

SOCIOPOLITICAL DYNAMICS AND CULTURAL CONTINUITY IN THE PERUVIAN NORTHERN HIGHLANDS: A CASE STUDY FROM MIDDLE HORIZON CAJAMARCA

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Abstract

This chapter presents excavation data from two archaeological sites, El Palacio and Paredones, located in the Department of Cajamarca in the northern sierra of Peru, a geographic area of social dynamism during the Middle Horizon. The presence of the large-scale site of El Palacio — a Wari administrative center — would suggest that the valley came under direct Wari imperial control in a manner similar to that known under the Inca during the Late Horizon. Yet at the same time, there are chullpas at the contemporary site of Paredones that are associated with ceramics related to the Tiwanaku style.

This complex situation during the Middle Horizon, on the one hand, presupposes the existence of multiple cultural groups living in the Cajamarca region. On the other hand, the Cajamarca culture has local roots that are demonstrated in the production of its kaolin ceramics that are found throughout a wide area of the Wari realm. For these reasons, the cultural changes during the Middle Horizon do not necessarily correspond to political domination. One explanation for this variable situation could be that the Cajamarca society was not centralized, and therefore had the social flexibility to coexist within an imperial society.

Keywords: Wari Empire, Cajamarca, administrative center, chullpa, non-hierarchical society.

Resumen

DINÁMICAS SOCIOPOLÍTICAS Y CONTINUIDAD CULTURAL EN LA SIERRA NORTE PERUANA: UN CASO DE ESTUDIO DEL HORIZONTE MEDIO CAJAMARCA

En este ensayo se presentan los datos de excavación de dos sitios arqueológicos, El Palacio y Paredones, ubicados en el departamento de Cajamarca, sierra norte del Perú, área geográfica desde donde sugiero la dinámica social durante el Horizonte Medio. La presencia del sitio El Palacio, centro administrativo Wari de gran escala en el valle de Cajamarca, es un ejemplo de similitud fenomenológica con el caso Inca en el Horizonte Tardío, debido a que el valle de Cajamarca estuvo bajo el dominio directo del Imperio wari. Al mismo tiempo, de Paredones, otro sitio contemporáneo, aparecen chullpas asociadas a cerámicas relacionadas con la cultura Tiwanaku.

Esta situación compleja durante el Horizonte Medio presupone la existencia de múltiples grupos con diferentes culturas en la región Cajamarca. Por otro lado, la cultura Cajamarca es una expresión de continuidad que se refleja en la producción de su cerámica en caolín que se distribuyó en un área amplia de dominio Wari. Por lo que, los cambios culturales no corresponderían necesariamente a un dominio político. Una explicación a esta variable condición sería que la sociedad Cajamarca no era centralizada, por lo tanto tenía flexibilidad social y pudo coexistir con la sociedad imperial.

Palabras clave: Imperio wari, Cajamarca, centro administrativo, chullpa, sociedad no jerárquica.

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1. Introduction

This article considers Middle Horizon sociopolitical dynamics and cultural continuity from the perspective of the Cajamarca region, northern highlands of Peru. To address these issues, new excavation data obtained from El Palacio, a large administrative center of the Wari Empire, will be presented for the purpose of evaluating the relationships between Wari and the local Cajamarca culture in the region (Figure 1).

The Cajamarca culture developed after the Layzón Phase (250-50 BC) corresponding to the first part of the Early Intermediate Period, or the final part of the Formative Period in the Cajamarca basin (Terada and Onuki [eds.] 1985). This culture is defined by the production of kaolin ceramics and continued for more than 1500 years until the time of the Spanish invasion. For this article, I use the chronology of the Cajamarca culture that is composed of 5 phases (Terada and Matsumoto 1985; Watanabe 2009): Initial Cajamarca Phase (50 BC-AD 200), Early Cajamarca Phase (AD 200-600), Middle Cajamarca Phase (AD 600-900), Late Cajamarca Phase (AD 900-1200), and Final Cajamarca Phase (AD 1200-1532). In the Final Cajamarca Phase, Cajamarca was incorporated within the Inca Empire, as suggested by a *tampu*, an administrative center, in the center of the Cajamarca region. In the Middle Cajamarca Phase, the first Wari evidence appeared at El Palacio and it continued until the first part of the Late Cajamarca Phase.

2. Wari Political Organization

After carrying out investigations of the sociopolitical dynamics of the Late Horizon in Cajamarca (Watanabe 2003, 2010), I initiated archaeological research that focused on the Middle Horizon. This work began in 2006 and produced a significant quantity of new data pertaining to the Middle Horizon occupation of the region. In the light of this new corpus of information, I propose to interpret the sociopolitical dynamics of the Middle Horizon by using the socioeconomic organization of Inca Empire as a model. Therefore, before discussing the Middle Horizon, I present a brief overview of the organization of the Inca occupation in Cajamarca.

Cajamarca is best known as the location where Atahualpa, the last Inca emperor, was captured by the Spaniards. According to the chronicles, Cajamarca was under the direct control of the Inca Empire. This description needs to be evaluated with archaeological evidence of the Cajamarca basin.

It is well known that a *tampu* existed under the modern city of Cajamarca. However, since it was largely destroyed in the early colonial period (Cieza de León 1996[1553]), only the famous ‘ransom room’ (Cuarto del Rescate) can be observed today (Ravines 1985). In addition, there are many traces of the Inca road (*Capac ñan*) to the north of the modern city of Cajamarca. Otherwise, the evidence of the Inca presence is rarely recognized in ceramic or architectural styles (cf. Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 1993). While more than 200 archaeological sites have been registered in the Cajamarca basin, Inca style ceramics were collected at only a few sites and Inca style architecture was not found except for the ‘Cuarto del Rescate’.

Of the 115 sites recorded by Daniel G. Julien, 48 sites correspond to the Final Cajamarca Phase. However, classic Inca style ceramics were recognized at only three sites (Julien 1988:115, 168). Based on this result, Julien (1993: 252) stated that «It is quite possible that, aside from the establishment of a new capital, the effect of the Inca conquest on local settlement patterns was minimal».

From 2001 to 2003 Yuji Seki and his team carried out an intensive surface reconnaissance in the Cajamarca basin, and registered 247 archaeological sites (Seki *et al.* 2001; Seki and Ugaz 2002; Seki and Tejada 2003). Pottery pertaining to the Final Cajamarca Phase was collected at 48 sites, but Inca style ceramics were recognized at only four sites.

Our 2001 excavations at Santa Delia, one of the large sites of the Final Cajamarca Phase, successfully established an absolute chronology of the site and demonstrated that it was abandoned during the time of the Inca Empire (Watanabe, in press). If we can confirm the same pattern of abandonment of Late

Intermediate Period sites, it would indicate a shift of settlement pattern under Inca dominion, as was the case in other areas (cf. D'Altroy 1992).

However we do not have any clear data to separate the period before the Inca and the period during Inca domination within the Final Cajamarca Phase because the Amoshulca Complex ceramics of that phase did not change during the Late Horizon (cf. Nesbitt 2003). The composition of the Cajamarca Black-on-Orange type ceramics and the Amoshulca Complex could be temporally diagnostic of the Late Horizon, but this interpretation remains to be confirmed. Therefore we have to rely on radiocarbon dating to evaluate if a shift occurred in settlement pattern during the Inca Period. Also it is worth noting that at Santa Delia we found many carbonized maize grains. With this evidence, it seems possible to assume that maize was cultivated intensively prior to the arrival of the Inca. We could not recognize other kinds of evidence of Inca occupation such as storage structures as is present in other Inca provinces in the north highlands (cf. Topic and Chiswell 1992).

The Cajamarca case contrasts strikingly with other regions such as the Peruvian central coast, where strong evidence of Inca cultural influence was confirmed. These data indicate the diversity of the representation of Inca material culture, suggesting that the relationships between the Inca Empire and local societies varied between regions (cf. Menzel 1959; Malpass [ed.] 1993; Burger, Morris and Matos Mendieta [eds.] 2007; Malpass and Alconini [eds.] 2010). However it does not mean that the Inca Empire adopted several strategies of control in each region, nor does it imply that Cajamarca was politically independent or maintained autonomy during the Late Horizon Period. The varied representation of Inca material culture would correspond to the sociopolitical diversity of the local societies that were incorporated into the Inca Empire.

The Inca controlled labor forces in all regions of its territory (Murra 1980[1955]). One of the material indicators for the control of labor force is a *tampu*, an administrative apparatus. It is an archaeological complex where the Incas performed ritual activities, organized labor and stored local products (cf. Ramírez 2005). Although Inca material culture is rarely recognized in Cajamarca, the existence of a *tampu* allows us to infer that the Incas directly controlled the Cajamarca region. This observation can be referred to as a starting point for my discussion on Wari political organization.

It has been widely accepted that the Middle Horizon is the period when the Wari Empire developed and expanded over much the central Andes (Menzel 1964; Lumbreras 1974; Isbell 1991, 1997a, 2001a; Isbell and McEwan [eds.] 1991; Schreiber 1992, 2001, 2005; cf. Jennings 2006a, 2006b). But it has not been clear if the northern sierra of Peru was under the direct control of Wari Empire (cf. Topic, T. L. and J. R. Topic 1984, 2010; Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 1985, 2001; Topic, T. L. 1991; Lau 2005; Topic, J. R. 1991). For example, John and Theresa Topic stress that Viracochapampa, a Middle Horizon center located in Huamachuco, was abandoned around AD 700 before the completion of its construction (Topic, J. R. 1991; Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 2001: 206). However, as discussed later, the construction of El Palacio, which is clearly a Wari administrative center in the Cajamarca valley, was constructed after AD 700. This indicates that the abandonment of Viracochapampa does not necessarily indicate that Wari retreated from the Peruvian northern highlands (cf. Schreiber 2001: 88).

3. Wari evidence in Cajamarca

In the Cajamarca basin, the evidence of Wari material culture is sporadic as is the case of the Inca period. For example, during his survey of the region, Julien did not find any Wari ceramics (Julien 1988: 240). Similarly only one fragment of Wari style pottery was found on the surface of the El Palacio site near the Chonta River during the intensive survey conducted by Seki (Seki *et al.* 2001). Some Wari ceramic fragments were recognized in the excavations at Kolguitín near El Palacio (Terada and Matsumoto 1985), and at Chondorko, a site located on the other side of the Chonta River (Reichlen and Reichlen 1949). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that all evidence of Wari material culture in the Cajamarca region is limited to El Palacio and its neighborhoods.

Conversely, Cajamarca style ceramics are found in Wari related sites such as Huari, Conchopata, and Jargampata and they correspond to the Cajamarca Floral Cursive type of Middle Cajamarca Phase B

and C (around AD 700-900). Thus, I assumed that the Wari-Cajamarca interaction had started during the final part of the Middle Cajamarca Phase A around AD 700. Some fragments of Cajamarca Classic Cursive type of the Middle Cajamarca Phase A were found in the Huamachuco area (Thatcher 1975) and would correspond to the period when Viracochapampa was under construction.

In the Cajamarca region, large ceremonial centers appeared in the Middle Cajamarca Phase A, including Coyor and Complejo Turístico Baños del Inca, all of which date prior to the Wari arrival. These ceremonial centers were abandoned at the end of the Middle Cajamarca Phase A, in accordance with the first appearance of Wari materials in the Cajamarca region (Watanabe 2009). Three radiocarbon dates for the final moment of the Middle Cajamarca Phase A were obtained from our research and cluster around AD 700, which corresponds to the abandonment of the Complejo Turístico Baños del Inca (Watanabe 2009). These data seem to suggest that the abandonment of the local ceremonial centers and the transition from the Middle Cajamarca Phase A to B were triggered by contact with Wari. The change of settlement pattern could have occurred under the Wari dominion, as was the case of the Inca period. It seems reasonable to think that a change of ritual practice occurred during the Middle Horizon, which might imply that the manipulation of ideology was one of the Wari strategies to dominate local people. It is known from other regions that offerings with Wari style ceramics were placed at ruins from previous periods such as Cerro Amaru in Huamachuco (Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 1992), and Chimú Capac in Supe (Menzel 1977).

The most important evidence of Wari presence is the existence of a large Wari administrative center called El Palacio. In the following section I will discuss the reason why El Palacio can be considered as an administrative center through the examination of our new excavation data. Another possible Middle Horizon site is Yamobamba located near the Namora village (Hyslop 1984: 61; Williams and Pineda 1985; Wiener 1993[1880]), but its cultural affiliation and chronological position of architecture remain to be evaluated. Although the Santa Delia site was mentioned as a Wari site (Jennings and Craig 2001: 484), our excavations in 2001 revealed that it pertains to the Final Cajamarca Phase (Seki *et al.* 2001; Watanabe 2004, in press).

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that if a Wari administrative center exists, the people who lived around it were under the direct control of the Wari Empire. The case of Cajamarca fits this model. Although the autonomous development of the Cajamarca culture stopped, its cultural identity was maintained within the interaction sphere under Wari dominion. The local Cajamarca culture continued from the Initial Cajamarca Phase to the Final Cajamarca Phase without great change.

4. Excavations at El Palacio

El Palacio is considered by many scholars to be a Wari site in the Cajamarca region (Lumbreras 1974; Isbell 1988: 186, 2001b, 2001c; Ravines 1985; Schreiber 1992; Topic, T. L. 1991: 236). Found at an altitude of 2750 meters above sea level, El Palacio is located to the northeast of the modern town of Cajamarca in the village of Miraflores, near the Chonta River (Figure 1).

El Palacio is readily identified by the remains of a rectangular building, measuring approximately 60 meters by 45 meters in extension, that is visible on the surface. However, this building represents just a small part of a much larger archaeological complex (Watanabe 2011). We carried out the first excavations at El Palacio in 2008, and additional excavations were conducted in 2010 and 2012 (Figure 2; Watanabe and Luján Dávila 2011; Watanabe and Rivas 2013). In this article just the 2008 and 2010 data will be presented since analysis of the materials of the 2012 excavations is still in process.

We opened an area of 230 square meters in Sector B during 2010 (Figure 2) and our excavations revealed a complex architectural sequence (Figure 3). We detailed five architectural phases that corresponded to Middle Cajamarca Phase B and C, and to the first part of the Late Cajamarca Phase (Figure 4). In terms of calendar years, the area was in use from approximately AD 800 to AD 1000, a longer duration than was expected.

The majority of the complex of the Sector B was constructed during the site's first three architectural phases in the Middle Cajamarca B (Figure 4A). The architectural plan shows wide walls (60-140

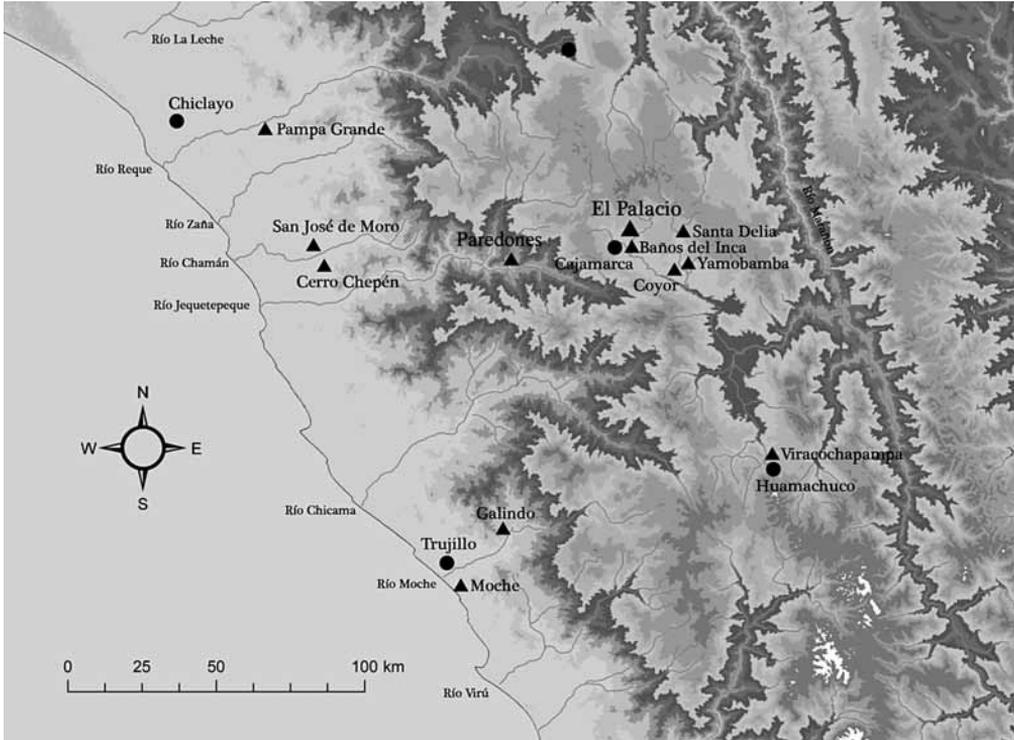


Figure 1. Map of the northern part of Peru showing location of sites mentioned in text (Map: Shinya Watanabe).

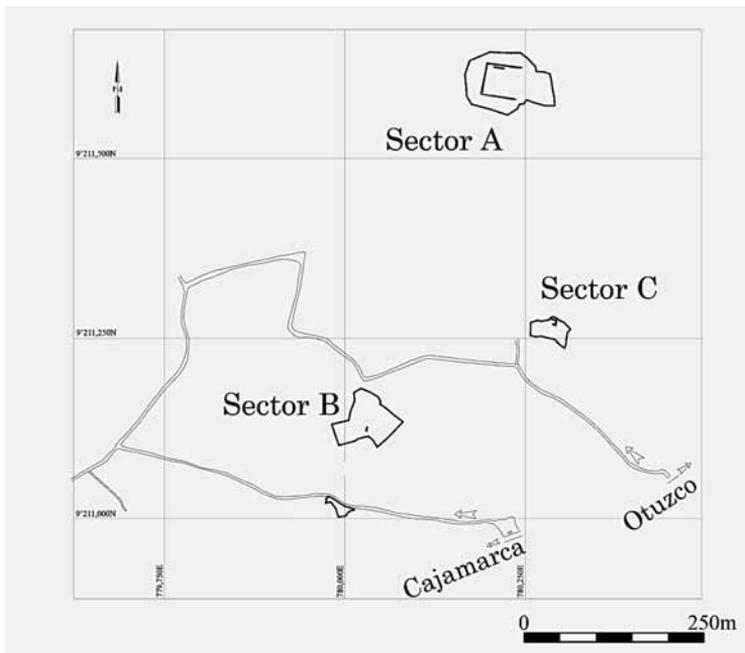


Figure 2. Plan of El Palacio (Map: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 3. Sector B1, El Palacio, taken from the east (Photo: Shinya Watanabe)

centimeters), narrow corridors, small rooms, a semi-subterranean funeral chamber, a water reservoir, open and subterranean canals, niches, and other features. The architectural characteristics of the complex both present methodical construction planning and differ from the techniques used to build and organize structures in the Cajamarca culture.

Most of the offering and burials found at El Palacio can be placed in the Middle Cajamarca C Phase, including the closure of semi-subterranean chamber EST-B2 (Watanabe 2011) (Figure 4B). To the south of this chamber, a burial (BTM2) was placed by cutting into the floor of the compound's third architectural phase. We found three individuals and many ceramic sherds within the fill of the burial, which may suggest that ceramic vessels were intentionally broken. Among the partially reconstructed vessels, two gray felines are the most impressive (Figure 5). Two small rooms, RB4 and RB5, were filled in at around the same time. Burial BTM13, found at the floor level of RB4, included a flat-bottom bowl (Figure 6) and Wari style polychrome cup with representation of griffin (Figure 7). Another tomb, BTM15, was located in RB5.

The corridors around structure EST-10 (a reservoir for water) were also filled in during the compound's fourth architectural phase. An infant's burial (BTM16) was located within this fill. A llama burial (BTM19) located below floor level in room RB6 was associated with an offering that contained an effigy bottle of a squatting person (Figure 8) and a Cajamarca style plate. Another burial, cut into the floor of room R-B3, contained two individuals: one (BTM17) at the end of the pit that was associated with a black bottle and large reddish brown effigy jar depicting a person with a rope tied around the neck (Figure 9); the second burial (BTM10) was found near the entrance of the pit and was associated with a Wari style lyre form polychrome cup (Figure 10) and a black dog effigy bottle (Figure 11). To the south of wall M11 was located a burial of a llama (BTM7) at the base of wall M21.

The later part of the Middle Cajamarca Phase C corresponds to another episode of placing objects and burials into filled in architectural spaces (Figure 4C). For example, an offering of a ceramic bowl with a navel form base (Ofr-4) was placed on the floor (Figure 12). Two burials (BTM-9 and BTM-12) were also placed within the corridors around structure EST-10. Burial BTM-12, located inside a niche, contained an object made from *Spondylus* and fragments of a North Coast style polychrome bottle.

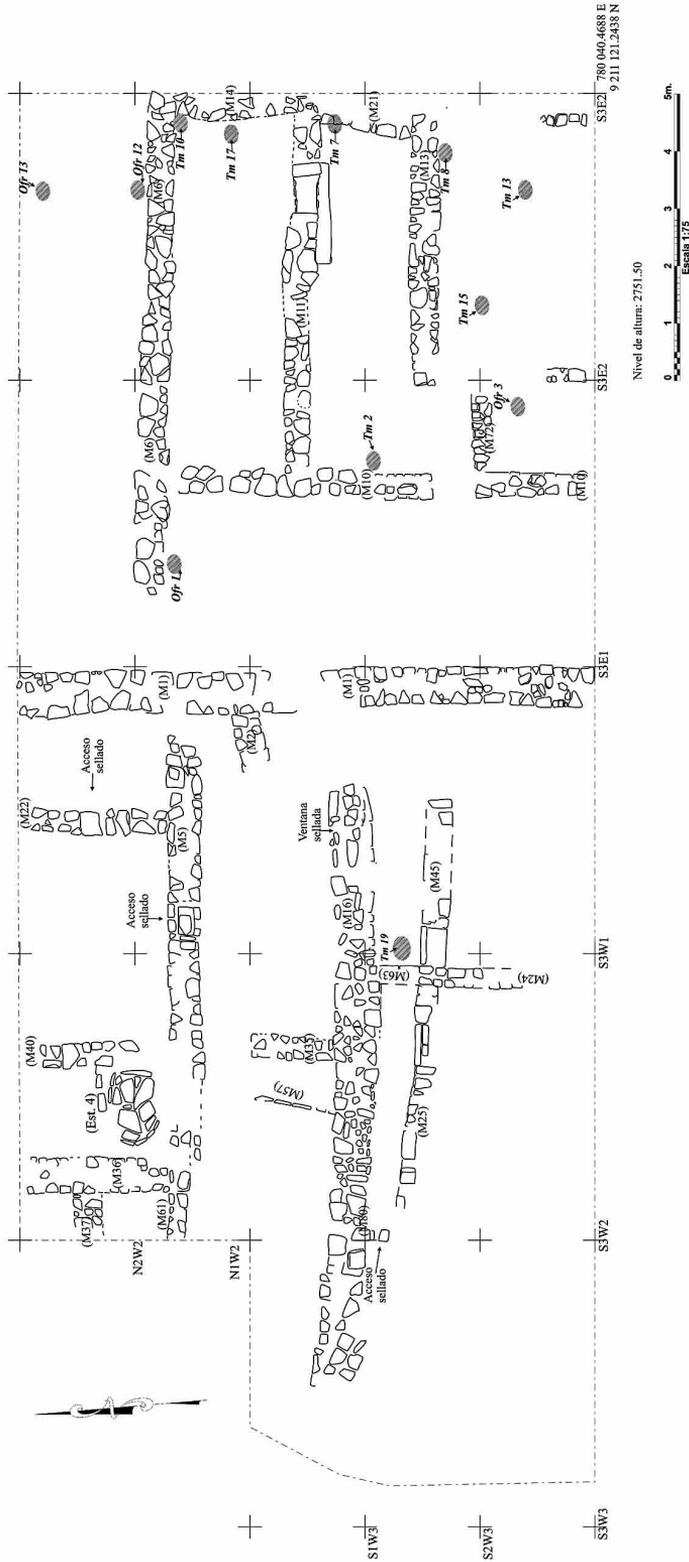


Figure 4B. Plan of the architecture in Sector B, El Palacio (Middle Cajamarca Phase C) (Map: Shinya Watanabe).

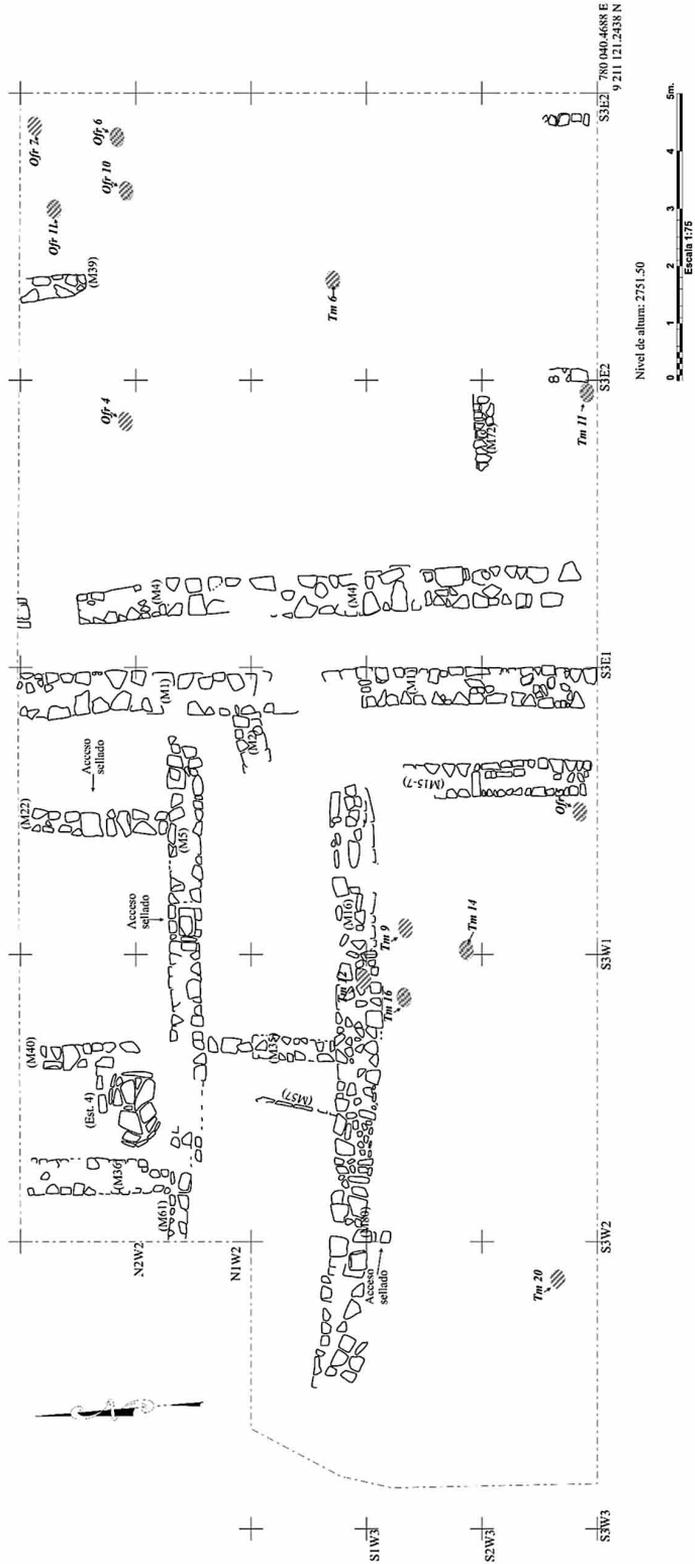


Figure 4C. Plan of the architecture in Sector B, El Palacio (Middle Cajamarca Phase C) (Map: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 5. One of the two gray ceramic felines, BTM2, El Palacio (Height: 28 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 6. Flat-bottom bowl, BTM13, El Palacio (Height: 17 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 7. Wari style polychrome cup with representation of griffin, BTM13, El Palacio (Height: 7 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 8. Gray effigy bottle, BTM19, El Palacio (Height: 15.5 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 9. Reddish brown effigy jar, BTM17, El Palacio (Height: 33.5 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 10. Wari style lyre form polychrome cup, BTM10, El Palacio (Height: 9.5 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 11. Black dog effigy bottle, BTM10, El Palacio (Height: 15 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).

To the west of the EST-10, we documented a burial (BTM20) within the fill which was composed of four craniums and five miniature Cajamarca style tripod plates (Figure 13).

The Late Cajamarca occupation of El Palacio corresponds to the first part of the Late Cajamarca Phase, and is contemporaneous with the rectangular structure still visible in Sector A (Watanabe 2011). Much of the sector was filled in during this time and the upper level was utilized as a floor. A secondary burial (BTM5) was later placed into the buried site during the second part of the Late Cajamarca Phase. Finally, there is evidence for the construction of a Colonial period building at the site that had a different orientation from the prehispanic walls that we have documented. With only the wall bases found, it is difficult to confirm the floor associated with it. We hypothesize that the structure was a chapel or church that was abandoned in the middle of construction activity.

The architecture of El Palacio was constructed in accordance with a clear architectural plan. Construction activities were carried out in a new location where no previous occupation had existed. The site was constructed as Wari dominance began and was abandoned when Wari influence ended. However, unlike some other Wari administrative centers, a large part of El Palacio was totally buried and not visible on surface, as was the case of Huaro (Batan Urqu) in the Cuzco region (cf. Zapata Rodríguez 1998; Glowacki 2002, this volume). In other region there could exist more unknown buried Wari administrative centers.

The architecture of the Cajamarca culture is typified by an agglomeration of small rooms with coarse stonework, except for some special tombs and ceremonial centers. This architectural pattern continued throughout the Cajamarca period, and foreign style architecture is rarely mixed with local architecture in the Cajamarca region. Distinct from the Cajamarca culture architecture, there is a rectangular plan with walls that are about 60-140 centimeters in width and a semi-subterranean mortuary chamber at El Palacio. They do not fit the architectural style of the local Cajamarca culture but present clear affiliation or influence from the Wari culture. These typical characteristics of Wari architecture, combined with our findings of Wari ceramic sherds from the lowest stratum, imply that the site was a state administrative center. The majority of the ceramic assemblage pertained to the Cajamarca culture, but some Wari style ceramics and probably north coast related ceramics were included. The sporadic distribution of the Wari style ceramic fragments in nearly all strata and all parts of the excavated area (Figure 14) shows that Wari evidence is not restricted to complete objects as offerings within special burials.

The majority of the administrative centers of the Inca Empire have a central plaza with surrounding buildings of storage facilities (cf. Morris and Thompson 1985). Since these administrative centers lack perimeter walls, their boundary is not clear. On the other hand, Chimú administrative structures are a combination of U-shape structures designed to control access and storage facilities that are arranged in spaces surrounded by perimeter walls (Topic 2003). Wari administrative centers have a rectangular plan with inner divisions and demonstrate clear characteristics of access control. This type of Wari administrative building is described as 'Orthogonal Cellular Architecture' by Isbell (Isbell 1991).

The rectangular form of Sector A shares architectural elements with other Wari administrative centers (Watanabe 2011). Interestingly, the large perimeter walls of most Wari administrative architecture was built first and then the inner spaces were divided. This process of construction also occurred in Sector A.

Control of the labor force and economic production is needed for administration. The presence of corridors, division of space, and evidence of access control at Sector B shows some characteristics of Wari administrative structure, while it is not clear if it fits the orthogonal cellular pattern. Since we excavated just a part of a site that is more than 100 hectares in size, it is difficult to evaluate the total architectural plan.

The complex superposition of the funeral chamber architecture is peculiar to administrative structures observed in the capital of Huari itself (Isbell *et al.* 1991) and Huaro in Cuzco region. This might suggest that El Palacio is not a simple administrative center like Pikillacta and Viracochapampa. It could have had more functions. It remains to be explained why these complex sites, El Palacio and Huaro, exist at both northern and southern extremes of the sphere of Wari dominance. It might be interesting to think of these sites in relation to the frontiers of the Wari Empire. Considering its magnitude, El Palacio was

not a trading enclave of the Wari Empire, but instead constituted a center to control the Cajamarca basin. The site was located at an important place to control water, which is the same reason why the Inca administrative center was placed in the region. As is the case for other administrative centers, it is impossible to detect if there is a sector of a site that was occupied by colonists from other parts of the Wari Empire, although some foreign ceramics were recovered.

The excavation data reveal multiple functions of this site. Although more than 2.2 tons of ceramics were recovered and all of them were analyzed, other materials such as human bone, animal bone, and lithic artifacts, remain to be studied. The existence of obsidian flakes suggests that there were workshops for lithic artifacts. More than 500 fragments of T-form spades or axes indicate intensification of agriculture, probably for the cultivation of maize to brew chicha. More than 400 kilograms of animal bones, the majority of which probably consist of llama, indicate that the transportation of goods and consumption of animal meat were carried out at a large scale during the Middle Horizon. The presence of *Spondylus* is another source of information that indicates interaction over a broad area. Obsidian and *Spondylus* have not been documented at any other Cajamarca culture sites but are common at Wari-related sites such as Cerro Amaru (Topic, T. L. and J. R. Topic 2010) and Pikillacta (McEwan [ed.] 2005).

All the evidence that we obtained from El Palacio permits us to conclude that it was an administrative center of the Wari Empire, not of Cajamarca culture. As mentioned above, we cannot find any Wari material evidence outside of El Palacio and its neighboring sites. In these areas, the Cajamarca culture continued as if nothing occurred.

5. Excavations at Paredones

Although I have suggested in the previous sections of this article that Cajamarca was under the direct control of Wari Empire, the sociopolitical dynamics during the Middle Horizon in the Northern part of Peru was more complex. Here I present our excavation data from the site of Paredones to illustrate this point.

Paredones is located in the middle Jequetepeque valley, at an altitude of 900 meters above the sea level (Figure 1). On the surface, we can see some architecture and *chullpas* (above ground funeral chambers with rectangular window). Our excavations at Sector A and B in 2006 (Figure 15) demonstrated that the site corresponds to the Middle Cajamarca Phase B and C, from AD 750 to AD 950, and is thus contemporaneous with the occupations of El Palacio. The majority of the collected ceramics at Paredones stylistically pertained to the Cajamarca culture. We also have some exotic ceramics that are associated with the *chullpas*.

Chullpas were first constructed at the site during Middle Cajamarca Phase C. Since the inner floor of the *chullpas* is about 15-30 centimeters lower than the exterior, the tombs are semi-subterranean and thus similar to the funerary chamber of the Transitional Period at San José de Moro in the lower Jequetepeque valley (Castillo *et al.* 2008). Since this type of funeral tower had not been recognized in the Cajamarca valley, the *chullpa* was probably not a part of the Cajamarca culture but rather a foreign element. However, *chullpas* were not present at Wari or Tiwanaku sites. Isbell argued that *chullpas* originated during the first part of Early Intermediate Period in Chota-Cutervo, a region in the northern part of the department of Cajamarca (Isbell 1997b). However, this argument is not based on excavation data and the definitive origin of the *chullpa* remains to be identified.

In the most complex *chullpa* at Paredones, EST-B1, we found three black polished Tiwanaku-kero shaped cups with false bottoms, two of which have five protuberances on the rim (Figures 16, 17, 18). Furthermore they were associated with a Coastal Cajamarca plate (Figure 19) and gray human effigy ceramics connected with a cup (Figure 20; cf. Bennett 1944; Topic, T. L. and J. R. Topic 1984). In another *chullpa*, EST-A1, we found another example of Tiwanaku-related ceramics. We found six examples of polychrome bowls with representation of human prognathic faces wearing large earplugs. One of these was complete (Figures 21A, 21B).

This style of pottery did not exist in the local Cajamarca culture, and it is clear that these are Tiwanaku-related attributes. While evidence of Wari-Tiwanaku connections might be represented in



Figure 12. Cajamarca style bowl, Ofi-4, El Palacio (Diameter: 18.5 centimeters) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 13. Five miniature Cajamarca style tripod plates, BTM20, El Palacio (Diameter: 4.5 centimeters each) (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 14. Fragments of Wari style ceramics, El Palacio (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).

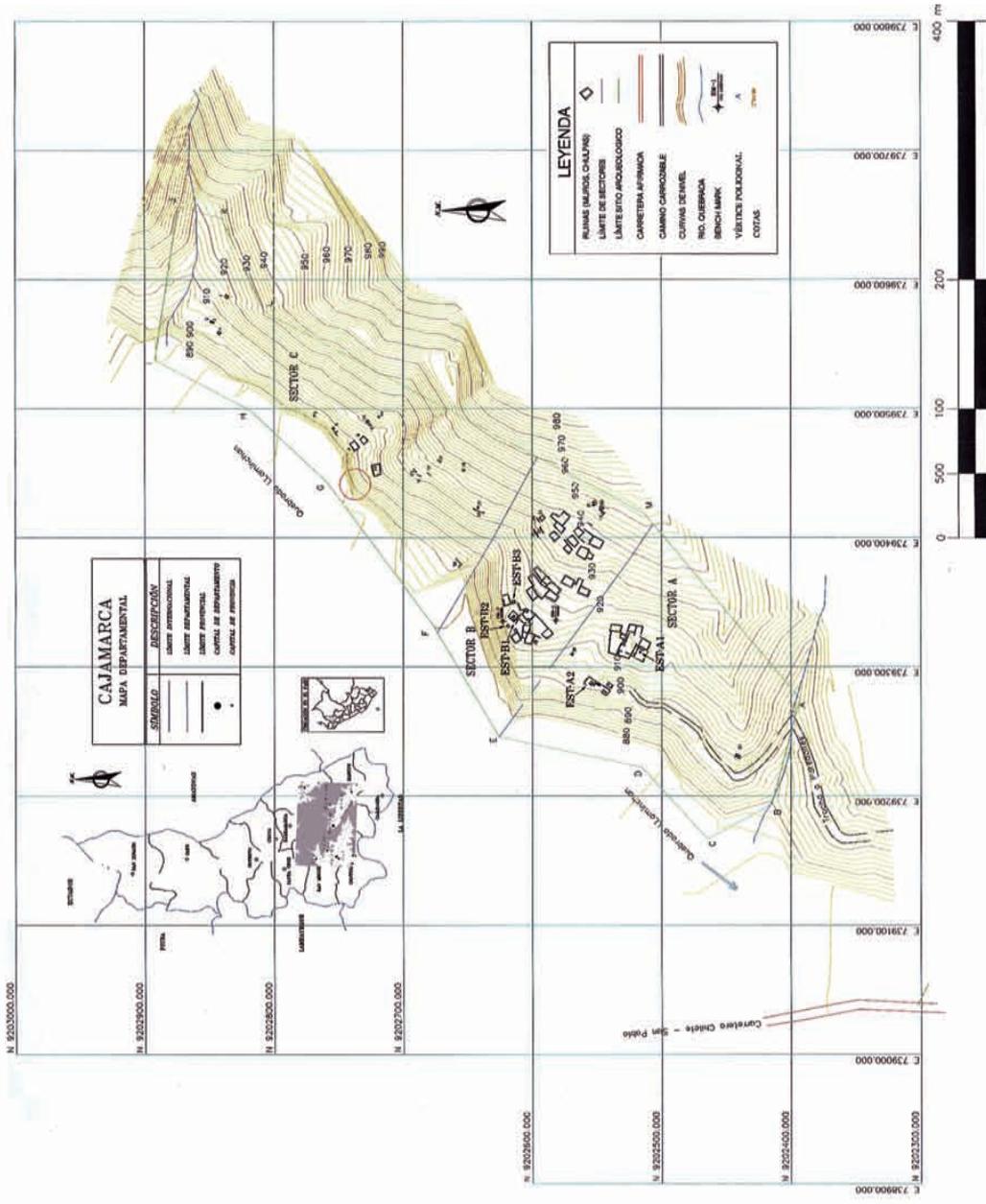


Figure 15. Plan of Paredones (Map: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 16. Black polished Tiwanaku-kero shaped cup with false bottom, EST-B1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 17. Black polished Tiwanaku-kero shaped cup with false bottom, EST-B1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 18. Black polished Tiwanaku-kero shaped cup with false bottom, EST-B1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).

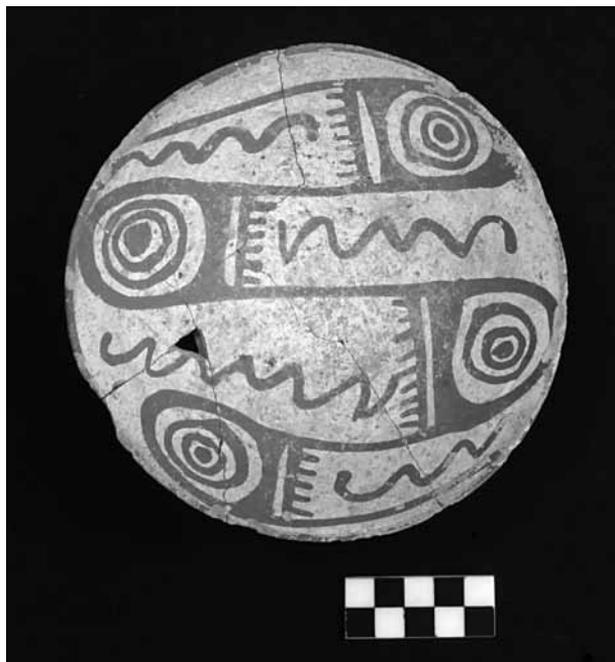


Figure 19. Interior side of Coastal Cajamarca plate, EST-B1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).

the semi-subterranean plaza made of ashlar in the Moraduchayuq sector in the site of Huari (Isbell *et al.* 1991), it is very difficult to interpret the sporadic evidence of Tiwanaku-related material in the Cajamarca region. No similar evidence has been documented between Cuzco (Glowacki, this volume) and Cajamarca.

Paredones, like El Palacio, seems like an intrusive settlement. Paredones was constructed in a place without earlier occupations, was abandoned in the Middle Horizon, and was not reused in later periods. While no Wari polychrome ceramics were recognized at Paredones, we hypothesize that it may have been a Wari enclave in the Cajamarca region. The large amount of metal artifacts recovered at Paredones might suggest that one of its purposes was to acquire mineral materials. Paredones was reoccupied by the people who introduced *chullpas* and Tiwanaku-related ceramics during the Middle Cajamarca Phase C. It is possible that this material patterning can be explained by the decline of the Wari Empire or a change in Tiwanaku strategy. Perhaps, the later occupation at the site represents a different culture because the *chullpa* form is not part of Wari culture. Wari and *chullpa* culture (associated with Tiwanaku-related ceramics) were mutually exclusive and perhaps competitive; a situation that would have been analogous to Wari and Tiwanaku in Moquegua. During the final part of the Middle Horizon, there existed multiple groups with different cultures in the Cajamarca region.

6. Continuity of the Cajamarca culture

Similar to the later Inca Empire, an administrative center of the Wari Empire existed in the Cajamarca region. The administrative centers of both empires indicate the obvious intrusion of a foreign architectural style, but the Cajamarca culture continued in parallel to these changes. How can we explain its cultural continuity and uniqueness in relation to El Palacio?

Although we do not know the ceramic assemblage at the Inca administrative center in Cajamarca, the majority of the ceramics found at El Palacio pertains to styles popular in the local Cajamarca culture, but also include a handful of ceramic fragments of Wari style and of north coast related ceramics. The stylistic fusion of Wari and Cajamarca is very rare; the Cajamarca ceramic style remained unique, and was widely distributed throughout the Wari polity (cf. Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 2001; Lau 2005, 2006;



Figure 20. Gray ceramic vessel featuring a human effigy connected to a cup, EST-B1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).

Castillo *et al.* 2008). In other words, the local kaolin ceramic and architectural tradition did not change. The Cajamarca culture continued without much change during the Middle Horizon, even as foreign cultures were incorporated into the Cajamarca region.

A possible reason why the Cajamarca culture maintained its tradition under imperial dominion is that the Wari Empire controlled local labor forces and did not impose its cultural tradition, as was the case of the Inca. If the principle of Wari dominance was control of labor force, the existence of an administrative center clearly supports this view, and it is highly probable that continuity of local ceramic and architectural styles is an identifiable archaeological correlate.

Another explanation would be that the ceramics might have functioned as an index to distinguish the Wari from Cajamarca people. In other words, the Ayacucho people from the heartland of Wari limited the use of the Wari style ceramics as an identity marker to differentiate themselves from others. Alternatively the cajamarquinos simply did not imitate Wari ceramics. It resembles an Inca custom; each ethnic group maintained their proper headdress, and it was prohibited to change them when they moved to other regions (Cobo 1964[1653]: 113; Cieza de León 1995[1553]: chap. 93). Some material culture works not to homogenize people, but to differentiate between them. The kaolin ceramics could have functioned well as an identity marker in the case of the Cajamarca culture.

It is known that there are Cajamarca style ceramics found at Wari-related sites in the south-central highlands and north coast of Peru. They correspond to the Middle and Late Cajamarca Phases. Lumbreras described these ceramics in the following way: “In the North highlands, although Wari conquered the Cajamarca culture, the pottery of the latter continued to enjoy prestige and was not only utilized in Wari but distributed to many other regions, among them Moche” (Lumbreras 1974: 168).

In regards to this issue, J. R. Topic and T. L. Topic state that: «Desde hace años se sabe que la cerámica de Cajamarca estuvo muy difundida durante el Horizonte Medio. Además, las formas cerámicas cajamarquinas más difundidas son precisamente aquellas asociadas con la hospitalidad ritual como cucharas, tazones bien elaborados y decorados. La cerámica cajamarquina fue también incluida en ofrendas rituales, como la de Ayapata. La extensa distribución y el contexto ritual en el que se encuentra la cerámica Cajamarca es indicador de prestigio para esta cultura norteña» (Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 2001: 186-187).



Figure 21A. Bowl with representation of human prognathic face, EST-A1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).



Figure 21B. Bowl with representation of human prognathic face, EST-A1, Paredones (Photo: Shinya Watanabe).

The Cajamarca style kaolin ceramics that were found outside of the Cajamarca basin, however, present some peculiar characteristics and are not identical with the ceramics of the Cajamarca basin. Although I have not had the opportunity to examine these ceramics, it seems reasonable to assume that they are not imported ceramics but produced in other areas outside of the Cajamarca basin.

I think that the wide distribution of Cajamarca ceramics was not caused by commercial trade and/or a prestige goods economy, but by the population movement under the dominion of the Wari Empire. The Cajamarca style ceramics recovered in some sites outside the Cajamarca region might imply the movement of Cajamarca people as *mitimaes* as was practiced in the Inca Empire (Menzel 1964: 72; Watanabe 2002). I do not think that the kaolin ceramics of the Cajamarca culture were traded as raw materials as was the case of obsidian or *Spondylus*. Possibly the *cajamarquinos* produced their ceramics new locations to maintain their cultural identity.

According to the chronology of the kaolin ceramics, the Wari dominion corresponds to three phases of the Cajamarca culture chronology: Middle Cajamarca Phase B, Middle Cajamarca Phase C, and

Late Cajamarca Phase. So it is possible to consider diachronic transitions in the relationships between Cajamarca and other regions. Cajamarca Floral Cursive ceramics of Middle Cajamarca B were found both in the Ayacucho region and north coast, while the majority of Middle Cajamarca Phase C ceramics with short hollow tripods are found in the coastal region, not in the southern area. The presence of long solid tripod vessels of the Late Cajamarca Phase is limited to the north coast. Thus, we hypothesize that during Middle Cajamarca Phase C the relationship between Cajamarca and the north coast was more intensified than the interaction between Cajamarca and other areas, and maybe more Cajamarca people were transferred as *mitimaes* to the north coast. This corresponds to the period after the collapse of Moche state around AD 800.

Political dominion is different from cultural imposition. It would not be correct to think that the Cajamarca people maintained their cultural tradition to resist the Wari Empire and thus Wari did not dominate Cajamarca. Archaeologists often assume that material culture will change under the political dominion of the state. For example, in the Wari case, there would be the introduction of rectangular orthogonal architecture or a replacement of local pottery with ceramics of the Wari style if Cajamarca were under direct Wari rule. However, Wari evidence only appears in specific parts of the Cajamarca region as was the case of Inca Empire (cf. Malpass and Alconini [eds.] 2010). That is, its evidence is limited to the El Palacio and its surroundings. Therefore the paucity of Wari material culture does not mean the absence of imperial political control.

The local Cajamarca culture did not fuse with the Wari culture, but coexisted with it. The case of Cajamarca is not the same as other areas. For example, in the Peruvian north coast, the Wari style ceramics fused with local Moche style ceramics (Castillo 2001a, 2001b). So we should not analyze a cultural change or transformation as a unidirectional phenomenon, but as a result of interaction between societies (cf. Cusick [ed.] 1998).

While the Cajamarca people worked for the Wari Empire, Wari did not impose its cultural traditions. What does this inform us about Cajamarca sociopolitical organization and the character of Wari's imperial dominion?

One possible explanation is that Cajamarca was a non-state, non-hierarchical society. In this case, Cajamarca might have been different from Wari and Moche that had centralized political structures. When two centralized-societies encounter one another, it is often difficult for the two groups to coexist without significant change, as was the case in Moche-Wari and Recuay-Wari interactions (Castillo 2001a, 2001b; Lau 2005). On the other hand, Cajamarca lacks evidence for a politically centralized society such as a political capital, hierarchical settlement pattern, or political leader's tomb. Instead, the archaeological data indicate that there was little in the way of marked social differentiation, and it is possible that the region's sociopolitical organization was characterized by a series of confederations as has been postulated for the neighboring Huamachuco region (Topic, J. R. 1991; Topic, J. R. and T. L. Topic 2001). Therefore, it seems reasonable to think that Cajamarca's relation with Wari is different from the case of other areas.

This does not mean that Wari changed its strategy of dominion according to local situations, but that each local society accepted Wari culture in different ways. The Wari Empire dominated its subjects uniformly in that they controlled its labor force, but its cultural expression is diverse. Probably, Cajamarca culture had more social flexibility than Moche or Recuay, and thus it could readily coexist with other cultures, while maintaining its own local traditions. The nature of political organization of Cajamarca society is not clear, and it is worth discussing the possibility that there coexisted several politically independent small groups in the Cajamarca region and that Wari dominated only some of them.

7. Final comments

In this article I discussed the complexities of Middle Horizon sociopolitical dynamics, based on a case study of the Cajamarca region. The kaolin ceramic production that characterized the Cajamarca culture persisted for a long period of time. Although the Wari presence in the Cajamarca region had not

been clear, the data from El Palacio, a large administrative center, clearly demonstrated its existence in Cajamarca for approximately 200 years.

The Wari presence shows marked similarity with the Inca case in the Cajamarca basin because no Inca cultural evidence exists in the region except for a *tampu* and *Capac ñan*. These data from Cajamarca indicate that changes in material culture do not necessarily correspond to political domination. The cultural continuity of Cajamarca is noteworthy even when the region fell under the dominion of foreign empires.

In this article I have presented a hypothesis that Wari and Cajamarca ceramics functioned as ethnic markers to differentiate the people. This hypothesis needs to be evaluated by further investigations. The fusion of ceramic style in other areas, however, may contradict the idea of ceramics as an ethnic indicator. In addition, it must be noted that not all the people or culture present expressed their cultural identity through ceramics. Some may have used different ethnic markers such as funeral patterns, head-dress, architecture, or clothes, etc. The mechanism of the stylistic change in ceramics in Middle Horizon remains to be explained (cf. Hegmon 1992).

I hypothesized that when a non-hierarchical society and a state society encounter each other, two cultures can coexist without fusing. I argue that the societies of the local Cajamarca culture were a series of confederations or non-hierarchical/ non-stratified societies that could be called a segmentary society in anthropological terms. The continuity of Cajamarca culture would not mean resistance against state domination by Wari or Inca. The sociopolitical organization of the Cajamarca region would be a key to consider its strong cultural continuity.

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