**Introduction**

**[Recuay]**

The Recuay were an archaeological culture identified initially by ceramic production, and later by architecture, mortuary complexes, and artistic motif. They were the primary agriculturalists and pastoralists in the Ancash during the first millennia AD (Lau 2011: 4). In the highlands the Recuay were the prevailing culture between the collapse of the ritual center at Chavín de Huantar and the rise of the Wari (Lau 2011: 243-245). The region has been studied significantly by many researchers over the twentieth century (Uhle; Bennett; Bird; Tello; Grieder; Proulx; Lau; Ibarra; Ponte; Orsini).

Highland Ancash is defined by its mountains and river valleys. The Cordillera Negra is a first range of unglaciated peaks paralleling the coast of Peru. There are two river valleys the Rio Santa and Mariñón, on either side of the cordillera Blanca which contains sites in the Parque Huascaran. The Recuay occupied the highlands principally in the great Callejón de Huaylás, the ‘alleyway’ between the Cordilleras Negra and Blanca. The Callejón is a fairly large intermontane valley with vast areas for agriculture and herding. Here was a land ripe for cultural florescence in the first millennia AD.

The general cultural history suggests that Chavín led directly into the Huarás culture, though architecturally and ceramically they represent distinct traditions (Velasco, 2016: 77). Chavín was once thought of as a “cradle of civilization” for the upper Andes, now it seems the post-Chavín Andes were more of a mosaic of local styles some related to and some rejective of Chavín era forms (Lau 2011: 244-245) Architecturally, the Huarás diverged from the monumentality and structure of the Chavín with more reserved and smaller sites even intruding on the great templo at Chavin de Huantar. Their new white-on-red ceramic tradition similarly represents a deliberate rejection of Chavín style (Lau 2011: 244).

Following the Huarás, the Recuay style emerged and proliferated throughout the highlands. Recuay tradition supplanted or absorbed the Huarás as material culture and architecture underwent a change. The Recuay exhibited significant variability in the relative monumentality of their settlements. Most Recuay settlements were small farming communities built along and above river valleys with some great monumental hilltop cities such as Chinchawas. Settlements became public gathering locations called Kanchas which were associated with tombs (Ibarra, 2013: 9).

Throughout the Early Intermediate Period, the highlands were a heterogeneous mix of cities and peoples. The exact relationships between these groups remains unclear and undefined in many respects, but nonetheless diverse in archaeological manifestation. By the time of the conquest, Ancash was a place of local chiefs with inherited power in the larger settlements. One chief would hold tribute from many villages and the Spanish administrators would use the pre-existing relationships in their initial colonial government (Lau 2011:14).

Though the Spanish Chronicles can be useful, they are unable to represent the changes which had taken root in the highlands since the Recuay height. The Wari would completely supplant the local styles in the highlands, though again the precise political arrangement remains unclear. Nonetheless, the system of chiefdom and tribute is able to describe the relationships between ancient Recuay polities well. Some scholars have described the Recuay Record using a World Systems Core-Periphery model, while more recently Peer-Polity Commonwealth models also can be used to represent the region (Lau 2011:13-17; Proulx 1982: 90-91).

Regionally variable cultural florescence around AD 300-600 generated significant expansions in the trade networks and relative power and control over such resources. New cities such as Yayno, Chinchawas, Pashash, Huintoc, Rayogaga, and Marcajirca emerged as core cities in the Callejón and across Ancash. Exchanges between the Moche of the north central coast, the peoples of the Casma River region, and Nasca culture along the south central coast increased as demonstrated in material culture, yet such trade was fairly sparse in physical imports. Visible material exchange came to include ceramic, motif, and occasionally style. The Recuay culture remained, however, thoroughly distinct from these other partners (Lau 2011: 249-255).

At the hilltop city of Chinchawas, which was occupied circa AD 500-900, remains of fine Kaolinite Kayán ceramics were found, Wari goods from the north, ceramics from the costal Nievería culture, and obsidian from several places in the Andes hint at a significant network for trade and cultural exchange (Lau 2005: 84-90). Chinchawas indicates a settlement built on trade between Recuay and foreign groups. In other localities these relationships seemed to border on the predatorial (Castillo-Butters, 2014). For example, the Moche were represented artistically with trophy heads of captives or conquered people. Archaeologically much of the practice appears to have been local between Moche groups, though conflict with outsiders is visible (Lau 2013: 95-100).

During the Late Recuay circa AD 600-700, the amount of foreign materials, primarily Wari ceramics and styles found in general and mortuary contexts, increases significantly. Trade categorized this period, and physical objects made abroad and brought into the Recuay sphere became common. There also is a change in this period as trade with the Wari groups increased dramatically. The desirability of the Wari materials was clear as even small settlements came to include Wari ceramics or styles (Lau 2011:256-259). As interaction with the Wari increased, it came to dominate highland exchange. After AD 700, the Recuay were in decline, material culture became even more similar to the Wari prestige goods. Cities like Pashash were abandoned all together, while cities like Yayno persisted at a less monumental scale. Others like Chinchawas were able to persist as regional trading centers, all the while becoming less distinct from the Wari material culture. This era corresponds to the reorganization of power and structures in the highlands as the Wari Phenomenon grew in scale (Lau 2011: 569-264).

Throughout the first eight centuries AD the Recuay farmers and herdsmen changed significantly. The traditional diet of the highlands in the first millennia AD has been documented including potatoes, maize, quinoa, squashes, pumpkins. The Cuy were domesticated some 500-3500 BC and became a delicacy in the highlands. Wild and domesticated camelids are commonly found in association with these cultures. Wild game such as the Anteojos (spectacled) Bear, mountainous deer, and numerous rodents are also found among them. Their diets fluctuated based on the seasonal wet and dry seasonal cycles common in the tropics (Ibarra, 2013: 9).

**[Regional Florescence]**

As the Recuay fluoresced and grew, other contemporary preHispanic Andean societies lived adjacent one another in the central region of Peru for several centuries during the first millennium AD. The Moche were remarkable ceramicists from the coastal Moche Valley. Their culture expanded up river valley floors while their ceramics have been found across the Andes. Both groups are distinct by ceramic style, motif, architectural styles, cosmology, and social organisation. In some regions such as the Nepeña Valley these two cultures were face to face. More often the interactions were less direct involving long distance trade in a massive interaction sphere. These two partners followed distinct yet related cultural trajectories, each partner growing throughout the first millennia AD. Towards the south other cultures were flourishing along the coast in Lima and in Nasca. Each culture grew in scale and monumentality, as did their cultural manifestations found outside their lands.

**[Moche/Gallinazo]**

Gallinazo is a term for an early coastal people roughly contemporaneous with the Huarás. Throughout the first centuries BC, Gallinazo population, architecture, and material culture grew in range and scope. They would encompass the Viru and Moche Valleys. Their settlements tended to be hierarchical in relative size and monumentality containing platforms, canals, and temples with adobe bricks. Major sites include Cerro Orejas and Cerro Blanco. Great ‘Castillo’ architecture dominated the Gallinazo world (Moseley 1992:164-166). Late in the Gallinazo era is the much contested transition to the Moche, whose earliest central site was the rebuilt Cerro Blanco. Though much is poorly understood and otherwise debatable with regard to this transition, the Gallinazo became indistinguishable the Moche in the first centuries AD (Mosley 1992: 166).

The Moche emerged in the south, and theirs was a fragmented society divided by river valleys and the cordillera. They emerged along the coast as a primarily fishing and irrigation farming society. The Moche culture expanded along the coast, building monumental temples and cities. They settled adjacent the Andean rivers as they empty to the Pacific. Over time their influence would spread ever farther up rivers, coming directly into contact with Recuay villages (Proulx 1968,1982). Moche material culture spread far beyond the coastal regions. Moche fineware represents a zenith of ceramic tradition at the time and became valued as a trade good throughout the Andes.

This period of regional interdependency produced pronounced changes in ceramic materials in the highlands. Foreign finewares became valued as status goods. For the first few centuries AD, local Recuay ceramics made from Kaolinite and other local clays dominated the mortuary assemblage in the highlands. Recuay mortuary contexts presented a change from the Kaolinite and local ceramics to the foreign inspired ones. Occasionally this would manifest as local copies of foreign styles, but mainly vessels were non-locally produced. Moche materials came to be prevalent in the assemblages, though we find materials in this era from Nasca, Lima, and the Casma Valley. This change happened at a different rate for different groups throughout the highlands. Though there were introduction of newer ceramic materials and designs in the area, the mortuary contexts underwent a change too.

The Late Recuay era also saw the beginning of the exchange of cultural materials in the Rio Santa valley (Ponte 2015). The interaction started with exchange of ceramic materials. Early on, it was not uncommon to find Moche ceramics present in Recuay burials. As time went on, the cultures started to blend as well. Though the Moche and Recuay interacted for centuries, it is in mortuary custom that leaves an archaeological trace .

Moche burials tended to segregate infants from the adult and subadult remains. These tended to be mass burials, yet there are grave goods generally found in conjunction with the infants implying deliberate segregation (Ponte 2015). Early on the Recuay did intermix infants with adults, a few of which have shown to be genetically familial. In time the Recuay exhibited segregated Chullpas that contained primarily infants and subadults. Significantly, these sites often contain offerings including status goods including Moche made ceramics. These two trends show an increased Moche influence in material culture and burial custom throughout the Late Recuay.

**[Nasca/Lima]**

To the south of the Moche along the coast Lima and Nasca cultures emerged. Intense aridity in the area created cultures reliant upon what water was present. The Lima culture built great canals throughout their lands to optimize agricultural possibilities. By the third century AD, the Lima Culture had begun building great monumental huaca pyramids of mud bricks including the legendary Pachacamac Temple south of Lima (Moseley 1992: 184).

South of Lima are the contemporaneous cultures of the Nasca region. From older traditions such as Paracas emerged the Nasca archaeological culture. Their ceramic style and motif proliferated throughout the region. Nasca finewares were locally produced and have been found in many contexts. It appears even the common Nasca household could possess some percentage of fineware (Moore 2014: 291-294). Textiles were highly refined and valued and featured heavily in mortuary and religious architecture. As with the other cultures, debate has raged over the nature of their political and economic structures. The Nasca produced many sites, the most monumental at Cahuachi, sometimes called the Nasca capital. Cahuachi started as a small agricultural village, but in time grew to the massive hundred and fifty hectare complex (Moseley 1992: 185-187). Cahuachi contained some forty mounds, platforms, plazas, and a great temple and yet contained no clear evidence for a large population nor a domestic sector (Moore 2014: 294-295).

**[Wari: Empire, Phenomenon, Bundle]**

Following the zenith reached around AD 700 the highland Recuay, coastal Moche, and southern peoples in Lima and Nasca began to decline. The exact impetus is hotly debated and seems regionally dependent. Discussions of mounting ecological stress are seemingly prevalent. From the dissolution of earlier social structures the Wari rose (Moseley 1992:218-219; Moore 2014: 341). Wari expansion is as heavily debatable as their inception. Aspects of their culture would spread outward from the Ayacucho Valley, while some regions kept more local material culture.

Early researchers designated Wari an empire, though contemporary researchers discuss a Wari Phenomenon whose statecraft remains poorly understood. Processual research identified the capital of the empire as the Huari site (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 286). This model indicates the Wari expanded out from these cores and in time conquered their empire. One example of a domineering Wari culture comes from the sites in Honcopampa and Wilkawain, both of which were Recuay cities with a distinct change as they became regional Wari centers. The Wari Castillo Huarmey is a similar example from formerly Moche lands (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 291). In a comparative study of cranial trauma across the highlands, the Middle Horizon was found to be a peak in rate of incidence. Increased rates of trauma were accompanied by increased rates of trophy heads (Arkush & Tung 2013: 27-28). This would certainly be expected as evidence of a militant or otherwise imperial expansion.

One reason the Wari Empire model was abandoned comes from their motif. Wari arts often became composites including local and distinctly Wari style. Their motifs across the Wari world indicate a wide variety of symbols and styles, evidence of holdover from earlier cultures (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 289). This idea is of a Wari Phenomenon of interrelated artistic and architectural styles which in some regions never fully supplanted the local. For instance the Recuay style of masonry, including subterranean galleries, persisted throughout the Wari era as architectural styles and urban plans followed Wari prototype (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 288). Additionally the same study of cranial trauma concluded that though the Middle Horizon did represent an increase in violent pathologies over the Early Intermediate Period, the greatest rates were found in other eras. In particular periods without great societies, bundles, empires or otherwise stabilizing social structures reflected greatest rate of incidence of violent pathologies (Arkush & Tung 2013: 36). This would imply that the eras of large empires produced less violent pathologies than eras of fractured sedentism.

In the highlands of Ancash, the Wari may be conceptualized as a series of cultural characteristics which represent a change in material culture. This understanding is of a Wari bundle of traits expanding with limited evidence of conflict (Lau 2012: 35). The earliest manifestation of the Wari in the highlands is their trademarked polychrome vessels imported from the Ayacucho Valley throughout highland and coastal Ancash (Lau 2012: 29). In time features such as zoomorphic figures and tapestries became mainstays in the highlands. There are even some late Recuay ceramics borrowing the zoomorphic motifs and using them on local ceramic forms (Lau 2012:39). Additionally the D-shaped structures and Chullpas were absorbed into the late Recuay architectural styles (Lau 2012:41).

The Wari bundle model of expansion implies the set of cultural features affiliated with the Wari expanded organically as older regional structures fell apart. The bundle expanded or diffused as a result of a power vacuum. Social and material requirements were met by the bundle in ways that the earlier structures failed them. The Wari persisted through the end of the Middle Horizon, but then they themselves collapsed. The Wari cultural bundle was no longer the best adaptation for the highlands. Though the details are debatable, the Wari diminished and yet their influence was permanent. The Late Intermediate Period mortuary customs were shaped by the Wari in the Middle Horizon (Cadwallader et.al. 2018: 14).

Thus a basic history of the first millennia AD in the Central Andes follows a series of regionally distinct florescence in art, architecture, and material culture. The people adopted regionally appropriate adaptive strategies in regionally variable conditions. For a time these grew in tandem culturally entangled with one another. Trade proliferated and contemporary styles are found intermixed. From around AD 600-700 these regional strategies began to decline. For some reason or reasons the adaptive strategy was no longer sufficient and in time the Wari styles would prevail for a time. The Wari did not so much dominate highland cultures as had their own culture incorporated to local culture. This strategy was effective and for some centuries and the Wari persisted from the Nasca Valley through the formerly Moche sphere and throughout the highlands. In time the Wari too would fade leaving another mosaic of related local cultures until states would again form in the Andes.

**Definition of Recuay Culture**

The review emphasizes peer-reviewed English publications on changes to the construction of the Recuay as an Archaeological Culture throughout the various schools of thought in the twentieth century. Early work emphasized great pan-Andean sequences focused on the monumental Chavin, Wari-Tiahuanaco, and Inca. The Processual era saw a rise in the Recuay as dynamic actors in a regional trade network. They had territorial relations with the neighboring Moche. More recent research has highlighted the relationships as our datasets have expanded. Contemporary methodology allows far more grounded models of interaction. Our understanding of the Recuay has been inexorably linked with our understanding of the Moche and the Wari in particular. One of the goals is to provide an overview of how the research has defined the Recuay from the period of Uhle to the present and to outline the directions of contemporary and future research.

Throughout the twentieth century, Andean cultures have gained significant attention from scholars and seen remarkable advancements. Discussions of culture in the first half of the twentieth century are devoted to identifying the monumental pan-Andean sequences. Giants in the Archaeology of the Andes weighed in, including Max Uhle, Bennet, Tello, and Junius Bird. These original cultural historians focused on the cultural sequences especially on the cultures which led up to the Wari. In this vintage the Recuay are simply a regional style of ceramic, one of many regional styles, intermediary cultural expressions between two great pan-Andean sequences Chavín and Wari. First was the great ritual center at Chavín de Huantar, the monumental pilgrimage center which they dated around 1200-400BC. Second was the Wari-Tiahuanaco conceptualized as a singular entity centered at the Wari site and Lake Titicaca. This second sequence was dated to AD900-1200.

As more research was done, the Processual research transformed the Recuay into a dynamic culture, an entity in exchange with the rest of the Andes. New research in the Nepeña Valley was central in addressing this change in theory as this valley was an interface of highland Recuay sites, and valley floor Moche sites (Proulx 1982,1968). Critically, the Recuay were no longer a ceramic complex, but a set of cultural traits. Research into the Recuay grew in tandem with research of the Moche and Wari, though never at quite the same pace. The initial understanding of the Recuay as peripheral highlanders preyed on by the Moche until they were demolished by the Wari is no longer tenable. The Recuay ceramic sequence at last gave way to an archaeological culture interacting in a trade and intermittently predatorial relationships with other groups in the region.

Max Uhle wrote there are two main pan-Andean sequences, moments in the cultural sequence where very similar material cultures were observed across vast portions of the Andes. The Incas were the most recent, and the culture the Spaniards encountered and seemingly were the most monumental. The Inca’s immediate predecessors were sequences of localized styles and general Andean disunity. The second pan-Andean sequence was, at an unclear point in time, earlier when a new style emerged from Titicaca: the Tiahuanaco (Uhle 1902: 757). Other scholars would conflate the Wari and Tiahuanaco cultures, connecting the two into a single sequence found throughout the Andes. For a time the Wari site itself was associated with the capital or center of the Tiahuanaco sequence (Bennett & Bird 1964: 142). This Wari-Tiahuanaco sequence was placed by seriation around AD 500-1000 and represented a time when all the Andes were conceived by scholars as a unified, but regionally variable culture or empire (Mason 1957:90-95).

Pan-Andean sequences formed the basis for much research on the Andes in the twentieth century. The next major addition to Uhle’s sequences was the introduction of Chavín as a similar widespread culture, another pan-Andean sequence far earlier than the others (Bennett 1943: 326). The Chavín Sequence was framed as a juncture of the architectural symmetry, platforms, interior galleries and small rooms, and the prevalence of feline motif Tenon heads (Bennett 1943: 324). Chavín contained cultural material from across the Andes, so it stood to reason the temple represented a sacred space of some common religion.

Chavín de Huantar is an anomalous temple complex in the highlands. The location is the confluence of the Rio Monsa and Rio Wacheqsa. There was a temple with many galleries running through underground. There was a large sunken plaza near the main entrance capped in columns and covered in shallow relief. The temple was used and built throughout the first millennium BC in several successive building episodes. The site was abandoned sometime after 400 BC (Velasquez 2016: 8-9). There was no accompanying village nor a contemporary mortuary complex.

The Chavín site was seen as a pilgrimage center, based on the large volume of materials foreign to the highlands (Bennett & Bird 1964:101). Contemporary ceramics from as far away as Bolivia and Lima were found at Chavín (Bennett & Bird 1964: 101). Seafood and *spondylus* shells were found in abundance at Chavín. From Chavín the Feline motif spread throughout the highlands, but was a relatively rare occurrence at the coast (Bennett & Bird 1964: 94). Critically, once the Chavín sequence ended, a wealth of local styles and regional developments followed until the Tiahuanaco Horizon, when these styles would once again blend into a pan-Andean sequence (Bennett & Bird 1964: 102).

In these cultural histories the Chavín era ended around 400 BC and what followed was a period of experimentation. In the highlands Chancay and Huarás styles grew out of the Chavín sequence directly (Bennett & Bird 1964: 103-104). The ceramic styles proliferated into new forms and techniques. Ceramic Figurines, which would be a mainstay in the highlands, first appeared in this era (Bennett & Bird 1964: 107-109). Here also are the beginnings of the trade in wool with the coast, especially Ica and Paracas (Bennett Bird 2964: 109-110). Seemingly there was a decline in the Chavín religion evidenced by a decline of the feline motif. What followed the collapse of Chavín were disjointed local and regional styles. According to Bennett and Bird “Religion, too, seems to have been of no great importance.” (1964: 112). They were seeing a great state or religion collapse, leaving the people in a dark age.

Out of this dark age came what Bennett called a Mastercraftsman Period. Public works with striking monumentality appear in the highlands. Great complexes with galleries and chambers somewhat reminiscent of Chavín grew in the Callejón de Huaylas. These are the marked by Recuay style of ceramic (Bennett & Bird 1964: 116-118). The Recuay of the Mastercraftsman era were known for bichrome ceramics in a diversity of styles: bowls, goblets, and jars. Bennett thought they were inferior the Moche and other contemporary cultures, but the decoration and style represented a highly developed craft (Bennett & Bird 1964: 126). The Recuay ceramics were often accompanied by Recuay statues, which were made in ground stone and shallow relief and seemed to be a break from Chavín. Recuay motifs were identified by human figures including warriors, women, and seated figures (Bennett & Bird 1964: 121-122).

Contemporary researchers followed Uhle’s sequences to slightly different ends. Mason labeled the period between Chavín and the expansion of Tiahuanaco as a Florescent Era. He saw limited uniformity in religion, architecture, and material culture. The Andean people were by this point experimenting with many types of arts, and this created diverse and distinct peoples throughout the Andes (Mason 1957: 66-68). In the highlands, Recuay A and B style of negative painting emerged in this era. Copper and textiles were found in the highlands, but the generally wetter monsoon of the highlands made these more difficult to study than the drier conditions on the coast (Mason 1957: 84-85).

The above discussion illustrates in a general sense the understanding of the sequences and cultural history in the first half of the twentieth century. There is a Chavín sequence sometime in the first millennia BC, then a period of regionally distinct craftsmen, and then the Andes come together again in the Wari-Tiahuanaco phase. The Recuay is one of the regional styles and is primarily known for its ceramic style and shallow relief sculpture. One reason for this characterization was the lack of excavation of the phases between the monumental sequences. Mason concludes urging “Relatively few scientific archaeological excavations have been made in Peru, and large parts of the country are practically unknown archaeologically because of the paucity of sellable objects that might be recovered has not tempted natives to dig.” (1957: 87). While great sites like Wari and Tiahuanaco were studied, many of the sites now associated with the Mastercraftsman were not studied or even identified in the early twentieth century.

An example of how disjointed early research was in the region comes from the explorations of Cornelius Roosevelt in the 1930s. He went on an expedition to Chavín with Julio Tello as a photographer. They moved up the coast passing the great coastal walls and hilltop settlements as they made their way to Huarmey. Most of what they saw they associated either with the Chimu or with the Inka (Roosevelt 1935: 21-23). Then the team moved up through the Casma Valley. There they saw ruins from the Casma culture, which was simply pre-Chimu to Roosevelt and Tello. Thirteen structures were identified with relative symmetry. There was a fortress built on the desert floors with walls over twelve feet tall. This was interpreted as a village site, but there had been no excavation at the time of their voyage (Roosevelt 1935: 26).

Then the party left the coast and moved into the Santa Valley. These sites and cultures were identified correctly as pre-Chimu, but neither could properly seriate beyond that. They noted the several “Great Walls” which crossed the Santa, some of which were identified as irrigational ditches. Others had cemeteries at one end of the wall. Their explorations also turned up petroglyphic arts. One piece included a man adjacent a twining serpent which was carved on a granite slab (Roosevelt 1935: 27). Another stone carving they identified near Huaraz was called Copcha Wilka this was a nine by four feet base and over a foot deep. This image of a God was striking but anomalous as it was the first large idol found in the Santa Valley (Roosevelt 1935:36).

They continued up the Santa and identified many sites as they went. There were large mounds with temples built on top. Some still had preserved adobe and paints covering them in crimson and yellow. These were identified as temples because of the cemeteries contained within, the largest cemeteries they found in the area (Roosevelt 1935: 32). They found more walls, mounds, and irrigation systems all along the Santa Valley as they moved towards Chavín.

As the Roosevelt and Tello expedition explored they identified several settlements at the tops of the hills. These were interpreted as cities cleverly hidden at the tops of hills so they would be all but invisible from the valley floor below. They were all roughly rectangular and fortified settlements (Roosevelt 1935: 31). This is an early manifestation of archaeologists’ discussion of conflict in the highlands. It also shows how readily such hypotheses were accepted when their own research produced contradictions as some of the defensive fortresses were temples and cemeteries built on hills as well.

The expedition of Roosevelt and Tello was first to reach and photograph the Temple of Chavín where Tello had excavated starting in 1919. The temples were still visible but in a poor state of repair. They noted a few huts and pigsties upon the temple itself (Roosevelt 1935: 37). They marveled at the temple, but were drawn to the interior. Roosevelt discusses a roughly triangular idol over ten feet in height. Carvings surrounded the stone in the forms of a fanged monster with many snake heads. Tello said the idol once stood beneath an altar where the ancient peoples made sacrifices (Roosevelt 1935:37). This is clearly the Lanzón monolith, the representative object of the Chavín religion. The party thoroughly explored several galleries and shafts, conscripting assistance from small schoolchildren to access particularly tight areas. The party also took over 700 photos of the Tenon heads (Roosevelt 1935:40-42).

Starting in 1967, the Nepeña Valley became the focus of Processual research on the Recuay and Moche (Proulx 1982, 1968; Chicoine 2011). This valley was occupied by the Moche in the lowlands and towards the coast, but the Recuay in the highlands along the western periphery of the Callejón de Huaylas (Proulx 1982:83). The Nepeña Valley is the first intensely studied interface between the Recuay and Moche. The Recuay morphed from a ceramic style to an actor in a system of territorial and trading relationships. The Moche tended to inhabit the valley floor and likely followed the Nepeña from the coast. They built a monumental pyramid in the Moche style at Pañamarca. This village contained trademark Moche walls with ornate murals, courtyards, and a burial complex nearby (Proulx 1982: 84). Pañamarca is the largest and most monumental Moche site in the Nepeña Valley, though there were other Moche agricultural sites throughout the valley floor (Proulx 1982: 83). Later research has indicated the Moche expansion into the Nepeña Valley likely represented a militant expansion initially. There is evidence of skeletal trauma and fortification found in the earliest Moche sites in the valley (Arkush & Tung 2013: 23-24).

In the Processual era brought a new set of theories and conceptions of the processes in the past. Globally Archaeology was changing focus towards a dynamic past. As such Recuay became a cultural complex, a set of traits and material culture which is observable across sites. Processual research produced a dynamic Recuay Culture which lived along the hilltops of the valley and was in contact with the Moche below. The Nepeña Valley was divided territorially between Recuay and Moche sites who were connected by the exchange of cultural materials (Proulx 1982: 90-91).

The relationships were not always so peaceable. The Wari, Recuay, Gallinazo, and Moche alike produced a wealth of artistic representative combat. The Moche are particularly famous for combat imagery, ritual sacrifice, and trophy heads. Critically Moche combat was divided into a sacred ritualized type of combat and a profane expansion or defensive combat (Arkush & Tung 2013: 23). Initially researchers presumed the prevalence of combat in imagery was indicative of a warlike people. On the other hand, there is good reason to think the conflict worthy of memorialization on ceramics or murals was primarily a ritualized combat or ritualized execution of prisoners (Castillo Butters 2014: 262). This approach does not indicate that all or even most conflict was sacred or ritualized, merely that what gets represented consistently is not the profane act of conflict (Arkush & Stanish 2005: 15-16).

Along with the coast conflict appears to be primarily between Moche polities, potentially marking expansion or control over resources (Castillo Butters 2014: 268). Conflict between these groups was where the foreign prisoners would be collected. Conflict in the Nepeña Valley indicates the Moche were expanding into a region with Recuay sites already established along the crest (Arkush & Stanish 2005: 16) This could be interpreted as a continuous threat of conflict. Here the Recuay became combative to fight off Moche invasions at first, and then in short lived resistance to the Wari (Arkush & Tung 2013: 25). In any case, there was clearly conflict between the highlands and coast which appears to end in ritualized execution of any prisoners. They did not result in substantial long term incursions of the Moche into the highlands.

In the Nepeña Valley highlanders tend to be displayed in Moche arts. These are identifiable through feline motif, pendants on the otherwise naked warriors, and the coca bags at their waists. It is likely these motifs represent the Recuay neighbors in heights of the valley (Castillo Butters 2014:265). In addition to these images of ritual combat, the Moche were known to engage in profane conflict, claiming resources, trade routes, or captives. Exactly how often the Moche engaged in ritual representative combat versus profane combat remains unclear (Castillo Butters 2014: 270-271).

Their artistic motifs often display proud and noble warriors, great fortresses, and ruthless slaughters**.** As more research has expanded the knowledge base of the Moche, the interpretation emerged that the Moche battles depicted most prominently are primarily ritual violence (Castillo-Butters, 2014:259). It could be said that understanding of the motifs went from the profane act of combat to the art of ritual violence. The scenes depicted included what is called the combat sacrifice ceremony where warriors are displayed fighting near priests. There is a sub-motif where a human figure is presented with a goblet of blood, which was presumed to be a ritual sacrifice motif. These two motifs are often found adjacent or adorning in the same vessel. (Castillo-Butters, 2014: 262). Together these artistic designs are the Moche representing themselves as ritual warriors and possible human sacrifices. In other artistic representations, the Moche warriors engage in combat without priests, but with the aid of preternatural human-animal hybrid motifs. Typical anthropomorphic designs include puma, foxes, fish, fish, shark fins, and even lima beans (Castillo-Butters, 2014: 263).

How the artistic motifs compared to actual combat is unclear. Other Late Moche ceramics depict the act of knocking a headdress off another combatant. The battles depicted without priests tend to show masses of combatants engaged with seemingly no plan or strategy. Artistically, the Moche are shown to unclothe their defeated opponents and tie a rope around their necks. These defeated warriors were then walked through Moche society and up to the combat sacrifice ceremony (Castillo-Butter, 2013:264). The scenes depicting violence could well be among Moche groups as well as combat levied against surrounding groups, such as the Recuay. Whether the Moche combat was primarily secular or ritual is indeterminant, and for the sake of this project not all that important.

This change in understanding of the Recuay and Moche interaction corresponds to a larger change in how the Moche were understood. Initially the Moche were thought of as a warrior like, sexually explicit culture akin to Spartans (Castillo Butters 2014: 257-259). Over time they have been tamed, and with them the nature of the predatorial relationship with the Recuay has been called into question. Most critically, the practice of trophy heads and ceremonial violence points towards a relationship of symbolic rivalry. Ritual subordination of foreigners enhanced the Moche themselves and likely produced social cohesion (Lau 2013: 125). The Moche produced combat imagery, but much of it seems to have been ceremonial in a deadly ritual. The ritual involved full combat paraphernalia for Moche warriors and generally naked foreigners or captives who were to be sacrificed at the end of the ritual (Castillo Butters 2014:263-265).

Another regional approach was taken at the Chinchawas site, but applying concepts from World Systems model on both the Moche and Wari’s relation to a Recuay hinterland site. Chinchawas was a late Recuay site which served as a key locality for trade though as a periphery. The first period of occupation (AD 300-600) saw Chinchawas as a periphery of the Callejón and the Recuay. Ceramics and stone sculpture were in the Recuay styles and Kaolin was used in finewares (Lau 2005: 84). Starting around AD 600 Chinchawas began importing goods especially from the Wari. After AD 700 the once prestigious Kaolin declined in favor of these foreign wares. Other styles which supplanted the Recuay were the coastal Nievería effigy vessels and locally produced Wari inspired Warmi Redwares (Lau 2005: 84-87). These phases also feature an increase in obsidian at Chinchawas, though far fewer pieces are known than in the Chavín era (Burger et.al. 2006: 109).

The final phase of occupation at Chinchawas site from AD850-950 recovered only imported costal styles, Wari wares, and the local Warmi style (Lau 2005: 89-90). This era shows a general shift in cultural expression throughout the Callejón. As the Recuay were declining, trade was redistricted to focus on the Wari. Chullpas proliferated, D-shaped patios are built in many Recuay sites (Lau 2011:256). There is a notable decline in the visible trade with the costal Moche and other groups and a rise in the trade in Wari vessels, motifs, and polychrome styles. Even the tradition of fine Kaolin vessels all but disappear from the record at the end of the Recuay culture (Lau 2011: 257-260). During the final phase, after AD 800, the patios got smaller at Chinchawas implying their function was no longer to host huge feasts for the whole population but for smaller gatherings. In the same era Chullpas reorganized the entire mortuary complex at the site (Lau 2002: 299). Each of these developments indicate the arrival, albeit belated with respect to the rest of the highlands, of the Wari.

Discussions of Recuay decline focused on the regional expansion of glaciers and harsher winters associated with the Little Ice Age in the 7th and 8th centuries, as well as Wari expansion and predation (Lau 2011 262). Chinchawas seems to have persisted so long after the Recuay core because it managed to remain peripheral, but now from the Wari heartland. After AD 1000, there is no trade between Chinchawas and the outside, likely correlating to the decline of the Wari themselves (Lau 2005: 90). This World Systems approach firmly establishes the Recuay no longer as actors in Moche trade networks, but as drivers of their own.

Recent literature has augmented our understanding of the Wari, creating further questions for their interaction with the Recuay. Critically the Wari have changed from a culture which conquered the highlands and reduced the Recuay by storm (Ponte 2000:228) to a more diffusive process (Lau 2012: 24). The Processual view saw the Wari as an imperial force, commanding the highlands and the Recuay directly (Ponte 2000: 244)Though the Wari were present in the highlands and even supplanted some Recuay sites, the Wari seem to have left some local customs intact. Critically the Recuay style of masonry, semi-subterranean galleries, and mausoleums persisted in the highlands through the Wari era (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 288). On the other hand, ceramic style and motif were changed as the Wari grew (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 289). The Wari also established a new core in the Callejón at the Honcopampa site. Some scholars have even gone so far as to call this the Wari capital in the Callejón (Giersz & Makowski 2014: 291).

The Wari are no longer thought of in terms of simple militant expansion and material domination of some areas. The Wari can be thought of as an empire, or as a cultural bundle of religious, military, architecture, motif, and burial complex all slowly supplanting the Recuay and other cultures of the highlands (Lau 2012: 24). There is though a notable increase in cranial trauma from the era when the Wari were a power in the Andes, but less so in the Recuay highlands than other areas. Some Wari sites show a clear evidence of trophy heads, while others show none (Arkush & Tung 2013: 26-7). The nature of the Wari bundle’s expansion into the highlands remains elusive. Cultural traits like Wari finewares and the Chullpa style burial treatment predated any encroachment into the Recuay highlands (Lau 2012: 41).

From around AD 600-800 the Wari bundle or empire proliferated alongside the Recuay in many areas. Chullpas and Wari burial goods are found with contemporary Recuay goods in burial contexts (Lau 2015: 215). It seems the Chullpa fit well with the pre-existing Recuay mortuary customs. Early the Recuay would build a necropolis within or adjacent a hilltop village or city. These tended to be modest chambers modified from naturally occurring caves (Lau 2015:207). In time the Chullpa phenomenon would become the primary burial type even in established Recuay sites. (Asencios 2013: 20). The arrival of the Chullpa merely changed the necropolis into semi-subterranean stone structures. The practices of familial burials and grave goods remained (Lau 2015: 224-225). The Chullpa phenomena was present in other areas of Peru, but the Recuay adopted them early and intently (Asencios 2013:8). With respect to their mortuary custom, the Recuay and Wari relationship was not one of domination, but rather an incorporation of new customs and materials with old customs (Lau 2013: 158).

When defining a culture, “our ideas concerning the degree of civilization in pre-Colombian times… are not yet entirely freed from the prejudiced notion of generally regarding the various types of ancient culture as merely local styles, each being ascribed in some way to a different geographic area and to a different tribe- we are still prone to see them in purely ethnical divisions and individual local types.” (Uhle 1902: 754). Thus, the Recuay and Wari can not be discussed adequately as distinct entities as the cultural bundle spread. If they are to be seen as distinct ethnic groups, why did the Recuay abandon older styles and practices for Wari styles?

Early researchers such as Uhle, Tello, and Bennett used available research to define the cultural sequence. They were somewhat limited by focusing primarily on the findings at large sites such as Chavín. The Cultural Historians worked to discuss cultural sequences, especially through material manifestations such as ceramics. The Processual researchers tended to look for dynamic cultural features such as conflict and trade. They tended to focus on large scale events such as warfare in the Nepeña Valley and the potential Moche colonial venture there. Since the 1980s, researchers have brough even more diverse theories to bear on the cultural sequences. World System’s Core-Periphery model and Renfrew’s Peer-Polity commonwealth model allow different theoretical representations of the highlands in the first millennia AD. Most importantly researchers approached Recuay as people with agency. The Recuay adopted the Wari way of life, not as docile actors but as adaptive strategy in a changing political and social landscape. Additionally more archaeological data was collected, more sites identified, and more research done. As research progresses and more is unearthed, we will know and represent better the Recuay and the world they inhabited during the Early Intermediate Period.

**A Contemporary Cultural Sequence for the Recuay**

The origins of the Recuay culture emerged in the declining Chavín. This represents a time when the highlands had a particularly unified type of material culture. The pull of the great temple produced many offshoots and variations over time. Chavín does not so much collapse or fall as it does break into a mosaic of succeeding cultures (Lau 2013: 33). The mosaic includes the Huarás and Recuay cultures. Following the breaking of Chavín, trade slowed and local styles flourished. These styles formed the basis of what would become cultural traditions, though interaction between these early mosaic members remains unclear (Lau 2013: 36-37).

Initially, the Recuay and coastal Gallinazo culture were trading partners, though at a far smaller scale of exchange than during the Chavín era or later in the Wari. These exchanges were mostly in ceramics and motif (Lau 2011: 246-247). As the Gallinazo developed into the and Moche grew in scope, so did their influence in Recuay culture. By AD 500 the Recuay expanded its relations with the Moche and other coastal groups. There was a rich exchange in ceramics, wool, and kaolin clay. This era also contains a stylistic emulation by each group. Moche would use Kaolin and eventually Recuay ceramic forms. The Recuay appropriated Moche style redwares and moulds. Each culture kept its traditional craft, but each affected the other (Lau 2011: 251).

Though there were likely predatorial relationships between the groups (Lau 2013:78-80) the symbolic representation of combat was predominantly sacrificial or ritualized (Lau 2013: 90-91). Trade and exchange with the Moche expanded after AD 500, and the Recuay highlands acquired Moche style ceramics and in time obsidian through their networks. We now have more evidence for direct engagements between the two cultures.

The Nepeña Valley represents a first attempt to research Recuay in context of the Moche and local tradition, not with respect to great pan-Andean sequences. The Nepeña Valley provides the best interface for the two cultures, territory divided between highland Recuay and valley floor Moche. This valley allows us to see beyond predation and exchange and into cultures engaged with one another. The curious volume of Recuay styled and motif ceramics made in local Kaolin clays at Santa Rita B, and the unusual burial in the Recuay style with Recuay goods at Huambacho hint at the regional entanglements. Together, these show the Recuay and Moche had a relationship more complex by far than simple sequences, conquest, or inter-cultural trade. The Recuay were interacting with several cultures across vast distances of the Andes as evidenced by exchange of materials and artistic representation.

Starting around AD 600, trade between the Recuay and the Moche declined as trade with the Wari increased. This period saw incursions of the Wari material culture into otherwise Recuay peoples living in the Callejón. This early period was primarily one of Recuay incorporating foreign elements into its custom. The initial expansion of the Chullpa fit well into the pre-existing Recuay mortuary complex. The Wari were another powerful group the Recuay traded with and brought into the regional context. Initially both cultures benefited as evidenced by the increase in prestige goods such as wool and Obsidian.

Though the Recuay material culture was supplanted by the Wari, the exact relationship remains unclear. Models of Wari domination and conquest by military clash with models of a largely diffusive model of cultural change throughout the highlands. At some point the Wari culture commanded the highlands and the last vestiges of Recuay culture ended. At the present more research is needed to fill in the gaps of Wari statecraft’s origin and proliferation.

This literature review tracked the changing definitions of the Recuay as a ceramic complex, a cultural expression, and as a fully formed archaeological culture. The twentieth century expanded the knowledge on the Andean sequences greatly. Emerging cultural manifestations grew in social complexity and scope. Intermediary ceramic sequences became fully constructed archaeological cultures, and more research flushes out dynamic processes which shaped life for the people living them. Interaction, trade, and conflict together formed and shaped our discussions of the Recuay, initially as one end of a coastal trade network and in time as actors in an entangled in massive interaction networks.

I have attempted to show the creation of the Recuay as an archaeological culture and the limitations each discussion placed on them. The Recuay Culture continues to be constructed in different ways. As more research and excavation are carried out and new theoretical perspectives brought to bear, discussions should change to match. Moving forward the critical piece will be study of the genesis of the Recuay following the Chavín, and their end as the Recuay became indistinct from the Wari. Ironically, this is not far from where Max Uhle left us more than a century ago: much is still to be done (Uhle 1902: 759). As we expand our knowledge, more questions emerge on the nature of their engagements and on their worlds.

**Figure 1: Timeline of Relevant Regions**

**Chart, treemap chart

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Map

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**Should have a basic map early on with political divisions and the basic localities, political?**