

ETHNOGENESIS IN HUAMACHUCO

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Introduction

At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Inca Empire incorporated numerous ethnic groups speaking a variety of languages and characterized by distinctive dress. Many commentators have noted that, while the Inca encouraged the use of Quechua as a common language and spread the cult of the Sun as a common religion, they allowed ethnic groups to continue to worship local deities, speak the local languages, and maintain many traditional aspects of land tenure and political organization. Indeed, Spanish chroniclers suggest that the Inca went beyond passive acceptance of diversity to *require* those performing labor service for the state or those moved permanently to distant settlements by the state to maintain the traditional dress of their ethnic group.

In this paper, I will examine the development of ethnic identity in a single case, that of Huamachuco in the north highlands of Peru. I particularly wish to trace the changes in ethnic consciousness brought about by the Inca administration. Before the Incas, we have only archaeological information upon which to base our interpretations. Archaeological data can document ethnic divisions where they are sharply drawn, for example between the Recuay and Moche cultures in the Nepeña Valley during the Early Intermediate Period (Proulx 1983). With the Inca, however, we can begin to apply mythical and political information derived from historic sources.

In the case of Huamachuco, the archaeological distributions of cultural attributes associated with ethnic identity in the Andes suggest interactions with Cajamarca to the north and Conchucos to the south that resulted in a continuum of cultural variability. Archaeological, linguistic, and mythical evidence does not suggest sharp ethnic boundaries. There is,

however, more evidence of sharing between the Conchucos and Huamachuco areas than between the Cajamarca and Huamachuco areas. The Inca administration imposed on this dynamic situation a much more structured territorial, social, and political identity.

Huamachuco is located in the northern sierra of Peru, at the extreme southern end of the Condebamba Basin (Figures 1 and 2). The Condebamba River flows north to join with the Cajamarca River. The conjoined rivers form the Crisnejas River, which flows eastward to the Marañon River. Huamachuco is separated from Conchucos and the headwaters of several rivers that flow down to the Pacific (the Chicama, Moche, Virú, Chao, and Tablachaca Rivers) by high altitude grasslands and passes more than 4000 m in elevation.

Ethnicity in the Andes

There are three prominent perspectives on ethnicity in the Andean literature: that, having developed in the remote past, ethnic groups are essentially autochthonous; that ethnicity is causally related to ecology; and that ethnic identity can only be understood in the context of state formation and collapse. These are not inherently contradictory positions and it is quite possible to accept all three premises simultaneously.

The view that ethnic groups are autochthonous fits well with European conceptions of folk cultures and anthropological constructs like tribes, linguistic families, and archaeological traditions. Most scholars working in the Andes have, at least at times, implicitly assumed the long-term existence of ethnic groups in the Andes. Spanish sources like Polo (1940 [1561]:131), Sarmiento (1907 [1572]), Garcilaso (1966 [1609]), and Guaman Poma (1980 [1615]) describe Inca expansion as a process of conquering pre-existing ethnic

groups, and ethnohistorians (Murra 1982:238; Pease 1982; Rowe 1946; 1982; Rostworowski 1990) have tended to accept the general veracity of those sources.

John Rowe (1946:185, 256; 1982:110) points out that the Inca both combined small groups to form administrative units and broke up large states like Chimor, but, in general, they respected existing ethnic divisions. María Rostworowski (1990) thinks that the ethnic group constituted the highest level of integration during the Late Intermediate Period, but that this unit varied greatly in size. Franklin Pease (1982) cautions us not to consider ethnic groups as static entities and focuses our attention on the system of relationships that operated at different levels of integration; his analysis points out the vagaries of ethnic boundaries. John Murra (1982:238), on the other hand, does see the ethnic group as a perduring social construct that became the basic building block of the Inca administration. He (1980:85-86; 1975: chapters 1 and 3) goes somewhat further to imply that much of Inca organization was ethnic organization writ large (state *mitmaq* policy being modelled on ethnic vertical economies and state redistribution on ethnic patterns of reciprocity).

While the ethnohistorians often identify rather small *señoríos* as ethnic groups, archaeologists, myself included, have sometimes focused on larger units and treated Rowe's (1946) list of Inca provinces somewhat uncritically as a list of ethnic groups present during the Late Intermediate Period. Archaeologists have considered the general continuities within regions over large time periods as evidence for long term cultural stability and limited population movement; "archaeological traditions" (Willey 1945; Willey and Phillips 1958: 34-39), identified by the persistence of particular material attributes, are good examples (stirrup spouts on the north coast, double spout and bridge vessels on the south coast, keros in the south highlands, continuities between Moche and Chimú or Nasca and Ica, etc.). When we see the great art styles of the Early Intermediate Period (Moche, Cajamarca, Recuay, and Nasca), together with Tiahua-

naco, then we may talk of political unity but we also think of *cultural* unity.

In his classic study, Fredrik Barth (1969: 19-20) pointed out that ethnic groups sharing the same general territory will often occupy different ecological niches. The ecologically determined nature of ethnicity is seen in the Andean area in terms such as *yungas*, *chaupiyungas*, and *quechua*, which apply to both people and to ecological zones. While these terms do not correspond to named ethnic groups, they were used in a general way to distinguish broad ethnic differences (Rostworowski 1990:13). Moreover, there are general cultural differences between at least the *yungas* and *quechuas* that can be defined on the basis of both historic and archaeological information (Murra 1980; 1975; Rostworowski 1975; 1989b; cf. Rowe 1948). In a somewhat more specific way, archaeologists and ethnographers recognize a relationship between geographical regions (the altiplano, for example, (Bolton 1979)) and a degree of shared culture.

In their own "histories", highland peoples sometimes described themselves as taking over the *quechua* ecological zone from previous inhabitants, who were killed or chased down into the lower-elevation *chaupiyungas* (J. Topic 1992; Taylor 1987). Alternatively, *quechua* dwellers were occasionally considered the original inhabitants (*huari*) who were intruded upon by high altitude herders (*llacuz*) (Duviols 1973). It is important to note that these mythological histories emphasize descent from a founding ancestor as the legitimation of a people's right to control an ecological zone. In the emic perspective, then, *ayllu* affiliation and ecological location jointly determine a significant degree of ethnic identity.

A rather different view is taken by some theorists who see ethnogenesis (*i.e.*, the creation of an ethnic cultural identity) as a historical process related to the formation of states and colonial empires (Vail 1989; Gailey and Patterson 1987). Gailey (1987) notes ways in which ethnic identity can be forged out of resistance to state formation and state sponsored

ideologies; in this view, ethnic identity represents "authentic" culture while state propaganda engenders "spurious" culture. Patterson (1987) applies this model to the Inca case, pointing out that imperial policies resulted, in different instances, in both ethnocide and ethnogenesis.

Vail (1989), writing about the development of ethnic consciousness in southern Africa in colonial and post-colonial times, has proposed a historical model that relates the development of ethnic ideologies to the needs of a variety of actors; in this model foreign and indigenous intellectuals, colonial administrators, emergent bourgeoisie, and ordinary villagers all found that the creation of ethnic identities served their needs even though the various actors were often in opposing situations. Many of these African situations have parallels in the Inca Empire: the conscious codification of custom, tradition, and language provided ideological support for the *curacas*, who needed to legitimize their claims to authority over the "ethnic" group; the Inca were then able to use the local elite as an efficient means of indirect control while, at the same time, obfuscating the major structural changes imposed on local organizations; commoners, especially men who were away from families and fields on service for the state could rely on the local elite, operating on the basis of "custom" and "tradition", to protect their interests at home.

The Recognition of Ethnic Identity

Barth (1969:13-14) notes that there is no simple correlation between shared cultural attributes and ethnic identity. Ethnic groups use cultural attributes as signals of their identity, but the critical feature of ethnic groups is self-ascription by the members of the group and ascription by others. Cultural attributes signal the social boundaries of the ethnic groups and may include dress, language, house type, general life-style, and basic values of morality and excellence (*ibid*:14). The defining characteristics are often behavioral or cognitive and definitions are often in a state of flux (e.g., Clark 1994; Hill 1992; Mahmood and Armstrong 1992; Rasmussen 1992). The cross-

cultural variability in attributes that might signal ethnic affiliation means that it is impossible to specify universal archaeological correlates of ethnic identity.

Referring specifically to groups in the Andean area, Rostworowski (1990:16-21) suggests that the following cultural attributes were considered key identifiers of ethnic groups; these attributes, of documented significance in early historic times, would also have been important in late prehistoric times.

- a. *Unity of Origin and Beliefs.* Such unity is expressed by a people's shared belief that their ancestors all emerged from the same origin place (*pacarina*). Common origin may also be related to worship of particular divinities (*huacas*) which pertain to the whole ethnic group. The mummies (*mallquis*) of the ancestors are a further symbol of unity.
- b. *Unity of Language or Dialect.* There were numerous languages in the Andean area before the Inca conquest. Cultural and ethnic identity was related to language and, in fact, the indigenous names for these languages, like *runa simi*, often mean the "speech of people".
- c. *Common dress.* Pedro Pizarro (1978 [1571]: chapter 16) states that the various ethnic groups were known by their dress. Acosta (1940 [1590]:302 [Book 6, Chapter 16]) notes that it was illegal to change or modify the ethnic costume. Molina ("El Cusqueño" 1943 [ca. 1575]:9) specifies that the ethnic costume was similar to the dress worn by the principal *huaca* of the group. Cieza (1984 [1553]) and Guamán Poma (1980 [1615]) provide the best details on ethnic costume.
- d. *Socio-political Unity.* Political units were of varying sizes but Rostworowski interprets the largest political groupings of the Late Intermediate Period to encompass no more than a single ethnic group.

These attributes will be used to try to trace the development of ethnic identity in the Huamachuco area through time. It is, of course, impossible to consistently identify all these attributes at all times. Moreover, the attributes that can be identified may lead to conflicting definitions of ethnic boundaries, and the criteria for the definitions are often in flux.

A convenient starting point is Cieza's (1984 [1553]:235-236) comment that "la prouincia de Guamachuco es semejable a la de Caxamalca y los Indios son de vna lengua y trage y en las religiones y sacrificios se ymitauan los vnos a los otros . . ."¹ This comment, which succinctly cites three of the four types of attributes which define ethnic groups, has led some modern scholars to consider Cajamarca and Huamachuco as a single ethnic group, or, at least, very closely related ethnic groups (Silva Santisteban 1985; 1986a; 1986b; Castro 1992:xxi-xxii). Cieza de Leon (1984 [1553]:226) also reports that Cajamarca was ". . . la cabeça de las prouincias a ella comarcas, y de muchos de los valles de los llanos."² This comment relates to Cajamarca's position in the Inca administrative system and does not imply that the whole area administered by the Incas from Cajamarca constituted a single political unit during the Late Intermediate Period.

Cieza's comments, though, do provide information on all four types of attributes cited by Rostworowski. In a strict sense, this information pertains to the early Colonial Period but we can assume, and it is clearly Cieza's intention, that the description applies to the late prehispanic period also. In the following sections I will explore other sources of information which allow us to evaluate Cieza's statements.

Unity of Origin and Beliefs

The Augustinian priests recorded a considerable amount of information on the beliefs of the inhabitants of Huamachuco (San Pedro 1992 [1560]). The information recorded includes an origin myth and lists of *huacas* scattered throughout the province. I have recently analyzed that information (J. Topic 1992) and will draw on the results of the analysis here.

The origin myth is perhaps the single most important piece of information and deserves a brief retelling:

Atagujú is described as the supreme deity and depicted as an aloof creator god. Guamansuri, along with a number of other characters, was created by Atagujú and sent to Huamachuco. He found Huamachuco already inhabited by Guachemines. The Guachemines made Guamansuri work their fields for them. The Guachemines had a sister named Cautaguan who they sequestered. One day though, Guamansuri seduced her and made her pregnant. The Guachemines immediately knew that Guamansuri was at fault and they captured him, burned him, and ground his body to dust. The dust rose up to the sky to Atagujú.

After a few days, Cautaguan gave birth to two eggs and died. The two eggs were placed in a dung heap and two boys hatched from them. These boys were raised by an aunt. One child was called the great lord Catequil and his brother was called Piguerao.

Catequil resuscitated his mother who gave him two slings which Guamansuri had left for him. With these slings, Catequil killed many of the Guachemines and drove the others out of the province. Then he asked Atagujú to create Indians to inhabit and work the land that had been vacated. Atagujú told him to go to a hill called Guacat and dig the Indians out of the ground there (San Pedro 1992 [1560]: 172-174).

This creation myth clearly indicates a unified origin place for the inhabitants of the province of Huamachuco, though not a single founding ancestor. Moreover, it allows us to place some sort of territorial boundary around that province (*cf.* Urton 1990). Toponyms relating to the myth can still be found on modern topographic maps (Figure 1). Cerro Huacate, the *pacarina* of Huamachuco, is located at the extreme southern end of the province near the confluence of the Tablachaca River

¹ The province of Huamachuco is similar to that of Cajamarca and the Indians are of one language and dress and they imitate each other in religion and sacrifices. (All translations by the author)

² Cajamarca was the capital of the provinces surrounding it and of many of the valleys of the coast.

with the Santa River.³ The shrine and oracle of Catequil was located at San José Porcón, near the center of the province. A river named after Catequil's mother is about halfway between the oracle and the *pacarina*. There are several hills and quebradas along the north and northeastern frontiers of the province that still bear the toponym "guachemin"; these probably commemorate the places where the guachemines were driven out of the province.

Interestingly, the *quebradas* named "guachemin" all descend abruptly to the hot *chaupiyungas* zone. Alfredo Torero (1989: 228-29) points out that *guachemin* may be equivalent to *guaxme* (fisherman) of Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560:s.v.), and that Guaman Poma calls coastal fishermen *uachimis* and *uachime yunga*. Thus, the creation myth also defines the territory of Huamachuco as ecologically *sierra* and the people as ethnically *serranos* and contrasts them to people adapted to life along the seacoast.

Four other *huacas* listed in the account reinforce this ecological and ethnic classification: Nomadoy, Pomacama, Vlpillo, and Quimgachugo (Figure 1). Albornoz (1967 [ca.1582])⁴ also mentions the first two and states that they are the principal *huacas* of Llama and Guacapongo, two of the four indigenous *guarangas* (Inca administrative groups of about a thousand households) in the province of Huamachuco. These two *huacas*

seem to have been located at low elevations in deep river valleys just above the *chaupiyungas* zone. The other two *huacas* can be identified with the highest peaks within the territories of each of these two *guarangas*. Together, each pair of *huacas* define the upper and lower elevational extremes of the territories of their *guarangas* (Topic 1992:74).

The ecological information in the myth is related to the replacement of the original population with a new population. In this case, and in other similar cases (Calancha 1976 [1638]:933-34; Taylor 1987: Chapter 8), the claim to the territory is based on the destruction of the original population and/or the forced removal of the previous inhabitants to a different ecological zone. This type of origin myth draws sharp distinctions between the occupants of adjacent ecological zones, who are depicted as enemies.

Now in late prehispanic times, the importance of Catequil as an oracle was acknowledged throughout the Inca empire and this stature causes some confusion amongst the historical sources about the origin and history of the deity. There is also confusion about the events surrounding the destruction of the shrine of Catequil by the Inca. Although Catequil is described by the Augustinians (San Pedro 1992 [1560]:173-74) as "... el ydolo mas temydo y honrado q. avia en todo El peru adorado y reverenciado desde quito hasta El cuzco ...",⁵ the creation myth demonstrates a special association with Huamachuco. Sarmiento (1907 [1572]:165-6) refers, in passing, to Catequil as the *huaca* of Cajamarca and Huamachuco, but later (p. 176), while describing its destruction by Atahualpa, he refers to it as the oracle and *huaca* of Huamachuco. Albornoz (1967 [ca. 1582]:31) lists Catequil⁶ under the heading "Provincia de Guamachuco

³ Albornoz (1967 [ca. 1582]) says that the *pacarina* of Huamachuco was called Guaracayoc. Guaracayoc (Quechua) may be translated as a person [adept] with a sling and may be a title of Catequil; the Augustinians list Guaracayoc as one of the nine principal *huacas* of Huamachuco, but do not provide further comment (J. Topic 1992).

⁴ Albornoz (1967 [ca. 1582]), Arriaga (1968 [1621]), Betanzos (1987 [1551]), and Calancha (1974-81 [1638]) also provide other information about the *huacas* of Huamachuco which sometimes complements and sometimes conflicts with the information provided by the Augustinian priests. The Augustinian account, however, is the most complete source and the only one based on extended and early observations in Huamachuco. For further discussions of this information see J. Topic 1992 and 1994 and Topic and Topic 1993.

⁵ The most feared and honored idol that there was in all Peru, adored and revered from Quito to Cuzco.

⁶ He writes the name of the oracle as "Apocatiquillay" and places it near Uruchalla. For the probable locations of two different *tambos* (way stations) called Uruchal, see Topic and Topic 1993, figure 2.1. The two *tambos* are northwest and southeast of San José Porcón, where the Augustinians say the shrine was located.

y Cajamarca" and affirms that it was one of the most important in the whole empire but says specifically that it is "guaca . . . de los indios guamachucos." Despite Cieza's assertion that Cajamarca and Huamachuco worshipped the same gods, there is no evidence that Catequil was particularly important in Cajamarca before the cult was spread by the Inca.

On the other hand, Arriaga (1968 [1621]:203) and Calancha (1976 [1638]:1062-63) say that Catequil was especially worshipped throughout the province of Conchucos as well as in the province of Huamachuco (Figure 2). They relate the presence of Catequil in Conchucos to the destruction of the shrine at Porcón and this relationship is the only means of dating the presence of Catequil in Conchucos.

Interestingly, there are two versions of the story of the destruction of the shrine at Porcón, one based on witnesses from Huamachuco and the other based on witnesses from Conchucos. In the Huamachuco version, Atahualpa destroys the shrine just as the Spanish arrive in Peru and make their way to Cajamarca (San Pedro 1992 [1560]; Betanzos 1987 [1557]; Sarmiento 1907 [1572]); in this version the pieces of the idol were eventually found by the Augustinians, who ground them up and threw the powder into the river.

In the Conchucos version, it is the son of Topa Inca who destroys the shrine at Porcón. Arriaga (1968 [1621]) makes Huascar the son of Topa Inca, while Calancha (1974-82 [1638]) corrects the genealogy so that Huayna Capac is the protagonist. Huayna Capac (the son of Topa Inca) set fire to the shrine in Porcón but the priests were able to rescue the idol and bring it to Cabana and Tauca where they built a new temple for it. There is some question whether this idol was eventually found and destroyed by Fray Francisco Cano or whether it was hidden by the natives.

There are interesting contradictions here. On the one hand, both stories agree that Catequil originated in Huamachuco. On the other hand, the Conchucos version has Catequil ar-

riving in Cabana *before* the shrine in Porcón would have been destroyed, according to the Huamachuco version. The chronology of the Conchucos version is not particularly credible because it was probably Huayna Capac who was responsible for spreading the cult of Catequil to Ecuador.⁷ Moreover, the Huamachuco version specifies that the idol was shattered by Atahualpa, while in the Conchucos version the idol is rescued and moved without being fragmented. Finally, it is certain that the Augustinians in Huamachuco saw pieces of an idol that was claimed to be Catequil in the middle of the 16th century; if these were, in fact, fragments of the idol from Porcón, the unbroken idol in Cabana at the beginning of the 17th century must have been a different piece.

I suggest the following interpretation of the contradictions. I suspect that Catequil, as well as being an oracle, was a deity related to thunder (San Pedro 1992 [1560] f. 6v⁸; Silva Santisteban 1986a:23) and that, in this guise, he was worshipped widely throughout Conchucos and Huamachuco. Catequil, as oracle, developed later in the province of Huamachuco from this celestial deity. Here he was also incorporated into the creation myth as a culture hero and had his shrine at Porcón. It is noteworthy that the Conchucos version does not talk of Catequil functioning there as an oracle nor is there the claim that the idol, once moved to Cabana, enjoyed a widespread reputation. The confusion in the historical sources is caused, in part, by Spanish attempts

⁷ The spread of the cult of Catequil to Ecuador is the subject of ongoing research and is peripheral to this discussion. At the very least, however, there is one account (Sarmiento 1907 [1572]:165) which states that Huayna Capac had the huaca "Cataquilla" or "Catequilla" of Huamachuco and Cajamarca with him in Quito.

⁸ San Pedro (1992 [1560]: f. 6v): . . . q.s grande El Catami.o q. tienen a cataquil y el temor/ porq. dizen q.s el q. haze los rayos y truenos y Relampagos los q.ales/ haze tirando con su honda . . . [The respect and the fear they have for Cataquil is great because they say it is he who makes the lightning bolts; and thunder, and flashes of lightning. These he makes by throwing them with his sling.]

to reconcile the particular oracle at Huamachuco with a more general celestial deity.

As we will see below, the confusion is also compounded by the Inca and colonial administrative grouping of Huamachuco with Cajamarca. This leads Alborno (1967 [ca. 1582]: 31) to list Catequil, and the other Guamachuco *huacas*, under the heading "Provincia de Guamachuco y Caxamarca" and then, immediately list the *huacas* of Cajamarca under a separate heading "Caxamalca." In the same way, Sarmiento (1907 [1572]:165-6 and 176) refers to "cataquilla" as the *huaca* of Cajamarca and Huamachuco and later, more specifically, as the *huaca* of Huamachuco.

The most likely chronological implications of these dynamic associations of Catequil with different places and groups of people is that Catequil has his greatest antiquity as a widespread sky deity in Conchucos and Huamachuco. He was later, perhaps in the Late Intermediate Period, established as an oracle at San José Porcón. During the Late Horizon, he was firmly associated with Huamachuco, where Inca kings came to consult him and to destroy him. By the time of the destruction of the shrine of Catequil, on the eve of the Spanish conquest, his cult was widespread in the north; and by 1560, if not before, Catequil had become identified as a culture hero relating to the creation myth for people occupying the Incaic and early Colonial province and *encomienda* of Huamachuco.

Unity of Language or Dialect

It is well known that the indigenous language of Huamachuco was Culle (Silva Santesteban 1986b; Torero 1989). Although the language was spoken into the early years of this century, there are only a few words recorded (Silva Santesteban 1986b). Again, largely based on Cieza's comment, there has been a tendency to consider Culle also to be the indigenous language of Cajamarca (Silva Santesteban 1986b). In fact, there is little evidence to support that view.

The single piece of documentary evidence for Culle being spoken in Cajamarca was

published by Jorge Zevallos Quiñones (1948; Silva Santesteban 1986b; Torero 1989:224). The document is an *expediente* from 1774 in which Miguel Sánchez del Arroyo, priest of the town of Ichocán and the Condebamba Valley, states that he understands "la culle por curiosidad e industria y por haver administrado los santos sacramentos entre los que la acostumbran ablar . . ." ⁹ Ichocán has always pertained to Cajamarca, but in 1774 (and until 1854) the Condebamba Valley was part of the province of Huamachuco (Espinoza 1971:30-31) (Figures 1 and 2). During the same epoch, Martínez Compañón (1978-85[1789] Volume 2:iv) specifically refers to Culle as "(la) lengua culli de la Provincia de Guamachuco." On the other hand, Culle was still spoken in Pallasca, located in the old province of Conchucos, in 1915 (Rivet 1949).

Linguistically, then, there may be closer connections between Huamachuco and Conchucos (and Huacrachuco). Several years ago, I noticed that the Augustinians (San Pedro 1992 [1560]:205) referred to the earth as "pachamama y chucomama". This led me to question the common derivation of the term *chuco* from the Quechua for hat or headdress (e.g., Garcilaso 1966 [1609]:476) and consider it instead, along with *pús* (Martínez Compañón 1978-85 [1789]: Volume 2:iv), to be a Culle word meaning earth or place. As a toponym, the word *chuco* (or variants) commonly occurs throughout the former province of Huamachuco (i.e., the territory around Otuzco, Santiago de Chuco, Huamachuco, and Cajabamba) (Figure 2). It also occurs in Pataz, Pallasca and Corongo but is rare in the Cajamarca area and largely limited to the southern part of the modern Department of Cajamarca, adjacent to Cajabamba.

Torero (1989:226) has independently recognized the toponymic significance of *chuco* but has carried his analysis far beyond my own. From a study of documentary sources and, especially, topographic maps (Carta Nacional) he has reconstructed the distributions

⁹ "He understands Culle because of his curiosity and industry and for having administered the holy sacraments among those who are accustomed to speak it."

of several languages or dialects in the northern sierra of Perú. While some, like Den, are based on very little evidence, Culle is represented by a number of different word parts. He arrives at the conclusion that Culle was spoken throughout the province of Huamachuco and into at least part of the province of Conchucos, but that it was not spoken in Cajamarca (Torero 1989:218, 222). He (*ibid*:244) believes that the language Cieza heard spoken in both Huamachuco and Cajamarca was Quechua IIA (Yungay). A similar, though more geographically limited analysis, suggests the presence of a linguistic boundary between Cajamarca and Huamachuco in the Chicama valley (Krzanowski and Szeminski 1978). Again, as with religious beliefs, there seem to be more similarities in language between Huamachuco and Conchucos than between Huamachuco and Cajamarca.

Unity of Dress (Style)

In addition to Cieza's statement, Pedro Pizarro (1978 [1571]:73) also states that the Cajamarca and Huamachuco men had similar headdresses, consisting of long tresses wrapped with wool cords. I am unaware of extant pictures or further descriptions which would allow me to enlarge on these two, very brief, statements regarding dress. It is possible, however, to infer a bit more on the use of style as an indicator of ethnic identity.

In terms of the archaeology of Cajamarca and Huamachuco, there are clear differences in ceramics, architecture, and, to some extent, burial patterns extending back to the Early Intermediate Period. In this section, I am treating the terms "Cajamarca" and "Huamachuco" as archaeological cultures rather than Incaic provinces.

Archaeologists have relied heavily on ceramics to identify groups, boundaries, and interrelationships; the durability of ceramics in the archaeological record and the richness of variability possible in their manufacture and decoration make them a very useful medium to sort out questions of group identity. Through the Early Intermediate Period (EIP) and Middle Horizon (MH), the Cajamarca and

Huamachuco cultures had very distinct ceramic assemblages, but there were interesting patterns of borrowing and sharing. Huamachuco ceramics were primarily utilitarian. Decoration was infrequent and executed quickly and carelessly. Cajamarca ceramics included very high proportions of decorated vessels, highlighted by the painted kaolin wares of the Cajamarca Cursive style. Cajamarca ceramic pieces were valued in Huamachuco and were imported in significant quantities. Potters in Huamachuco also imitated the Cursive style during the end of the Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon, using locally available materials to produce mediocre copies of the technically far superior Cajamarca originals. Huamachuco potters never mastered the firing of kaolin clays to attain the degree of hardness reached by Cajamarca potters, and the kaolin pedestal bowls produced in Huamachuco have soft paste and eroded painting. A minor insight into the ease with which Huamachuco ceramists borrowed stylistic elements is offered by the common occurrence in the EIP and MH of heavy strap handles in brown paste, slipped in red and decorated with impressed circles and incised lines. These "Cajamarca Coarse Red" handles (Terada and Onuki 1982: plate 38a) caught the fancy of Huamachuco potters, who produced them on local clays.

Architectural differences seem to include *both* the types of *buildings* constructed and the *masonry* style used. In Huamachuco, the typical domestic structure is a long narrow multi-roomed building called a gallery (McCown 1945; Topic 1986). In the gallery, the rooms are arranged in a single file and, usually, the doors of the rooms all open to one side of the building. The side to which the doors open is often a patio, enclosed by the building which curves around it. A common type of public building is the niched hall; this is an immense roofed volume often measuring 6 m x 40 m or more in plan and with ceiling heights of as much as 9 m. The masonry style is quite distinctive and includes long and shortwork corners and ordered chinking. The architecture of Cajamarca from the late EIP, MH, and Late Intermediate Period (LIP) is not well known or described, but only one site, Coyllor, seems

to be related to the Huamachuco architectural style (Reichlen and Reichlen 1949; Julien 1988).

Burial patterns are probably not as distinct as architectural or ceramic styles. Still, one of the typical patterns in Huamachuco -- secondary burial of bones in the walls of niched halls -- is not known from Cajamarca, while *ventanillas*, or rows of tombs cut into the soft trachite, are known from Cajamarca but not from Huamachuco. Obviously, both patterns may be variants of, or derivations from, burial in caves, and the distribution of *ventanillas* may be further affected by the availability of suitable trachite outcrops.

In contrast, there appear to be closer archaeological ties to Conchucos, south of Huamachuco, but these relationships are somewhat tenuous. There are a few trade pieces and some ceramic influence from the Pashash style of Conchucos in the Huamachuco area during the late Early Intermediate Period, but these are much less prominent than the influence from Cajamarca. Stone carvings, on the other hand, indicate more intense interaction between the areas of Huamachuco, Santiago de Chuco, and Cabana (Grieder 1978; Kroeber 1950; McCown 1945; Schaedel 1952).

It is intriguing that the masonry style so typical of the Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon in Huamachuco occurs in the Preceramic Period at La Galgada (Grieder and Bueno 1985). A similar masonry style is widespread in Ancash during the late Formative (Daggett 1983; Pozorski 1987; Wilson 1988). There are two sites which have buildings similar to those described above for Huamachuco: the Rondán Circular Construction from near La Pampa (Terada 1979) is similar to the domestic galleries and at Yayno near Pomabamba the few photographs and brief description available (Tello 1929:30-36) indicate an important site with *both* buildings and masonry similar to that of Huamachuco. While the Rondán Circular Construction seems to date from the Late Intermediate Period, the masonry style used at Yayno may indicate an earlier date.

The buildings at La Galgada, which are related to the Kotosh Religious Tradition (Burger and Burger 1980), are not particularly similar to known buildings from Huamachuco, but still may be related. They are basically square in plan, but with rounded corners and niches in the upper part of the walls. McCown (1945: figure 12, e and f) shows a plan of two buildings at Cerro Campana, an Early Horizon site in Huamachuco, that might be similar. While these buildings have not been excavated, the thick walls suggest that they may once have had niches. If so, these two buildings may form a developmental link between La Galgada and the later Huamachuco niched halls.

In this regard, it is interesting to note two further points about La Galgada. First, multiple burials were placed in the niched buildings as they were sequentially abandoned, filled in, and new buildings constructed on top (Grieder and Bueno 1985). This use as burial places is different in detail but possibly related to the incorporation of burials in the walls of niched halls at Huamachuco. Second, La Galgada is located near the foot of Cerro Huacate, the *pacarina* of Huamachuco.

Beyond La Galgada, burial patterns are, again, intriguing but not very useful. There is a mausoleum at Cerro Amaru near Huamachuco (Topic and Topic 1984) that is similar to the mausoleums at Wilka Wain and Honcopampa (Bennett 1944; Isbell 1991). However, EIP and MH burial structures, usually referred to as *chullpas* but often with multiple chambers like the mausoleums, occur sporadically in the north highlands from Chota (Shady and Rosas 1976) to Huaraz. It should also be noted that burial in walls has been described for Cuelap (Reichlen and Reichlen 1950).

Stylistic information suggests, then, that there were no sharp ethnic boundaries between Cajamarca, Huamachuco, and Conchucos during the late EIP and MH. Huamachuco accepted ceramic influence from both Cajamarca and Conchucos while also producing a distinctive style. Moreover, within the area that later became the Incaic province of Hua-

machuco, there was never a single unified ceramic style. Nevertheless, architecture and stone carvings suggest a stronger stylistic boundary between Cajamarca and Huamachuco than between Huamachuco and Conchucos during the EIP and MH.

Throughout the areas under discussion, the LIP ceramics are poorly defined. Ceramic assemblages lack the high proportions of decorated wares or exotic shapes that characterize contemporary groups like the coastal Chimú. Ceramics are utilitarian serving, cooking, and storage vessels with little apparent symbolic or ritual importance.

In the immediate Huamachuco area, two distinct styles are dated to the LIP (both initially defined in Krzanowski 1986). The Huamachuco Incised style is characterized by jar forms in orange paste decorated with impressed circles, usually on appliqué bands. This style has antecedents in the late EIP and MH, during which jars in soft orange and grey pastes had frequent appliqué decoration; often the jars are face-neck vessels with modelled earspools and facial features, and sometimes hands holding a flute to the lips. This later Huamachuco Incised style lacks the anthropomorphic designs, and is executed on considerably harder pastes. The style overlaps into the upper Chicama and, to a lesser extent, upper Moche valleys. The Huamachuco-on-White style (see McCown 1945: plate 22 c, d, and e) includes both jars and bowls, executed in a hard grey paste with heavy inclusion of crushed rock. Surfaces are often given a white or cream wash, on which large red and/or black circles, spirals, and meanders are sloppily painted. This ceramic style occurs at some high altitude sites to the west, but is most common in the Huamachuco area. LIP ceramics on the western slopes of the Andes, between Huamachuco and the coast, are most typically characterized by thickwalled jars made of hard brown and red-brown pastes, with large flaring rims; these jars lack any decoration other than a broad red band or red slip on the rim. Chimú sherds are quite common on LIP sites in the west slope area, but absent from the Huamachuco area proper.

Masonry styles are variable, with few sites in the west slope area (e.g., Huasochugo and Cerro Sulcha) and in the Huamachuco area (Cerro Grande) continuing to use the earlier masonry style. The long gallery buildings were no longer being constructed.

The archaeological evidence from the LIP cannot be aligned easily with information from the early Colonial Period about the location of the *guarangas* or of provincial boundaries. Huamachuco Incised pottery is somewhat correlated with Llama *guaranga* and the persistence of the Huamachuco masonry style, with its long and short work corners and ordered chinking, is loosely associated with Guacapongo *guaranga*. The sharpest division, running roughly along the continental divide, is between the area with Chimú trade sherds and the area lacking Chimú trade sherds, and this cuts through at least Llama *guaranga* and possibly Guacapongo *guaranga*.

Socio-Political Unity

Several years ago Theresa Topic and I (Topic and Topic 1985) felt that there was strong evidence for the formation of a state during the EIP and MH with its capital at Marcahuamachuco. This evidence was largely architectural in nature, consisting of settlement patterns and masonry style. The area in which the architectural evidence occurred corresponded well with the Incaic boundaries of the province, but included outliers like Coyllor, near Jesús in Cajamarca, and Cungush, near Cabana in Conchucos (Alberto Bueno M., personal communication 1986).

Since then, we have conducted much more research in Huamachuco and we were also able to test excavate some of the outlying sites. Today, we still think that there was considerable cultural unity throughout much of this area. However, we are no longer convinced that the region was politically unified. We would now stress confederation instead of consolidation and, indeed, would relate the process more to a developing ethnic consciousness within the province than to conquest. A number of autonomous *curacas* were no doubt players on the political scene, con-

stantly negotiating for power on behalf of their communities and kin groups, using alliance, negotiation, and ritual display to attain desired ends.

The center of these negotiations and shifting alliances for many centuries was the immediate Huamachuco area. Marcahuamachuco, which covers some 240 hectares, was the largest site in the north sierra. It seems to have functioned, at least in part, as a ceremonial center where the bones of the ancestors, buried in the walls of the niched halls, were worshipped (J. Topic 1986; 1991). Another shrine, Cerro Amaru, was related to water and was the site with the greatest amount of imported pottery, obsidian, and other exotic materials (Topic and Topic 1984; Topic and Topic 1992). Cerro Sazón, which covers at least 20 hectares, may have been the secular center. Additionally, the site of Viracochapampa (32 hectares) was under construction.

These developments, however, took place during the late EIP and the MH. During the LIP, there is a definite shift in economic focus toward the west slope of the Andes. Groups in this area were looking toward the coast: the largest sites in this area, Carpaico, Cuidista, Chamana, Cerro Sulcha, and Huasochugo, are on roads leading up from the coast and are near the points where those roads first climb out of the *chaupiyunga* to the zone of rainfall agriculture. In contrast, LIP sites in the Huamachuco area are not located near the major roads. While Marcahuamachuco is still partially occupied, there is no new monumental construction; the three next largest sites fall in the 3.2 to 6.4 hectare range and are smaller than the largest sites in the west slope area. In both the Huamachuco and west slope areas the site size hierarchy suggests political unification only at the level of the *curacazgo*.

During the Late Horizon socio-political units were hierarchically arranged. One level of the hierarchy can be documented to some extent by the *encomienda* grants made by Francisco Pizarro. The earliest of these grants were made before the Spanish had any detailed knowledge of the country and relied on Inca informants (John Murra, Franklin Pease,

María Rostworowski, and John Rowe personal communications 1991; Porras 1978:394). Huamachuco was given in *encomienda* as a single unit (Castro 1992:xxx; Loredó 1958:255-258; Hampe 1980:101); this *encomienda* is, in fact, the basis for the definition of the Province of Huamachuco that I have been using. Cajamarca was also originally granted in *encomienda* as a single unit but was later (by 1548) split into two *encomiendas* (Lee 1926:18-19; Urteaga 1942:12-13; Loredó 1958:255-258; Hampe 1980:103). The information for Conchucos is not as clear: Francisco Pizarro was the original *encomendero* but I am not sure whether he held all of Conchucos or only a part; in 1543, after the death of Pizarro, Conchucos was divided between two Spanish *encomenderos* but part was also claimed by Doña Francisca, Pizarro's daughter (Cook 1978; Rostworowski 1989a:37; Hampe 1980:100-101). In all cases the grants of *encomienda* were made by assigning native lords and their Indians, not territories, to the *encomenderos*, so that *encomiendas* consisted of groups of people who were recognized as some sort of unit by the Spanish.

However, within the larger *encomiendas*, such as Huamachuco and Cajamarca, there were subdivisions. In northern Peru, these divisions were referred to by the terms used to designate the decimal administrative units, *guaranga* (1000) and *pachaca* (100), though the populations of the units in Huamachuco do not seem really to have been very close to the decimal ideal. Huamachuco was divided into four indigenous *guarangas* and also included a *guaranga* of *mitmaq* (people permanently moved by the Inca from one part of the empire to another) of highland origin, a *guaranga* of *mitmaq* of coastal origin, and a *guaranga* of *chaupiyungas*, who lived in their home territory but were administered from Huamachuco (Espinoza 1974). Each *guaranga* contained a varying number of *pachacas*.

While the *pachacas* and *guarangas* were grouped and ranked to form larger administrative units, there is no social unit that can be clearly identified as an ethnic *señorío*; sharply defined ethnic boundaries can neither be distinguished between individual *pachacas* nor

between whole provinces like Conchucos and Huamachuco.

In addition to creating a multi-ethnic mosaic by moving *mitmaq* into Huamachuco and including *chaupiyungas* in the administrative unit, the Inca may have restructured the indigenous *guarangas* themselves. Espinoza (1974:34) has argued that one (Lluicho) of the four indigenous *guarangas* was created by the Incas; on the basis of *huaca* distributions, I (Topic 1992) have made the argument that, in fact, two (Lluicho and Andamarca) of the four *guarangas* resulted from Inca restructuring of the local population. This point is important chronologically: the two *guarangas* (Llampa and Guacapongo) with *huacas* defining their upper and lower elevational limits were coalescing in the LIP, as indicated by ceramic and architectural evidence respectively; the Incas recognized them, codified their boundaries, and created two new *guarangas* in the east in order to arrive at a quadripartite division.

The Inca attached Huamachuco for administrative purposes to Cajamarca and Guambos while Conchucos was attached to Huánuco or Huaylas (Cieza 1984 [1553]:226, 234; Pizarro 1978 [1571]:220-21) (Figure 2). On the surface, this division between Huamachuco and Conchucos would appear to be simply an administrative convenience. One piece of information, though, suggests that it was part of an ongoing strategy of restructuring populations. *Mitmaq* from Huamachuco were moved to Chimbo, in Ecuador, together with *mitmaq* from Guambos and Cajamarca (Miguel de Cántos 1965 [1581]:255).¹⁰

This example provides an illustration of two possible ways in which *mitmaq* policy affects ethnic identity. First, the *mitmaq* from Huamachuco who, before leaving home, would have identified more closely with their *guaranga* or *pachaca*, now identified themselves as "mitimas de guamachuco" and continued to do so until the end of the eighteenth

century. On the other hand, the grouping of *mitmaq* from Guambos, Cajamarca, and Huamachuco helped to create a feeling amongst the *mitmaq* that the larger Inca administrative unit comprehending all that area had some real social significance to them. In both ways, the Inca policy developed an identification of the individual as a member of larger social units and broke down the parochial tendency of the segmentary lineage.

Conclusions

Archaeological, linguistic, and ethno-historic data provide more evidence of a long-term shared tradition between Huamachuco and Conchucos than between Huamachuco and Cajamarca. The shared features, however, were not developed to the point that perduring and politically unified ethnic groups can be identified. Instead, as Pease (1982) suggests, there was a complex system of interrelationships that operated at different times and levels of integration; we can recognize attributes, like language, religion, and style, that might be used to define ethnic groups, but the boundaries between the groups are vague and the degree of cohesion fluctuates.

The Inca administration manipulated ethnicity, at least in the Huamachuco area. They split closely related groups, like Huamachuco and Conchucos, into different administrative units. They modified the *guaranga* groupings within the resulting provinces. *Chaupiyungas* groups, defined mythically as enemies, were appended to the unit. They then lumped Huamachuco together with less related groups, such as Cajamarca and even Guambos, to form a larger administrative unit and they used *mitmaq* policy to create a "spurious ethnicity" (cf. Gailey 1987) to support their administrative restructuring.

There are conclusions to be drawn on several levels:

1. *Theoretically.* In the case of Huamachuco, ethnic identity was imposed from above rather than developing out of a process of indigenous resistance to the Inca state. If, in fact, at the time of the Spanish conquest the people of

¹⁰ Another indication that the Inca spread the cult of Catequil to Ecuador is the location of a hill in Chimbo called by the Ecuadorian variant of the name: "Catequilla".

Cajamarca and Huamachuco spoke the same language (Cieza 1984 [1553]), dressed the same (*ibid.*; Pizarro 1978 [1571]), and shared Catequil as a principal *huaca* (Sarmiento 1907 [1572]; Alborno 1967 [ca. 1582]), it would be a demonstration that ethnicity had been extremely manipulated by the state. I suspect, though, that the people of Cajamarca and Huamachuco still preserved more elements of distinctiveness than the chroniclers suggest and that there are other explanations for the similarities observed: that perhaps they were beginning to speak a shared dialect of Quechua as Torero (1989) suggests and that the shared aspects of religion and dress were overly simplified glosses on the part of the Spanish.

2. *Methodologically.* The information presented here suggests that we cannot assume that any level of the Inca administrative hierarchy corresponds to an indigenous ethnic group. This means, moreover, that we cannot use lists of Inca provinces or *encomienda* grants as a shortcut to the reconstruction of Late Intermediate Period polities and social groupings. On the other hand, the example presented here should encourage us to use archaeological and documentary information in a complementary way to study the impact of the Inca administration on indigenous perceptions of self.
3. *Functionally.* Even though imposed and artificial, the Inca promotion of ethnicity served the needs of the indigenous groups as well as the goals of the Inca overlords; this is why Inca policy was successful. The local people gained increased access to different ecological zones, averaging of risk over larger areas and populations, and participation in a wider social universe. Local elites had their status confirmed and authority legitimated. The Inca gained an administrative tool that appeared to honor, indeed enforce, local tradition, while in fact al-

lowing them to make major structural changes.

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Figure 1. The province of Huamachuco. The approximate locations of the four indigenous *guarangas* and the *guaranga* of *Chaupiyungas* are shown. Place names associated with the creation myth are indicated. Large letters indicate the locations of some of the principal *huacas*: A = vlpillo, B = nomadoy, C = pomacama, and D = quimgachugo.

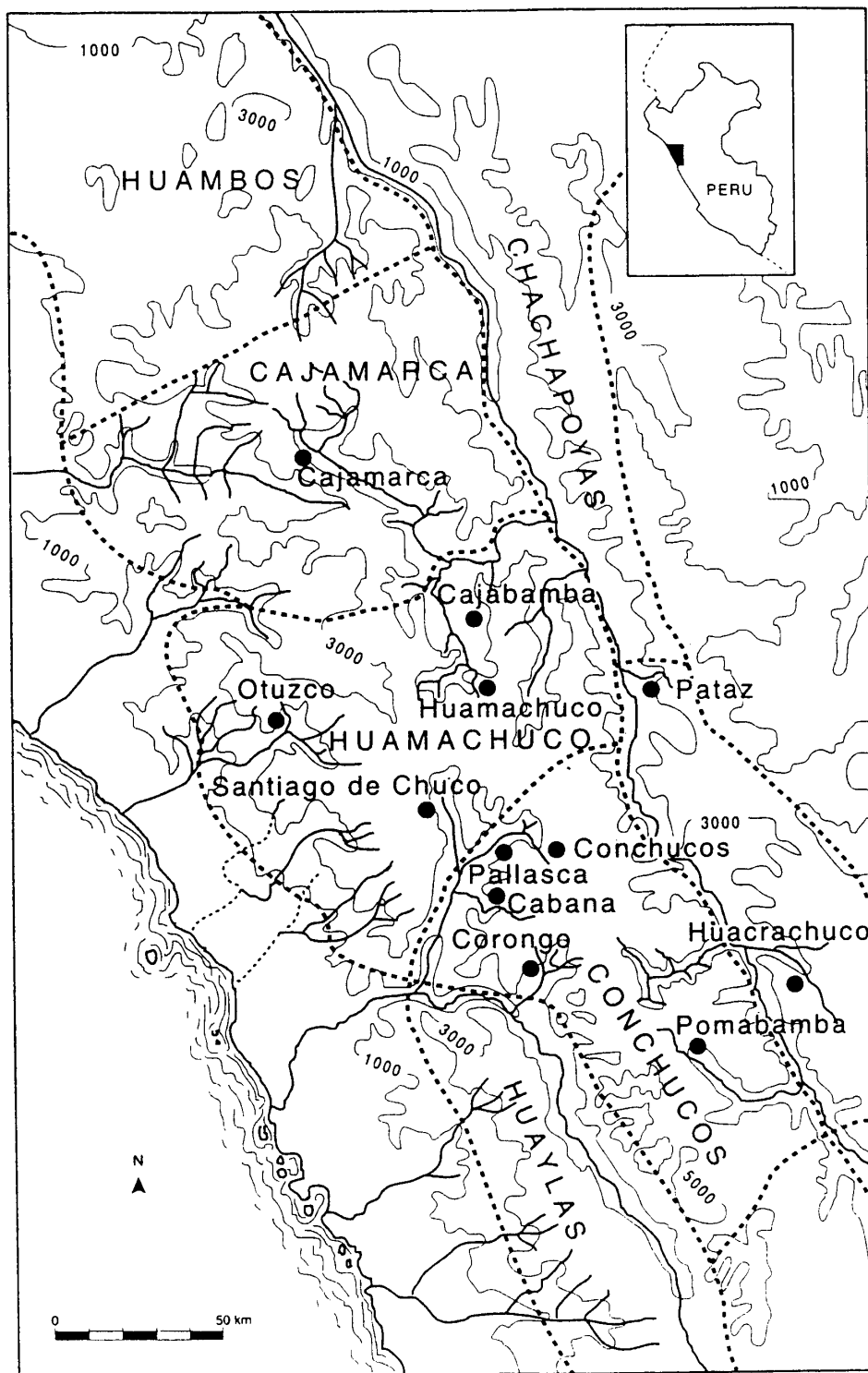


Figure 2. Northern Peru, showing some of the Incaic provinces and modern towns mentioned in the text.