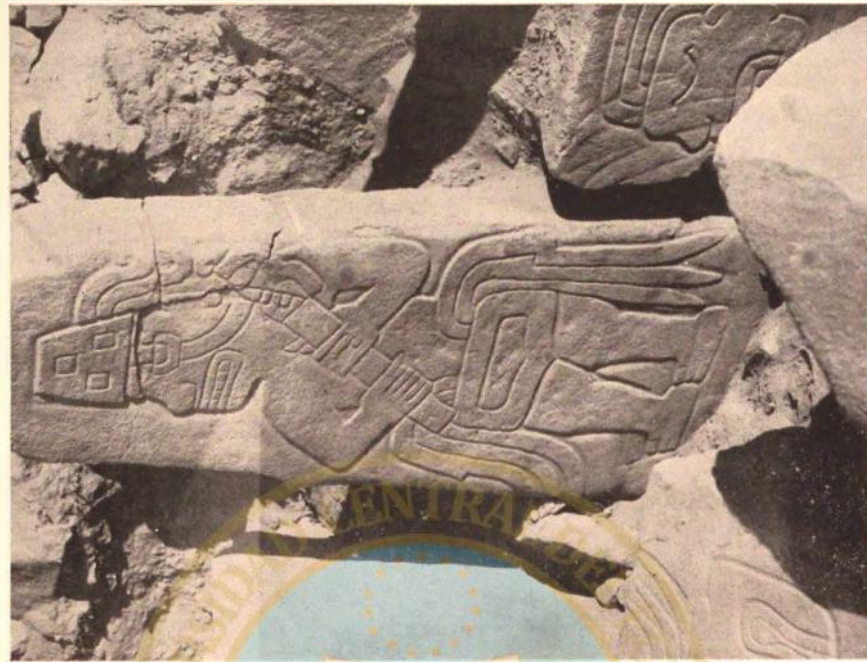


b

a, Cerro Blanco temple, Nepeña Valley. Fragments of monochrome incised pottery. Red pigment or traces of graphite in some incisions.
b, Chavín de Huantar. Potsherds from subsoil.



a
b
a, Pallka, Yautan District, Casma Valley. Potsherds from rubbish heap in subsoil, beneath ruins.
b, Pallka. Potsherds from ash heaps in ruins. Decorations done with sharp instrument.



Cerro Sechin temple. Engraved monoliths.

by shafts, and remains of altars, columns and walls profusely decorated with figures modeled or painted in mud in the style of those carved in stone at Chavín de Huantar. In these *huacas*, use is made of conical mud bricks of different sizes, from 20 to 80 cm. high, for the building up of the walls and the filling in of the platforms.

Before discovery of the Chavín culture in the Nepeña Valley, it might have been thought, judging by the few isolated finds of potsherds, that the old trans-Andine populations had filtered in, in a casual manner, by the lowlands of the coast or the montaña, in the fashion of temporary or migratory colonies. The Nepeña discovery definitely cleared up the true character of the Chavín culture on the coast. In the first place, it was now proved that this culture was rich in representative material, that it was unmistakable in its distinctive features, and identical to the trans-Andine culture in its essential characteristics. In the second place, it was demonstrated that its remains occupy a lower stratum than the cultures regarded by other investigators as the first and oldest in Peru. The Chavín people developed on virgin soil in the Nepeña Valley a civilization without precedent in respect to both originality and excellence of artistic production. The same architectural style, employment of the same kind of decorative and symbolic motifs, and particular methods of utilizing local materials, adapting them to pre-established standards, give the Chavín culture features of its own.

In possession of material that permitted us to differentiate the above culture, we then found it necessary to direct investigation toward broadening our knowledge of its characteristics and inquiring about its original sources of diffusion. These considerations, in the first place, made it necessary to explore Casma Valley, on account of its special geographical situation, and, in the second place, made equally essential the intensive exploration of the watersheds of the Cordillera Negra and the Callejón de Huaylas; for, in both regions, the remains of Chavín culture must lie beneath the strata corresponding to the cultures that had so far appeared there to be the predominant and oldest ones.

CASMA VALLEY: THE CERRO SECHÍN TEMPLE

In the second half of 1937, I was commissioned by San Marcos University in Lima to undertake an archaeological survey of northern Peru and to study by preference the remains of the oldest civilizations found throughout that territory, between the coast and the Amazon frontier. The expedition equipped for the purpose was made possible by help lent by the Institute of Andean Research in the United States and by Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Throughout the trip I was accompanied by Messrs. Toribio Mejía

X., Pedro Rojas, and Hernan Ponce, employees of the San Marcos University Museum, and by Miss Honour McCreery and Miss Barbara Loomis of the University of New Mexico, and for three months by Mr. Donald Collier of the Institute of Andean Research. Also for two weeks the expedition was joined by the Messrs. Edward McCormick Blair and Deering Danielson.

Among the more important sites surveyed by this expedition were the ruins of Sechín, Moxeke (Pl. XIII, *b*) and Pallka (Pl. XV, XXIV, *a*), situated in the Casma Valley and identified as belonging to the Chavín culture; the megalithic aqueduct of Kembe Mayo, near Cajamarca; the Yanakancha megalithic mausoleums near Hualgayoc; the Cochabamba megalithic ruins in the Province of Chachapoyas; the Chokta ruins in the Province of Celendín; and the Nunamarka ruins close to Chilia in Pataz Province. Except for Casma Valley, these are all within the Marañon basin.

The final report of the explorations carried out by the Marañon Archaeological Expedition, which is still in preparation, will contain the evidence to prove the wide zone of diffusion of the Chavín culture in the Sierra and coast of Peru. For the time being I will confine myself to recording the discovery of the Sechín, Moxeke and Pallka temples in Casma Valley, some of which, like that of Sechín, are adorned with sculptured monoliths in the Chavín style.

On my first visit in 1937 to the Cerro Sechín huaca, lying at the foot of the northern slope of the rock called "Los Corrales" or "Cerro Sechín," some seven kilometers to the east of the town of Casma, my attention was called to five stone posts on the edge of the side valley in which the huaca stands, standing in an almost straight line, barely emerging above the surface. Three were close together toward the east; and two, separated from each other, toward the west. Inspection of the surroundings of the huaca disclosed the existence of other stones, lying half buried in the fields, and displaying carved figures on one face.

The posts turned out to correspond to other and larger units buried under a thick bed of loose earth; all showed, on one face, carved figures that were in turn part of other larger figures lost in the depths.

In order to gain more concrete information about the presence of these stones in such an unfrequented spot, I directed preliminary work toward digging out all stones in the loose soil.

My first impression was that these stones had been hauled from some other older building, from the Sechín Alto Temple, for instance, being brought here by another people for reuse or a new type of use. I was soon convinced, by the discovery of additional stone posts, that they followed a continuous line, with short empty intervening spaces.

I then thought that they perhaps formed part of a monument resembling the square precinct of Kalazazaya at Tiahuanaco. This forced me to deepen the excavation on the north side of the row, in order to reach the level on which they stood. For this I divided the ground of operations into four-meter sections, in order to examine carefully the details of position, shape, size and ornamentation of the stones, and at the same time secure data about the terrain in which they were interred. While carefully removing, on one side, the layer of loose earth on the top level, which contained no archaeological remains at all, I had a vertical trench cut around the stone at the western end, following its sides very closely. I chose this spot because, behind this stone, there was a big depression in the ground about two meters deep and from three to four across. The earth and stones covering the monolith in front and behind were easily removed, and its base was reached. It was lightly propped against a pile of stones placed in front like wedges; and it contained a figure cut in plane relief, a half-human, half-feline monster, to judge from its features (Pl. XVI). Because of its bristling disheveled locks, no doubt, the inhabitants call this the "Huaca of the Fierce Idol."

Excavation was easy behind the monolith. The stones piled there, and the loose soil, were taken out for a depth of two meters, down to the base. At the front face, and the left and right sides, the job was harder. In front, the stone rested on mud hardened to the consistency of concrete, with a few stones imbedded in it. At the sides, the base was likewise wedged by a number of small stones driven between the monolith and the adjacent large stones. To lighten the task and secure complete isolation of the monolith, we proceeded to straighten it and incline it slightly backward. Only then could we separate the pile of stones against which it lay; this pile, in turn, hid another, small monolith. Extending the excavation from east to west, we found on either side of the monolith of the Fierce Idol, three more monoliths of the same shape and size as the small one. All four displayed human heads cut on one face.

Though two small monoliths were found at the very bottom of the excavation standing upright and in line with the larger one, no important fact was observed explaining the curious position of these stones. However, one of the smaller ones had left a clean-cut impression of its carved face in the mud on which it had fallen. This revealed that the monoliths at this site had been thrown forward, turned over, and dragged for a distance by a mass of mud originating in and traveling from the upper part of the side valley. For the rest, the ground consisted of a conglomerate of small stones cemented by a very hard, dark-brown clay.

Work was proceeding simultaneously in other sections, for the sole purpose of removing the surface layer and locating the existing mono-

liths. Some others were uncovered, it being noted that they preserved a uniform, marked forward inclination. Digging was continued down to the level corresponding to the platform on which the wall of monoliths had stood. Towards the east, excavation was a laborious job, on account of the great amount of loose earth piled up there. To get at the base of the stones, it became necessary to move this earth in considerable volume, increasing in proportion as the digging advanced towards the west. Furthermore, a short way down, a multitude of stones appeared, almost completely covering the monoliths. Just as at the opposite end, the major and minor monoliths kept the same relative position, the first leaning or lying in a forward direction, the second intercalated between them. Among the latter, those at the lowest depth were standing upright or leaning forward slightly, and those that had without doubt been on top of these were found one, two or three meters ahead; minor monoliths underneath major monoliths, as if an earthquake had shaken the monument with such force that the wedges at the sides and below each monolith had been displaced, allowing it to fall. The solidity of construction on this side must have been much greater than on the other, for here there are still to be found remains of the primitive well-made wall. Though all the upper stones are out of position, the lower ones seem to be firmly set, especially in the section corresponding to the intervals separating the major monoliths. Moreover, the destructive force must have acted with greater intensity in the upper portion than in the lower, for only so can the falling or leaning forward of the majority of the major monoliths be explained.

On the western side, more so than on the eastern, the digging provided very illuminating data as to the formation of the exposed ground. At a certain depth, after getting rid of the layer of loose earth mixed with gravel and sand, a thin bed of rubbish was found running obliquely in front of the wall. Within this bed appeared fragments of multicolored pottery and skeletons of human beings and dogs. This bed thickened and assumed a frankly horizontal position as the trench advanced above and behind the row of monoliths. As soon as it was noted that the ground in this spot retained its stratified character, we tried as far as possible to avoid any falling-in of the upper layer and to deepen the trench in front. By this means it was possible to carry on excavation for twenty-three meters, from a hollow that apparently marked the eastern limit of the wall, to the stone that stood out upon the highest part of the loose earth.

In the course of excavation, it was observed that the monoliths discovered on one side seemed to be twins of those on the other, so that the building may have had two symmetrical sides, left and right, with perhaps an entrance in the center marked by the tallest stone. This induced

me to continue the work on the left or eastern side, and determine definitely the course of the wall. Excavation on this side proved as interesting and full of surprises as on the other. To get fuller information on the structure of the ground and the exact placing of the carved stones, I had the field of operations enlarged both areally and in depth. Not to lose any important detail, we at first removed only the loose surface earth; then we continued examining the ground as it was cut into along the trench opened from east to west.

The loose surface earth having been removed, there came into view, just as on the other side, the compact mass of stones and mud, and, in this, the carved stones. It was a hard job to remove this conglomerate in order to uncover the monoliths. Here, better than on the right hand side, the stones that fell in the mud left the impression of their designs; and here also the evidence revealed by the excavation was far more illustrative and attractive, since it was possible to contemplate the ravages and magnitude of the earthquake.

The major and minor monoliths were found one after the other, the former lying down or leaning heavily forward, the latter thrown two or three meters away from the wall. Some of the major ones were fractured in the upper third, and some of the minor were found under these. The falling flat of the bigger ones permitted examination of the ground on which they had been set up. The stones, strictly speaking, had had no foundations; they were placed directly on the hard stony floor with a few wedges at the sides. One of the monoliths had been placed on a heap of water-borne stones.

We next proceeded to excavate the central section, in order to join up the side trenches. This task was somewhat difficult, owing to the accumulation of loose earth that at this spot reached a greater volume, and to the need of extending the digging over a greater area in order to avoid slides. Five meters down, a large stone was uncovered, the twin of the one on the other side. It was lying face down and was completely covered by a thick layer of stones and mud. This monolith has its top worn away, as if it had been exposed for a long time, and is broken in two at one-third of its height, as if in falling heavily it had hit against a projecting stone that acted upon it like a wedge. Toward the east of this long stone were found two minor monoliths, as if violently displaced from the wall. The space between the two large stones measures 9.7 meters, and excavation here down to the level of the base or foundation of the wall showed that the two tall monoliths had been stuck into the mass of stones and hardened mud to a depth of two meters. Above this mass was found a row of stones, almost all of the same size, covered by a thick bed of rubbish. This is the same bed that appears in the trench

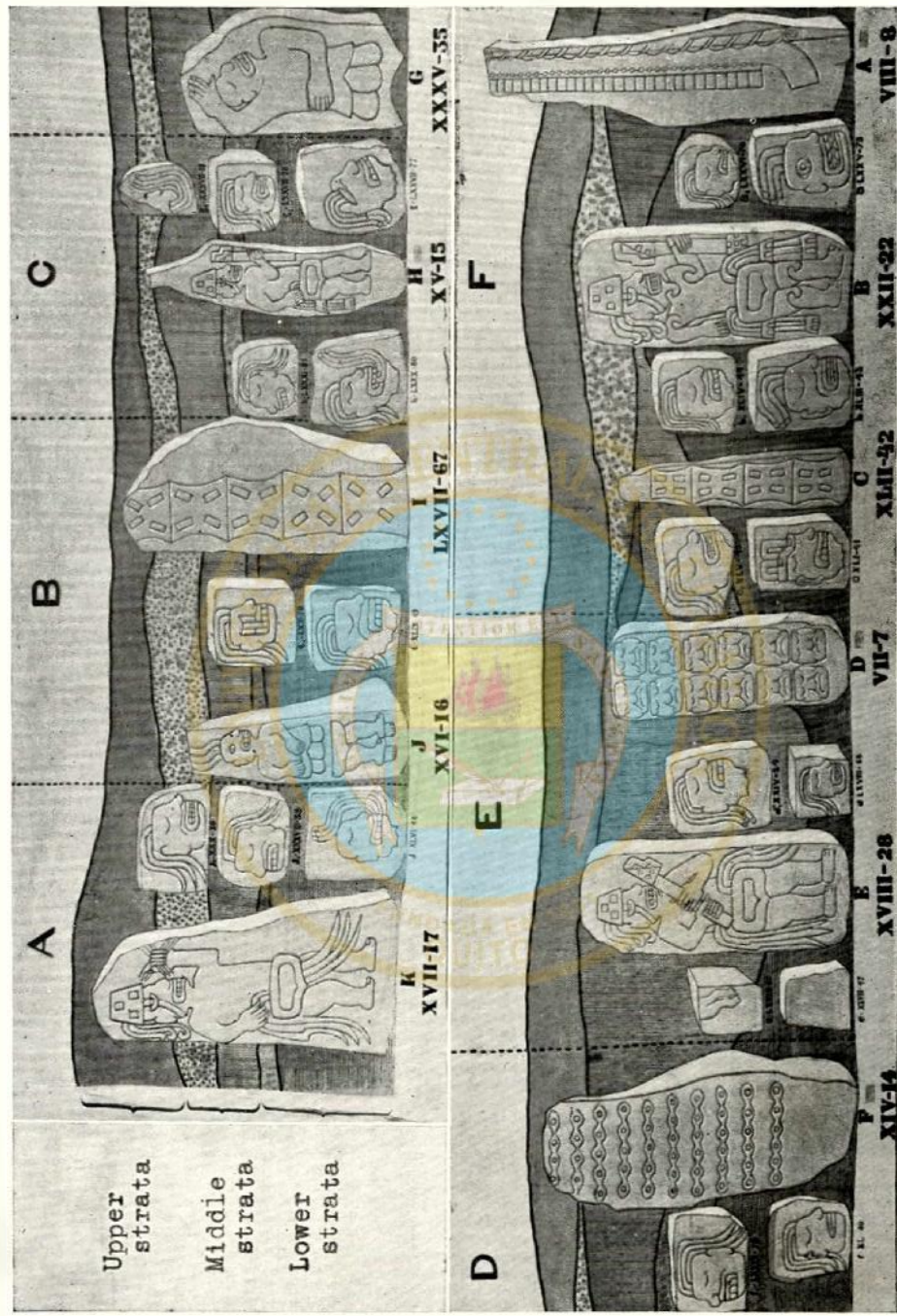
on the eastern side and continues along the western trench. The composition of this bed of rubbish is not uniform; in the lower half it is much mixed with earth and sand, and in the upper half it contains fragments of household pottery and many organic remains. Over this stratum is the loose earth of the lower level.

Observations made during the course of excavation, and the type of archaeological material obtained, furnish information regarding the sites occupied by the buildings adorned with engraved monoliths, the structure of the adjacent terrain and the agency that disturbed the monuments, breaking up some and burying others, and thereby compelling the erection of fresh buildings upon the remains of the earlier ones.

The attached diagram (Pl. XVII) illustrates the outcome of our observations in respect of the excavations carried out in the eastern half of the temple façade. In it are marked by letters the sections into which the terrain was divided in order to facilitate a methodical plan of excavation. The major and minor monoliths have below them letters and Roman numerals for their better identification, and behind the row of monoliths are seen the layers or strata corresponding to the three stages or periods of occupation of this important construction.

The strata present an undulating surface, with easy rises and low depressions, at times of a considerable width. It is evident that the continuity of these strata, along the line of the façade, was broken by subsequent excavations, and mainly by streams of water or mud descending from the slopes of the neighboring hill.

Three main strata or levels are clearly distinguishable; the lower, the middle, and the upper. The first is formed by a mass of dried mud of a compact nature, in which are imbedded large quantities of cobbles and medium-sized stones with sharp edges, doubtless carried along by the mud. This mass of hardened clay forms one of the many strata of valley fill resulting from floodings by the river that even to-day wanders across the countryside without any definite bed. On the surface of this layer, or set inside it, is the row of engraved monoliths. A layer of rubbish, of varying thickness and broken up into different patches, occupies the depressions of this level. In it are found potsherds of the sub-Chavín type, kitchen-midden remains, and other material, in every way resembling that discovered in the Teatino cemetery, in the Supe burial ground near the Faro, where Uhle labored years ago, in various Nepeña and Santa cemeteries, and in the lowest layer of a cutting made by the La Leche River close to the Batán Grande Huaca (Lambayeque). This rubbish, judging from the pottery, belongs to the Chavín culture in its second period, called by the writer sub-Chavín, to which also belong the vessels found by Bennett in the Gallinazo cemetery, in Viru.



Cerro Sechin. Eastern half of temple facade.

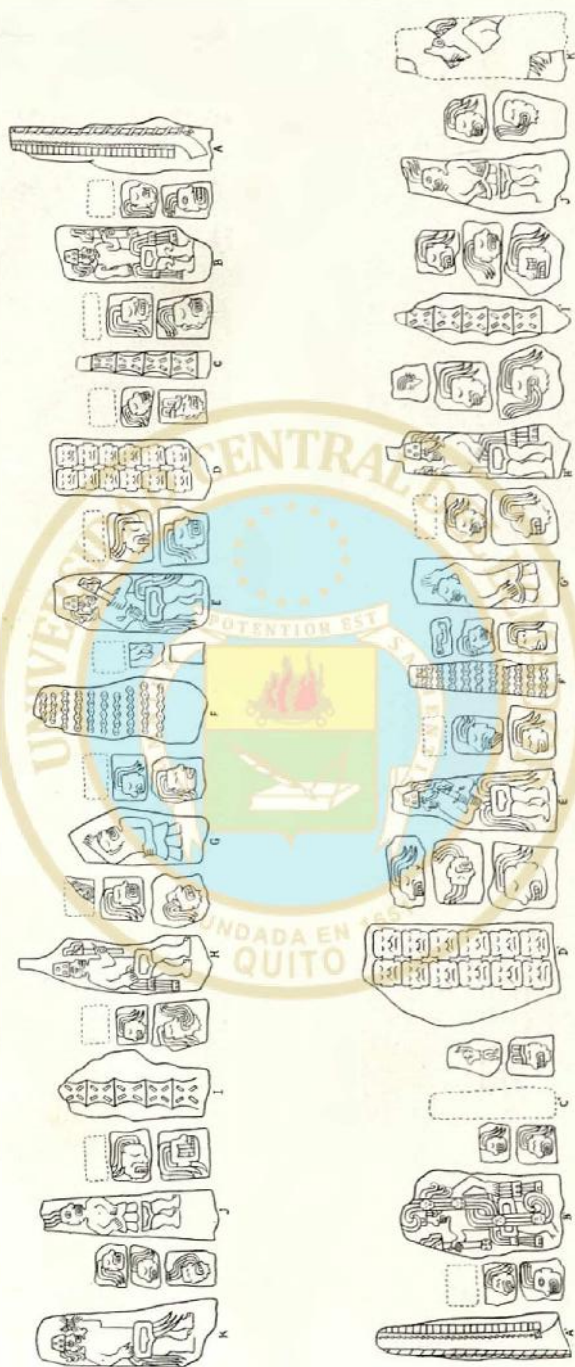


FIG. 18.—Arrangement of the monoliths decorating the principal façade of the temple of Cerro Sechin. The upper row represents those on the eastern half of the front, the lower, those on the western half.

The middle level is formed by another thick layer of hardened mud containing bits of conical adobes, stones and even lumps of plastered walls painted with polychrome figures. It has a very unequal depth. Near the center its depth reaches to as much as two metres and, at a distance from the center, to only twenty cm. The direction of this mass, the remains of old inundations, is distinct from and opposite to that of the previous inundation. In the latter, it runs from the river towards the foot of the hill, and in the former from the foot of the hill to the river. In all probability, torrential rains running down the hillside flooded the built upon area, brought down the buildings and, aided by the impermeability of the granite rock of the subsoil, swept towards the valley bottom, overturning and dragging the monoliths from their foundations, at times, for a distance of two and three meters. The mud covering these monoliths, the impression left in the mud by each one at falling, the disorderly, inclined position and signs of dragging in nearly every case, lead to the conviction that in an extremely remote period the building decorated with the monoliths was buried by an avalanche of alluvial matter. As in the case of the lower level, on the surface of this middle level we come across an abundance of rubbish and several graves containing pottery of the Santa or Huaylas-Yunga type. This differs from the sub-Chavín type, though retaining certain features of resemblance, and differs still more from the classic Chavín type.

The upper level has a different make-up from that of the former. The ground is relatively loose earth, sand, gravel and cobble-stones. Upon it are found remains of terraces and other roughly-made stone structures and rectangular adobes, burials with pottery of the sub-Chimú, sub-Santa and Inca type, and a new kind of incised pottery known from surface rubbish-heaps in almost the whole Casma Valley.

Having satisfactorily proved the straight course of the monoliths from one end of the row to the other, or between the hollows that apparently served as side boundaries to a platform, I proceeded to explore the terrain immediately behind the central portion of the wall and its eastern and western ends. For this purpose I made several soundings on the presumed platform, with the following results:

1. The main wall, fifty-two meters long, turns back at both ends, forming a curve at the corners. It maintains the same level for the whole distance, penetrating below the thick beds of rubbish and the buildings subsequently raised over them.

2. Though the side walls are well preserved, it can be asserted that they are made of reused material, carved stones to which the builders attached no significance, utilizing them merely as building material, or perhaps as ornamentation. The major and minor monoliths were carelessly placed, and at different levels in the structure of the wall. Some of

the human heads were reversed and, in one instance, instead of a major monolith, a large plain stone had been set up.

3. On the eastern side, it was found that a thick wall of stones and mud had been built perpendicularly against the side wall of carved stones. This wall is nothing but the support of a terrace added to the main platform sustained by the wall of monoliths. The two structures must be of the same age.

4. Test excavations on both flanks of the platform showed, finally, that the wall of carved stones is underneath a thick layer of stones and hardened mud, on which were raised the terraces that, in turn, served as a floor to the numerous dwellings of the population that established itself in this place long after the builders of the wall had disappeared.

In the Cerro Sechín huaca ninety-six monoliths were discovered altogether; eighty-nine, alongside the wall or at a short distance in front of it, and seven, thirty or forty meters to the northwest, scattered, turned over and half-buried (Fig. 18). There are two types of monolith: one, long and tall, prismatic like an obelisk, or in the shape of a tablet or flagstone, like a stela, the other, irregularly cubical. The first is here called a major monolith, and the second a minor.

The stones apparently come from the quarries adjoining the huaca. The whole of Cerro Sechín is of granite formation. At the foot and on the slopes are heaps of stones broken away from the ledge, in the shape of thick slabs or large prismatic blocks. This material has been used by the ancients in their building and sculptures.

As a rule, on each minor monolith there is found a fracture face corresponding to the breaking-away of the large block subsequently split to the required size. Major and minor monoliths were chosen in accordance with what they were to represent. On the faces and edges, no trace of preliminary working or of adaptation to a predetermined shape is found. There is no dressing or polishing of the stone. Even on the flat side where the carving comes there are no signs of previous smoothing of the surface. Some stones exhibit uneven sides, due to flaking or fracture; yet the figure appears carved on them, regardless of flaws that could easily have been eliminated. The major monoliths have a height of 180-440 cm., the minor ones, 60-120 cm.

The major monoliths were found face down or leaning forward. Four of the shortest of these were found in an almost vertical position, one to the east and three to the west. The minor monoliths were in some cases in their original position in the wall, standing upright or inclined slightly forward, in other cases a meter or a meter and a half away, as if they had been thrown from the top of the wall prior to the fall of the major monoliths.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE CERRO SECHÍN MONOLITHS

The monoliths show signs of a lengthy exposure. Old breaks in the surface of the principal face have, as a general rule, destroyed the continuity of the figure represented on it; much, and in some instances, widespread, erosion and scaling have eliminated the angles or worn them down. Such erosion also appears, in some examples, on the surface of the principal face, at intervals, as if the stone, after being carved, had been dragged over other stones. Among the fractured stones it is seen that, in some, the fracture took place before the falling of the stone, for, at the top, the carved figure is incomplete through the breaking-away of one or two bits. In others, the fracture is the result of the stone falling and knocking against other stones. In this case a comminuted fracture appears at the top end, through the stone having split into pieces. In one instance, the carved stone in falling collided with another of the same kind. The principal face of almost every stone exhibits a layer of yellow patina, which spreads uniformly over the raised parts, the hollows, the grooves and the deep cuts.

The technique employed in presentation of the carved figures is uniform throughout (Pl. XVI). No fundamental differences are to be found. All seem to be the work of one artist, or of artists trained to standards of the same school. The grooves, hollows and flat surfaces show no traces of a cutting tool. The grooves are few. The broad hollowed-out parts have been produced by an abrasion tool wearing away the surface to the required depth; the bottom and sides of these hollows reveal the delicate work of friction by a tool that wears away the stone gently and slowly. It is possible that this work was done with the help of water or some other substance giving cohesion to the abrasive sand inside the cut and facilitating handling of the tools.

No difference is noted, either, in the removal of the background of the figures. The same instrument scrapes and smooths the edges of the hollows. Work is not carried very far on the background, and this is what produces its rounded or curved aspect, similar to that of the cushion-shaped stones with rubbed-away angles found in the seats in the Cuzco ruins.

The operation of slow abrasion of the stone must have been preceded by the incised drawing of the outline of the figure. This is pertinently illustrated in the carving of one of the big monoliths in the central portion of the wall. This stone was selected because one of its faces afforded an almost black polished surface due to a layer of mica, perhaps a leaf from a fault, upon which the figure was drawn by incision, without reduction of the background, as if the job had been left unfinished.

To facilitate study of the monoliths that adorn the wall, a capital



letter was assigned to each, starting, in each half, from the column marking the entrance, which is also the tallest.

The right and left hand, or eastern and western halves, consist of ten major monoliths and ten groups of minor monoliths placed above and intercalated between the major ones. These minor stones have been assigned small letters.

The figures represented on the monoliths, with the exception of the two tallest in the center, are of the same nature. They all show the human body, fully or partially, with certain feline features, and can be classified under three types: (1) full-length human figures, naked or provided with a simple headdress, a belt and a tool or ceremonial branch; (2) human figures cut off at the waist; (3) bits of human anatomy—heads, eyes, vertebrae, hands and feet.

Desiring a close acquaintance with the archaeological site discovered at the foot of the north side of Cerro Sechín, I did some exploratory work within the area of cultivated land comprised between the building discovered and the Sechín River. This reconnaissance led to proof of the existence of a wide depression that must have been a water reservoir, a little less than twenty-five meters to the north of the temple. On the banks of this reservoir were found remains of stone walls, buried under deep layers of rubbish, and many fragments of monoliths with engraved figures. The rubbish occupies an extensive area within the cultivated fields, and in certain spots forms low hillocks or platforms partly destroyed by floods. Everything causes one to think that a building of engraved stones, similar to that of Cerro Sechín, stood on the level ground between the river and the foot of the hill almost on the edge of the above

FIG. 19.—Sections through the Cerro Sechín Valley to show:—

- I. The structures of the first period of Chavín culture.
 - II. Subsequent burial and destruction of these buildings, by alluviation and deposit of D.
 - III. Structures of second period of Chavín culture built on alluvial deposits.
 - IV. Destruction of these structures resulted from landslide, E, loosened from mountain-side by torrential rains.
 - V. Third period structures were built on layer E.
 - VI. The present time: Modern cotton fields appear on valley floor, while treasure hunters have sunk pits into remains of buildings.
-
- A. Granite rock.
 - B. Scree formed of debris from weathering of granite rock; gravel, hardened earth and angular cobble-stones.
 - C. Alluvial deposit forming part of filling of valley.
 - D. Ground made by old river-floods.
 - E. Landslide from slopes of Cerro Sechín.
 - F. Cultivated ground with rubbish.
 - X. Remains of old buildings of Chavín type.
 - Y. Remains of old dwellings.

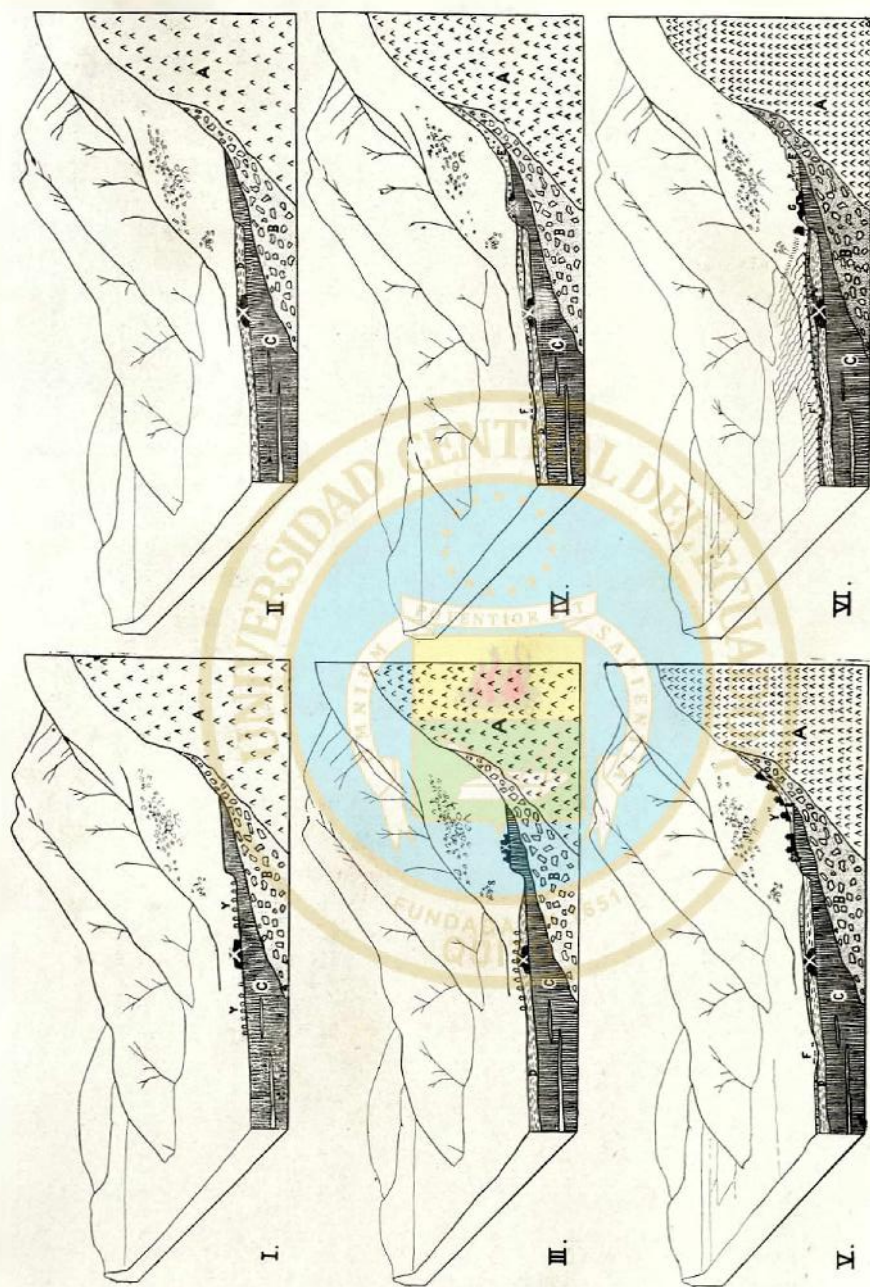


FIG. 19. Sections through Cerro Sechín Valley. See legend at bottom of page 148.



Upper: Cut across east face of Chavín de Huantar made by Mariash River.

Lower: *a*, vessel found in lower layers of cut shown above; *b*, small stone pot from grave, Lives Farm, San Gregorio district, Province of Hualgayoc. Found by Sr. German Luna Iglesias.



a

Kotosh, near Huánuco, Huallaga Valley: *a*, pottery from rubblish layer; *b*, potsherds from rubbish layer, red pigment in incisions. This pottery was found intermingled with classic Chavín pottery in same deposit.



b



Part of main front of Chavín de Huantar temple after 1940 excavations.

reservoir. This building must have been flooded, swept away and buried, in one of the many spates of the river.

Figure 19, I, shows the first monument, X, erected facing Cerro Sechín. Around this there must have existed many dwelling-houses, Y, and perhaps other larger buildings.

An inundation of this side of the valley must have taken place subsequently (Fig. 19, II). The mud, laden with stones, swept forward and filled up the main hollow at the foot of the hill, and the ground resulting from this inundation, D, buried the primitive building X.

Later on, another building, X' (fig. 19, III), was erected on a higher level and closer to the hill, using for the purpose the materials, chiefly dressed stones, that at the beginning formed part of the building X. In this second building stage, a new material was employed in the form of the conical adobe, and the technique of plastering and painting the walls of the chambers built within the enclosure of grained stones. A long period must have elapsed between the erection of one building and the other, because in the vicinity of X appear remains of pottery of the classic Chavín type, and in that of X' sub-Chavín type sherds. This classic Chavín type, probably imported from the Sierra, becomes considerably modified to form the second type.

A further inundation, or rather slide of a great mass of earth and gravel from the hillside, took place later. This mass E (Fig. 19, IV) buried and destroyed the second building X', filling up its different compartments and the passages and courtyards protected by the enclosure of monoliths. It came down with such force that it moved the great monoliths out of their vertical position, inclining them forwards and in certain instances dragging them three meters beyond the line of the enclosure. In this second layer of alluvial earth are remains of the sub-Chavín culture, fragments of conical adobes, pieces broken from the painted walls, and potsherds, all imbedded in the compact mass of mud. Remains of this inundation appear outside the wide depression of ground, F, that to this day is marshy land and in other times, as has been said, must have been a reservoir.

On the layer thus formed various terraces that served as platforms, Y'' (Fig. 19, V), for dwelling houses later were built. The ruins of the latter are today buried under great accumulations of rubbish covering graves containing ceramics of the classic Santa or Huaylas-Yunga type. The torrential rains that fell on the coast of northern Peru in 1925 gave rise to streams on the hillsides that cut through the layers of rubbish, washing them for a considerable distance to the river bed. And the huaca and treasure hunters have utilized these cuttings in order to exploit the graves in the subsoil. To this last inundation is also due the

cropping of some stones of the enclosure, that served us as a guide in carrying out excavations in that place. Figure 19, VI illustrates the general disposition of the different strata that constitute this archaeological site, and has been drawn in the light of the knowledge obtained by means of multiple exploratory excavations.

TYPES OF CHAVÍN STRUCTURES ON THE COAST

Little is known of the minor structures. Chavín potsherds appear in certain ash heaps that are the only evidence of human habitation. Possibly dwellings or huts of perishable material, with small stones and mud, formerly stood over or near to the area occupied today by the ash heaps. In some cases, heaps of rectangular or circular stones, or small terraces, seem to point to the remains of dwellings that might be assigned to the Chavín culture, since pottery remains of this type are exposed on the surface. But the most interesting point is that beneath these remains of buildings and dwellings, and hidden, as a rule, by the rubbish and accumulations of stones, are found graves of the Chavín type. Consequently, the custom widely generalized on the Peruvian coast, of burying the dead near the towns or even inside them, must be of great antiquity.

With respect to the major buildings, there is found to be a more or less uniform type, easily recognized throughout the Peruvian coast. A wall or rectangular fence, serving as a defense or protection to a main building that almost invariably occupies the center, and to other small structures alongside this, is associated with graves. The main structure, of stone or sun-dried brick, is formed of two or more terraces or small platforms, rising one above the other, there being on the top terrace a building almost always made of conical sun-dried bricks. It is not yet possible to determine the structural style of this main building, as it is completely demolished, as a result of having been, for the greater part, cut into and despoiled by treasure hunters. It is only just possible to identify the platforms, the stonework of the revetment or supports of these platforms that form fairly high and level parapets, and the heaps of mud bricks constituting the remains of the temple proper. Likewise, little is known of the minor structures, beyond the scanty debris strewn inside the fenced area. On the coast, the wall is of stone and mud.

This type of major structure, involving a rectangular fence and smaller buildings among which stands a larger one that is, properly speaking, the temple, is characteristic. Its plan was so deeply ingrained in the mind of the ancient builders that in some instances, where the terrain was too broken to allow of the building of the fence, this, in keeping with the preestablished plan, was even built on the side of the hill.

After the fact of the diffusion of Chavín culture on the coast was confirmed by the above finds, an important problem still awaited solution. The distribution of the classic Chavín-type pottery found on the coast was not well defined. Since, from time to time, isolated and sporadic specimens were found, it was thought that they might belong to colonies of people from the other side of the Andes that had occasionally settled on the coast, bringing their products from the interior. Beyond the Cordillera Negra, however, this kind of pottery was nowhere to be found. Was the Chavín pottery on the coast perhaps older than that in the highlands? Was the Chavín stone culture perhaps of less age than the conical mud-brick culture of the coast? Here are a few facts that partly help to clear up these doubts.

SUBSOIL POTTERY AT CHAVÍN DE HUANTAR

In 1919, I recognized in the cultivated fields under which the great Chavín de Huantar temple is buried, and in the earth removed in order to uncover the steps of the main wing, a large quantity of black, brown, white, and red potsherds very similar to the household pottery appearing on the surface of the ruins in the Callejón de Huaylas. I failed to find one single specimen of Chavín pottery, either there or in the widespread rubbish heaps stretching toward the northern side of the Chavín ruins and close to the Wacheska River. In August, 1934, I made a second visit to Chavín. The torrential rains, that had fallen periodically in the years subsequent to 1919, had changed the bed of the River Mariash, on whose left bank Chavín stands. The fierce current of this river, after reaching the ruins, had destroyed and swept away a large portion of the main wings. In after years it continued undermining the temple and deepening its course below the level foundations of the building. A third of the monument, intact in former years, had thus been destroyed; the debris had been swept away by the river, and the foundations badly undermined. While contemplating the damage done, I received a pleasant surprise. In the lowest beds of the river bank I discovered a thick vein of rubbish containing a multitude of fragments of human and llama bones, and an abundance of sherds of the pottery so often sought in the Andean zone and only found as stray specimens on the seaboard. I took out of this vein of rubbish, and from other lower levels in the subsoil of the megalithic structures, a rich and instructive collection of classic Chavín pottery; black pottery, well-polished and with a gloss like chinaware; chocolate-brownish pottery, and bright-red pottery with incised and carved decorations like those found in the best stone carvings of this marvellous Chavín art (Pl. XIV, *b*, Pl. XVIII, *a*). All this material lay buried under thick beds of gravel and mud washed down from the neighboring hillside.

This find contributed to a better knowledge of the characteristic features of Chavín culture, and to greater familiarity with the technical, morphological, ornamental and representative aspects of its ceramics. It also permitted us to appraise certain data related to its high grade of workmanship and extreme age. The pottery is found beneath the alluvial level on which the megalithic structures of the temple were erected, which leads one to think that there is here also an overlapping of buildings belonging to other periods, and that the structures on the lower level had been erected by people who were at once sculptors and potters, whose ruins were later buried under the layers of alluvium and new buildings raised upon them.

MOCÁN AND KOTOSH

Fresh finds have, to a certain extent, helped to widen the horizon of this culture. While I was exploring Chavín, Toribio Mejía Xesspe was uncovering a small "paskana" or stopping place close to the old road running up to the Contumazá highlands, at the foot of Cerro Colorado, fifteen kilometers north of the Mocán estate, in the Chicama Valley. At this halting place, he found sprinkled on the surface a quantity of Chavín potsherds mixed with others of the Chimú household type. This pottery, though less rich in ornamentation than the classic, is uniformly black and grayish like the former, and its style is markedly Chavín.

Among the potsherds taken out of the subsoil of the Chavín de Huantar temple were some resembling the incised and carved types of the Amazon country, which Nordenskiöld considers to be the oldest there. This fact, added to the reports of the Franciscan missionaries of the existence of black, fine, carved pottery in the outskirts of San Luís de Shuaro, in the Perené basin, induced me to make an archaeological inspection trip in 1935 to the headwaters of the Marañón, Huallaga, and Ucayali rivers. In the surroundings of Huánuco, I found several artificial hillocks on whose surface appeared a few Chavín potsherds. In one of these, called the huaca Kotosh, dug into in past years down to its base by treasure hunters, I found in the upper beds of the cutting an abundance of Chavín potsherds mixed with other types closely resembling, on one hand, incised and painted pottery of the Paracas caves, and, on the other, incised and carved Amazonian pottery (Pl. XIX).

PUKARÁ

In October, 1935, I spent a few days in Pukará, a village in the Province of Lampa on the right bank of the headwaters of the river of the same name, a small tributary of Lake Titicaca. This place is an old pottery-making center, famed for the antique stone sculptures, statues and reliefs existing in the vicinity.

The modern village of Pukará stands on a wide alluvial terrace that partly covers another town of greater area, the remains of which are evidenced by hillocks and rows of stones, disposed in circles and rectangles scattered over the plain. Some of these stones are dressed, polished and carved with figures in great part analogous to those appearing on the Chavín monoliths. The natives of Pukará now make earthen vessels; in their huts are found in actual use the implements and material of this craft. The earth used in preparing the mud and unbaked bricks of which they build their houses, and the soil cultivated for their crops, contain a large assortment of pottery of the classic Inca type. The plough turns up pottery mingled with earth and gravel. Strolling through the narrow village streets one observes that the walls and fences are plastered with beautiful multicolored fragments of Incaic ceramics, exposed and cleansed by the rains. If one attempted to fix the age and culture of the Pukará monuments by relying solely on the type of pottery appearing on the surface or in the subsoil as turned over by the plough, one would say that they belong to the time of the Incas. But, what appears on the surface is completely different from that lying at a greater depth.

The river, in its incessant task of seeking a bed, has gone first meandering over the plain, and subsequently deepening its bed. In the course of erosion and transportation of the sedimentary formations produced by nature and man, the river at times lays bare material hidden in their depths. The geographical situation of Pukará somewhat resembles that of Chavín; both are overlaid by thick beds of clay and fine gravel brought down from the sides of the nearby hills, and both are threatened and at times undermined by the river. In Pukará, the case may very well be the same as at Chavín; that is, that the buildings and the carved monoliths do not belong to the same era as the pottery found on the surface, that they are only survivals of the culture buried beneath the alluvium. These considerations, after my arrival in Pukará, led me to make a careful examination of the river bed in the portions nearest to the ruins. There in the steep banks I discovered, as was to be expected, several superimposed layers of rubbish containing rich archaeological material of the same kind as that found at Chavín and Kotosh; a multitude of fragments of the finest pottery, incised, carved and painted; as beautiful as, and, in certain aspects, superior to the best specimens of Chavín pottery. This abundant material gathered at Pukará affords a fresh and illuminating contribution to our knowledge of Chavín megalithic art. The Pukará pottery is one of the best manifestations of the Chavín art proper; in it appear, as predominating ornamental motives, figures of the jaguar, the owl, the fish and the serpent, modeled, carved and drawn in the Chavín style.

LA VENTANA

At the beginning of 1937, I explored the archaeological zone of the Department of Lambayeque, and, in the district of Illimo, in one portion of the La Ventana graveyard, eaten away by the La Leche River, I was able to prove the existence of three levels of strata formed by the refuse of human activity: an upper one, belonging to the last Chimú period; an intermediate one, belonging to the pre-Chimú period; and a lower one, corresponding to the Chavín era. In this last stratum I found remains of incised and carved pottery of the Chavín and Huallaga (Kotosh) styles.

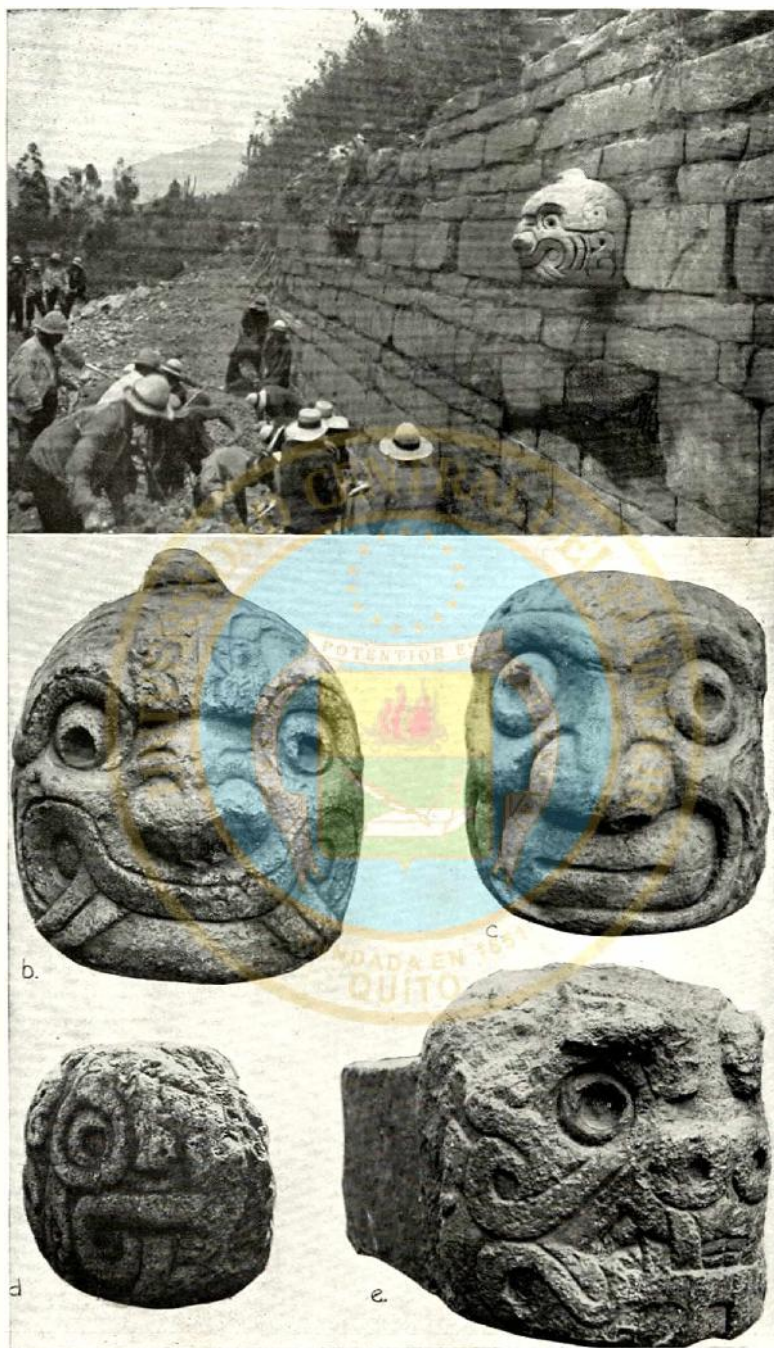
ECUADOREAN RELATIONS

Uhle, who in late years toiled solicitously on solution of the problem of Maya expansion and colonization in South America, thinks that the high cultures of North and South America are simply branches of the Central American trunk. For him, the Ecuadorean and Peruvian cultures, in their more advanced phases, are so many outlying branches of the old Mayan tree. In my opinion, the problem of Central American origin of the Andean cultures can no longer strictly be linked with the second age cultures, such as Muchik, Nazca, and classic Tiahuanaco, that do not offer the remotest resemblance to the Central American cultures, but do offer resemblances to the Chavín stone culture. And the fine, incised, and painted pottery of the Ecuadorean Sierra that Uhle looks upon as genuine Maya, is none other than Chavín pottery.

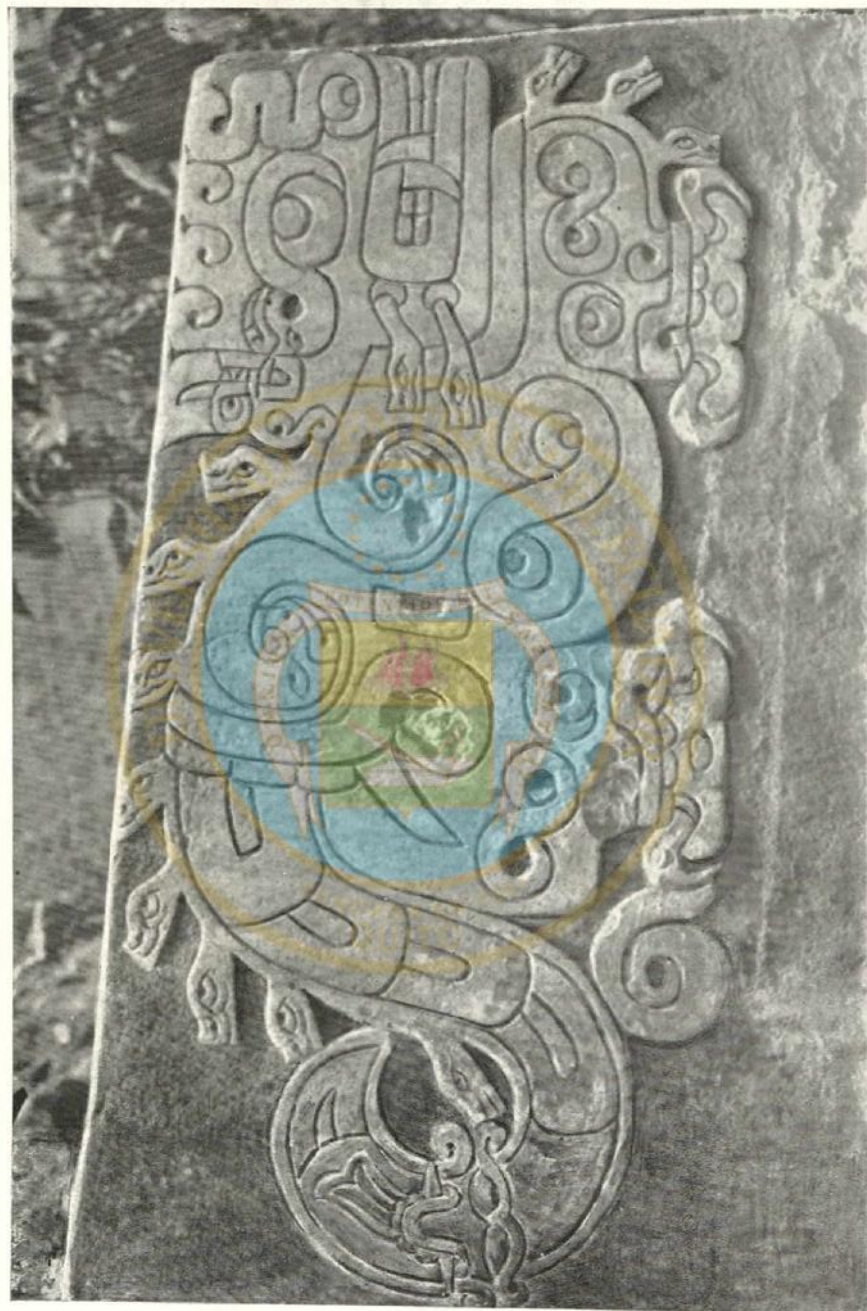
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHAVÍN CIVILIZATION

The research work so far done in connection with the Chavín megalithic culture gives some idea of its main characteristics and broadens the horizon of its area of diffusion throughout both the inter- and trans-Andean regions and the Pacific seaboard.

Within the domain of the Andes, no civilization has such well defined and peculiar features as the Chavín civilization. Its most important center is the upper Marañón basin, and its widespread area of dispersion crosses the frontiers of the northern Andes. Where remains are found, whatever the example of building or handicraft, or whatever the material employed—stone, metal, bone, clay or any other that has withstood the action of the weather—there appear the vigorous unmistakable architectural, sculptural or pictorial creations of an extraordinary race. Its name and recollection have been erased from man's memory with the passage of centuries, but it has left behind undeniable traces of a civilization of such peculiarity and originality that it has no equal in other South American prehistoric cultures.



Chavín: *a*, west side of main temple, 1940; *b*, head from west wall, 14.9 inches high, 15.7 inches broad; *c*, head found in thick layers of rubble and rubbish on south wall, 1939, 13.8 inches high, 11.7 inches broad; *d*, head discovered in wall around cultivated field adjoining temple, 16.9 inches high, 20.5 inches broad; *e*, head found in subsoil of cultivated fields facing main façade of temple, 16.9 inches high, 20.5 inches wide.



Chavín de Huántar; decorated stone cornice slab from temple.



Chavín de Huantar; stone idol in shape of spear head. Located in one of dark inner chambers of temple, uncovered 1919. It is 17 feet, 10 inches high.



a. fragment of bone spatula with engraved figures; b. fragment of tube of human bone; both from rubbish heap in subsoil, Pallka, Casma Valley; c. bone spatula, Chicama Valley (private collection).

The following are regarded as typical manifestations of the Chavín civilization:

1. Stone buildings grouped within walled enclosures. Pyramidal temples formed of one or more tiered platforms, with interior galleries and rubble and earth fill. Special chambers or, properly speaking, places of worship in the upper portion, are reached by underground stairways. The inside walls of the chambers of worship and galleries are frequently plastered with a thick layer of fire-hardened clay. This surface of burnt earth is also applied to the stucco and modeled reliefs decorating the faces of the chambers and altars. The front of some buildings, like the Chavín de Huantar temple, is protected by a high wainscoting of dressed and polished flagstones (Pl. XX), and the face of the whole building is lined with rectangular stones disposed in horizontal courses in which two courses of thin stones alternate with one of broad (Pl. XXI *a*).

In the buildings discovered in the Callejón de Huaylas, such as those at Pomakayan near Huaraz, the real Chavín structures are hidden under Recuay structures, which proves the superimposition of buildings in some remote epoch. In others on the coast, like those at Sechín Alto and Moxeke (Pl. XIII *b*) in Casma, and Cerro Blanco and Punkurí in Nepeña, conical mud brick is used for filling in the understructure, while earth is used for constructing the large idols placed in the niches and for modeling the arabesque decorations of the inside of the chambers and paint for the mural frescoes.

The mud brick and plastic sculpture, apparently originating on the coast, do not exclude the lithic sculpture so characteristic of Chavín art, displayed, in the case of Cerro Sechín, in the numerous monoliths enclosing the great platform or foundation of the temple.

2. Sculptural work exemplifying an advanced stone art, displayed in figures carved in high and low relief, statues used for temple adornment, and a multitude of stone utensils found in graves. In this art, the outstanding features are the stelae and obelisks, and the knob heads reproducing fantastic beings (Pl. XXI *a-e*), and monsters in the form of animals or birds, of which finds have been multiplied lately both in the Sierra and on the coast. Within this category are the Cerro Sechín reliefs representing human corpses, quartered human bodies, heads, eyes, arms, legs and parts of the spinal column.

3. Pottery consisting of monochrome containers in black, red or gray, that at first sight give the impression of being wooden or stone vessels, or of having been made with a hard material and tools adapted to drilling, cutting away, incising and generally sculpturing the figures adorning them. The body of the jug is solid, with pronounced curves, globe shaped or, in some cases, with faceted surfaces and salient angles; the

base, flat; the neck, thick, tubular, and arched; the rims, with an outward curving lip in imitation of wood or stone carving; the edges of the plates and the lips of the pots, thick and beveled. Vessels of this description carry an ornamentation of straight or curved incised lines, with a touch of graphite, in the case of the red-colored ones, at the bottom of the incision in rows of triangles in lines, or crisscrossing in a network pattern, perhaps a survival of the agave net or meshing that used to protect the original type wooden containers. They have tracery incised in the clay, prior to and after firing, fluted and pleated decorations, pitting and scratches, and plane, high, and low relief, imitating wooden vessels in shape, technique and ornamentation.

4. Representations of demoniacal or mythical beings, based on one fundamental theme, the head of the feline. Such are:

a. A long-bodied dragon, with a snout armed with big fangs and feet with claws, that resembles a crocodile. This monster is hermaphrodite, and carries an enormous fanged mouth in its belly and a handful of yuca and red peppers in its feet. Associated with it in the same allegory are three animals, a feline, a fish, and a bird, either vulture or owl. The best existing example is the one adorning the obelisk found years ago in the middle of the main square of Chavín temple, now in the University Museum (Pl. XXII).

b. An anthropomorphic felinoid monster, that has for archetype the feline accompanying the dragon. It is best illustrated by the figure appearing on the Raimondi stela now in the Museum of Peruvian Archaeology.

c. A humanized, birdlike monster, which is the same bird that accompanies the dragon. The body is built up by transformation of the morphological details, such as the wing and tail quill-feathers, the face and claws, into serpents and wholly or partially reproduced feline heads. Fine illustrations of this winged monstrosity are found in various entire or incomplete Chavín stelae, now reproduced in plaster-of-paris and exhibited in the Anthropological Museum.

d. A fishlike monster (Pl. XXIII), which is likewise an idealized representation of the fish accompanying the dragon. As in the previous instance, the morphological details of the animal, the face, scales and fins, are transformed into feline heads. The finest example is in the great stela found in 1919 at Yauya, on the right bank of the Yanamayo, of which a replica is on exhibition in the San Marcos University Archaeological Museum.

e. Humanized felines, of simpler composition and with more human, though cadaverous, general features; strange beings, dismembered heads and limbs lacking the lower extremities, associated with arms, feet,

heads, eyes and vertebrae, as if these parts of the human body had been endowed with life. These fantastic beings are found in Cerro Sechín temple reliefs, and on tablets discovered in various sites in the outskirts of the Pukcha basin. In some instances, they wear long crimped locks, have the head covered with a helmet, and are armed with clubs or hatchets.

In the decorations of the ceramics, the gold and silver work, the bone carvings (Pl. XXIV) and the many stone utensils, we find motifs derived from the head of the feline or from the monsters described above.

It is remarkable that this Chavín art should be found in such a typically uniform style and in so many different manifestations, in places far removed from the centers of greatest development, preserving the characteristics of a mature industry based on fixed standards, and free from the substantial modifications so common in other arts that have likewise been propagated at a distance from their centers of origin.

Strictly speaking, there is no fundamental difference between a Chavín-type piece of pottery found at Chavín and another found on the coast, on the Huallaga, or in southern Ecuador.

SUMMARY

To sum up, very little was known about this civilization prior to 1919, in which year the first San Marcos University expedition was made to the important archaeological center of Chavín de Huantar. In subsequent years, a series of explorations covering different parts of the country have resulted in the discovery of other sites pertaining to the same civilization, as important as Chavín itself.

Temples and extensive beds containing Chavín pottery have been identified in the Callejón de Huaylas, at Inka Wain and Pomakayan; in the Santa Valley, at Ipuna and Suchiman; in the Nepeña Valley, at Cerro Blanco, Punkurí and Kusi-pampa; Pinchamarca and La Carbonera; in the Pativilca and Supe Valleys, at Puerto de Supe and Chimo Kapak; in the Huaura Valley, at Choka Ispana; at Lachay, Chavín graves in the Teatino cemetery; at Ancón, extensive rubbish heaps with pottery considered by Uhle as belonging to the early fisherfolk; at Bellavista, Pachacamac, Cruz de Hueso and Pucusana, rubbish heaps with Chavín pottery; and finally, in the Paracas caverns and at Ocucaje. Going east, in the Huallaga basin, chiefly at Kotosh, the outskirts of Huánuco, San Luís de Shuaro and Satipo; and, on the Marañón, in the basins of the Yanamayo, Pomabamba, Crisnejas and Chotano Rivers, where Pasa Kancha, Yauya, Chakas, Kumbemayo, Hualgayoc, Huambos and Pakopampa are to be found. To the south, in the

basin of the Pucará. To the north on the seaboard, Mocán, Sausal and Barbacoa in the Chicama Valley; La Ventana, Chongoyape and Chiclayo in the Lambayeque Valley; and Moropón in the Piura Valley. In the southern region of Ecuador, Cerro Narrío, Alausi, Puntos de Mar, Cuenca, Sigsig, Chordeleg, Saraguro, Chinguilanchi, Rircay and Uchucay, all places mentioned by Uhle but regarded by him as sites of Maya propagation.

Remains of the Chavín civilization are found everywhere buried under later remains as different in type as if they were completely unrelated. Yet certain facts given below lead to the presumption that a stage of transition once existed between the Chavín and the Recuay-Pasto civilizations. In some aspects they seem to prove that the latter is derived from the former, or that, having had different origins, they for some time were contemporaneous and intermingled.

In the Sierra adjoining the forest lands, just as on the upper Huallaga and upper Marañón, Chavín remains are found in their classic shapes with all their wealth of variety of style. Apart from the stone sculptures, vessels are met with in these centers decorated by engraving that runs from mere incised lines or pitting and scratches to high and low relief and sculptured figures. This eastern Sierra art is also represented on the Pacific seaboard.

A general study of the coastal Chavín pottery from the standpoint of shape reveals two kinds of vessels: a polyhedrous carved type and a globular painted type. These belong to the Chavín and Recuay ancestral influences that bring them into existence. The first has straight lines with slightly pronounced angles and curves, and a cylindrical, curved, thick, or conical neck, and thick sides with engraved or carved ornamentation in imitation of stone or wooden vessels. The second has a curved outline, with a swollen neck and ornamentation that begins with a negative technique and ends up with polychrome painting.

The coastal Chavín art, though it preserves many of the classic shapes and ornamentations of the eastern Sierra art, furnishes other local styles in the beds or colonies found along the Pacific seaboard. Thus, the vessels taken out of the Chavín Teatino graves at Lachay, while conserving some of the classic shapes and the monochrome feature in black or dark brown, display other shapes and decorations that are repeated and copied under new styles of workmanship in later cultures.

Another derivative of Chavín art is the Nepeña type, discovered by Bennett in Virú and named by him Gallinazo. Herein are found elements of Chavín descent; bowls with thick sides and rims with a slight outward curve, like those found at Ancón and Teatino; jugs formed by the union of a pot and a bowl, with thick cylindrical or slightly bell-shaped neck;

globular jugs with or without base, having an arched tubular neck and a border or curve to the rim; vessels in the form of human figures, of a type strange to the coast but common in the interior, with straight lines, sides of uniform thickness, of a dark-red chocolate or white color, invariably of a single color and in some instances with traces of negative decoration. These are found throughout the Nepeña valley and in the vicinity of Casma, Santa and Virú, penetrating into the Muchik area. The ornamentation is incised or has plastic appliques of molding with milled indentations made by the fingernail. The Pativilca vessels also have polyhedrous shapes and their ornamentation consists of figures that are a reproduction of the classic Chavín, though simplified or degenerated.

Discoveries of specimens of Chavín art in different parts of Peru go to prove how wide its area of propagation was. Comparative studies of these finds have resulted in identification, in places distant from its center, of the very features that define this classic art. It is no matter of mere analogy. The objects found on the coast are the same as those found in the focal point; and the pottery is the same in quality, shape and ornamentation as that found in the subsoil of the megalithic structures of the Chavín de Huantar temple. Evidence of another sort found on the coast, like that cited above, proves that the classic Chavín art influenced, or perhaps originated to a great extent, the art of later civilizations. In this respect, the finds made in the Paracas caverns are extremely revealing. Here we have incised pottery decorated with resinous paints of divers colors in ornamental motifs that are none other than Chavín motifs and demoniacal figures. Remains of pottery with a Chavín affiliation have also been found in the inter-Andean zone of Ecuador and at Manta, though not in the properly classic shapes. In the south, proofs of Chavín influence are also met with in one of the most important Tiahuanaco centers, Pucará, and it is not impossible that the Barreal type of Argentine pottery is only one of the outlying manifestations of the Chavín civilizations.

In the light of the above facts it can be asserted, with a considerable degree of confidence, that there is a Chavín megalithic culture. We learn nothing about it from the historians and chroniclers of the Indies whose works have been and still are regarded as the most reliable sources of historical information. We learn nothing about it, either, from modern investigators. In the collections of Peruvian antiquities existing in Peru and abroad, specimens representative of this forgotten civilization are scarce. Nevertheless, its existence is a fact. Ruins of its towns and temples are frequently found buried under alluvial deposits or other buildings subsequently erected upon them, giving rise to the formation

of mounds that can hardly be distinguished from the natural hillocks and elevations of the countryside.

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