

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS IN NORTHERN PERU: THE NORTH CENTRAL HIGHLANDS DURING THE MIDDLE HORIZON

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Abstract

This contribution surveys the emergence and character of the Middle Horizon in Peru's north highlands. It centers on Ancash department, a region with a rich and unique archaeological record for contextualizing interaction during the period. My discussion begins by detailing the sequence and variability of interregional interaction in Ancash Department during the latter half of the 1st millennium AD. Then I will examine the general implications of the available data – especially architecture, long distance goods and ceramic style – with a view to identify current difficulties and to encourage future problem-oriented investigations. Two terms help contextualize the cultural dynamism of the Middle Horizon: bundling (purposeful acquisition and clustering of objects from long-distance) and vector (a distinct cultural predisposition facilitating interaction). Although there is evidence of Wari contact before imperial expansion, trade interaction increased dramatically during the early Middle Horizon, focused on 'bundled' patterns of acquisition. These were followed by new exchange orientations and stylistic emulation. There is very little evidence to indicate territorial control, but Wari strategies highlighted the rich areas of western Ancash, while apparently de-emphasising Eastern Ancash. Religion and prestige economies appear to have been the most common factors for local engagements with Wari culture.

Keywords: trade, exchange, coast-highland, emulation, interregional interaction.

Resumen

RELACIONES INTERCULTURALES EN EL NORTE DEL PERÚ: LA SIERRA NOR-CENTRAL DURANTE EL HORIZONTE MEDIO

Esta contribución investiga el surgimiento y el carácter del Horizonte Medio en la sierra norte del Perú. Se enfoca en el departamento de Ancash, una región con un registro amplio para contextualizar la interacción durante dicho periodo. Mi discusión comienza detallando la secuencia y la variabilidad de la interacción interregional en Ancash (500-1000 d.C.). Se describen los patrones generales con los datos disponibles —la arquitectura, los bienes de larga distancia y el estilo de cerámica— con el fin de identificar las dificultades actuales. Dos conceptos ayudan a contextualizar el dinamismo cultural del periodo: «bundling» (adquisición intencional y la agrupación de objetos de larga distancia) y «vector» (una predisposición cultural que facilita la interacción). Aunque existe evidencia de contacto wari antes de la expansión imperial, la interacción comercial aumentó dramáticamente durante el Horizonte Medio temprano; se centró en los patrones de «bundling» de adquisición. Estos fueron seguidos por nuevas orientaciones de intercambio y emulación estilística. Hay poca evidencia para indicar el control territorial, pero las estrategias wari destacaron las ricas áreas del oeste de Ancash, con menos presencia en el este. Economías rituales y prestigio parecen haber sido los factores más comunes para las interacciones locales con la cultura Wari.

Palabras clave: comercio, intercambio, costa-sierra, emulación, interacción interregional.

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1. Introduction

In recent years, investigations have improved the cultural record of variability that we understand as the Middle Horizon (cal. AD 700-1000).¹ The period is best recognized as the time when the first large-scale expansive states emerged in Andean South America, namely Wari and Tiwanaku (Lanning 1967; Lumbreras 1974).²

The wide dissemination of Wari cultural elements over the period transformed the complexion of local assemblages in rapid and often dramatic fashion. Common belief sees a centralized Wari polity, based at the large urban site of Huari (Ayacucho), extending political power across the Central Andes (Figure 1), from Moquegua in the south to Cajamarca in the north. Secular, religious, and military means effected the expansion (Menzel 1964; Lumbreras 1974; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Schreiber 1992; Jennings and Craig 2001).

As the archaeological sample grows more robust, scholars are moving beyond the question of whether Wari was a state or not — to questions that center on how it was state-like and, just as important, not state-like. Yet the broad stress on Wari statecraft continues to obscure its role as a mutual participant in the innovative cultural practices and histories of the time. In northern Peru and other parts of the Central Andes, it is clear that the period's intercultural relationships were quite complex across time and space. Scholars also increasingly recognize that diverse groups flourished during the Middle Horizon, some relatively free of Wari entanglements.

It is precisely the record of entanglements — their presence, absence, nature and history — that permits richer understandings of Wari civilization. By entanglements, I mean the broad series of cultural interrelationships, material and social, that accompany times of major culture contact. In all complex societies, political strategies may be conventionalized but rarely are they monolithic. Just as important, these strategies will not remain the same over time. Not only do polities rise, mature and fail, so do regimes within them. All the while, these feature against other neighboring systems. Over time, histories overlap and nest within histories, in a cultural record of relationships with an overall movement (Bennett 1948; Rowe 1967).

This presentation examines, with a broad brush, a component of one such record for the Central Andes.³ It centers on Peru's Ancash department, a region with a rich and unique archaeological record for contextualizing interaction during the Middle Horizon. Ancash is critical for several reasons. First and foremost, it features a relatively coherent chronology across the region, both relative and absolute, which integrates distinct local site and valley-based sequences (Lau 2004b). Thus it is possible to track, with some degree of confidence, how regional patterns were before, during and after the Middle Horizon.⁴ Second, research over the last few decades have resulted in material assemblages from a range of sites, suitable for making inferences about the role of prehistoric interaction among groups of differing complexity during the period. It is possible now to detect variability in how different peoples, regions, and routes within Ancash participated in intercultural exchanges over time. Finally, Ancash has long been considered one of the key annexes during Wari state expansion and a highland artery between its Ayacucho heartland and more northern areas, especially Huamachuco and Cajamarca. While Wari presence is well known in the region, until recently there has been little work to problematize its presence and distribution. The Ancash highlands features one of the best published records of variability — from small villages and cemeteries to shrines and major regional centers — to discuss regional level transformations during the Middle Horizon.

My discussion begins by detailing the sequence and variability of interregional interaction in Ancash Department during the latter half of the first millennium AD. This provides the basic diachronic framework to locate historical changes. Then I will examine the general implications of the available data — especially architecture, long distance goods and ceramic style — with a view to itemize current difficulties and to encourage future problem-oriented investigations. Two terms are presented to help contextualize the cultural dynamism of the Middle Horizon: bundling (purposeful acquisition and clustering of objects, e.g. from long-distance) and vector (a distinct cultural predisposition facilitating interaction). Although there is evidence of Wari contact before imperial expansion, trade interaction

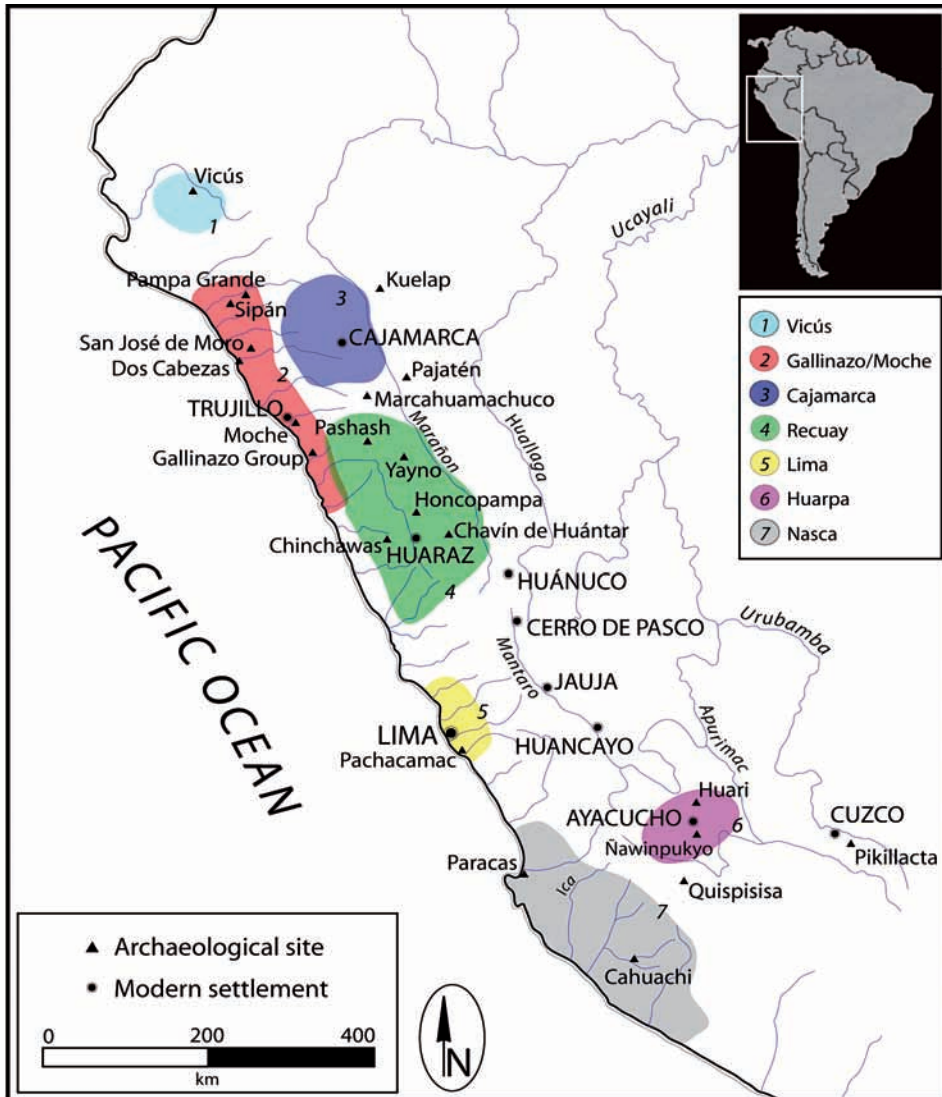


Fig. 1. Map of Central Andes, locating cultures and sites referred to in the text.

increased dramatically during the early Middle Horizon, focused on ‘bundled’ patterns of acquisition. These were followed by new exchange orientations and stylistic emulation. There is very little evidence to indicate territorial control, but Wari certainly centered on resources in western Ancash, while apparently avoiding zones to the east. Religion and prestige economies appear to have been the principal factors for local engagements with Wari culture.

2. Interaction after AD 500: a diachronic review

The department of Ancash (Figure 2) features great environmental diversity in a highly compressed zone: from west to east, one moves from arid coastlines into the verdant river valleys rising up the

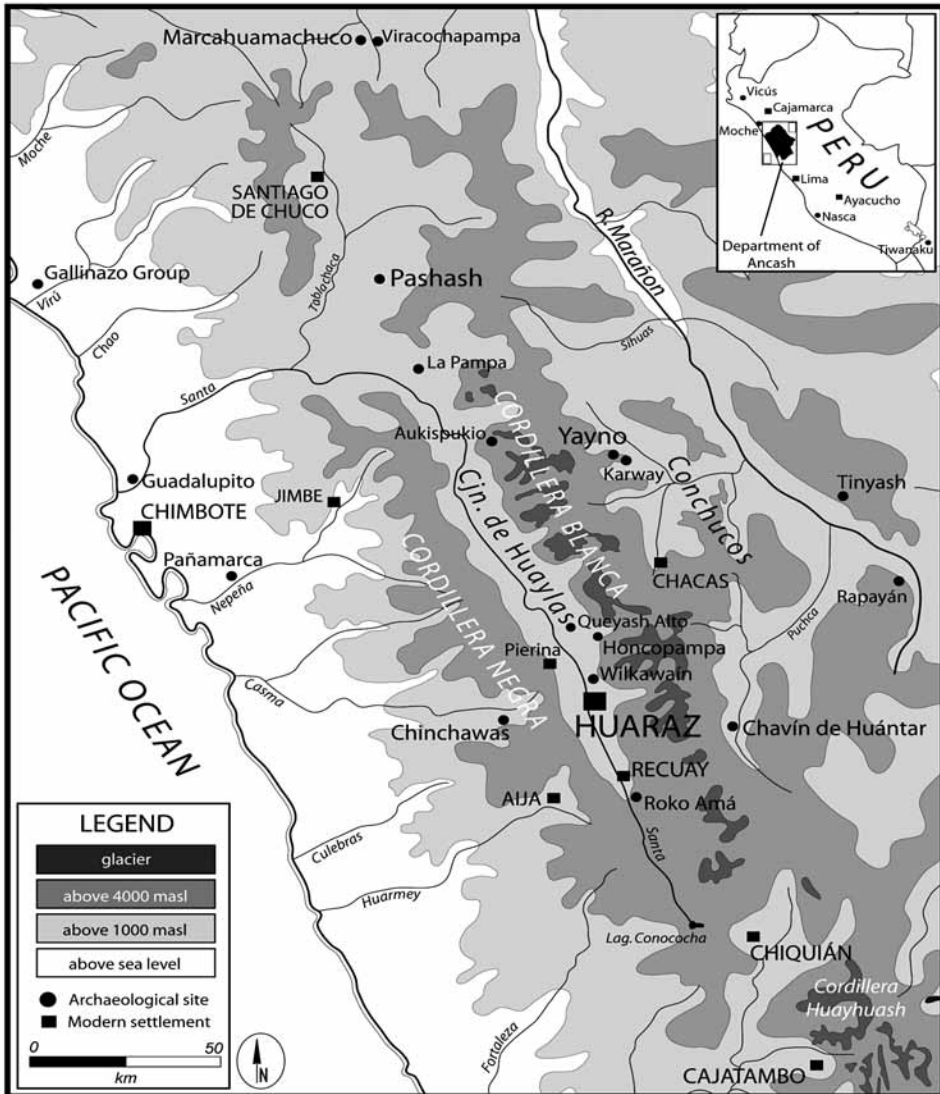


Fig. 2. Map of north central highlands, with location of Ancash and locales mentioned in the text.

Pacific flanks; one then passes high mountain glaciers and grasslands to descend into the forested eastern slopes of the Amazonian headwaters. At the same time that the northern Peruvian environment promoted cultural interaction, crystallizing in Chavín civilization for example, the geography also favored insular developments distinctive to the region (Bennett 1948).

Much of the following discussion relies on ceramic associations and chronology, so it is useful to review in broad terms the relative sequence here.⁵ By roughly AD 200, most areas of highland Ancash were characterized by styles of the Recuay tradition (Bennett 1944; Reichert 1977; Smith 1977; Grieder 1978; Bankmann 1979; Proulx 1982; Gambini 1984; Eisleb 1987; Wegner 1988; Lau 2004b, 2006, 2011, 2012; Orsini 2007; Ibarra 2009). These were of groups that flourished through high altitude agriculture, herding and trade. Major architectural projects as well as mortuary variability indicate that, by AD 500, a number of large chiefly polities (curacazgos or lordships) had developed in different parts of highland Ancash, especially at Pashash, Yayno, Huaraz, and other centers in the Callejón de Huaylas. Recuay groups were warlike, and their settlements, even the largest centers, were located in

high, strategic locations and defended by fortifications. Many were also situated above transport routes, apparently to monitor movements of people and things.

While very diverse in expression, most Recuay groups shared important common denominators, namely funerary practices, stone sculpture, finely made buildings and objects, and in particular, pottery (Lau 2011). The elite wares, found especially in funerary contexts, are typified by fine thin pastes (occasionally of light colored kaolinite clays), a diverse range in shapes, modeled figuration, and especially, polychrome and resist painting of imagery typical of the Recuay style.

By about AD 600, new stylistic dispositions emerged throughout highland Ancash, both east and west of the Cordillera Blanca (Bennett 1944; Grieder 1978; Wegner 2000; Ibarra 2003a; Lau 2010a, 2012). These included a fairly rapid cessation of kaolinite use, resist painting and modeling, fewer shapes, and major changes in imagery. Some former preferences were preserved, such as the emphasis on light backgrounds and exterior painting, typically repeating abstract designs in thicker dark red strokes. When light pastes were not available, a light/buff slip could be used to reproduce the light ground.

By the end of the tradition, ca. 8th century AD, nearly all of the distinctive techniques and imagery typical of the Recuay fineware style had been abandoned. It was supplanted by a host of local oxidized styles, which often featured a red/orange background (slipped or unslipped), and a limited range of abstracted figural and geometric motifs painted mainly in dark red or black; arranged into bands and pendants, these seem to derive from Wari polychromes as part of the great proliferation of 'secular Wari styles' seen throughout the Central Andes during the late Middle Horizon (Menzel 1964; Anders 1989; González Carré *et al.* 1999).

In this trajectory of regional culture change, we can locate specific evidence of interaction during the first millennium AD. It is to these general patterns that we now turn.

Most of the relationships during the early to mid-first millennium can be characterized as stylistic (Makowski and Rucabado Yong 2000; Lau 2004b: 191-198). Different materials and techniques in making were shared by Recuay and different groups of the coast (Gallinazo, Vicús, Early Moche) and the northern highlands (Alto Chicama, Cajamarca). This is paralleled by commonalities in ceramic shapes as well as in imagery, and presumably in attendant cosmologies. The current evidence does not show much traffic of durable commodities.

By the 7th century AD, the waning of the Recuay pottery style coincided with broader cultural transformations more generally. A range of external contacts prevailed, contrasting with more insular patterns typical of Recuay groups before. Fancy pottery was acquired from the North Highlands and the North Coast (Late Moche, blackwares), with small amounts from the Central Highlands (Wari polychromes), suggesting increased interest and relationships in these regions (Bennett 1944; Wegner 2000; Lau 2005). Imported goods were relatively rare, but the limited evidence shows a greater willingness on the part of Ancash groups to obtain foreign materials.

Over the next few centuries, interregional interaction intensified considerably. In particular, access to foreign goods burgeoned across highland Ancash. Coastal relationships are seen through imported fancy styles (Late Moche, Nievería, Huari Norteño, polished and early press-molded wares, associated with coastal valley groups); images of marine shell (*Strombus* sp. and *Spondylus* sp.) and marine fauna (e.g. birds, crustaceans) became very important to highland imaginaries. There were also ceramic connections with both the northern and southern highlands. In addition to Cajamarca, Wari polychrome wares became more abundant as did a series of lesser known fancy wares (e.g. Bennett 1944; Ponte R. 1999; Lau 2005; Paredes 2007b). Imported ceramics include Chakipampa and Viñaque and north highland wares (Wilkawain negative, fine redware spoons and anthropomorphic figurines, blackware vessels).

In contrast to earlier Recuay patterns that focused on stylistic interaction, there was much greater exchange of durable goods. Both the range of sources and the frequency of exotic items increased considerably. Besides the fancy prestige pottery, obsidian appeared in Ancash. Notably, not much obsidian has been recovered from the large centers; it appears much more commonly at small villages, such as Chinchawas and Ancosh Punta (Pierina). These sites featured obsidian overwhelmingly from the Quispisisa source (Huancasancos, Ayacucho), with trace amounts from the Alca source in Arequipa (Burger *et al.* 2006).

Commerce seems to have routed through the Callejón de Huaylas and parts of the Cordillera Negra. Eastern Ancash, in comparison, remained fairly isolated. The interaction focused on prestige goods, which emphasized rare items and the foreign imagery of powerful societies, especially Wari and groups within its exchange network.

The terminal Middle Horizon, ca. AD 1000, in the north central highlands culminated in greater cultural connections and economic interaction with groups of the Pacific littoral. This is shown mainly through ceramic evidence, where imported assemblages become increasingly dominated by press-molded wares, with their attendant techniques and imagery, of coastal style. Spindle whorls also indicate fairly intensive fiber-producing industries, perhaps for exchange of bulk goods with lower elevation communities nearer the coast (Lau 2007). By the end of the Middle Horizon, access to obsidian diminished dramatically.

During the next few centuries, the plastic decoration typical of coastal Ancash pottery styles became very popular in highland areas and would characterize local decorative modes in pottery production up until the present. These are characterized by punctations, appliqué, stamping, and press-molding. Some scholars have suggested that a form of vertical complementarity between highland and coastal communities developed during this time (Schaedel 1985).

3. Patterns and networks through time

Considered over the long term, distinct times and patterns of long distance interaction can be discerned. These occurred especially during the early centuries AD, during the 7th to 9th centuries, and over the centuries straddling the end of the first millennium. There may have been reduced interaction during the intervening times. Each period highlighted a unique suite of long-distance sources, while operating at different scales. The first period is oriented toward the northern and coastal areas, and appears more stylistic in nature, with few transactions of prestige items. The second reverses the pattern, with less stylistic interaction, but more traffic in physical, luxury goods. The second also occurred within the wider interaction network articulated by the Wari state, and extended into many surrounding coast and highland regions. The third returned to a more geographically circumscribed pattern, and included stylistic interchanges and trade mainly with neighboring coastal cultures.

The data indicate persistent activity at the margins of highland Ancash, especially to the north and the west. In particular, intensive interaction occurred along the Pacific flanks of the Cordillera Negra, especially along the coastal valleys and adjacent foothills (Nepeña, Santa, Chao and Virú), and also the highlands between Huamachuco and Ancash (Pallasca and Santiago de Chuco provinces). These were stylistic frontiers, and may have also been the social boundaries of different ethnic groups.

Proximity to exchange networks was a critical factor. Communities near transportation arteries (Ichik Wilkawaín, Chinchawas, La Pampa) and valley bottlenecks (Honcopampa) grew increasingly important. These sites all witnessed relatively sudden local building programs. Not surprisingly, these were settlements also with prominent Wari relationships. Well-located, multi-purpose settlements—with cemetery, public and residential sectors—appear to have been the main contexts for early Wari interaction in Ancash.

Interestingly, intrusive Wari materials are most evident not at the large ‘provincial’ centers where we might expect Wari administrators to have left evidence of their living and administrative activities. Rather, they have been found in very specialized ceremonial contexts that were established (and held local ritual significance) centuries before Wari expansion. Of the published cases, these include San José de Moro (Castillo 2001a; Castillo *et al.* 2008), Ichik Wilkawaín (Bennett 1944; Paredes 2007b), Chinchawas (Lau 2005, 2010a) and Cerro Amaru (McCown 1945; Topic and Topic 1992).

It is also difficult to evidence a continuous territorial presence. Large tracts of northern and central Peru do not feature much Wari presence, neither in imported goods nor in stylistic influence. For instance, relatively little evidence has been reported in Cerro de Pasco and Huánuco. In Junín and Huancaayo, Wari presence appears to have concentrated in certain religious sites and high status burials,



Figure 3. Front (a) and back (b) views of carved figure of blue-green stone, perhaps turquoise. It was found in plowed fields near Carhuaz, Callejón de Huaylas; other materials included a fine Cajamarca cursive bowl and derivative Wari style ceramics (Felipe Díaz collection, Carhuaz).

which also contained trade wares from different Andean regions (e.g. Lumbreras 1974: 165; MacNeish *et al.* 1975: 60; Mallma Cortéz 2004: 107-108).

In Ancash, where there is more published work, Wari favored strategic routes in the Callejón de Huaylas and Cordillera Negra. In comparison, there was very limited Wari presence in eastern Ancash, to the east of the Cordillera Blanca, a region called the Conchucos (Lau 2006: 159-163). The available evidence indicates that trade was less prominent in the Conchucos, Cabana region (northern Recuay area), and southern Callejón de Huaylas. Groups in these regions seem to have had little to do with Wari. It is not clear whether this was intentional or because they were situated outside its primary exchange networks.⁶

It is noteworthy that much of the current evidence for Wari interaction in the northern Peru comes from funerary contexts. The materials generally come from chullpas (aboveground mortuary structures) and/or associated offertory contexts, and feature a range of high to low quality Wari-related preciosities, including polychrome and modeled ceramics, beadwork, and small items of rare stone (turquoise, sodalite, and greenstone) (Figure 3). It can be argued that the principal end-users of Wari material culture were local elites. The cases result from collecting and display habits geared toward funerary activities, but some contexts suggest their importance in other special practices as well (feasting, offering caches). Overall, Wari presence in the Central Andes appears to have been highly localized and focused on certain areas and resources, while largely disregarding others.

4. Bundling: intercultural acquisition and display

The circulation of Wari ceramics — the Wari polychrome styles from Ayacucho (Menzel 1964; Knobloch 1991) — illuminates a greater phenomenon during the Middle Horizon Period. This is not because of their frequency. Wari imports were fairly limited in northern Peru and rarely constituted the bulk of assemblages, or even the bulk of imported assemblages. Rather, they figured as fairly rare items in polythetic, ‘cosmopolitan’ collections (see Lau 2005: 94-95, 2006: 161-163; Burger *et al.* 2006: 114-116). They were obtained and/or were made to look as if they were acquired from a range of regional sources.

Other fancy wares in the innovative practice entailed Nievería and Pachacamac, polished blackwares from different regions, Wilkawaín negative, Late Moche, Huari Norteño and others (Bennett 1944; Topic and Topic 1984; Lau 2005; Castillo *et al.* 2008). Middle Cajamarca cursive wares and associated developments such as Cajamarca Costeño were especially key elements (Bernuy and Bernal 2005, 2008; Lau 2006; Watanabe 2009). Later in the Middle Horizon, ca. AD 800-900, exchange in Ancash turned

to press-molded and painted styles typical of the central and north central coasts. Many coeval groups also made stylistically diverse collections but held somewhat different predilections (e.g. Rucabado Yong and Castillo 2003).

The various styles *represented* prestigious regions, each with its own political and social complexity, as well as symbolic import (Shady 1988; T. L. Topic 1991). One is reminded about the value of materials and things that come from long-distance (Helms 1993; Goldstein 2000; Stovel 2008). But one should not discount their importance in having been gathered together in dense or special configurations to work together — e.g. mummy bundles, portable huacas, marked adobes, trophy heads, even laborers.

An important but undertheorized pattern concerns how Wari materials, when they did appear, almost always co-occurred with other sorts of luxury items. Cajamarca cursive pottery has already been mentioned, but *Spondylus* sp., turquoise/greenstone objects and obsidian from the Quispisisa source formed crucial parts of the consumption pattern (T. L. Topic 1991; Burger *et al.* 2006). If they are not revealed together, one often finds, almost predictably, Cajamarca pottery, obsidian and *Spondylus* sp. in other parts of the site or in associated deposits. Ceramic human figures also featured occasionally. Textiles were also probably part of the Wari ‘bundle’ but may be less perceptible archaeologically.

In Ancash, Wari polychrome styles occur with one or more of these categories at a series of sites, frequently in association with chullpa contexts and activities (Bennett 1944; Amat 1976; Kato 1979; Lau 2002, 2005, 2010a; Ponte R. 2001, 2004; Paredes *et al.* 2001; Paredes 2007a, b). Miniature vessels, metal tupu pins, and moldmade human figurines also formed part of the funerary set (Table 1). The latter usually represent standing females and males, occasionally with four-cornered hats (see also Morgan 1996: 562), with arms and hands tucked near the waist (e.g. Bennett 1944: 51; Paredes *et al.* 2001: fig. 6, 27; Lau 2010a: fig.101). Some are produced using a distinctive fine red clay used also on small spoons and panpipes; the latter were molded but perhaps also slipcast for mass production and precision (Dawson 1964: 107; Proulx 2006: 120).

At one level, the diverse materials constituted counterparts, both temporally and contextually, in very specific exchange practices (Table 1). At another, one can argue that Wari seems to have promoted interest in a cultural bundle (physical items, ritual practices and the meanings exercised through them) at specific locales of encounter. Local groups, especially elite individuals, enhanced their social status through display of rare goods either from Wari or associated with its wide religious and cultural programme.

Patterns of interaction in the north were considerably different before the Middle Horizon. There was certainly interest in other cultures, sometimes seen in pottery emulation (Bankmann 1979; Reichert 1982), depictions of possible foreign groups (Lau 2004a), and a series of stylistic commonalities (Makowski and Rucabado Yong 2000). But, crucially, the exchange of long-distance wares was much rarer; also, there was little demonstrated desire to form intercultural assemblages. For instance, peoples at large Recuay centers, such as Pashash and Yayno, demonstrated relatively little access to exotic styles and goods during their height (middle to late Early Intermediate Period), in spite of marvelous displays of wealth in monumental architecture and burial offerings. With some exceptions such as *Spondylus* shell, long distance items and intercultural bundles also did not figure much in pre-Middle Horizon Moche or Gallinazo cultures.

Some provisional observations might be offered to account for the early Middle Horizon ‘bundling’ patterns, with the hope that further research can test and refine their propositions. First, we are dealing with high status persons who are making conscious choices for certain kinds of social ends: wealth display, labor mobilization, funerary ritual, alliancing, political rhetoric, etc. These are of course related social fields, but for heuristic purposes are still useful to distinguish. The choices can only be highly contingent and based on various historical factors that, unfortunately, have little footprint at present: taste, regional orientations, age, fashionable styles, diplomacy, etc. For comparison, we might consider how bundled things mark the uptake of a faith (Christianity’s crucifix, text, cathedral, candle, wine, altar) or an event such as Christmas (e.g. gift, carol, conifer, turkey dinner, *panetón*), or a pastime, like baseball (e.g. bat/ball, stadium, souvenir, attire). The objects can exist (and signify) on their own, but also connote and enable a larger whole when brought together, in proximate space and time. Also, they

	Pashash (Mid Recuay)	Roko Amá (Mid Recuay)	Yayno (Mid-Late Recuay)	Queyash Alto (Early-Late Recuay)	Chinchawas (Late Recuay)	Ichik Wilkawain (Late Recuay)	San José de Moro (Late Moche)	Cerro Amaru (Early Middle Horizon)
Wari polychromes								
Local Wari								
Cajamarca cursive								
Local Cajamarca								
Obsidian								
Marine shell or imagery								
Copper garment pins								
Other prestige items								
Greenstone beads								

Table 1. Illustration showing the dramatic transformation and 'bundling' of long-distance exchange patterns found in highland Ancash and other northern Peru archaeological contexts, before and during the Middle Horizon.

share aims and conventions, but take varied expression among different groups because of local social relations, resources, traditions, languages, and social and environmental settings. In other words, 'bundling' is mediated through local contexts. Yet, in each case, the cluster of objects effect a certain way when together, just as they gain significance when together (Keane 2003; Lau 2010c).⁷

Second, at least some of the variability should be attributed to time differences which our relative chronologies cannot precisely map at present. Wari cultural expansion occurred over some two to three centuries, and there is little reason to believe at present that there was ever a truly stable or lasting state system, either administratively or in terms of material style. The great diversity of derivative Wari wares must have been affected by changing technical dispositions of potters over many generations. The long-term appeal of Wari pottery, I would argue, was its quality of being stylistically and technically innovative, yet symbolically open and promiscuous.

Finally and probably of greatest relevance is that collectives 'practiced' Wari differently. It seems likely that persons and factions within the same region, valley or even ethnic group knew and engaged Wari differently (Lau 2012: Chapter 2). For example in highland Ancash, the bundling was one of heterogeneity and apparent aspiration, than of unbridled adherence. Thus, we find that at places such as Wilkawain/Ichik Wilkawain and other parts of the Callejón de Huaylas that there were important dispositions toward effigies of standing felines (probably a Central Coast Nievería link) and blackware keros. These were less important in places such as Chinchawas. To draw out an earlier analogy, it would be inaccurate to say that all people play baseball the same way: there needs to be a ball and a bat, but it need not be of ash, or even of wood; many kids don't play with four bases; a can might be used as a ball; some teams, indeed even nations, emphasize speed and defense, others the big hit. Where this might be seen to be particularly different from related concepts such as 'interaction sphere' and 'cultural

packages' (e.g. co-dispersal of language and agriculture) is the degree of local agency and calculation in the selective practice that 'bundling' presumes.

The capacity to obtain long-distance items blossomed during the Middle Horizon Period. It might be suggested that these were new orientations of competing leaders within smaller polities or especially competitive collectivities, who looked increasingly outside their own cultural worlds for important markers of distinction. This was initially a highly discriminating practice to assert political authority, economic wherewithal and perhaps the divergent interests of rival factions. The new things and their alien imagery and meanings were especially useful in two social fields: commensality and funerary display.

5. Stylistic emulation and making the Middle Horizon

Within a century or two of their appearance, by around AD 800 in northern Peru, many of the regions of the Central Andes that featured Wari imports, even in limited quantities, began to incorporate Wari-affiliated features in local pottery production.

Whole ceramic-making traditions (e.g. Moche, Recuay, Cajamarca) became retooled to accommodate the new interest to be more Wari (e.g. Thatcher 1972; Menzel 1977; Terada and Matsumoto 1985; Lau 2004b, 2006; Castillo *et al.* 2008). The variability in adoption of long distance items mirrors the variability in stylistic emulation. Some cultures were successful technically at reproducing Wari style (Menzel 1964). Most others syncretized specific elements. New, distinctive forms, designs and color schemes typical of Wari were selectively adopted, very often displacing earlier techniques and modes. Across the Central Andes, innovations might include vessel forms (e.g. kero-shaped cups, stirrup-spout bottles, open bowls), new designs (e.g. pendant designs, band/meanders, mythical creatures with appendages), polychrome schemes, surface treatments (e.g. glossy red slip) and other new techniques (e.g. fine spoon and figurine production).

Some of the human figural imagery of the Wari-inspired pottery takes very special forms in Ancash. There was interest in depicting chiefly leaders with traditional Recuay style headdresses, but in Wari polychrome style (Figure 4). Some effigies are of male figures with four-cornered hats, often identified as Wari affiliated apparel (e.g. Paredes *et al.* 2001: fig. 7). One is shown to have his hands tied behind his back, like a captive (Ponte 2001: 242), while another holds a shield and drinking tumbler (Herrera 2005: fig.7.19). Wari may have been recognized, it seems, through idioms of male political authority, warriorhood and festive generosity. More data are certainly necessary, but the available evidence is consistent with a model of local peoples actively trying to accord themselves the prestige of Wari association through special objects and ritual.

It should be noted that stylistic entanglements in Ancash were highly variable. The local derivative styles, while comparable in general look, do not necessarily resemble each other or even follow the same derivative sources. For example, among the major stylistic transformations was the great proliferation of open, 'cumbrous' bowls with interior painting. These were often produced using redware pastes known from earlier local production, usually associated with common plainwares. Not only were the bowls generally larger and more diverse in size range than before, some local potters made them with tripod legs, others with ring bases; other potters left the bases plain, with a round concave or slightly angled basal profile. While the ring bases clearly conformed with the earlier Recuay tradition of ring based bowls, they can just as easily have referenced exogenous styles, such as Cajamarca. Also, there was no outstanding regularity in their interior imagery. In other words, the Ancash pottery data suggest that cultural dynamism of the later Middle Horizon revealed a new repertoire of new and popular features, but did not prescribe a strict formula for how things were made or put together at the local level.

Ultimately, foreign Wari-associated markers spread to non-elite sectors of local society by being integrated into the common local decorated wares. Both near and far from the Wari heartland, stylistic emulation resulted in derived, secular Wari wares (e.g. Menzel 1964: 69; Isbell 1977; Anders 1989; Glowacki 2005; Owen 2007). Investigations of Wari's southern margins also evince variability in the local impact and uptake of Wari style (Menzel 1964: 39; Cook and Glowacki 2003; Jennings 2006; Owen 2007: 322). The production of later Middle Horizon figurines followed a similar sequence:



Figure 4. Effigy vessel of a chiefly figure, with warrior associations. The figure wears a headdress with trophy band elements and holds a club and shield. Its deep red, glossy slip and polychrome scheme are Wari in style. The figure was recovered from scientific investigations in the funerary complex at Ichik Willkawain led by archaeologist Juan Paredes (courtesy of Complejo Arqueológico Willkawain – Ichik Willkawain, INC-Ancash).

strong rupture from earlier local traditions, and then more common copying from early Middle Horizon prototypes (Morgan 1989: 166). Crucially, coeval to these developments was local emulation of Cajamarca pottery (Figure 5), even at Huari itself (e.g. Bennett 1953; Lau 2006; Bernuy and Bernal 2008; Castillo *et al.* 2008; Valdez 2009).

By the end of the Middle Horizon, dispositions for Wari style altered irrevocably the trajectories of many local corporate traditions in the Central Andes. And for a few, such as Recuay, Wari precipitated their outright demise.

It is noteworthy that a range of peoples, not just elites and subjects, found Wari style accessible and worthy of copying in local production. Apparently, the items were desirable for their cosmological content that could be appreciated and incorporated across factional, wealth, or ethnic boundaries. The later Middle Horizon pattern appears to have been more comprehensive in scope. Rather than occurring simply at special nodes or occasional sites, the new dispositions became widely distributed, and shared by people of small villages as well as of larger, political centers. What were privileges formerly limited mainly to elites, what Appadurai (1986: 22-25, 31) and others have discussed as ‘enclaved’ objects/sumptuaries, became more widely accessible as sought after items through the work of local makers. The objects resulting originally from elite tastes and acquisition during the Middle Horizon provided the models for internal consumption and change.

Interestingly, at the same time that secularization of the style cast Wari’s net further and more widely during the later Middle Horizon, we can only imagine that it destabilized the status system which regulated the previous enclaving and prestige economy. In effect, the hybridization of styles decreased the symbolic and physical distance between Huari and its provincial adherents, while narrowing, or denying altogether, the cosmological gulf between acquisitive lords and their subjects (Helms 1993: 46-49, 160-170). Transformations in the knowledge economies so crucial in making and governing the circulation of sumptuaries may have ultimately thinned the reliance on and symbolic authority of Huari. If this

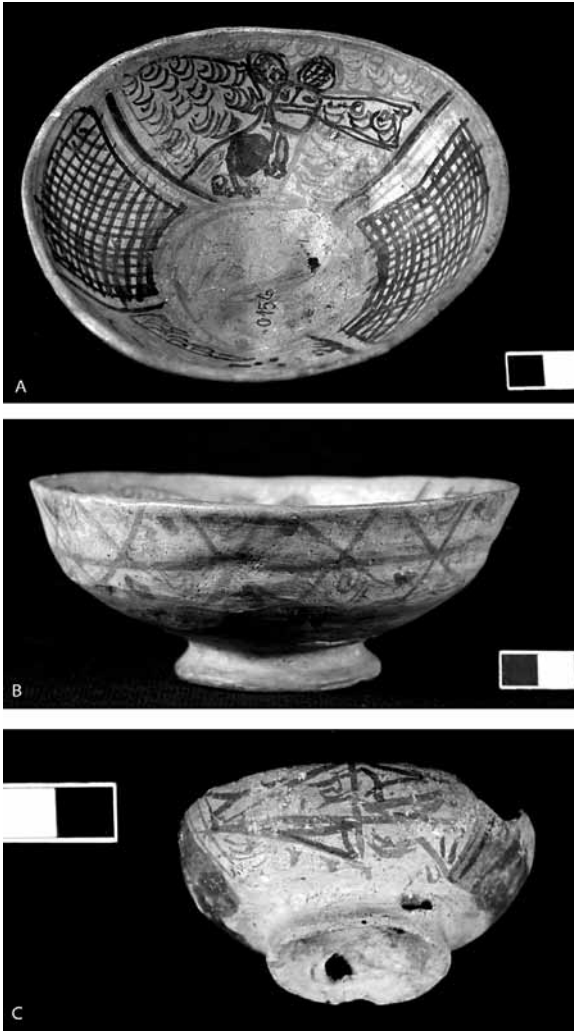


Figure 5. Cajamarca style bowls in Ancash, probably local emulations using coarse light buff paste and thick and untidy cursive painted designs (Museo Arqueológico de Ancash, Huaraz). A) Ring base bowl showing pendant lattices and panels with typical Cajamarca style zoomorph (also Topic and Topic 1984: Fig. 10; Castillo, et al. 2008: Fig. 21). B) Profile of above vessel, showing cursive strokes in segmented exterior band. C) Very small ring base bowl, with cursive strokes in segmented exterior band. The coarse holes in ring base are pre-fire and suggest the small bowl was suspended during fabrication and/or use in local display (see also Eisleb 1987: Abb. 25).

proposition holds, the question moves away from the rather intractable program of matching Wari styles to kinds of statecraft/organization, to more narrowly focus on what processes or ruptures caused their enclaving to cease; or put another way, why previously exclusive things became more secularized and why they were adopted. By obligation, answers to the question shift the emphasis to local contexts and strategies outside the Wari heartland.

In sum, the timing, duration and diverse character of the interaction are of major consequence in more accurately representing the functional tenor of Wari presence in the Central Andes. In northern Peru, the earliest sustained form of interaction was of imported goods, which ended up mainly in the funerary practices celebrating local provincial elites. These were people interested in the symbolic capital of a growing power in the south. Within a few centuries, ca. AD 800, there was a surge in the production and dissemination of Wari-inspired local decorated wares. This would indicate that limited quantities of imports, albeit still satisfying certain sectors, were not enough; the appeal of Wari-related materials, initially limited to elites, extended to a wider populace of different statuses and means. The demand for Wari style goods came also from commoners and non-elites, suggesting at once its popularity and its shared ideological importance.

Over the longue *durée*, Middle Horizon patterns of northern Peruvian interaction bear some resemblances to, but also crucial differences from the other horizon periods, associated with Chavín and Inka cultures in the region. The key similarity, of course, was the interchange of finely made portable objects and imagery. The items, almost always redolent with religious symbolism, formed the basis of large-scale ideological programmes that fostered local political alliances. Chavín for example stressed esoteric knowledge and the circulation of its fancy objects (e.g. pottery, textiles, drug paraphernalia) among priestly and local elites at other ceremonial centers; this turned on local religious conversion while engaging lower power brokers in exchange opportunities (Burger 1992; Burger and Matos 2002). In all three cases, there is considerable local emulation of the expansive style, which maps onto innovations in provincial cosmologies and ritual performance (Bray 2003; Cook and Glowacki 2003).

However, there are fundamental differences. In particular, the degree of volition and choice in long-distance assemblages differed. By now, we know the Inka system entailed mass movements of goods and resources. But there was great standardization in the types of items moved around during the Late Horizon. For example, the contents of offerings in Inka *capacocha* sacrifices in the provinces are relatively predictable (e.g. *Spondylus* sp., metal figurines, rich textiles, vessels), and all usually rendered in the imperial style (e.g. McEwan and van de Guchte 1992). Although there was also a formal checklist (e.g., Cajamarca bowl/spoon; Nievería bottle; *Spondylus* shell; Quispisisa lithic; turquoise bead/figurine; Wari face-neck, cup and bowl; miniatures), there was little prescription for Wari stylistic homogeneity. Indeed, it was basic that most of these objects were *not* Wari (in style).

For each of the horizons, a recognizable 'bundle' of high-status, significant objects and the innovative practices in which they were embedded served to engender a larger imagined community. 'Bundling,' as presented here, simply acts to recognize a pattern; unlike *capacocha*, however, there are no documents to elucidate the earlier cases. If there is a generalizable insight now, I suspect it is about how bundled materials and practices transacted understandings of community in their respective systems. Each element of the bundle sought to pull in some partial/regional aspect, embodied in objects and persons, into a new intercultural cartography. The next sections aim to clarify the character and organization of the Wari community during the Middle Horizon.

6. Architecture and Wari politics

Various authors have voiced concerns over models of Wari military conquest and direct territorial control in northern Peru (Mackey 1982; T. L. Topic 1991; Topic and Topic 2001; Lau 2002, 2005, 2010a; Ibarra A. 2003b; Tschauner 2003; Herrera 2005). The record shows limited evidence for conquest or large population movements. While it remains unfair to make categorical comparisons between the Middle and Late Horizon, it is not unreasonable to expect clearer evidence for state infrastructure, especially if Wari intervention in the north was based on the extraction of local staple or labor resources, or on military policy (Topic and Topic 2001: 181-182). But the current record shows weak evidence for Wari roads, storage systems and fortifications in the north — even given the three to four century period attributed to Wari's dominion. And the imagery and mixing of local pottery elements mark histories that cannot be completely explained through site-unit intrusion.

Investigations of Wari imperialism focus on the identification and histories of Wari provincial administrative settlements (Isbell and McEwan 1991; Schreiber 1992). One of the key debates concerns Honcopampa, a large late Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon site located in the Callejón de Huaylas (Figure 6). First studied but never fully published by archaeologists Gary Vescelius and Hernan Amat, its role in the Wari political economy entered into the literature via various secondhand but influential accounts (Buse 1965: 327; Lanning 1965: 140; Lumbreras 1974: 171).

Honcopampa has, ever since, been seen as a Wari administrative center, in spite of research advocating against any swift judgment (Isbell 1991: 34-35; Tschauner 2003: 218). On a map, it would help connect the Huari capital and the Central Highlands to Viracochapampa and Cajamarca in the north. It also features D-shaped structures sometimes found at other Wari sites (Cook 2001; Meddens and Cook 2001; Williams 2001). But closer scrutiny shows that Honcopampa shares little of the integrated



Figure 6. South view of the ruins of Honcopampa, showing the foundations of two D-shaped structures (foreground) and a series of aboveground mortuary buildings, known as *chullpas* (midground). The D-shaped structures were probably used for special ceremonies involving ancestors and feasting.

spatial organization — long avenues, cellular rooms, perimeter wall — construction techniques, stonemasonry, or pottery typical for Wari provincial settlements (Tschauner 2003). Far above the valley floor and away from easy transport routes, especially north-south routes, Honcopampa is not particularly central to the Callejón de Huaylas, either for valley-wide displays of imperial power, storage, or for organizing goods and labor.⁸ These are crucial differences from the better known centers of Pikillacta, Viracochapampa, Jincamocco and Azángaro (Anders 1991; Schreiber 1992; Topic and Topic 2001; McEwan 2005).⁹

In addition, Honcopampa's rectangular patio-groups, often deemed to be part of Wari's intrusive orthogonal style, have local Recuay antecedents (cf. Lau 2002: 300; Lau 2010b). A number of Yayno's quadrangular compounds are more sizeable, taller and more elaborate than those at Honcopampa. Radiocarbon dates also indicate that Yayno's earliest compounds were built around AD 400, at least several centuries before the rise of Wari. Some continued to be occupied at the same time as those of Honcopampa. But it is noteworthy that, to date, there has been no evidence to attribute their construction or use to Wari people or intervention. On the contrary, all the pottery and diagnostic material corroborate the presence of flourishing local (Recuay) groups.

These observations do not preclude Wari occupation at Honcopampa, but Wari's intrusive presence and administrative function there become harder to sustain without additional proxy evidence. Pottery from the site is rare and poorly known; what has been reported appear to come mainly from *chullpa* mortuary monuments (Amat 1976: 234-236). These are buildings best recognized as northern highland in derivation (Isbell 1997: 287), and were the primary ceremonial spaces for local ancestor cults as early as the late Early Intermediate Period (Lau 2000). Wari polychromes (likened to Atarco, Okros, Viñaque styles from the Wari heartland to the south) have been reported, but also other fancy styles: Cajamarca (Cajamarca III and Huari-Cajamarca), Recuay, black polished and a negative redware (Amat 1976: 234-238). Turquoise beads and pyroengraved gourds were also found in the site's *chullpas*. The diversity

of materials in Honcopampa's *chullpa* contexts is consistent with the general bundling pattern of interaction described earlier (Table 1).

Investigations in Huamachuco provide useful comparisons. Despite its classic Wari form (i.e., large walled enclosure, interior plazas, avenues, cellular rooms), the planned site of Viracochapampa was never completed and lacked a major imperial occupation there, or one that left substantial refuse (Topic and Topic 2001: 204). Not only is evidence for Wari military conquest negligible in Huamachuco, but it seems that existing cultural forms of ceramics and architecture managed to flourish. Political centers, such as Marcahuamachuco, Honcopampa and Yayno continued to thrive during Middle Horizon times (e.g. Topic and Topic 2001: 183; Tschauner 2003: 218; Lau 2010b: 345-346), and it seems that local lords in the north highlands were able to maintain power.

The function and chronology of D-shaped structures in Wari interaction merit further attention in this light. In those well-studied examples, it seems as if they performed as venues for local ceremonial practices, especially in relation to ancestors, elite display and/or feasting (e.g. González Carré *et al.* 1999; Cook 2001; Meddens and Cook 2001; Williams 2001; Ochatoma and Cabrera 2002; Tung 2008). Other types of buildings in coeval settlements may have also performed this function (e.g. Topic and Topic 2001; Lau 2002; McEwan 2005).

The two D-shaped structures at Honcopampa (Figure 6) are located very close to some of the largest *chullpas* in the Callejón de Huaylas. They were built between the settlement's elite residences and the main group of *chullpa* mausolea, and appear to physically mediate the residential areas with what would be presumed to be the primary resting places for mummy interments. The niches common to D-shaped structures are suitable for display and storage of effigies and other ritual objects. One of the innovations of the D-shaped structures at Honcopampa is their great height and the emphasis on a tall hollow interior, which was probably left unroofed. The special ritual space contrasts with the solidity of the site's low *chullpas* and quadrangular spaces associated with Honcopampa patio-group residences. Somewhat similar circular buildings occur in other parts of Ancash (Herrera 2008; Lau 2010b). While precise dating has yet to be established, most are associated with the 1st millennium AD. Many feature tapering interior spaces as well as large niches for offerings, cult objects and interments (Figure 7).

Overall, the current evidence indicates that Wari had a somewhat patchy, irregular presence in northern Peru. Early Wari expansion was not a thorough replacement of local assemblages or construction styles one would associate with major population movements. There were locales where Wari made stronger inroads or alliances, perhaps for specific resources, whether material (Watanabe 2009) or intangible (T. L. Topic 1991). Other important settlements in Ancash, such as Pashash, Queyash Alto and Roko Amá, also saw a rapid decline. This accords with the general expectation of great local variability in core-periphery relations during the early Middle Horizon Period (Lau 2005). There is little denying Wari's impact in spurring widespread cultural transformations in stylistic and trade interaction and in pottery production, especially later in the Middle Horizon.

Generally speaking, Wari patterns in northern Peru are consistent with the model of indirect rule (Isbell 2008: 742), where expansive states leave fairly developed political arrangements largely intact, relying on hegemonic strategies for economic benefit (e.g. Menzel 1959; D'Altroy 1992; Schreiber 1992; Jennings 2011). Where political organization needed to be introduced or for particularly unruly zones, there was larger investment in infrastructure (e.g. Morris and Thompson 1985).

But closer inspection of the northern Peruvian evidence also elicits further questions about Wari strategies, even if indirect. First, if the Wari realm encompassed the central highlands, an area with great potential for agro-pastoral intensification but with little centralization, why is there so little evidence for Wari infrastructure there? Also, if we understand Marcahuamachuco as the base of a major polity which continued in use during the Middle Horizon, why then build Viracochapampa and why/how so close to the local center? Also, if D-shaped structures were part of Wari administrative strategy, why set up D-shaped structures at certain locales and not others (e.g. Honcopampa versus Viracochapampa)? Just how frequent were Wari incursions outside their heartland? Perhaps most basic, it still remains uncertain what kinds of resources fueled Wari authority and interventions in regions such as Ancash.



Figure 7. Exterior (a) and detail of interior (b) of circular structure at Karway, northern Conchucos. It resembles D-shaped structures: imposing height, unroofed interior space, inward leaning walls. The buildings feature a series of double niches that may have contained funerary bundles and other cult objects. Note also the holes for rafters to support additional floors and construction.

7. Contextualizing the integrated pluralism of the Middle Horizon

While many questions remain for future research, we are now in a better position to discuss the wider panorama of the Middle Horizon. In particular, groups engaged with Wari culture in myriad, somewhat unpredictable ways. Some areas saw the construction of large settlements and the movement of settler populations (Isbell and McEwan 1991; Schreiber 1992; Williams 2001; Glowacki 2002; McEwan 2005). These were in strategic areas for both economic and ideological interests. Some local groups linked themselves to centers of a burgeoning economic network, benefitting through trade, exchange of preciosities, and emulating styles for local uses (see also Burger and Matos 2002). Many constituted part of the network without direct evidence of having been annexed (e.g. T. L. Topic 1991; Castillo 2001a, 2001b; Lau 2005; Jennings 2006).

Meanwhile, many communities bypassed opportunities for intensive interaction with Wari altogether. Even for sites in relatively close proximity, there was significant variability in the level of Wari engagement. Neighboring sites in the same valleys, such as Huamachuco and Callejón de Huaylas, show coeval but also very different material assemblages.¹⁰ Some groups adopted certain imperial trappings while eschewed others (Lau 2002: 300). Other areas attracted very little Wari presence from the start. Perhaps there were local reasons for remaining insular, but this was likely also a strategy on Wari's part to favour areas and settlements with specific exchange or political value. In short, we can surmise that Wari was never complete or comprehensive in its expansion. By considering the Middle Horizon Period more as an array of contingent relations through time, it becomes evident that each region and community in those regions had unique histories that may, or crucially, may not have entangled Wari relationships.

As the record of the period's integrated pluralism deepens, orthodox explanations of its functional significance, based on either/or propositions (e.g. imperial expansion, peer polity trade, proselytization), become somewhat destabilized. Isbell (2008) now views the Middle Horizon as a time for the spread of new 'international' identities promoted through Wari interaction. Other recent work also recognize the multiple historical processes and regional developments at play during later 1st millennium AD (e.g. Jennings 2010, 2011).

Equally important, the Middle Horizon's pluralism dispels the homogeneity that archaeologists attribute to and expect from a 'horizon'. By the term, I mean that vehicle used to refer to a set of contemporaneously shared cultural traits, marked by a wide distribution over a fairly short span of time (Rowe 1967). Much literature stresses what Wari does in its hinterlands. Very commonly, this is expressed as Wari-inspired trade, conquest, and building projects in a specific locale or region. Current use of the horizon style concept often follows the functional ascription, while presuming a one-directional impact: e.g. Huari to province. This can be called into question, not least because it is predicated on 1) an already-fixed state style and 2) stable, ossified system of provincial rule. Neither of these seems to fit well with the current evidence from Ancash.

More can be said about the specific interests of each group in the region of encounter (e.g. Thomas 1991; Gosden 2004; Dillehay 2007; Dietler 2010). Wari engaged in a mutual process of stylistic interaction and transformative change over time. For example, Middle Horizon groups in Ancash drew from a number of technical and design dispositions from foreign zones; Wari was one in a number of influential prestige styles in this regard (Lau 2004b, 2006). It is evident that Wari played a significant role in altering the cultural trajectories of Recuay, Cajamarca, Moche and Nasca, but how was Wari affected by them? When and for what reason? As in the Chavín horizon (Burger 1992: 179), Wari also drew together and incorporated foreign cultural elements, synthesizing and exploiting them strategically.

The centuries associated with the terminal Early Intermediate Period, about AD 600-700, is a good place to start for contextualizing the Middle Horizon. The record from northern Peru, especially Ancash, shows that there were at least three major vectors for cultural interaction between different highland groups *before* the Middle Horizon.

By 'vectors,' I refer to preexisting cultural forms shared between cultures which predisposed later developments — in this case, those shared traits existing before the Middle Horizon. With the term, I am borrowing partly from Richard Schaedel's usage (1993: 249), which he glosses as "the elements diffused through [a] diffusion agency." While the definition and his 'vectorial analysis' remain somewhat opaque, he operationalizes the term clearly to mean stylistic linkages between two or more cultures: iconographic and technological traits at a specific node transmitted to another.¹¹ For him, a study of clustered cultural relationships, i.e. vectors, formed a way to problematize the development of the Middle Horizon art style now generally associated with Wari.

In wanting to 'avoid any predetermined judgment of the agency of diffusion' (e.g. via Wari imperialism from Huari), Schaedel (1993: 252) turned to the cultural diversity that existed before, during and after Wari expansion in northern and central Peru. With regard to the north, he contended that some Recuay cultural elements influenced Wari and were implicated in a co-development during the Middle Horizon. Drawing heavily on his doctoral study of Central Andean stone sculpture, he concluded that Recuay was the likeliest vector for several patterns seen in Middle Horizon imagery: central figure scenes (frontal anthropomorph flanked by felines), tenon heads, and horizontal slabs depicting pumas/felines (Schaedel 1952: 212-214; 1993: 231-236, 249). He also believed similarities in the depth of carving relief was a commonality between Recuay and Tiahuanacoid styles.

Two other important vectors for Wari and Recuay interaction can be enumerated. The first concerns fancy portable items intended for wide circulation and reception. Several observations are adduced here on their imagery and technology. Textiles were very often the essential medium for embodying value, work and information in the Central Andes. It is notable that Recuay tapestry technology antedated the Wari and may have provided the technical prototypes adopted by later Middle Horizon weavers. In particular, Recuay use of wide looms, two-web construction and short warps may have been important in later Wari production (Rodman and Cassman 1995: 34; Oakland Rodman and Fernández 2001: 126). The precise mechanism for the transmission of textile technology remains unclear, but one can suggest possibilities for future investigation: gift exchange, intermarriage of weavers, and exchange of processed fiber.

In addition, some Recuay pottery motifs of supernatural beings resemble polychrome pottery designs of zoomorphic beings found in the Ayacucho area before Middle Horizon Wari expansion (Figure 8).¹² The latter are frequently classified as Chakipampa A (Menzel 1964, 1968) or wares of

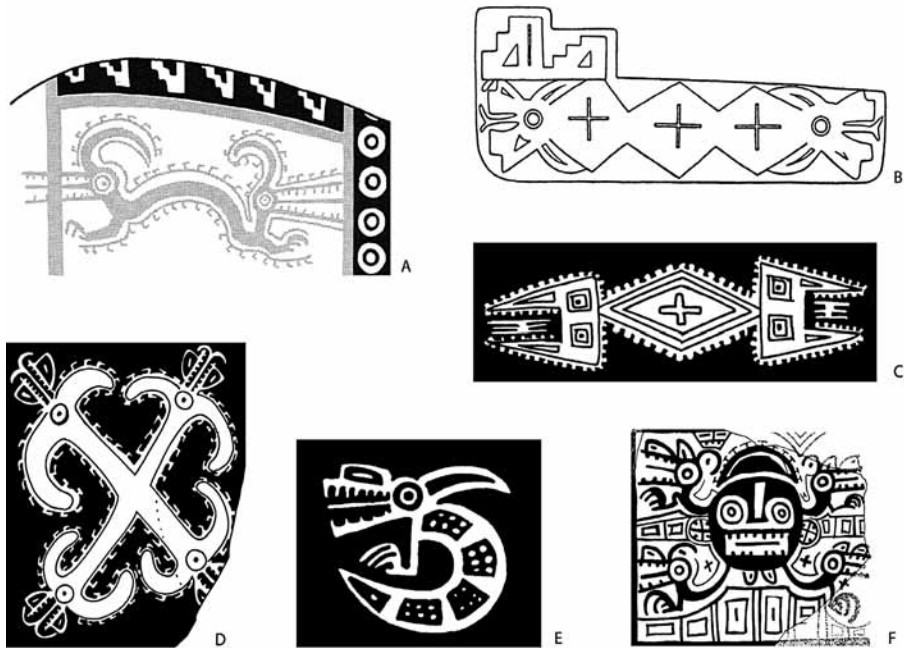


Figure 8. Zoomorphic beings in Recuay art (drawings adapted from Grieder 1978: 139, 224, 225, 228, 233; Smith 1978: Fig. 6b).

the Transicional Period between Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon (Lumbreras 1959). For Dorothy Menzel (1964: 10-17) and Patricia Knobloch (1983: 294), the zoomorphic designs were among the foremost innovations in early Wari polychrome ceramics (Figure 9).

Crucially, the Recuay designs have relationships to this early Wari imagery. Recuay potters depicted bicephalic creatures with humped backs, top-view serpent-feline heads, segmented creatures with body appendages (Figure 10), and other creatures with top-view, or split-represented heads. Such designs emerged by at least AD 400 and appeared on a range of media in addition to fine ceramics: stone sculpture, gameboards, metalwork and textiles. The zoomorphic beings exist on their own as independent images, but also adorn other, larger figures (of anthropomorphic, animal and/or mythical form) (Figure 11). Split-representation and top-view perspectives on Wari polychromes very likely drew from Huarpa and Late Nasca antecedents (Menzel 1964: 10; Knobloch 1983); and bicephalic creatures, avian figures and humped animals are known from Nasca types (e.g. Proulx 2006: figs. 5.39, 5.73). Studies contend the mythical animals are associated with celestial phenomena (Tello 1923; Menzel 1977).

Regardless of the origins and specific iconographic import of this vector, there is confidence that similar mythical beings and ways of representing them emerged in the regions in question *prior* to Wari consolidation. The shared imagery and conventions imply at least partly attuned cosmological beliefs. The common beliefs may have constituted part of the early resonance of Wari culture for Recuay people, especially as new exogenous, symbolic capital for local elites. In time, perhaps the initial appeal of Wari came to figure as part of its political strategy in parts of northern Peru.

The final vector between Recuay and Wari before the Middle Horizon Period concerns developments in corporate architecture. We have already discussed the temporal priority of the walled quadrangular compounds in the Ancash area. At least some of these were built by the fifth century AD for residential purposes; the largest and most well-built were occupied by local elites. Domestic activities were arranged in the various roofed rectangular rooms, opening onto a central unroofed courtyard (Lau 2010b). John and Theresa Topic, in discussing impressive architecture at Marcahuamachuco, have remarked how the niched halls and other building types predate and perhaps served as models for Wari canons (J. R. Topic 1991; Topic and Topic 2001).

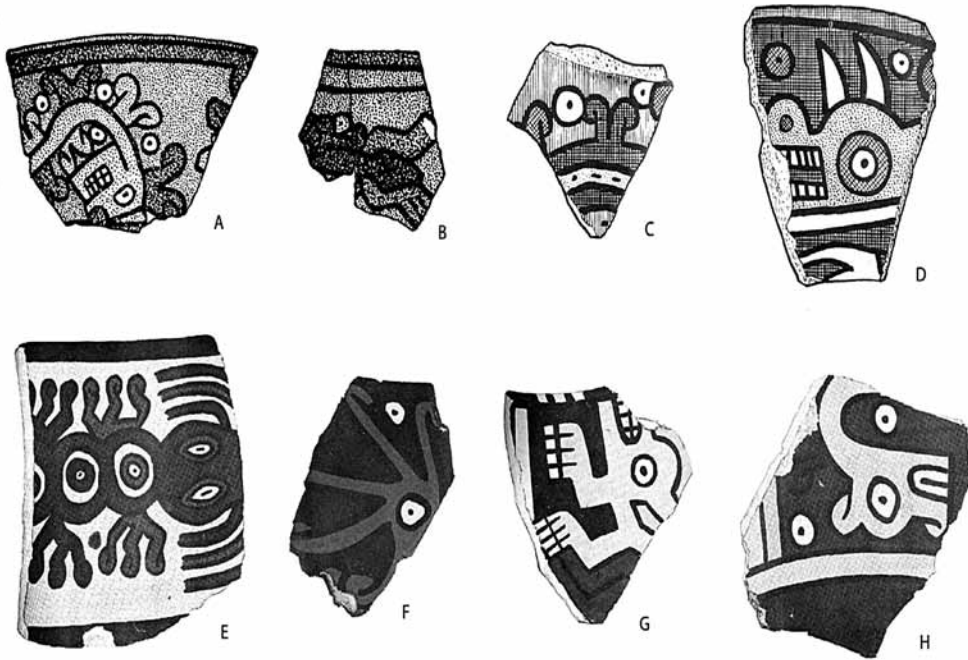


Figure 9. Mythical beings in early Wari polychrome pottery (drawings adapted from Bennett 1953: Fig. 17c,l; Lumbrenas 1960: Lá.m.7e,n, 11a,c,e,f).

Chullpas in the northern region also appear to have had a crucial history with Wari. While Wari culture does not appear to have been involved in their initial use in the north highlands (middle centuries AD), it seems very vital in their practices by around the 7th century AD. Groups throughout highland Ancash abandoned previous treatments focused on underground interments: cists, galleries, and underneath boulders. Rather, they began building and interring their dead in house-like *chullpa* buildings. The largest *chullpas* emerged as special, paramount buildings in sites with many other (smaller) *chullpas*. Nearly all of them (i.e. Wilkawaín, Honcopampa, Queushu, Katiamá) are found in the well-watered lands west of the Cordillera Blanca, especially the eastern side of the Callejón de Huaylas. *Chullpas* occurred in great frequency in the Conchucos region, but the wide majority of groups there felt little interest in engaging their dead with foreign Wari objects. Rather, it was in the western Ancash *chullpas* — including some of the largest known from the Andean highlands — that very often feature Wari imports or Wari-inspired items (e.g. Bennett 1944; Isbell 1997; Lau 2000, 2002; Paredes *et al.* 2001; Ponte R. 2001; Ibarra A. 2003a; Herrera *et al.* 2006). It follows that the precepts in their imagery, probably centered on fertility and a greater, imagined community, were increasingly attractive to certain groups in increasingly popular ancestor veneration practices in this region.

Perhaps the process is most apparent at Honcopampa, where D-shaped structures were built, I would contend, to stylize as Wari the mediation between local elite residential populations and their esteemed dead. The practice may have been comprehensible in uniquely Andean terms: ancestors who are co-opted by more (cosmologically) powerful ancestors, whose veneration is redirected to innovative enclosures that diverge from but clearly resonate with previous local traditions (e.g. 'vector'). In short, there seems to have been an acute synergy between local funerary practices and Wari cosmology, which spurred the widespread uptake of both. Ultimately, the increased interaction marginalized and led to the demise of more autochthonous Recuay practices.



Figure 10. Effigy vessel of feline-serpent (amaru), showing design panels on its body with representations of other mythical beings, especially a bicephalic being from which emerges a series of head/mouth appendages. Excavated at Pashash (Museo Arqueológico de Cabana).

8. Conclusions

The current evidence from northern Peru indicates complex local intercultural entanglements that cannot be readily reconciled with terms such as ‘control’ and ‘domination’. The distribution of Wari material culture was highly variable in location and intensity, and co-occurred with other luxury goods from different regions. Just as important, interaction between Wari and other cultural groups occurred over some four centuries, and over that period of time, changed form and character. Besides the exchange of sumptuaries and stylistic emulation, relations may have included conflict, diplomatic strategies and other forms of social relations.

Local groups adopted new forms and their attendant meanings. Having local precursors, many of these were compatible with traditional practices. The favorable conditions for more intensive relationships extended beyond imagery. There were many spheres of social life which Wari could latch on to, without great violence to the existing social and cultural system.

As suggested above, among the most important was the malleable emphasis on ranked collectives and ancestral orders as organizing principles. If Inka and colonial era cases are any indication, major cross-cultural entanglements in the highlands (e.g. conquest, migration, alliance, intermarriage) very often required reimagining collective histories. This occurred through reconceiving landscapes (e.g. Salomon and Urioste 1991), capture/curation of ancestor effigies (e.g. Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980), or indeed, making new ancestors and creative configurations to naturalize the position of the new, foreign group (e.g. Duviols 1973; Zuidema 1978; Rostworowski 1988). Wari’s orthogonal architecture, with its segmented spatial organization, and D-shaped structures, mediating live and dead persons of rank, were well-suited to help engage the kinds of societies outside its heartland. Continued research into the role of ancestors and feasting will help to elucidate this provincial interaction (e.g. Topic and Topic 2001; McEwan 2005). Ethnohistoric studies of how Andeans perceived and internalized conquerors as insiders (ancestors), both physically and cosmologically, may also have further purchase for understanding Middle Horizon interaction (Gose 2008).

What is clear now is that Middle Horizon patterns across the Andes cannot be explained on the basis of Wari alone. Local and regional corporate groups jockeyed for position during a time of intense



Figure 11. Open bowl, with interior design of profile felines and mythical bicephalic creature with segmented body. The body appendages, nested geometric body parts, and emphasis on split represented beads resemble Wari mythical beings. From Pashash (Museo Arqueológico de Cabana).

dynamism. Discontented with traditional forms of social organization (focused on descent privileges, group exclusion and lavish consumption), many Ancash groups looked increasingly outward for foreign sources of legitimation, at the same time that new exchange and political networks proliferated.

Some groups opted into Wari's *bundled* web of ideas, goods and people. Neighboring regions, especially their elites, flourished apparently due to their alliances with Wari people. In a short span of a century or so, new cultural dispositions, in pottery and funerary practices especially, came to displace earlier forms in some communities. Many Recuay, Moche, Cajamarca, and Lima/Nievería potters produced wares which drew heavily from Wari style.

Equally important, many Ancash groups flourished without much exogenous influence. Various other dimensions of social life remained local initiatives, albeit with alterations, especially domestic production and funerary ritual. Perhaps most telling, some communities, and most notably the most powerful local centers, remained outside, or kept their distance from, the new worlds and opportunities of the Middle Horizon.

Notes

¹ All dates hereafter refer to calibrated ages/ranges.

² Following Isbell (e.g., 2008), I will use 'Wari' to refer to the expansive culture, and 'Huari' to refer to the type site in Ayacucho (cf. Huari city and province in Ancash).

³ Portions of this essay have been adapted from a paper, entitled "The 1st millennium AD in north central Peru: critical perspectives on a linguistic prehistory" presented at the 'Archaeology and Linguistics in the Andes' symposium (Paul Heggarty and David Beresford-Jones, organizers), Cambridge University, September 2008.

⁴ A coherent chronology is notable lack for other highland regions, even from the Wari heartland.

⁵ Greater detail can be found in Lau (2002, 2004b, 2006).

⁶ In contrast, when the Inka annexed Ancash, they installed one of the major north-routes of the Capac Ñan near Yayno, connecting Cajamarca to Piscobamba to Huanuco Pampa. This helps to account for the large amounts of foreign items (*Spondylus* sp., goldwork, rare stone beads, obsidian and Inka pottery) found in a late reoccupation context at Yayno. Unlike the 1st millennium AD, local groups were clearly drawn into a larger economic system with the rise of the Inka empire.

⁷ I borrow the term ‘bundling’ originally from this semiotic domain, as discussed by Keane (2003: 188), how multiple meanings and qualities are evoked synchronously, in this case by single objects.

⁸ During the Late Horizon, the Inka installation of Pueblo Viejo near Ticapampa/Recuay was established right on the valley floor, to exploit the roughly north-south orientation of the Callejón de Huaylas; some buildings feature imperial Inka masonry and there are also storage structures directly flanking the settlement.

⁹ It might be mentioned that Honcopampa does have good access to manage irrigation intakes of melt-water streams in (compare Azángaro, see Anders 1986: 204-205) and is also well suited to oversee traffic through the Cordillera Blanca, via Quebrada Honda (Isbell 1991; Tschauner 2003).

¹⁰ For the Callejón de Huaylas, contrast Wari presence at Ichik Wilkawaín and Honcopampa, compared to Queyash Alto and Pashash, where Middle Horizon occupations yielded negligible Wari evidence.

¹¹ Which he likens to waves and currents (Schaedel 1993: 247). My usage sees less need to invoke explanation through diffusion, and sees more a purposeful appropriation by the participants in the interchange. In other words, it is used to describe a common pool of shared antecedent elements which become incorporated into a later strategy of interaction.

¹² Steven Wegner, personal communication 2004, 2007. Other commonalities include frontal heads with paired or four appendages, filler elements (repeating S-shapes on their sides, lattices, eyes with dots, sausages with dots), and anthropomorphic effigy pots.

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