

Distinguishing past globalizations

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Introduction

Today's globalization is a 'very modern phenomenon' (O'Rourke and Williamson 2002: 47), developed over the past 500 years via an unparalleled surge in the distance, scale, and speed of interregional interactions. Yet people have always interacted across distances, and these interactions, with many peaks and valleys, have increased in intensity over the course of human history (Wenke and Olszewski 2006). With this in mind, there has been increasing interest over the last decade in relating our era of contemporary globalization to earlier periods of intense long-distance interaction and culture change (e.g. Steger 2003; LaBianca and Arnold Scham 2006; Morley 2007; Hodos 2010; Stearns 2010; De Angelis 2013). The scholars doing this research, many of whom are contributors to this volume, join me in recognizing that there are many features that make our current era unique, but nonetheless argue against the idea of modernity as a totalizing rupture with the past (Goody 2006). Globalization, we suggest, can be traced much further back in time.

Yet is globalization – a notoriously slippery word to define (Hochschild 2006: 40) – best seen as an unending process or one that has occurred multiple times in the past (Figure 1.2.1)? Many argue that there has been only one single trend towards increasing globalization in human history. The world, following this perspective, has been slowly globalizing in fits and starts over thousands of years (e.g. Frank 1993; Clark 1997; Nederveen Pieterse 2004; Chanda 2007; McNeil 2008). A second, perhaps smaller, group argues that globalization has occurred repeatedly in the past. These scholars – often drawing inspiration from world systems research (e.g. Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991, 1997; Kardulias 1999; Hall *et al.* 2011) – suggest a more cyclical process in history within which bursts of interregional interaction were followed by balkanization. My work, while falling within this second group (Jennings 2010, 2011, 2014), stresses that not all of these bursts of interaction should be considered as earlier globalizations.

To make a compelling argument for multiple globalizations, one must confront the difficult, and thus far largely neglected, problem of clearly distinguishing what was and what was *not* a period of prior globalization. In the brief space allotted, I would like to discuss the ways that archaeologists might identify earlier globalizations, and then provide two case studies of broad stylistic horizons – Chavín in the Andes and Hopewell in the North American mid-continent – that

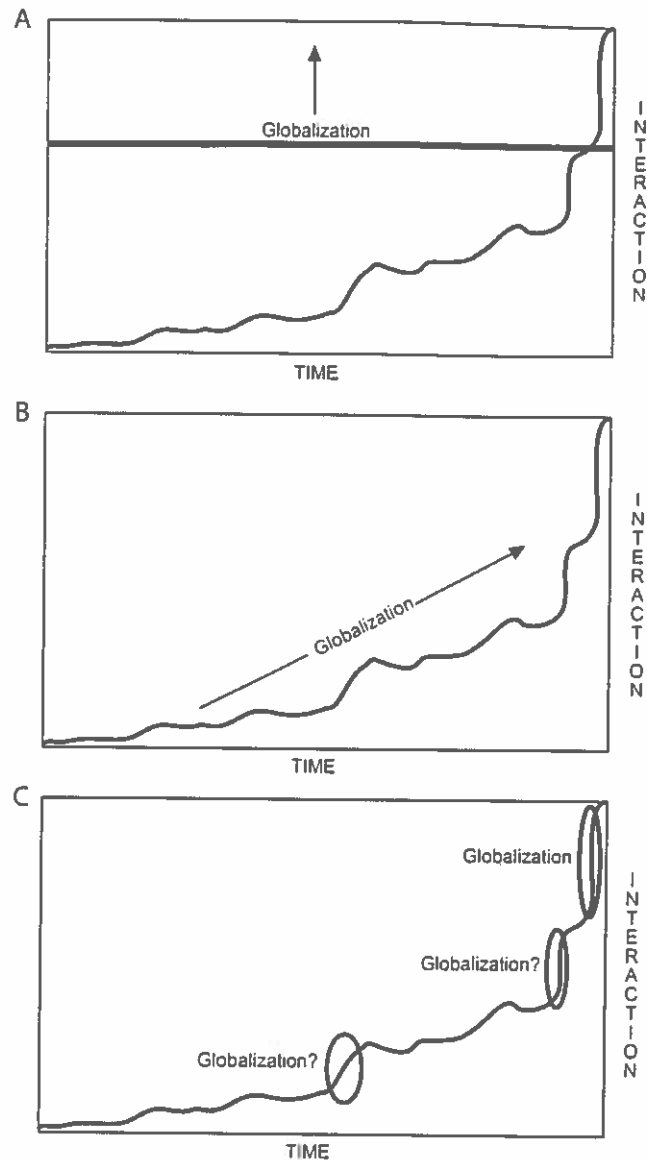


Figure 1.2.1 Different conceptions of globalization in world history as (a) uniquely modern phenomenon, (b) long-term historical trend, and (c) repeated phenomenon

were precipitated by the flow of ideas, goods, and people across wide regions. The Chavín and Hopewell horizons were both transformative, but I will argue that only the Chavín horizon meets widely held criteria for a period of globalization.

Following John Tomlinson (1999: 2), I define globalization here as complex connectivity, a condition created by a dense network of intense interactions and interdependencies between disparate people brought together through the long-distance flow of goods, ideas, and individuals. Tomlinson, echoing other scholars, enumerates a number of cultural changes associated with

complex connectivity, and I argue that we can use the existence of these same changes during earlier periods of heightened long-distance interaction to determine if an earlier era achieved complex connectivity, and thus globalization (see Jennings 2011).

The cultural consequences of globalization

Identifying earlier periods of globalization, especially when dealing with regions before writing and recording systems were introduced, is problematic since strict quantitative approaches often flounder on the shoals of scattershot coverage and differential archaeological preservation. Tracking long-distance trade, for example, is a daunting task when much of this trade was in perishable materials, and many of the goods moved within informal channels (e.g. Hanks and Linduff 2009; Smith 2010). Ancient DNA, isotope analyses, and other new techniques can be used to reconstruct connections, but they still provide only a shadowy glimpse into the pace and volume of earlier human – as well as plant and animal – migrations (Lalueza-Fox *et al.* 2004; Knudson 2008; Schlumbaum *et al.* 2008). We can thus readily identify *if* people, flora, fauna, and objects were moving across the landscape in the past, yet it is virtually impossible to come up with the kinds of more precise data used to create commodity price indices, terms of trade, and the variety of other measures that economists and other scholars use to track patterns in globalization today (e.g. Chase-Dunn *et al.* 2000; Kurlde 2004; O'Rourke and Williamson 2002).

I argue that a more fruitful means of identifying earlier eras of globalization is by demonstrating a correlation between the increased flow of products and people *and* evidence for the array of cultural changes that are commonly associated with globalization. These culture changes, although perhaps more subjectively determined, are usually archaeologically visible and in aggregate provide a clearer sense than numbers of how surging interactions can impact the daily lives of far-flung groups. Drawing on the globalization of culture approach (Sklaire 2006), one can identify eight closely related trends that occur in contemporary globalization. These overlapping trends, spurred by complex connectivity, create a global culture – all should be present for a period to be considered an era of globalization.

The first of the trends associated with globalization is *time-space compression*, an acceleration of long-distance economic, political, and social processes that shrinks one's experience of space and time (Harvey 1989). The world therefore feels smaller with time-space compression, and complex connectivity between groups means that changes in one place can have swift ramifications across a broad region. The internet, of course, springs to mind when we think of today's smaller world, as does the hardships felt as a result of the latest financial meltdown. Yet, the introduction of a new pack animal or the extension of a recording system has also led to significant time-space compression in earlier periods (e.g. Algaze 2008; Possehl 2007).

The second trend seen in globalization is *detrterritorialization*, the sense that a place seems only tenuously connected to its local, geographically-fixed, context (Appadurai 1990; Giddens 1990). Linked to the idea of time-space compression, detrterritorialization occurs as a result of foreign influences on a plethora of local practices. Cities like Mumbai or São Paulo therefore become more cosmopolitan and one result is that some residents can have more in common with people living thousands of kilometres away than they do with both their immediate ancestors and those living just outside of the city. Ancient detrterritorialization is perhaps most easily seen in the high percentage and wide range of imported styles found in the material assemblages of sites during certain periods in the Mediterranean (see Parts VII and IX, this volume).

The third trend, *standardization*, occurs as people navigate ways to bridge geographic and cultural boundaries. A common way of envisioning the world is needed in order to facilitate long-distance interactions and to make the actions of all parties in a transaction comprehensible

(Anderson 1991; Wilk 1995). Universal standards of measurements, like Greenwich Mean Time or the metric system, are the most obvious examples of standardization in modern globalization, but there are also myriad ways in which people begin to share a broad set of ideas about how the world works through television, movies, and other media. Standardization can be seen in the ancient world through the spread of pidgin languages and the adoption of ideologically charged motifs into local assemblages (e.g. Pauketat 2004; Heggarty 2008).

Unevenness is the fourth trend in globalization. Interregional interaction networks are not geographically ubiquitous, and there can be considerable power differentials between regions (Wallerstein 1979; Wolf 1982; Harvey 1989). Today's rising powers like China manage to dominate many exchange relationships, while other places like Haiti remain isolated. Bollywood enjoys global influence; the Iranian film industry does not. Unevenness also occurs in the ancient world, where cities like Teotihuacan enjoyed much wider influence than other sites of its era and there was considerable patchiness in the spread of stylistic horizons (Cowgill 1997; Rothman 2001a).

Homogenization, the fifth trend, is perhaps the most discussed hallmark of global culture (Thompson 1995; Tomlinson 1999). As flows of ideas, objects, and people increase, a degree of cultural homogenization occurs as individuals come to rely on a similar suite of practices and products. Homogenization can be seen in the spread of brands like McDonalds, as well as in global changes in attitudes towards violence, beauty, and sickness. Homogenization breaks down cultural barriers but it is important to underline that such flows between cultures always involve, 'interpretation, translation, mutation, adaptation, and "indigenization" as the receiving culture brings its own cultural resources to bear, in dialectical fashion, upon "cultural imports"' (Tomlinson 1999: 84). Homogenization can be seen in the ancient world when previously distinct groups begin to build their homes or distribute food in the same manner (e.g. Alt 2001; Nissen 1988).

The sixth trend in globalization, *cultural heterogeneity*, occurs because cultural variation actually increases during these periods, despite some homogenization. Contemporary globalization is not the same as Westernization, but rather is a blend of foreign elements from throughout the network that are then indigenized into local settings (Friedman 1999; Gupta and Ferguson 2002). The particular blending of outside influences is therefore unique from one place to the next and constantly shifting as new ideas and products are introduced while others lose favour. Yoga gets reinterpreted in California studios, and hamburgers do not look quite the same in Japan. Cultural heterogeneity can be perhaps best seen in the ancient world in the differences in ceramic assemblages across stylistic horizons. One group may mix motifs from two foreign styles on local cups, while another retains traditional forms while changing the colours of slips (e.g. Clark and Pye 2006; Yépez Álvarez and Jennings 2012).

Re-embedding of local culture, the seventh trend seen in globalization, is caused by those who react to global flows of ideas, objects, and people by attempting to reassert local traditions. These traditions, sometimes invented if not recast, are often presented as a counterweight to ground communities that are in the throes of rapid culture change (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Green 2002). The Académie française strives to maintain the purity of the French language in the face of neologisms, and there has been a surge in youth engagement programmes among Canadian First Peoples as elders seek to pass on traditional knowledge to the next generation. The re-embedding of local culture is the most tricky of these trends to document archaeologically, since it can often be difficult to tell if outside influences were rare or absent in a location because they were rejected by a group or because these influences were minimal. Yet, re-embedding in the past was likely occurring when we can see increasing rates of interaction paired with reassertions of previous funerary traditions, settlement organization, and other practices (e.g. Nassaney 2001; Rothman 2001b; Bélisle and Covery 2010).

The final trend is *vulnerability*. Complex connectivity leads to interdependence because of the numerous, deeply embedded connections between various groups. Events – the Russian annexation of Crimea or flooding in the Philippines – have widespread reverberations across the network, and heighten awareness of globalization's risks (Beck 1992; Eriksen 2007). Despite issues of chronological control, vulnerability can be best demonstrated in the past through the collapse of interaction networks in the ancient world. When important centres like Rome or Knossos falter, a more globalized exchange system will tend to break apart into smaller, more manageable, ones (Knappett *et al.* 2011; Sommer 2013).

Non-local connections are commonplace throughout history, and these connections are often associated with some of the same kinds of cultural changes that are seen with contemporary globalization because these flows also bridge geographic, historical, and societal divides (e.g. Abu-Lughod 1989; Gordon 1992; Wolf 1982; Gupta and Ferguson 2002). Yet I argue that not all periods of surging long-distance interaction should be seen as globalization eras – in many cases the particular nodes and links in the interregional exchange network did not come together to achieve complex connectivity – since the eight trends seen in modern globalization cannot be documented in some cases. For instance, the Chavín horizon is an example of an era of globalization; the Hopewell horizon is not.

Chavín and the Early Horizon

Beginning in the 1920s, Julio C. Tello advanced an argument for an Andean mother culture that diffused out of the site of Chavín de Huántar to encompass a region of the Andes stretching from Ecuador to Argentina (1948). Tello's argument regarding the timing, extent, and nature of Chavín's influence proved incorrect, but scholars nonetheless now recognize that Chavín de Huántar was an important ritual and urban centre in the interregional interaction network that created the Early Horizon Period (800–500 bc) (Burger 1992, 2008; Rick 2008; Rick *et al.* 2010) (Figure 1.2.2). Long-distance exchange surged during this period, and there was a wide sharing of technology, foodstuffs, and iconography. All eight of our cultural trends also occurred during the Early Horizon – Chavín is therefore an example of ancient globalization.

Chavín de Huántar, located in the sierra of northern Peru, was home at the end of the first millennium BCE to a few hundred people clustered around a small temple complex (Burger 1992; Kembel 2008). The site would grow tenfold between 800 and 500 BCE, and the temple radically expanded during this time to include sunken patios, platforms, and underground galleries (Rick 2008). The meteoric growth of Chavín can be correlated with the expansion of temple centres in both the sierra and on the coast of Peru, where residents seemed to have shared an underlying cosmology (Figure 1.2.3). Chavín de Huántar was a particularly cosmopolitan place during this period of intensifying interaction, attracting visitors from hundreds of kilometres away to participate in feasts, watch processions, and leave offerings (Druc 2004; Druc *et al.* 2001; Rick 2008).

The leaders of Chavín de Huántar, like those in other Early Horizon centres, sought to institutionalize the period's growing differences in wealth, privilege, and power (Burger 1992; Kembel and Rick 2004; Rick 2005). They did so by arguing that they were different – somehow closer to the gods – through performances, iconography, and, most importantly for our purposes, long-distance connections. Chavín's leaders helped to radically expand the use of llamas for long-distance exchange (Burger 1992); and new trade connections resulted in an unprecedented increase in the flow of obsidian, cinnabar, marine shells, and other goods to Chavín, as well as to other centres (Contreras 2011). Chavín's previous connections had been with

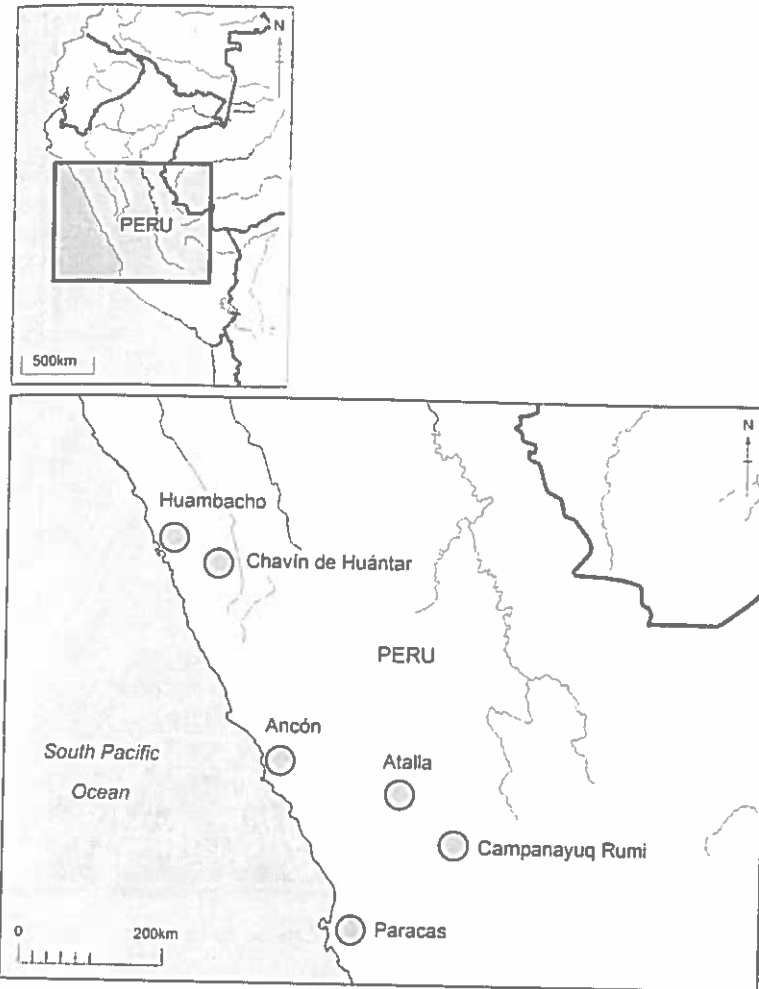


Figure 1.2.2 Chavín-related sites mentioned in the text — the inset map shows where the area is located within Peru

other northern highland groups and, to a much lesser extent, those living on the northern coast (Contreras 2010). These links intensified after 800 BCE, and the spread of Chavín influence pushed considerably southward.

The site of Campanayuc Rumi, for example, was located in the sierra of southern Peru near the three major obsidian sources that were used at Chavín de Huántar. The site's architecture, ritual practices, and material assemblages changed radically after 800 BCE, reflecting a deep emulation of Chavín practices (Matsumoto 2012; Matsumoto and Caverio 2010). Another southern centre near a cinnabar source, Atalla, boasts ceramics almost stylistically identical to those found at Chavín during the Early Horizon (Burger and Matos Mendieta 2002). In the Paracas Peninsula on the south coast — an area long coveted for its supply of bird guano — there was a radical shift towards Chavín-inspired iconography and the introduction of new weaving

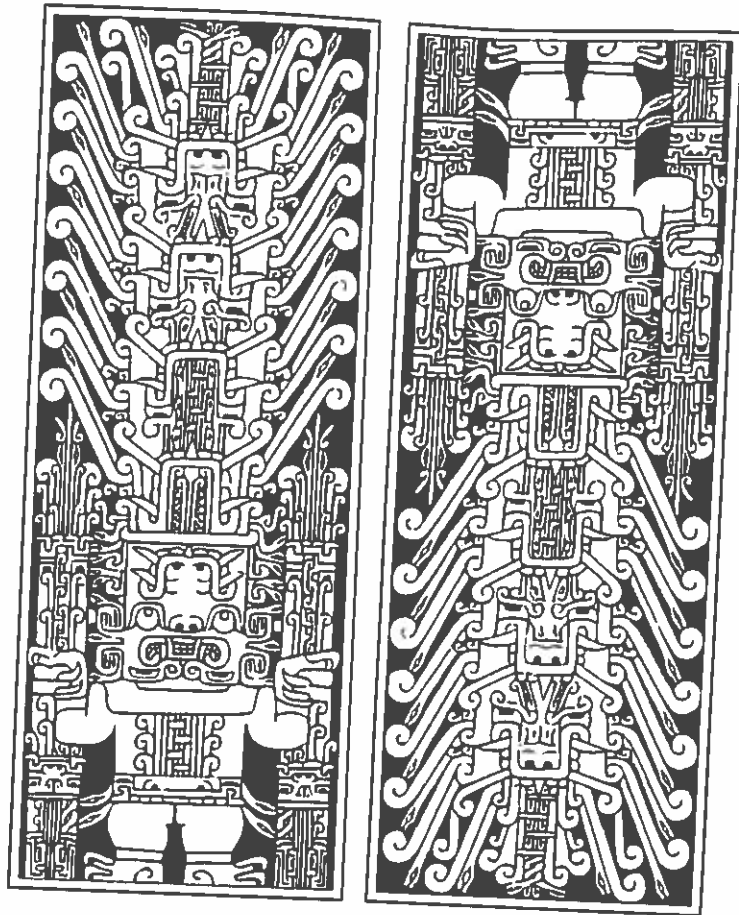


Figure 1.2.3 Illustration of the Raimondi Stone from Chavín de Huantár — the stone, depicting Chavín's supreme deity, displays some the artistic conventions used during the Early Horizon. One convention is that the art is organized so that certain attributes are made more legible by inverting the stone as is done here (source: Toribio Polo 1900: 83)

technologies (García 2010; Splitstoser *et al.* 2010). Colonization from Chavín de Huántar seems unlikely in these or in other known cases, but the increased interaction during the Early Horizon was leading to profound culture change in places that were sometimes more than a thousand kilometres apart.

Chavín iconography, in particular, was being championed by rising elites (Burger 1993). They had the most to benefit from the ideology's core message of social distinction, and as time went on they developed a self-reinforcing elite culture that criss-crossed a large swathe of Peru. Yet, importantly, there were many groups who 'appear to have consciously avoided being drawn into the sphere of interaction associated with Chavín' (Burger 2008: 699). Life in the Nepeña Valley of the north coast, for example, changed dramatically in the Early Horizon – maize was introduced, there were 'significant shifts in feasting equipment,' and social distinctions widened (Chicoine 2011: 436). These changes were driven at least in part through the period's increasing interregional interactions, but many of those living at Huambacho and other ritually

important centres in Nepeña chose to produce a material culture that was often conspicuously different from that being developed at Chavín de Huántar (Chicoine 2006, 2011).

Chronological uncertainties at Chavín de Huántar, as well as at other centres, make it difficult to pin down the exact scale of the site's impact on Early Horizon interactions (Burger 2008; Kembel 2008; Rick 2008; Rick *et al.* 2010). Yet at the very least, Chavín was a *primus inter pares* among centres engaged in a wide ranging exchange of ideas, products, and individuals (Kembel and Rick 2004). The eight cultural trends that occur during periods of globalization can be found during the Early Horizon. Time-space compression, for example, can be seen in the increased emphasis on long-range llama caravanning. Geographic boundaries were eroded by these caravans – this is most easily seen in the spike in both the distance and volume of the obsidian trade (Burger and Glascock 2009) – and deterritorialization occurred in some places as people adopted a Chavín-inspired way of life that departed significantly from earlier practices.

The other globalization trends that were identified earlier in this chapter also appear to have been present in Early Horizon Peru. We see homogenization in terms of the spread of Chavín motifs and underlying cosmology, but there is also considerable cultural heterogeneity in how these motifs were incorporated into the ceramics and friezes of different sites. Standardization is evidenced by the 'specific religious experiences generated by similar ceremonies' at widely separated locales (Matsumoto 2012: 757); unevenness can be seen in those places in between where the lives of hunter-gatherers and small-scale horticulturalists changed little, even as long-distance caravans moved through their territory. Re-embedding of local cultures is manifest in Nepeña and other well-connected valleys like Cajamarca, where people chose to maintain local traditions seemingly to voice their opposition to introduced Chavín ideas. Vulnerability can be seen in the end of the Early Horizon, as Chavín de Huántar and other centres went into a precipitous decline at around the same time when violence increased, long-distance trade plummeted, and the Chavín horizon was replaced by 'a plethora of distinctive local styles' (Burger 1992: 228).

The Hopewell Interaction Sphere

In 1964, Joseph Caldwell and Stuart Struever coined the term 'Hopewell Interaction Sphere' in independent publications to draw attention to the circulation of ideas, raw materials, and, to a much lesser extent, artefacts that linked together groups living in a wide region of eastern North America during the Middle Woodland Period (150 BCE–450 CE). These long-distance links, when combined with limited migrations (Bolnick and Smith 2007), are still widely seen as constitutive – creating an identifiable, if very loosely defined, Hopewell tradition that was reaffirmed through rituals and other activities that took place in and around burial mounds and geometric earthworks (Carr and Case 2006; Charles and Buikstra 2006; Abrams 2009). The specific mechanisms that connected people with each other, unclear during Struever's day, are only now coming into sharper focus (Carr 2006a), allowing us for the first time to evaluate if Hopewell can be classified as an era of globalization.

Families during the Middle Woodland Period lived in many small, dispersed farmsteads that depended on hunting, gathering, and horticulture for subsistence (Pacheco and Dancy 2006; Yerkes 2006; Pacheco 2010). They periodically came together into larger groups at ritually charged locations where individuals buried their dead, made offerings, and built monumental earthworks (Figure 1.2.4). Some of these locations were of only local importance, but other sites seem to have repeatedly drawn people together from across broader regions (Bernardini 2004; Carr 2006b). The largest of these gatherings may have involved world renewal rituals that assembled community leaders from hundreds of kilometres away (Carr *et al.* 2006; Byers 2011).

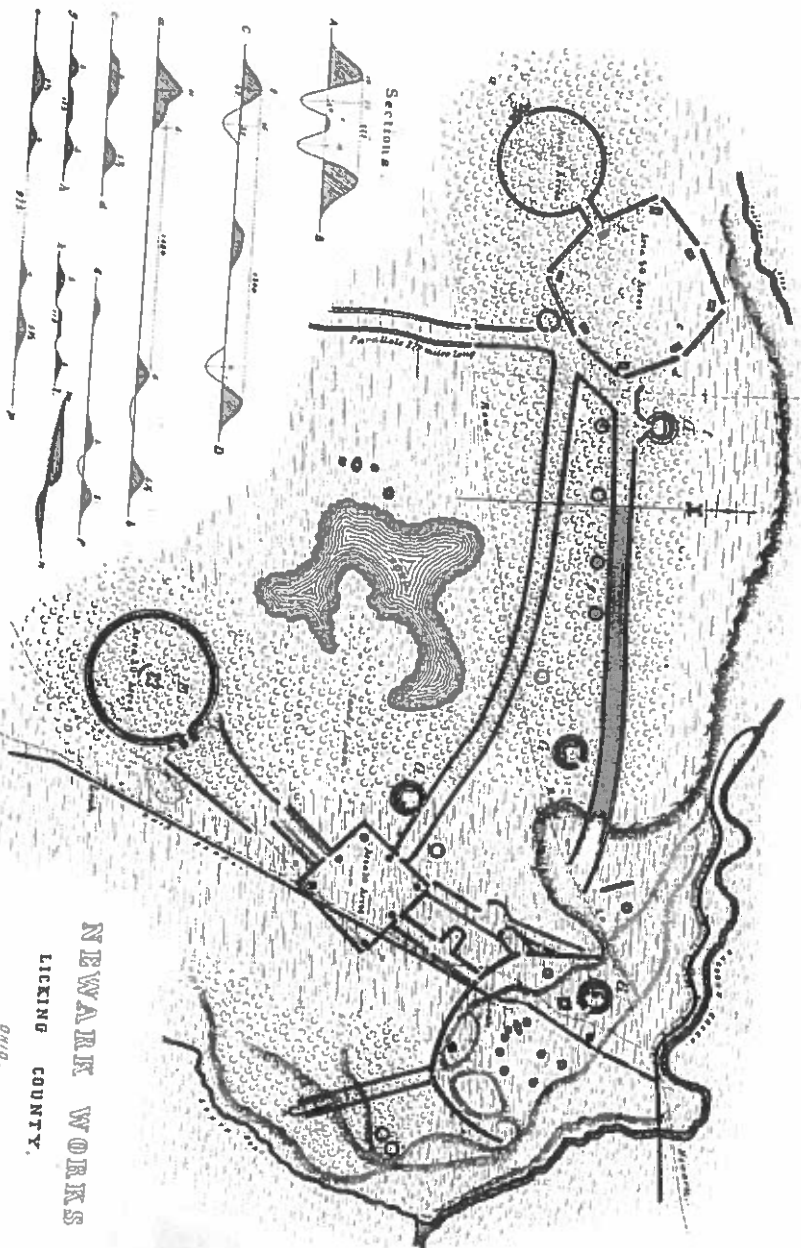


Figure 1.2.4 The mounds and causeways of the Newark Earthworks in Ohio, one of the more famous examples of Hopewell monumentalism (source: Squier and Davis 1848, plate XXV)

The people that came to these ritual centres stayed for a few days, building temporary housing, and, based on the debris left behind in these contexts, spending much of their time feasting and manufacturing offerings from exotic materials (Burks and Pederson 2006; Abrahms 2009). The burial mounds were revisited to commemorate the dead, but many of the earthworks were one-offs, where 'the act of creating something was the critical event' (Bernardini 2004: 350–51).

Hopewell mounds sometimes contained a bewildering range of material that seems to have been used to signal local, regional, and interregional connections (Seeman 1979, 1995). Some of the far away items like Yellowstone obsidian may have been obtained in a harrowing, once-in-a-lifetime journey across the continent, while other objects like bear's teeth and pearls may have suggested familiarity with the dangerous or unknown (DeBoer 2004). The mounds also often contained a mixture of nominally pan-Hopewell artefacts – copper celts, earpools, figurines, panpipes, and platform pipes – that shared some features, but stylistic and compositional analysis suggest the existence of an array of related regional traditions with little long-distance exchange of these objects and often direct procurement of raw materials by each group (Bernardini and Carr 2006; Kellar and Carr 2006; Ruby and Shriner 2006; Ruhl 2006; Turff and Carr 2006).

These data suggest that the people that came into a ceremonial site usually assembled their own raw materials and then used them to create a collection of Hopewell material that was broadly similar across the mid-continent but varied significantly from one place to the next in style and function. Hopewell was thus a collection of loosely linked societies that shared 'some very basic, shared philosophical-religious concepts' (Carr 2006b: 619). Most of these concepts predate the Middle Woodland Period, with the Hopewell styles being a widely accepted means through which these concepts could be materialized. The upwelling of long-distance interaction at this time can be linked to the increase in the scale of mortuary mounds and earthworks that drew together much larger groups of people when compared to the previous Early Woodland Period.

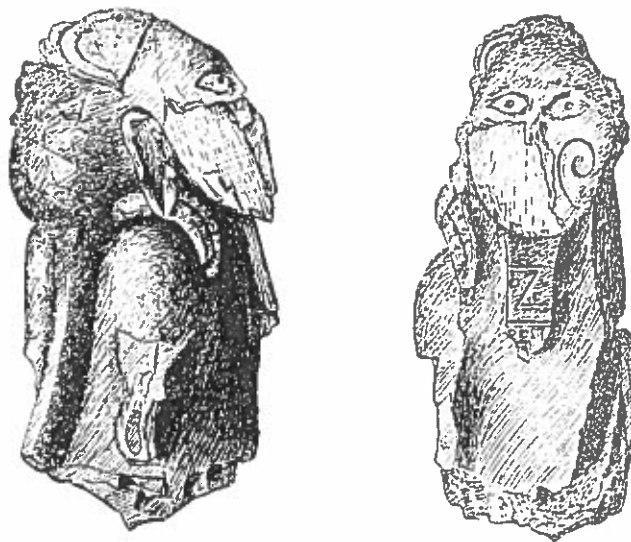


Figure 1.2.5 Human effigy excavated from one of the altar deposits in Mound 25 of the Hopewell site. The figure may represent a shamanic leader (source: Moorehead 1922: 169)

The leaders that organized activities at ritual centres did so in different ways (Coon 2009), though building from a shared shamanic world-view that used altered states of consciousness to visit distant and supernatural realms (Brown 2006; Romain 2009). Many of the items found in the richest Hopewell burials may have belonged to elaborate costumes bedecked with symbols of the shaman's power (Figure 1.2.5). The exotica spoke of distant lands, the jingle and sparkle of metal and beads simulated flight, and the imagery emphasized the importance of human/animal transformations and the structure of the cosmos (DeBoer 2004).

Shamans made 'the extraordinary palpable' for the rest of society (DeBoer 2004: 101), and these individuals and their retinue may have occasionally travelled to both distant resource areas and other ritual centres in the pursuit of sacred knowledge (Carr 2006b). Particular centres likely grew in prestige based on the perceived powers of their shamanic leaders, and then these sites would decline in importance soon after their deaths. Two particularly influential leaders were buried at the eponymously named site of Hopewell in Ohio with 62 small copper celts that were likely brought by dozens of leaders from other ritual centres who travelled to the site to say goodbye (Bernardini and Carr 2006: 641–42). Trips like these would have been instrumental in diffusing the corpus of Hopewell imagery and practices. Shamans returned with new knowledge, and then they re-imagined this knowledge to meet local contexts.

The Hopewell phenomena connected groups together from across a wide region of North America. Some goods travelled more than 15,000 kilometres across geographic and linguistic barriers; people walked and rode canoes for days to build earthworks, dance, and feast with strangers (Bernardini 2004). With these interactions, we see the pale echoes of globalization in the tension between stylistic homogeneity and heterogeneity and the attempts to re-embed local traditions. Yet, there was no creation of a global culture. Instead, Hopewell might best be considered as composed of a series of discrete, often competing, interaction spheres that were largely local in their focus (Pacheco and Dancy 2006). The shamanic leaders at the heart of these spheres were often in contact with each other, but they tended to act independently. Each group sought their own exotica, and each took pains to make their particular variety of Hopewell palatable to constituents that were largely divorced from the mid-continent's more distant linkages.

There are few indications in Hopewell of the byproducts of complex connectivity. Little standardization can be seen; there is limited homogeneity, and even less deterritorialization, vulnerability, and time-space compression. Complex connectivity failed to occur largely because a fundamental aspect of Hopewell cosmology was about engaging with the faraway and the unknown. Leaders therefore often actively avoided, or even resisted, the globalizing tendencies of long-distance interaction. The journey to an obsidian source in the Rocky Mountains, for example, was just as important as the material itself, and therefore there was little incentive for developing down-the-line exchange mechanisms – the power of obsidian was based in large part on its scarcity. The arrival of foreigners added cachet to a funeral *because* they looked and acted so foreign. Since the barriers to communication between groups were integral to shamanic positions, there was an ongoing desire to accentuate differences even as the more influential centres were increasingly bridging these divides on a more regional scale (e.g. Seaman 1995; Fie 2006). The end of Hopewell, at least in part, can probably be linked to the limited homogeneity and standardization that occurred despite these barriers. Shamanic power declined as the wider world became more familiar.

Long-distance interaction and globalization

People, ideas, and products have flowed across vast areas throughout much of human history (McNeil 2008). These flows have all been globalizing in that they seem to lead inevitably

towards a similar suite of cultural changes as people negotiated their relationships with the outside world. Faint reminders of our contemporary interconnected world can thus be seen in the similarities of Venus figurines across Paleolithic Europe or in the first South Asian bead found in the settlements of West Africa. Yet treating the past as just an undifferentiated prologue to contemporary globalization risks obscuring the deeper rhythms of history (Marcus 1998). The level of long-distance interaction across regions has risen and fallen over the centuries (see Figure 1.2.1). Of the more intense periods of interaction, some – but significantly, far from all – meet the same cultural criteria used by scholars to distinguish our contemporary era of globalization (Sklair 2006; Ericksen 2007). I argue that only those periods that meet these criteria should be considered earlier globalizations (Jennings 2010, 2011).

As the budding sub-field of archaeological network analysis is demonstrating (Knappett 2013, this volume), all interaction networks were not the same. Differences in number, depth, and kind within the linkages connecting people mattered, and only in some cases were long-distance relationships profound enough to create the complex connectivity that leads to the formation of a global culture. Some of the specific linkages within the Hopewell and Chavín spheres can be accurately traced through material and stylistic analyses, but, at least for now, the existence of complex connectivity – and hence globalization – can be gauged most effectively through monitoring the ways in which people changed their behaviours during these periods as they became increasingly entangled with the Other (i.e. Hodder 2012; Dietler 2010).

The Hopewell and Chavín examples, like many of the other, more fully rendered case studies discussed in this volume, demonstrate the dual homogenizing/heterogenizing impulse common to interactions that transgress cultural and geographic boundaries. Yet in the case of Hopewell, the people that enjoyed the most cross-cultural linkages – the shamanic leaders of the various mounds – were dedicated to limiting these linkages in order to better maintain the mystique of their positions (Carr 2006b). Chavín de Huántar and other Early Horizon temple centres were in some ways similar to Hopewell complexes in that they were pilgrimage sites whose leaders suggested privileged access to the sacred and exotic. Yet, Chavín centres were more outward facing – exotica found its way into more homes, as did new ways of making textiles, forging metals, and eating meals (Burger 1992). The leaders of Chavín de Huántar either allowed, or perhaps more accurately were unable to curb, accelerating entanglements with a far-flung network of ideas, objects, and people. Hopewell leaders were able to effectively short-circuit the movement towards globalization by restricting access to exotic goods and knowledge. This was not the case with Chavín, and the incorporation of a wide group of people in Early Horizon interaction networks made globalization possible.

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