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**REGIONAL PECULIARITIES OF ANDEAN STATEHOOD:  
FROM ARCHAIC UNTIL LATE INTERMEDIATE**

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State formation processes of Andean region are analyzed. It is showed that peculiarities of social organization in Archaic founded trajectory of statehood institutions development. Attention are given to the mistakes of specialists in assessment of forms of managerial complexity in certain historical societies. Author gives evolutionary pathway of state and its power through the application of model of competing cult centers. Focus are given to analysis of material evidence without application of ethnographical data. Attention are given to what material evidence and in what complex can be used as evidence to genesis of statehood institutions. Special focus is given to forms of management which highlight local and regional peculiarities.

**Key words:** Andes, Moche, center of pristine statehood, Norte Chico, emergence of state, Chimu, Chavin, Valdivia, Wari, Tiawanaku.

The process of state institutions formation is directly connected with the issue of evolution of power redistribution forms in human communities. The most interesting are those centers, in which formation of statehood took place without the influence of others. One of them is the Andean region. Its peculiarity is that in distinction from the centers of formation of the early complex societies in Eurasia, the civilizations of South America developed not only in isolation from others (even the ties with Mesoamerica were indirect and weak), but also in specific natural and climatic conditions, which have no similar analogies in either the Old or the New World. In spite of this, by the time of the Spanish conquest, complex forms of social organization have been already in effect in the Andes, and classification of the Inca Empire (Tawantisyuyu) as the state is beyond doubt.

Another specific feature is the fact that in conditions of absence of wheel and riding animals the organization of power, which stretched for several thousand kilometers, was created. Tawantisyuyu constitutes the peak of those processes that previously took place in the reviewed region, and the societies that existed before the Incas are even less known. However, they set up a number of regional peculiarities concerning the forms of society organization and those ties which supported the unity of the Inca State. In this regard, we have set the objective to demonstrate how the forms of power organization in the communities of the Andean region have developed and how the peculiarities of advancement in the beginning predetermined the trajectory of statehood institutions further development.

For better understanding of the author's idea, we will focus on two important points: the selection of information and a brief summary of the author's approach in outlining the process of statehood evolution, as well as a brief climatic and geographical characteristics of the region.

Andean cultures have one important feature in common: they all had no writing system. Accordingly, to study the times before Inca Empire, we are compelled to rely only on archaeological artefacts. While there are a lot of written sources for many civilizations of the Old World, which can answer to a lot of questions which are interesting for us. Among them, the most important is how people perceived themselves, the world around them and society. And without them, we have to be extremely careful in any interpretation of the material evidence, and not to adjust the information to the models that we have. Even the exceptional preservation of easily disappearing materials due to the very dry air of the Pacific Andean coast, does not allow us to look at the dynamics of political processes with sufficient detail, as it is possible, for example, within the cultures of South-west Asia.

For this reason, the author has developed a number of provisions in order to eliminate these problems:

firstly, it is necessary to analyze the dynamics of material features of the process of increasing society's complexity,

secondly, it is their analysis in complex, as otherwise it leads to extremely odious interpretations,

thirdly, it is an approach to the consideration of events from the viewpoint of individual institutions of statehood development, first and foremost, apparatus of governance, territory, etc. This allows us to avoid template comparisons and free-standing disputes about whether a given society was a state or not,

fourthly, it is a long-term review of the processes (*longue duree* of the French *Annales School*), which allows us to identify local particularities and to clarify the models of social organization and dynamics of their development, even with the low level of available material detail.

Now we will introduce you to the climatic and geographic characteristics of the considered territory: the Andes are the chain of mountains stretching from north to south along the Pacific coast, with height of more than 6000 meters above sea level, which is the second largest plateau in the world at altitude of 3000 - 4000 meters above sea level, however, the main processes of increasing of society's complexity took place on the Pacific coast and in the river valleys, with the exception of the later phenomena such as Chavin and Tiawanaku. The valleys are characterized by their relatively small size, with a height difference of more than 3 kilometres, while the climate is desert, with extremely low precipitation (less than 25 mm per year) along the Pacific coast due to the effects of cold streams, which is replaced by increasingly high on precipitation and moderately declining temperatures as altitudes increase. As a result, within each valley there was an altitude specialization in the field of cultivation of different plants, as the zones differ significantly in climatic characteristics. It has created preconditions for interaction between various zones of valleys in transition to settled way of life, and especially has intensified when the domestication of llamas and vikunyas has been massively extended. In addition to the high-altitude character, active volcanism also played an important role, which compelled the population of large regions to relocate over significant distances, as ash emissions made it impossible not only to grow crops, but also hunting and gathering. And the most specific is the phenomenon of El Nino - when the water of a warm current replaces the cold. This phenomena brings with it torrential rains, which cause great damage, washing off the fertile soil layer, destroying irrigation facilities. They also was dangerous for

hunter-gatherers, as fish at the coast, which was the main source of protein, was significantly reduced in its amount. At the same time, between the periods of El Niño the coastline of Ecuador and Peru is characterized by one of the richest marine resources in the world.

On the issue of statehood formation, we have to consider it from the very beginning. This moment, in our view, is the sedentarisation. But there are also a number of peculiarities, and it was from this period that a number of changes took place, which defined the prevailing forms of organization and set the main perspectives of development in the region.

The appearance of sedentary life in South America is associated with the culture of Las Vegas. It shows traces of permanent presence in one location, in contrast to the temporary settlements of hunter-gatherer-fishermen of an earlier period. However, complete settlement is only possible in the later Valdivian culture. They were located in Ecuador, at a certain distance and with a number of natural obstacles, far away from the centers where the first signs of society complexity appeared. When it comes to the sedimentation of people, it is important to mention that the process is based on the Neolithic revolution, a concept created by Gordon Child. It remains dominant in domestic science of the state and law, but the example of the Middle East can only be talked about a long process of neolithization as a mutual adaptation of man, plants and some animals. In Andean history, this concept is neither applicable nor confirmed, because: firstly, the process of animal domestication has been carried out separately and in high altitude areas, where any cultivation of crops is very problematic, except for isolated "oases" such as the area around Lake Titicaca[1]. Secondly, the first ceramics and indications of plant cultivation belong to the Amazonian rainforest region of Colombia and Venezuela, which is the most serious objection[18]. Moreover, the nature of nutrition which has the representatives of Las Vegas culture, and Valdivia (except for its late period) are characterized by a spectrum characteristic of tropical forests, which determines them as hunter-gatherers, who for additional source of nutrition used the cultivation of number of plants in view of their greater efficiency than their collection[19]. In coastal areas, fishing and shellfish harvesting have played an important role[7]. The fact that maize seeds have been found with signs of domestication is sometimes cited as a sign of sedentary behavior, but, as Edward Steller points out, it was originally used as a raw material for the manufacture of the intoxicating drink - chicha. Its usage has been widely archaeologically recorded in different regions of the Andes and Mesoamerica. Equally interesting is the fact that maize was not dominant in nutrition of Andean people for a long period of time, up to AD, but relationship to the transition to a more intensive use of maize and the increasing complexity of society will be discussed later[12].

During the period of existence of the cultures considered above, a system of society organization specific to the Andes is formed, which set the vector of evolving complexity for many millennia ahead. It consists in the fact that initially hunter-gatherers had places to bury ancestors in a certain place. Thus, each local group had its own places where they gathered to carry out cult activities. Then the sedentarisation process was related to the reduction of the number of temporary settlements in the places of food gathering and hunting, and the concentration of population in such centers. However, further transformations led to very interesting consequences - the emergence of cult centers with a permanent population in different places, while the population, which was tending to move to new

territories due to various factors (mainly volcanism and El Nino) founding new centers maintained ties with the previous ones, thus resulting in a network of interrelated, but at the same time competing with each other cult centers[8]. It should be remembered that any community of people has inequality, which is evident from both the nearest primates and Paleolithic data[23], at least within the age and sex characteristics. Therefore, in the process of society forms complication, appearance of specialists occurs there, mainly of cult nature - shamans (they could also solve the issues of management, etc.). They were most interested in improving their status and prestige, thus creating a demand for both new sacral knowledge and unusual items. An example is the Spondylus shell, which is extracted from the Ecuadorian coast, and its findings extend to most of the Andes, and have been used in cult centers that are geographically far distant, such as Tiwanaku and Chavin[4]. Creating demand for such items, the exchange networks have become more active not only for items, but also for various ideas that were valuable in their own right. This is how a special vector of increasing complexity of Andean communities was formed.

A number of specialists make ethnographic parallels to these periods. They say that the nature of the Inca society and contact with the Spanish by local population, was based on kinship ties from the ayu (both real and imaginary) headed by the casics, which suggests that this may be the pattern for societies of such a long time[22]. Although we recognize that such models are better than repetition of ethnographic data on aboriginal people in Southeast Asia, Africa and Australia, nevertheless, societies have come a long way in their development. Its process involved a huge number of social organization forms and formation of authority, many of which we may not even guess about. A striking example is the culture of Kukuteni-Tripolye from Eurasia, with its huge settlements and lack of signs of fragmentation.

In parallel with Valdivia's culture on the Peruvian coast, at the Norte Chico area much clearer signs of a more complex society are appearing. This process begins at least at the end of the IV millennium BC, if we proceed from the last dating Sechin Bajo[20], the most common dating of the appearance of large cult centers is the beginning of the III millennium BC. The most famous centres are Caral, Sechin Bajo, and Serro Sechin in the Supe Valley, and centres in the Casma Valley. A special feature of the Casma/Sechin culture is the network of large monumental centers of platforms - uacas, usually of pyramidal shape. This is where for the first time, typical for later cultures, the sunken courts and the fenced courtyards in the form of the letter D appear. The sizes of some of the platforms are calculated in hundreds of meters in length and width, and in height by tens, and these complexes are located close to each other. On the grounds of this, based on the patterns of settlements, a number of authors have drawn conclusions not only that this is one of the oldest civilizations in the world, but also that they are the oldest cities in both America and even the states[26]. Nevertheless, such conclusions constitute classic misconceptions when using a number of models. The authors of these hypotheses proceed from the volume of spent works and patterns of settlements, however, they ignore both the procedure of their creation and chronology of their usage, say nothing of the stylistic difference. As a result, after receiving impressive numbers in terms of the amount of work, they make the conclusions that this could only be organized by administrative power, and, in terms of terminology of the neoevolutionary school of political anthropology - complex chiefdom or the states. Nevertheless, if we carefully pose a

number of clarifying questions and try to restore the picture in more detail, after the stratigraphic dating it appears that these monumental buildings were constructed in several stages for hundreds of years, many of which were not used simultaneously. They have significant stylistic differences, and there are no obvious signs of fragmentation and, what is important, objects of high prestige with indications of their usage by a limited circle of persons. Moreover, calculating how much the valleys could have fed does not allow to speak of numbers above a few hundred people.

Nevertheless, this phenomenon is interesting, because somehow the construction of monumental buildings for a long period of time would have to assume the existing of some kind of organization. For example, the calculation of labour costs, based on the chronology of creation, allows us to say that such small population was quite sufficient and could be carried out by small communities, which did not require a specific managerial structure, and the nature of the constructions explains about their inclusive character, i.e. that they were designed to ensure access and visibility to all members of the groups.

Another misconception associated with this culture is the fact that the findings of the same maize and other cultivated plants are not only presented as sedentary, but also as a transition to agriculture as the main source of food. However, as we mentioned earlier the same, maize was originally used for completely different purposes, and studies of local food stocks clearly show that the main source of food was marine products[27]. Another important fact is the appearance of cultured cotton, from which nets and other fishing gears were produced, which was a kind of technological breakthrough for the people of that time, as it allowed to extract much more food[25].

The described situation is equally successful in applying the model of competitive cult centers, moreover, as the findings of such platforms along the entire coast of Peru are becoming more frequent every year. But this case is interesting for completely different reason - it shows that, by exploiting the rich marine resources, it was possible not only to have been settled without a focus on agriculture and cattle breeding, but also to carry out activities that went far beyond the daily needs, which in this case took the form of building platforms. At the same time, it is very likely that such centers were built in the interaction of the coastal population with the inhabitants of more remote parts of the valleys from the ocean, as some of them obtained seafood, while others grew cotton, the conditions for the growth of which were at a sufficient distance from the coast, especially until it was suited to the hyperarid conditions of the coast.

Which conclusions can we make from this example? First of all, it is impossible to put only one or two material features in the basis of the model of society organization, adding up the rest. Secondly, it is necessary to consider all available information in complex, whether it is a nutrition, and detailed dating. But, the most important thing is that externally similar signs of statehood, in this case monumental constructions of the Casma/Sechin culture, are not necessarily even signs of a permanent existing public superstructure, performing the administration of such works.

Within the framework of the archaeological Bandurria monument, construction of platforms and the cult itself was traced. A cult structure was found there, which was built in several stages, and at the end it was filled in and turned into a platform in one phase of work. Initially it was a horizontal structure, which was extended by the completion of new premises. According to Alejandro Jose Chu Barrera, who headed the excavations, this is most consistent with the situation in which part of the group managed the relevant works,

but also performed cult functions, thus exercising its power through prestige[5, p. 293-295]. However, such power was not hereditary, but fluid and had no signs of permanent status. Another interesting fact is that in connection with the first monumental constructions the use of special vessels intended for inhalation of hallucinogens, first of all coca, is proved[5, p. 40-41].

It is also very curious that along with these cultures, particularly in the Casma Valley, at significantly higher altitudes there was the tradition of Kotosh-Mito associated with cult buildings, which, unlike the coastal culture, had the character of cults at the level of a family group and not a large community as a whole. However, the appearance, development and decay of these centers are very similar to the coastal culture. This indicates that there has been some interaction between them, though probably very limited[21].

The next chronological stage after the above mentioned cultures of the end of IV - end of II millennia B.C., after these ritual centers were finally abandoned, are the cultures of Cupinisque and Chavin. We will focus on the last one, as it is the most researched and represented by a certain archeological place where this culture was born and developed. In the period of Chavin, which is 800 - 200 B.C., there was a development of high-mountainous areas with the final adaptation of the population to the conditions of alti-plano, as well as a number of important agricultural crops. This is most clearly seen in the example of Campanaqyu Rumi, where Yuichi Matsumoto[31] points out that the small size of the settlement in phases 1 and 2 is most connected with this cause.

However, let's get back to Chavin de Huanter. It has a clear cult character, but unlike the centers of Norte Chico, it had a significant permanent population, and is located at an altitude of more than 3400 meters above sea level, in a place affected by landslides, near the river, which indicates that the location itself was essential. The valley in which it is located has a small amount of land suitable for agriculture. All this, along with the complex architectural structure, the presence in all segments of the significant number of objects from geographically remote regions, multiple cult utensils, indicates that the locals have tried in every possible way to attract masses of people from other regions[24, p.307]. At the same time, they offered cult services and, through unequal exchange, acquired resources for the production of prestigious objects, etc. It is necessary to note that, as in the case of the previously considered cultures, in Chavin not only hallucinogenic and stimulant substances were used, but also there was a spread and search for new sacral knowledge. This is indicated by the location of the center itself at the crossroads between the Pacific coast and the Amazon forests, as well as by the numerous traces of exchange with the Amazon region, and moreover, with its lowest situated part. This, taken together, confirms the growing complexity of society, as Chavin is known for its highly specialized craft. The transformation took place along the path of ensuring the constancy of the flowing of pilgrims, on which the existence of Chavin de Huanter depended. In response to this challenge, there has been an intensified search for new sources of knowledge and the establishment of a transregional exchange network on a regular basis. At the same time, the fact that Chavin has a clear cultural connection with the pre-existing cult centers of the Casma/Sechin cultural coast is important. Within its region, Chavin had considerable influence and prestige, as its products and symbols spread over long distances.

Thus, Chavin became a further development of the direction of society's complexity, which was established earlier. At the same time, he possessed novelty in the fact that with-

in the framework of this culture there was one main cult center, which had its own special cult. And for a long time this settlement had a permanent population, which depended on the effectiveness of the function of unequal exchange.

Next, we will focus on the Moche valley, as one of the most researched, we will focus on the changes that occurred during the period of Guanyape and Salinar. We will omit the question of society's complication during the period of Moche culture, as it is discussed in more detail in our other article devoted to this issue.

The most detailed long-run changes occurred in the Moche Valley were considered in the work of Brian Billman, that is why we will predominantly take our data from him. Comparing the period of Guanyape and the following Salinar, he highlights a range of interesting changes, which are out of the framework of the model of competing cult centers. It should be noted that the culture of Guanape is at its beginning synchronized with the late stages of Casma/Sechin culture, which we earlier considered. Similar changes took place in the Moche valley. Thus, in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., there was a significant growth of constructed cult buildings concentrated in Caballo de Muerte. However, there are no changes typical for later periods, such as intensified construction of irrigation systems, evidence of organized military actions, etc. Despite the fact that during this period quite considerable irrigation facilities were constructed, according to Billman's calculations, they did not require a lot of labor and were carried out within the framework of the existing settlements without obvious signs of population nuclearization. But during the Salinar period the most significant changes occur - nuclearization of the population, it begins to concentrate in large settlements like Cerro Oreja, with a radical change in the location of the settlements themselves - they begin to be located mainly in places convenient for defense. At the same time, the construction of canals continues to have the same character as in the previous period and does not confirm Wittfogel's irrigation theory. In the subsequent Gallinazo period tendency to place settlements in defensive positions, as well as in key areas to control intervalley crossings, has increased even more. What does this indicate? According to Billman, this was caused by the fact that the inhabitants of the Moche Valley had to take action against aliens from the altiplano, who occupied very important and productive areas of the valley. However, control of the critical part of the valley from which the irrigation of the area close to the coast was carried out remained under the control of the local population[2]. Thus, we have an example that the military threat at that time was becoming a permanent character and was a significant stimulus for reorganization of the local population. This is not only one example. In particular, transition from Pucara culture to early Tiwanaku is accompanied by evidence of not only cult but also military confrontation of the centers with traces of fires and violent death, as well as an increase in the number of fortifications[28, p.140-144]. Thus, the birth of Tiwanaku culture in the valley of Lake Titicaca was accompanied by no lesser influence of the military factor. Moreover, in this context, it is interesting to note that the further transition from Gallinazo culture to Moche culture, as well as the rise and spread of Tiwanaku influence are connected with the cult aspect, and, again, it is the most appropriate to the model of cult centers. There can be many explanations for this phenomenon, including climatic events such as the particularly strong and prolonged El Nino, but the fact that the society around the militancy is organized and the subsequent rollback to more peaceful forms of interaction is important. This may explain the very interesting fact that the iconography of the Moche

culture pays much attention to the scenes of violence and battles of armed men, and despite the finds of burials with traces of violent death and sacrifices in Huaca dela Luna, it does not cancel the fact that the period of the Moche culture has no convincing evidence of regular wars and the contradiction between the emphasis on the use of violence in iconography and the relatively peaceful existence of the population in this period.

In addition to this factor, attention should be paid to another: during this period, there is strong evidence of the population's transition to maize as a principal food product (including llamas in livestock production). This allows us to assume that there is a correlation between increasing the role of crops and the further service of society. However, such a correlation should be taken very carefully, because according to the profile study of T.A. Tang and E. Arkush between the evidence of the war and to what is considered its preconditions (in particular, the factor mentioned by us) in the Andes there are significant time delays[9]. The combination of the above factors, in our opinion, is most clearly manifested in the further development, which is seen in the example of later periods of Tiwanaku and Wari culture.

There is one important difference between Tiwanaku and Wari - Tiwanaku, as an archaeological monument, was a cult place where representatives of many remote regions lived and within the framework of the existing cult, where construction and probably management were carried out, while Wari has the character of more similar to the imperial administration. However, recent research in Castillo de Huarney [16] and the discovery of the first burial site for the Wari in situ elite in the regional center confirms a different, more complex form than direct bureaucratic management, and closer again to the idea of rival cult centers, but in a completely new qualitative phenomenon.

Thus, in the study of the proposed administrative center of Wari culture in the valley of Cuzco - Piquillacta, built on an empty place, has a significant area and monumentality, as well as its layout and material remains indicate a direct relationship to the culture of Wari, but at the present stage there are significant problems in its interpretation. Despite the clear structure of the storage facilities for mita (the system of compulsory labour in Tawantisyu), judging by the poor material remains, there was nothing like this. And the archaeological monument itself has the character of unfinished, despite the long period of its existence. This led McEwan, who was in head of the excavations at the archaeological site, to conclusion that it could store the honourable ancestors of the local population, and that the rectangular cells were used for cult activities related to the ancestral worship of Wari[11]. And the discovery in Castillo de Huarney directly proves the attitude of the Wari elite and their management of the ancestral cult of local population, because the signs of this activity were found in this archaeological monument. The Wari therefore represents a further development of the model of rival cult centers, which has now been characterized by relative permanence of control and the implementation of inclusive local integration. The use of military force has not been eliminated, as can be seen from the mortality profile of the population closer to the capital Wari[29, p. 99-151]. Thus, the most important change occurred during the period of the Wari existence, which was later more clearly manifested in the culture of Chimu and Tawantisyu - strengthening the regularity and power of control over the local population on the part of the governing cultic center.

However, this administration is also reflected in other evidence, in particular the fact that Wari controlled the distribution of prestige items, which were produced mainly in the

capital's region. The cult character of the last one indicates that there are a large number of tombs of rulers, which were also palaces during their lives, moreover, the architecture of Wari was organized in accordance with the principles of ornamental patterns on the tissues[10, p.287].

A certain role in the development of the exchange networks of Chavin, Wari and Tiwanaku was played by the spread of domesticated llamas, as they are the only pack animals in the Andes. It is ethnographically confirmed the existence of caravans of several dozen llamas, which transported various items. This allows us to suppose that the existence of Chavin and other high-mountainous centers was made possible due to them, as it allowed to move not only prestigious objects, but also large objects at a distance. However, the usual goods have always been high value and low volume items. Although obsidian, which was the material for tools, was supplied in many regional centers, at least during the Wari period, from deposits close to the capital, despite the presence of others close to the regional centers[6].

In addition to the above, the most vivid difference between the character of Tiwanaku and Wari was observed in one valley, where the centers of both cultures were simultaneously located. Thus, the monumental buildings of Cerro Baul, the center of Wari, had an inclusive character. The influence of not only regional peculiarities, but also in separate constructions was traced there, the canons of Tiwanaku were applied. The center itself was at the point from which the whole valley can be seen, and from the tops of the platforms the mountain capes are visible, some of which are still honored by the local population today. In the center of Tiwanaku, everything from pottery to cult buildings is an exact reproduction of what was in Tiwanaku itself as an archaeological monument[17]. Thus, despite the fact that with the last it was attended by representatives of many surrounding regions, the cult of Tiwanaku was unified and had no inclusive character, unlike Wari. Based on the degree of spread of both cultures, it is possible to point out that Wari was more successful, as its direct impact spread over a much larger area.

In the context of the interactions between the cultures of Tiwanaku and Wari, it is important for our research to examine the interaction between the later stages of the Moche culture and the ascending Wari culture, as presented by Christoph Mackowski. Thus, he points out that, based on updated dates, both the creation of the Pampa Grande (the largest settlement of the entire Moche period) and the construction of the Huaca del Sol, they were synchronous with appearance of the Wari culture in the region where the Moche culture was spread. He points out that Wari has not yet spread its influence on the Moche culture, but of Wari prestige items are found among the Moche, and the implementation of a monumental construction is probably connected with the competition with Wari in the cult area[10, p.289-291].

It is worth to note that Huaca del Sol is one of the largest structures of both Americas and its volume is about 1200000 cubic meters. However, according to Brian Billman's data, its construction was carried out in several stages and, taking into account the time and labor, required the involvement of about 1000 people for each of these stages. This was feasible within the estimated population of the Moche Valley during the period under review[3, p.186]. This reminds us once again that monumental structures and the amount of overall labor required to build them must be considered with great care and cannot serve as one of the main evidence of the appearance of statehood or civilization, as in the case of Norte Chico. Although, as we have pointed out in our other article, the highly

stratified, handcrafted etc. nature of the Moche culture indicates its relatively high level of complexity, but does not allow us to speak of the existence of a permanent bureaucratic administration.

The final stage of our research is the culture of Chimu. In our view, this is where the qualitative innovations that have arisen in the Wari culture have been finalized. Having appeared in the areas where the Moche culture existed before, Chimu was distinguished by the character of clear evidence of direct administration. However, the impact on the life of the local population was not so great and total as for more modern examples of recent empires, especially the talassocracies, whose impact on the culture of the local village was very insignificant, because most often the local administration was preserved and the existing institutions and forms of power organization were used.

In the Lambayeke valley, the presence of Chimu is characterized by a sharp appearance of a settlement typical for this culture with a combination of local canons of construction, and there is evidence of the residence of the Chimu elites representatives there. Interestingly, the nature of the settlement itself suggests the use the local elite's representatives. Chimu's intervention in the system of government is clearly visible from the fact that their settlement itself was located between two pre-existing polities in the valley, at a convenient place for defense and point of control of a number of important irrigation channels, which indicates in favor of militaristic control. However, unlike the Incas, Chimu has the character of local control over the mobilization of labor resources[30, p.173-175]. In this way, Chimu was set up with a technological foundation for the further development of control through more permanent and regular interventions from the center, as was the case in Tawantisuyu.

In concluding our review of selected cultures and their characteristics, we must focus on the models used by their researchers. At the moment, the models, which are more focused on taking into account local peculiarities, are becoming more and more powerful. As for the still widely used models of the neo-evolutionary school of anthropology, since we have already reviewed their critique in more detail in our other articles, we will now focus our attention on the problems typical of their application in Andean history. Jeffrey Quilter highlights the following features, which are presented by representatives of the neo-evolutionary paradigm as signs of Moche statehood: "The assumptions concerning the existence of the Moche state, which has spread since Huaca de Moche, are based on several interrelated data. These assumptions and data include 1) The general style of Moche ceramics originating from Huaca de Moche; 2) The general architectural style of Moche; 3) Standardized techniques of constructions associated with labor tax; 4) The emphasis on militarism as seen in iconography; 5) Standardized religion also visible in iconography; 6) Survey data which show the sharp appearance of the characteristic features of Moche, especially ceramics and architecture, in the "provinces"[13, p.132-133]. As we can see, they emphasize that one of the main distinguishing features is the development of the management and suppression apparatus, its separation from the rest of society, the signs of which they are actively looking for in archaeological materials. But in non-written cultures, the question of the nature of power, the way it was perceived and organized, is rather an object of interpretative speculation, as without an "insider's view" we cannot make an exact conclusion about the organization of power. We can only clarify the most characteristic and relatively common features, as it allows us to preserve the availability of archaeological materials, as well as the degree of research on a particular culture. The history of the

study of Moche is a striking example of how the influence of perceptions of the state has diminished as the data increase, leading to the fact that, out of its dominant view as a large intervalley state on the coast of Peru, it now has a significant decrease in size and strength - as evidenced by the findings and other models (especially the model of rival cult centers). It is worth to note that urbanism researchers in the Andes indirectly confirm this model, pointing out that the population of the region lived mostly in small centers, and that large urban centers are linked to the efforts of existing policies, and that a significant part of them were not fully populated and their area expanded as older parts were thrown in, such as the Huari[15, p.648].

At present, there is a necessity to develop new approaches combining both the possibility of cross-cultural analysis and consideration of local peculiarities. In our opinion, one of such successful directions is the concept of society complexity, such as growth of its specialization and stratification, complication of internal structure. In addition to the peculiarities of our approach mentioned at the beginning of the article, we propose to add a number of other characteristics, which in our opinion were well illustrated by us on the materials of the Andean region.

Such approach to the assessment of statehood is an institutional approach, which involves consideration not only from the point of view of how separate institutions of statehood were formed (i.e. apparatus of governance), but also how the functions performed by the state were formed and transformed. After all, it is worth to remember that the same social function of state was adopted by it only in the XIX - XX centuries, and before that it was carried out by absolutely other public institutions. The most important point is that from the very beginning of society's existence, the questions of organization and forms of power realization were faced by people, nevertheless, as the structure of society became more complicated, their transformation and further development took place in parallel with it, and the administrators carried out all new arising functions, using all possible methods of influence. And this is exactly where both the specificity of each region, culture, and the points of contact with other primary centers of statehood are displayed.

Thus, our analysis of the Andean region has shown that the organization of power has followed the path of gradual complication, and forms of organization of power in the form of direct administration are a very late phenomenon. Without dividing the functions into cult or administrative, we observe that in the Andes the power was initially exercised in connection with the worship, but as the society became more complex, new functions and, what is important, technologies of ensuring the constancy and strengthening of power both in space and in actual possibilities of control appeared. This is well illustrated by the fact that the area of influence of cult centers in the Andes in the long run was becoming larger and larger, culminating in the Inca Empire, which spread its power for thousands of kilometers. At the same time, there was control over the details of the locals in all parts of the empire, the most vivid illustration of which is the movement of large groups of people from one part of the vast empire to another, which appeared in the Middle East in the New Assyrian Empire. However, in other primary centers of statehood there were similar processes. Both in China and Egypt (a secondary center, but the processes of formation of statehood have passed their own way) had the same emphasis on the cult nature, with help of which the mobilization of labor resources took place and in which the competition between individual centers took place. In Egypt it was cult centers of the dead rulers, and in China a vivid example is the culture of Liangzhu, which was based solely on cult charac-

ter, but its center which had a huge amount of monumental work, highly specialized craft and far gone stratification. At the same time, it does not have any administrative character, and acted as a center of control of sacred knowledge, and the production of highly valued products, especially from jade. The use of bronze is similar in China and in the Andes, which was used instead of weapons of war as a material for prestigious cult objects, because its production required a high degree of specialization and cost, and the possession of technology brought great prestige.

It is worth to note that in our view the presence of riding animals, chariots and carts, as well as metal weapons constituted significant technological difference between cultures of Eurasia and both Americas. They significantly expanded the possibilities of power exercising, and strengthened the possibilities of coercion from the ruling class of society. In our opinion, China is an illustration of this thesis. Having a significant allotment, large urban centers with an area of more than 300 hectares with dense and centralized buildings, the presence of hereditary nobility, in the late Neolithic stage after the penetration of the Okunev culture and Shimao bronze weapons, chariots, after a period of about three hundred years in the period of Erligang the capital of the state Shang Runzhou occupied an area of more than 3000 hectares, and a major regional center in the Yangtze valley, Wangchengang, about 500 hectares [14].

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**Кошман В. А. Региональные особенности Андской государственности: от архаического до позднего промежуточного / В. А. Кошман // Ученые записки Крымского федерального университета им. В. И. Вернадского. Юридические науки. – 2019. – Т. 4 (72). № 4. – С. 33-43.**

В статье анализируются процессы формирования государственности в регионе Анд. Показывается, что особенности форм социальной организации в архаическом периоде заложили траекторию последующего формирования институтов государственности. При этом обращается внимание на те ошибки, которые допускаются специалистами при оценке сложности форм развития управления ряда обществ.

Через модель конкурирующих культовых центров автором показывается эволюционный путь становления государства и усиления его власти. При этом делается акцент на анализ материальных признаков развития общества без применения этнографических параллелей. Обращается внимание на то, какие признаки и в каком сочетании могут свидетельствовать о появлении государственных инсти-

тутов. Особый упор делается на формы администрирования, которые показывают локальные и региональные особенности.

**Ключевые слова:** Анды, Моче, первичный центр государственности, Норте Чико, возникновение государства, Чиму, Чавин, Вальдивия, Уари, Тиуанако.