LATE PRE-INKAIC ETHNIC GROUPS IN HIGHLAND PERU: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL-ETHNOHISTORICAL MODEL OF THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE CAJAMARCA REGION

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A model of late pre-Inka political geography of the region surrounding Cajamarca, in the north highlands of Peru, is presented. This model, based on ethnohistoric data and archaeological research, can be projected back through time to help delineate the culture history of the Cajamarca ethnic group. Several chiefdoms emerged during the Late Intermediate period, following a time of sociopolitical disintegration. The region that became the Inka province of Cajamarca had been occupied by five or six chiefdoms during the latter part of the Late Intermediate period. The data are equivocal on the subject of whether political centralization had developed in the region before the Inka conquest, but suggest that at least some form of confederation existed. Comparison with other regions of the Peruvian Highlands reveals that the Cajamarca ethnic group was modest in population, but controlled a very large area. Other groups, such as the Wanka and Lupaqa, appear to have been undergoing a similar process of sociopolitical centralization. The Inka reorganized the region upon its incorporation into the empire, creating an economic and religious center for several surrounding provinces.

Se presenta un modelo de la geografía política tardía pre-Inka de la región alrededor de Cajamarca, en la sierra norte del Perú. Este modelo, basado en datos etnohistóricos e investigaciones arqueológicas, puede ser proyectado a tiempos más tempranos, ayudando a delinear la historia de la cultura de la región. Varios cacicazgos emergieron durante el período Intermedio Tardío, después de un tiempo de desintegración sociopolítica. La región que llegó a ser la provincia inkaica de Cajamarca había sido ocupada por cinco o seis cacicazgos durante la última parte del período Intermedio Tardío. Bajo la administración inkaica, éstos se convirtieron en las warangas *de Guzmango, Chuquimango, Chondal, Bambamarca, Cajamarca, y, posiblemente, Pomamarca. Los datos no son muy claros sobre el tema de si la centralización política se había desarrollado en la región antes de la conquista Inka, pero sugieren que por lo menos alguna forma de confederación existía. Parece haber existido una identificación étnica bien desarollada. La comparación con otras regiones de la sierra peruana revela que la etnía de Cajamarca fue de población modesta, pero controló un área bastante grande. Otros grupos, tal como los Wanka y Lupaqa, parecen haber pasado por un proceso semejante de centralización sociopolítica. El Inka reorganizó la región a raíz de su incorporación al imperio, creando un centro económico y religioso para las provincias circundantes.*

During the Late Intermediate period, a scattering of ethnic groups blanketed the Peruvian highlands like a patchwork quilt. Some of these ethnic groups were large and some small, some politically unified and others rife with internal conflict. Ethnic identity was the cement that united each of these groups, and it was these groups that formed the basis of Inka provincial organization (Rowe 1946; Schaedel 1985). Patterson (1987) describes a process by which polities that were incorporated into the Inka state were converted into ethnic groups. Polities were sometimes broken up and sometimes combined with neighboring polities to attain a size that could be governed conveniently. The state encouraged practices that emphasized the group's shared ethnic identity, simultaneously distinguishing them from their neighbors.

Knowledge of the sociopolitical organization of these ethnic groups before their incorporation into the empire can help in understanding the Inka system of administration. First, it provides a baseline for detecting and studying changes made by the Inka, thus aiding in understanding Inka administration and policies for subjugation and integration of incorporated groups. Second, it can help in understanding the processes by which the Inka state arose, and whether the Inka were unique,

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or whether similar processes were occurring in the subjugated polities. In other words, were similar centralization processes taking place in other central Andean polities, and the Inka merely the most precocious (or the luckiest) of many? Or is the explanation for the rise of the Inka empire to be found in factors unique to the Inka?

The period preceding Inka expansion, the Late Intermediate period, saw the rise or revival of regional cultures in many parts of Peru. These include Chimu, Chancay, and Chincha on the coast. Highland cultures include Cajamarca, the Wanka, and the Lupaqa. The Late Intermediate period ended less than a century before the arrival of the Spaniards and the beginning of the historical era in Peru. However, in many ways, we know less about it than we do about the Early Intermediate period centuries earlier. Part of this is certainly due to the relative amount of research focused on the period. In addition, through most of Peru, the ceramics of the Late Intermediate period are less elaborate, and more stable through time, than those of the Early Intermediate period. This means ceramic chronologies for the Late Intermediate period are less precise, typically consisting of one or two phases for the entire span of the period—over 450 years. The availability of ethnohistoric data that, directly or indirectly, can help in reconstructing Late Intermediate period society compensates for this failing.

In this paper, I use ethnohistoric and archaeological data to reconstruct the sociopolitical organization of pre-Inkaic Cajamarca. The ethnohistoric data provide a rather direct, albeit incomplete, depiction of the Inka province of Cajamarca. The archaeological data allow a diachronic reconstruction of settlement in the region, and provide information on subjects, such as settlement location and hierarchy and the distribution of styles in architecture and ceramics, that usually were not recorded in these documents. Together, these sets of data allow a preliminary assessment of the form and scale of Prehispanic social organization. The Cajamarca region is then compared with several other central Andean regions.

The best known of the documentary sources are the chronicles written in the first years after the Conquest. Another source includes depositions taken in connection with lawsuits. Some of the most detailed evidence comes from *visitas* (early censuses). Most of the more detailed *visitas* that have been preserved (e.g., Diez de San Miguel 1964 [1567]; Ortiz de Zuñiga 1967–1972 [1562], etc.) date to 30 years or more after the Spanish Conquest of Peru, and, in many cases, nearly a century after the incorporation of the groups into the Inka empire. Furthermore, the *visitas* vary in availability, quality, and purpose (and therefore content) from place to place. Thus, archaeological data are indispensable to reconstruction of sociopolitical formations, even when documentary evidence is available.

Much of the archaeological data used here are from my own reconnaissance and excavations in the Cajamarca region in 1983 and 1984 (Julien 1988). The project concentrated on the Cajamarca Valley, where 320 km^2 were surveyed intensively. Within the total survey area of 895 km^2, 115 sites were recorded (Julien 1988). Other researchers who have produced relevant data include Reichlen and Reichlen (1949), Ravines Sánchez (1969, 1976a, 1976b, 1987, 1991), and the Japanese Scientific Expedition to Nuclear America (Matsumoto 1982; Matsumoto and Terada 1983; Terada and Matsumoto 1985; Terada and Onuki 1982, 1985a, 1988).

The Cajamarca Valley is a large intermontane valley in the northern highlands of Peru with a mild climate and moderate, seasonal rainfall (Figure 1). There are a number of smaller plains in the surrounding intermontane region. These plains, as well as the valley floor, provide areas of flat land of potential use for agriculture, although the soils are often poorly drained. Some of the higher elevations contain relatively broad expanses of grassland, but they are not nearly as extensive as the *puna* that provided pasture for vast camelid herds in the central and southern highlands. The peaks to the south and west of the valley form the Continental Divide. To the west of the divide is the rugged cis-Andean region, which grows more arid as the elevation decreases toward the narrow coastal desert.

PREHISTORY

Cajamarca has achieved its greatest notoriety as the site of the defeat, capture, attempted ransom, and execution of the Inka Atahuallpa by Francisco Pizarro in 1532, the event that effectively marked

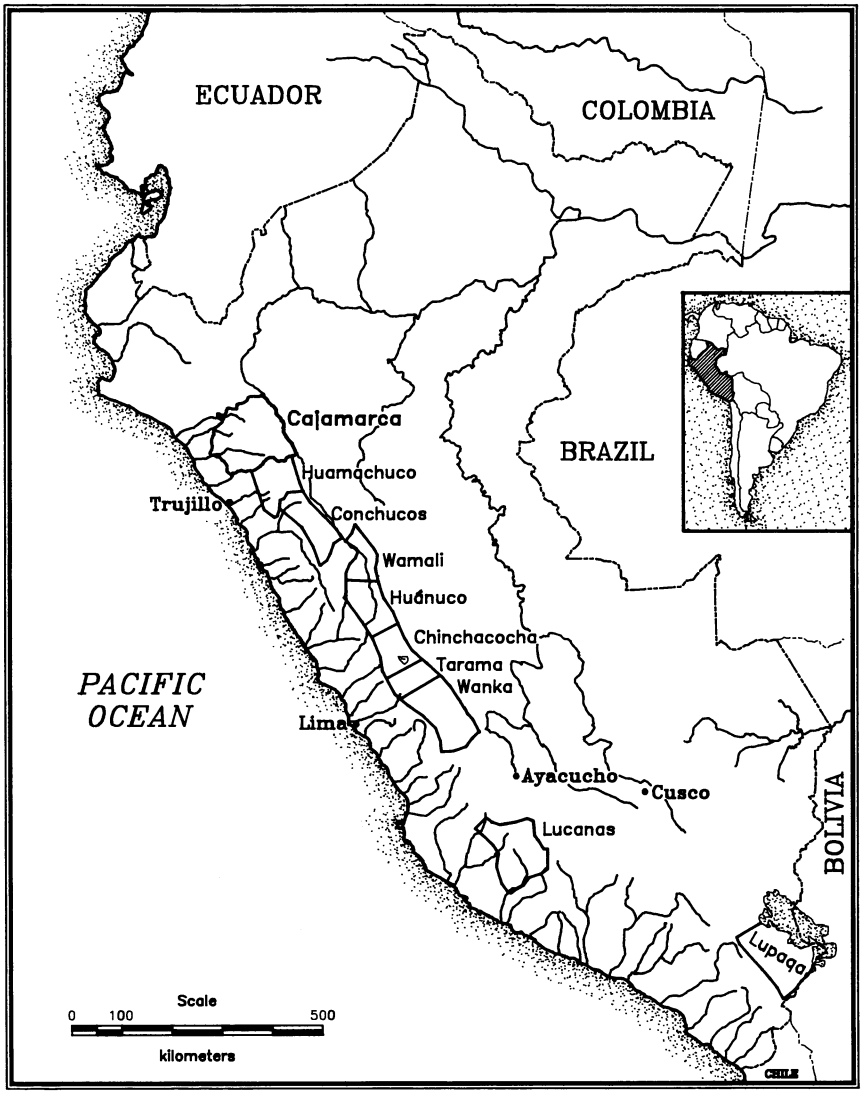

Figure 1. Map of Peru showing the location of the Inka province of Cajamarca and selected other highland Inka provinces. The provincial boundaries, except for those of Cajamarca, are after Rowe (1946).

the end of the Inka empire. However, the region was the locale of a long prehistoric tradition. The chronology adopted here (Figure 2) was developed by Matsumoto for the Japanese expedition (Matsumoto 1988; Matsumoto and Terada 1983; Terada and Matsumoto 1985; Terada and Onuki 1982; especially Matsumoto 1982). Small, shallow bowls of white or very light-colored paste with a high kaolin content (Ninomiya et al. 1982), decorated with polychrome painting, constitute the most distinctive feature of the Cajamarca ceramic tradition. In some cases a darker paste was covered with a white or off-white slip. During certain periods, such as the Middle Horizon, Cajamarca ceramics were widely distributed throughout the Andes. However, their presence as the native style is restricted to the southwestern portion of the modern department of Cajamarca. In other contexts, they are clearly intrusive. In the areas that are best known archaeologically, the distribution of these ceramics closely corresponds to the political boundaries of Cajamarca at the time of the Spanish

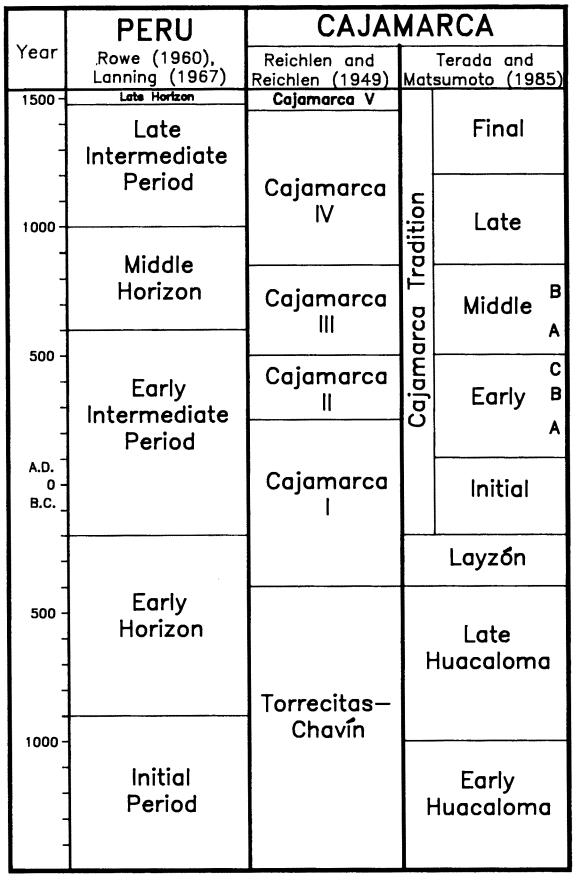

Figure 2. Chronologies for the Cajamarca region.

Conquest (Julien 1988). This indicates that the distribution of Cajamarca ceramics as the primary style is a reliable, perhaps conscious, marker of Cajamarca ethnicity.

During much of the first millennium of the Cajamarca tradition, beginning with the Initial Cajamarca phase at 200 B.C., many small, competing chiefdoms controlled the region. By the end of the Middle Cajamarca phase around A.D. 850, the site of Coyor (Caj-73) had emerged as a dominant regional center (Julien 1988, 1990). In the survey region, 46 sites were occupied. The area dominated by the Cajamarca culture at this time extended eastward to the Marañon River (Figure 3). To the west, Cajamarca-style ceramics were also present in the cis-Andean region, but the full range of their distribution there is still unknown, nor is it clear whether they represent the presence of a Cajamarca population in the region or if they were a trade ware. The Chota region does not appear to have been part of the mainstream of Cajamarca cultural development until Middle Cajamarca B. Before this, the northern boundary of Cajamarca cultural influence lay to the south of Chota. Cajamarca domination may have extended as far south as the Crisnejas River, but probably did not extend beyond it into the Cajabamba-Huamachuco region.

During the subsequent Late Cajamarca phase (A.D. 850–1200), the number of sites occupied in the Cajamarca Valley survey area dropped to only 25. The number of sherds of fancy kaolin ceramics from this phase (Figure 4:A–E) was also quite low, although Late Cajamarca ceramics appear to be more abundant in peripheral areas, such as Chota. This may be due in part to actual population movement. However, decentralization of settlement may make the decrease appear more drastic than it is. Scattered populations with simple architecture and few high-status goods are much less

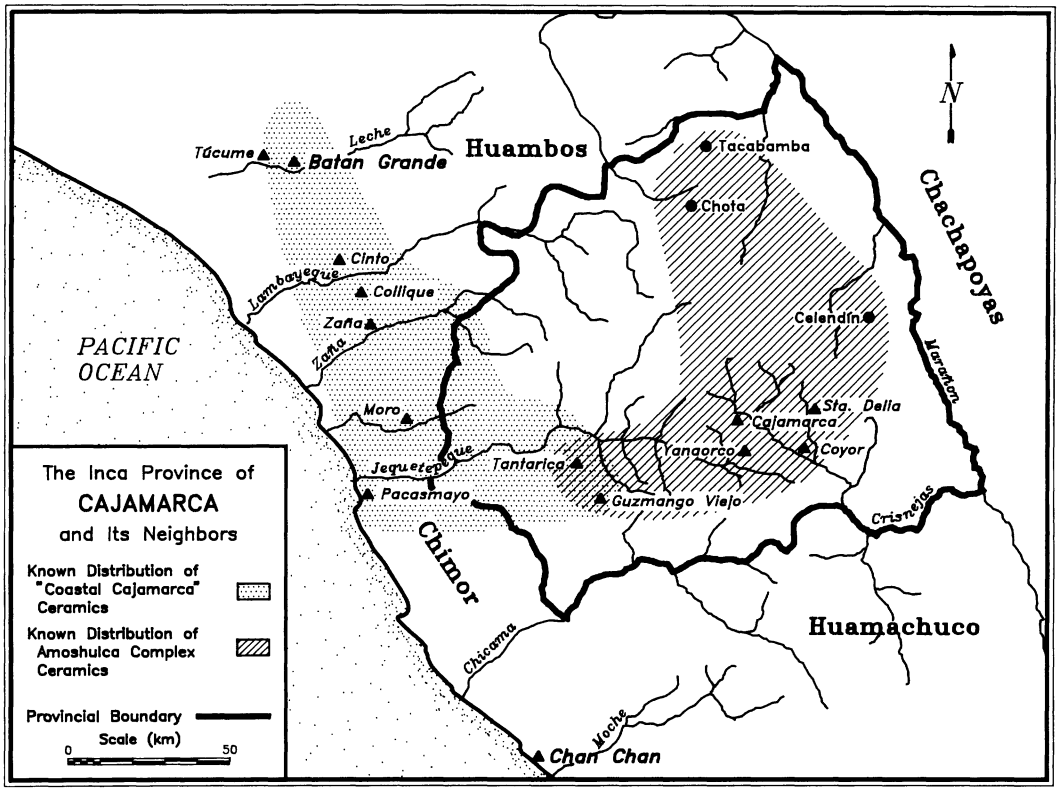

Figure 3. Map of the Inka province of Cajamarca and its neighbors, showing pertinent archaeological sites, and the distribution of Amoshulca complex and "Coastal Cajamarca" ceramics.

visible archaeologically than nucleated populations. These drastic changes indicate a collapse of the political order that had been established during Early and Middle Cajamarca (Julien 1988; Matsumoto 1988).

During the Final Cajamarca phase (A.D. 1200–1532), the number of sites in the Cajamarca Valley survey area climbed to 48. Wall-and-ditch defensive features, which had been absent from the area for nearly a millennium, reappeared during Late or Final Cajamarca. A clear settlement hierarchy developed, with sites of unprecedented size at the upper end. Three Final Cajamarca sites especially stand out for their size (over 20 ha) and architectural complexity: Guzmango Viejo and Tantarica in the cis-Andean region (Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987:7), and Santa Delia (Julien 1988) in the intermontane region (Figure 3). The architectural density and the quantity of elite architecture at these larger sites are greater than in earlier periods. Coupled with a resurgence in the quantity of fine ceramics (Figure 4:F–W), this suggests that Final Cajamarca was a time of renewed prosperity and regional integration.

Most sources agree that Cajamarca was conquered during the reign of the Inka Pachacuti, the first emperor of the expansion stage of the Inka empire (Rowe 1946).[1] This would have been sometime around A.D. 1460. The people of Cajamarca resisted strongly and fought several open battles before retreating to fortresses and finally surrendering after four months (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]:344–345). The mighty Chimú state on the north coast was an ally of Cajamarca (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]; Rowe 1948), but was not able to prevent its conquest by the Inka. Cajamarca became a province of the Inka empire, with its capital at the modern city of Cajamarca.

Many authors (e.g., Silva Santisteban 1985; Urteaga 1919) have assumed that the city of Cajamarca was also the site of the pre-Inkaic capital of the Cajamarca chiefdom or confederation. However,

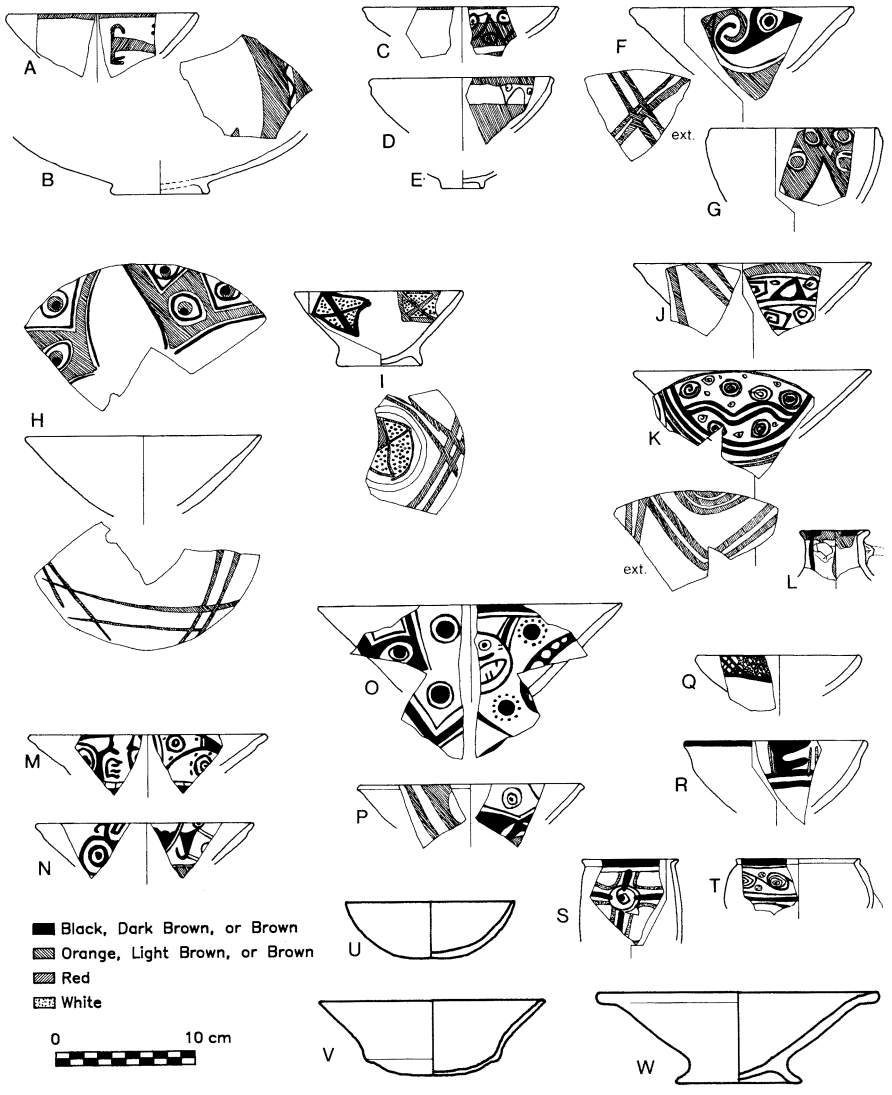

Figure 4. Late and Final Cajamarca ceramics from the Cajamarca Basin: (A-E) Cajamarca Black-and-orange; (F-G) Amoshulca Symbolic, La Torre variety; (H-I) Amoshulca Symbolic, Shicuana variety; (J-L) Amoshulca Black Geometric, San Isidro variety; (M-N) Amoshulca Black Geometric, Quililic variety; (O-P) Amoshulca Black Geometric, Carambayoc variety; (Q-T) Amoshulca Black-on-orange; (U-W) Cajamarca Fine Black. Proveniences—Kolguitn (Caj-40): B; Cerro Shicuana (Caj-55): A, E, I, O, Q, S, T; Quililic (Caj-58): K, P; Santa Delia (Caj-63): U; Cerro San Isidro (Caj-66): L-M; Cerro Llanguil (Caj-69): F; Cerro Nivel (Caj-81): G, V; Cerro Carambayoc (Caj-93): N, W; Cerro Shudal (Caj-98): C, J; Cerro Chanchiconga (Caj-106): D, H, R.

excavations by Sachún Cedeño (1986) near the center of the city revealed a deposit containing almost entirely Inka and contemporaneous Amoshulca Black-on-orange ceramics. The context was greatly disturbed during the Colonial period. Nevertheless, the existence of a deposit bereft of ceramics dating earlier than the Inka occupation implies, at the very least, that the Inka occupation of the site must have been much more extensive than any previous occupation. Also, as Silva Santisteban (1985:21) points out, the residence of the principal *curaca* of the province in the early Colonial era was in Guzmango Viejo. This implies that Cajamarca was not the center of native power. It appears that the capital at Cajamarca was established by the Inka.

Outside of the capital, the Inka presence is difficult to detect archaeologically. The only remaining Inka architecture is the so-called Cuarto del Rescate (Ravines Sánchez 1976a, 1987; Santillana Valencia 1983) within the city of Cajamarca. In my survey, a few pieces of Inka Provincial polychrome pottery were recovered at a small number of sites. Inka influence can be seen in Amoshulca Black-on-orange ceramics (Julien 1988, 1991), but this type may appear alongside earlier types, rather than replacing them. Thus, continued site occupation after the Inka conquest can sometimes be detected easily, but site abandonment would be difficult to prove. This makes it difficult to detect changes in settlement patterns that may have taken place due to the Inka conquest.

One of the changes commonly seen after the Inka conquest of highland regions is a movement from fortified hilltop sites to locations near the valley floors (e.g., Hyslop 1977, 1979; LeBlanc 1981). In Cajamarca, occupation continued at hilltop sites such as Cerro Shicuana (Caj-55), Cerro San Isidro (Caj-66), and Cerro Chanchiconga (Caj-106). Others, such as Santa Delia (Caj-63), Cerro Nivel (Caj-81), La Torre (Caj-92), and Cerro Carambayoc (Caj-93), where Amoshulca Black-on-orange is absent, may have been abandoned. However, if this happened, where did the people go? There is no site, except for the city of Cajamarca, where Amoshulca Black-on-orange is dominant. Espinoza Soriano (1981:106) believes that much of the population of the city was only there temporarily, to accomplish some specific task, so it cannot account for a large portion of the population. It is quite possible that, aside from the establishment of a new capital, the effect of the Inka conquest on local settlement patterns was minimal.

Inka Cajamarca is described by de Xerez (1985 [1534]:103–104) as a city of 2,000 inhabitants, with a plaza larger than any in Spain. There were several temples, both within and outside the plaza, and there was an *acllahuasi*, where women dedicated to the service of the Inka brewed *chicha* (corn beer) and wove cloth. There were also storehouses filled with enough clothing to supply the army (de Xerez 1985 [1534]:116). The Inka had a sumptuous house, complete with hot bath, at the nearby hot springs now known as Baños del Inca (Cieza de León 1959 [1553, 1873]:95; de Xerez 1985 [1534]:117–118). But by the time Cieza de León (1959 [1553, 1873]:97) saw Cajamarca, probably sometime in the late 1540s, "All the edifices of the Incas and the storehouses were . . . destroyed and ruined."

Cieza de León (1959 [1553, 1873]:95) tells us that the accounts for surrounding provinces were kept in Cajamarca. According to the *visita* made by de Barrientos in 1540 (Espinoza Soriano 1967), there were *mitimaes* whose function was "to place the tributes that [their rulers] contributed to the Inca in the tambos of Cajamarca" (de Barrientos 1967 [1540]:39; translation by the author). They came from Guaman and Chilco in the province of Chachapoyas, Huambos to the north, and on the coast, Pacasmayo, Zaña, Collique, Chuspo, Cinto, and Túcume (Figure 3). In addition, people came long distances to worship and make sacrifices at the sun temple in Cajamarca (Cieza de León 1959 [1553, 1873]:95). Thus, under Inka rule, Cajamarca was not only the capital of a province, but an administrative and religious center for much of northern Peru.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CAJAMARCA

At the time of its greatest extension, the Inka empire was divided into some 80 provinces (*wamani*). Within the provinces were *warangas*, each of which consisted, ideally, of 1,000 taxpayers (adult males not too old to work). The *warangas* were, in turn, divided into *pachacas*, theoretically composed of 100 taxpayers. Considerable variation from these ideal sizes occurred (Rowe 1946), but the Inka made an effort to keep the sizes from straying too far, and would shift population from one group to another to attain this goal (Julien 1982). Each division had a native leader; the higher-ranking *waranga*- or perhaps *pachaca*-level leaders were called *curacas*. Each province also had an ethnic Inka governor, or *tocricoc*.

The Inka established a program of forced resettlement, often of whole villages, for both socioeconomic and political-military reasons (Murra 1980; Rowe 1946; Schaedel 1978a). The resettled groups that had been moved out of their native area were called *mitimaes*. The political-military *mitimaes* in Cajamarca were incorporated into the structure of the province as a *waranga*. Some *mitimaes* were moved to fill some specific role in the Inka-administered economy. These socioeco-

nomic *mitimaes* were counted as if they still lived in their place of origin for purposes of census and tribute, and owed allegiance to the *tocricoc*, but not to the *curaca* of the province into which they had been moved. In Cajamarca, these would have included those in charge of tribute accounting, and the potters of Shultín, a community brought in from Collique. Espinoza Soriano (1970) has traced the history of Shultín. The distinctive paddleware style of the Lambayeque region of the north coast is still predominant in the folk pottery sold in the markets of Cajamarca. It is now manufactured in the community of Mollepampa, just a few kilometers from the city.

The most important sources of ethnohistoric data on the Cajamarca region include the *encomienda* grant by Pizarro to Melchor Verdugo (Urteaga 1942), the 1540 *visita* by de Barrientos (1967), the 1567 *visita* by González de Cuenca (Remy Simatovic 1986), the 1571–1572 *visita* by Velásquez de Acuña (Remy Simatovic 1986; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985), and the 1578 *visita* by Diego de Salazar (Remy Simatovic 1986; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985). The data from the 1540 *visita*, the only one published in its entirety (Espinoza Soriano 1967), is somewhat suspect. Instead of visiting each community, de Barrientos merely called together the leaders of the *warangas* in Chilete and asked them questions. Therefore, there was considerable opportunity for dishonesty in the answers. There was also motivation for it, since tribute would be based on the number of tributaries reported in the *visita*. Although the original document of the 1567 *visita* is lost, a portion of it was transcribed in a lawsuit. The 1571–1572 *visita* was not completed (38 communities were visited), and the 1578 *visita* covers only the four communities not visited in 1571–1572. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1985) and Remy Simatovic (1986) have analyzed the González de Cuenca and Diego de Salazar *visitas*, and summarized some of the data.

At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Inka province of Cajamarca was divided into seven *warangas*. These were Guzmango (Cuismancu), Chuquimango, Chondal (Chonta), Bambamarca (Pampamarca), Cajamarca (Caxamarca), Pomamarca, and the *waranga* of *mitimaes serranos*. The last was made up of *mitimaes* from other regions of the Peruvian highlands, and was established by Topa Inka (ca. 1470–ca. 1493) (Espinoza Soriano 1977). According to Espinoza Soriano (1977), the *waranga* of Pomamarca was established by the Inka Huayna Capac (ca. 1493–ca. 1527) by taking *pachacas* from the *warangas* of Cajamarca and Chuquimango. However, the source for this assertion is not clear, and it is not supported by other evidence. There were also two *parcialidades*, Colquemarca and Malcadan, which were separated from Guzmango and Chuquimango, respectively, sometime between 1540 and 1571 (Remy Simatovic 1986). The remaining five (or six, if one includes Pomamarca) *warangas* probably had pre-Inkaic origins. The name of the pre-Inkaic hegemony that included these *warangas* was Cuismancu (Silva Santisteban 1982).

In the first years after the Spanish Conquest, the conquerors did little, at least intentionally, to change the native social structure. However, some native leaders took advantage of the Spaniards' lack of knowledge of native social structure to manipulate that structure to their advantage. The *curacas* sometimes tried to gain control over *mitimaes* located within their domain. For example, under the Inka, the pottery-making village of Shultín, moved in from Collique, was administratively subject to the Inka governor of Cajamarca but not to any of the Cajamarca *curacas*. After the Spanish Conquest, the *curaca* of the *waranga* of Guzmango, Diego Zuplián, annexed the village to his *waranga*, dispossessing its native heir apparent, Domingo Ramos, who was only a child at the time (Espinoza Soriano 1970). This case is well documented because of lawsuits later brought by Ramos and his descendants in a successful attempt to regain their birthright. A more subtle tactic used by the *curacas* was to attempt to have the *mitimaes* enumerated in the local *pachacas* by Spanish *visitas*, and not as independent entities, so that they could later maintain that they had always been under their control, and have documentary evidence to back this claim.

The Spanish colonial institution of *reducción* caused profound changes in settlement patterns. A *reducción* consisted of the forced resettlement and consolidation of several villages or a scattered population into one or more villages or towns, which were often newly founded. The main reason for this was that it was becoming increasingly difficult to locate Indian workers for the mines, agricultural activities, and other projects. The drastic depopulation that had taken place since the Spanish Conquest, as well as the desire to evade the onerous labor obligations under the colonial system, had caused the labor pool to diminish and disperse. Another objective was to make ad-

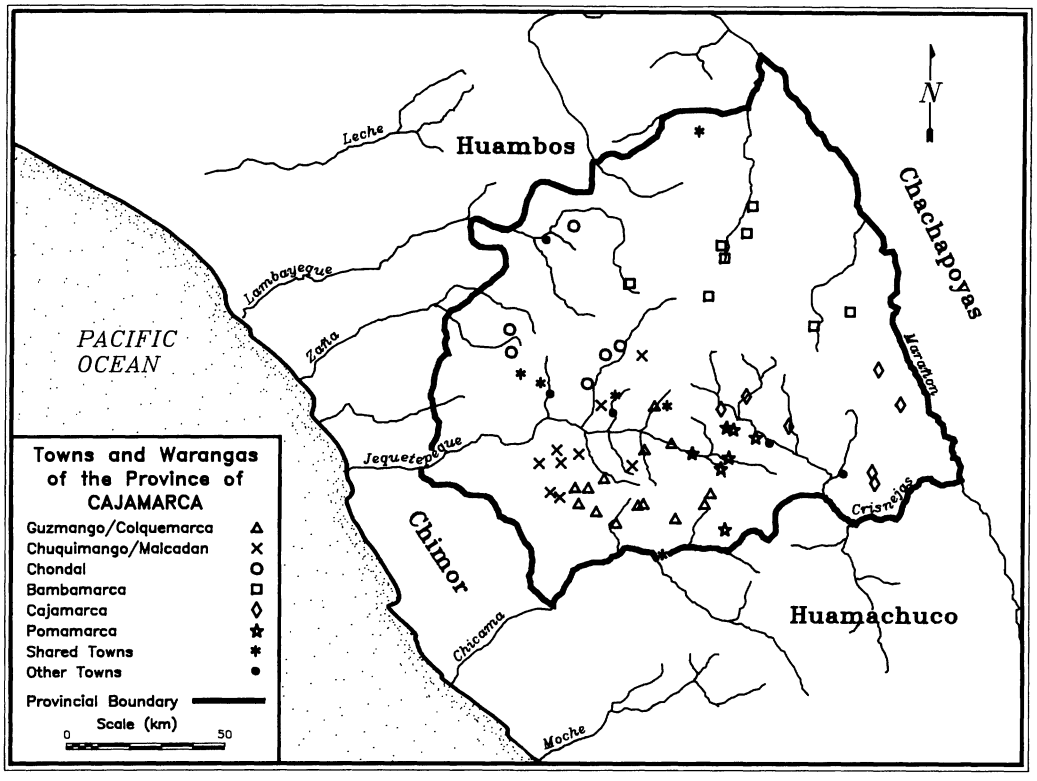

Figure 5. Map showing the location of toponyms that correspond to towns or pachacas of the warangas of the Inka province of Cajamarca. The places indicated as "Shared Towns" are communities where people from more than one *waranga* resided, without any *waranga* being dominant. The "Other Towns" are places that were mentioned by Remy Simatovic (1986) without identifying the waranga to which they pertained. See Tables 1-7 for sources and toponyms.

ministration, pacification, and Christianization of the Indian population easier. In the 1570s, Viceroy Toledo instituted *reducciones* throughout Peru. However, Espinoza Soriano (1970, 1973) has documented *reducciones* in the province of Cajamarca as early as 1565. These were executed by order of the corregidor of Cajamarca, Juan de Fuentes, and the Franciscan Fray Juan Hurtado (Espinoza Soriano 1973:44). The Toledan *reducciones* in Cajamarca took place in 1572 under the *corregidor* Francisco Alvarez de Cueto (Espinoza Soriano 1970:28). These *reducciones* did not respect the native *pachacas*, placing people from different *pachacas* in a single village, and dispersing *pachacas* among different villages. For instance, the *mitimaes* of Shultín, originally comprising a single village, were scattered among six towns by 1572 (Espinoza Soriano 1970).

Spatial Organization

If the *warangas* were based on native political units that had a long history in the region, they should be discernible archaeologically. The first step in such a process is to examine the ethnohistoric data to find the geographic location of each of the *warangas* (if, indeed, they are sociopolitical units with geographic integrity). By comparing place names from ancient documents with modern toponyms, it is possible to determine approximate locations for the *warangas*. Tables 1 to 7 list the names of the *pachacas* of each *waranga*, the names of towns or villages occupied by their members, and the modern place names that correspond, or appear to correspond, to these.

Three of the *warangas* (Guzmango, Chuquimango, and Chondal) were located in the cis-Andean region (Figure 5). Bambamarca and Cajamarca were located in the intermontane basins of the

Table 1. Pachacas and Towns of the Waranga of Guzmango and the Parcialidad of Colquemarca, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Location	Toponym
Guzmango	
Pachaca	
Ayambla (Ayamaloma, Ayamla)[a,b,c,d]	Ayambla (Yambla)
Caxcax[a]	Cascas
Chonda[a]	Chonta
Chusán[c,d]	
Collana[c]	
Faxan[c]	
Llamballi[a]	
Lluntume[a]	
Machadan (Nachedon)[a,c]	
Pauxan[b,c,d]	
Puchu[d]	
Taurimarca[a]	
Xabada[a]	
Xalcaden[d]	
Xaxaden, Xaxden[b,c]	
Town	
San Benito de Cadachon[b,c]	San Benito
San Francisco de Guzmango[b,c]	Guzmango
San Gabriel de Cascas[c]	Cascas
San Mateo de Contumazá[b,c]	Contumazá
San Pedro de Chalaques[c]	
San Salvador Mollebamba[c]	
San Sebastian de Acaden[c]	
Santa Ana de Cimba[c]	Santa Ana
Santa Magdalena de Lachan[c]	Magdalena
Santiago de Catazabolan[c]	Santiago
Colquemarca	
Pachaca	
Agomarca (Acomarca)[a,c]	Hacienda Agomarca
Culquimarca (Colquemarca)[a,c]	Hacienda Culquimarca (Hacienda Qulquimarca)
Llacuaz[a,c]	
Lleden[c]	Lleden
Tacabamba[c]	Tacabamba
Town	
Nuestra Señora de la Asunción[c]	Asunción
San Ildefonso (Alfonso) de Chanta[c]	Hacienda Chanta, Río Chanta
San Bartolomé Tacabamba[b,c]	Tacabamba
San Cristobal de Chumara[c]	
San Felipe de Canchaden[c]	San Felipe
San Gabriel de Cascas[b,c]	Cascas
San Joaquin de Puquio[b,c]	Puquio
San Martín de Agomarca[b,c]	San Martín

[a] Source: de Barrientos 1967 [1540].
[b] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.
[c] Source: Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985 (after the *visita* of Velásquez de Acuña in 1571–1572).
[d] Source: Espinoza Soriano 1974 (after a document dated 1602–1603).

Table 2. Pachacas and Towns of the Waranga of Chuquimango and the Parcialidad of Malcadan, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Location	Toponym
Chuquimango	
Pachaca	
Casabul[a]	
Chalagadan (Chalaquedon)[a,b]	
Chitón[b,c]	Chidon
Choad[b]	
Chocales[a]	
Cholulo[a]	Cholol
Chundo[a]	
Naualpi[a]	
Sucos[a]	
Viton[c]	
Xucan (Xucat)[b,c]	
Yaode[a]	Quebrada Yode
Town	
Espíritu Santo de Chuquimango[b,c]	(Hacienda) Chuquimango
San Gregorio de Mexique[c]	San Gregorio
San Luis de Tamboden[c]	San Luís, Tumbaden
San Pedro de Libie[c]	Lives (Hacienda Livis)
Santa Catalina de los Angeles[b]	Santa Catalina
Malcadan	
Pachaca	
Canchanabos[b]	
Chyon[b]	
Malcaden (Malcadan)[a,b,c]	Quebrada Marcaden
Xucad[b]	
Town	
San Bartolomé de Tacabamba[a]	Tacabamba
San Esteban de Chetilla[b]	Chetilla
San Lorenzo de Malcadan[b,c]	Quebrada Marcaden, Hacienda San Lorenzo
San Pablo Chalaques[b]	San Pablo
San Salvador Mollebamba[c]	

[a] Source: de Barrientos 1967 [1540].
[b] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.
[c] Source: Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985 (after the *visita* of Velásquez de Acuña in 1571–1572).

western Andean range. The toponyms from the *waranga* of Pomamarca straddle the continental divide in the southern portion of the province, between the *warangas* of Guzmango and Cajamarca. This does not appear to be consistent with Espinoza Soriano's (1977) assertion that Pomamarca was formed by taking *pachacas* from Chuquimango and Cajamarca. Remy Simatovic (1986) independently analyzed the spatial distribution of the *warangas*, arriving at virtually the same conclusions concerning the location of the *warangas*.

Reconstructed boundaries of the colonial province of Cajamarca are shown in Figure 5. These have been drawn following modern provincial boundaries where possible, unless there is evidence indicating otherwise. They include, of course, all of the toponyms for Cajamarca, and exclude toponyms known to belong to other colonial provinces. These boundaries correspond well with the map drawn in the late eighteenth century by Martínez Compañón (1936), archbishop of the Diocese of Trujillo, who traveled widely through the region under his administration, which included Cajamarca. His observations were recorded in maps, tables, and watercolors, and constitute an im-

Table 3. Pachacas and Towns of the Waranga of Chondal, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Location	Toponym
Pachaca	
Andamarca[a]	
Llapa[a]	Llapa
Nipos (Nypos)[b,c]	Niepos
Paiaca (Paiay, Paiay Yungas)[b,c]	San Miguel de Pallaques
Pincomarca (Pingomarca)[a,b,c]	Pingomarca
Polloques[b,c]	
Polomarca[a]	
Quesan[a]	
Town	
San Andrés de Llapa[a]	Llapa
San Bartolomé de Tacabamba[b,c]	Tacabamba
San Esteban de Castilla[b]	
San Gil de Guacchabamba[b,c]	
San Gregorio de Mexique[c]	San Gregorio
San Joseph de Chanchan[c]	Hacienda Canchan
San Juan de Pingomarca[b,c]	Pingomarca
San Matías de Payaca[b,c]	
San Miguel Catamuche[b,c] (San Miguel Catamoche)	San Miguel de Pallaques, Catamoche
San Pablo Chalaques[b]	San Pablo
San Pedro de Libie[c]	Hacienda Livis
San Rafael de Nipos[b,c]	Niepos
Santa Cruz de Succhabamba (Santa Cruz de Sochabamba)[b,c]	Santa Cruz de Succhubamba

[a] Source: de Barrientos 1967 [1540].
[b] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.
[c] Source: Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985 (after the *visita* of Velásquez de Acuña in 1571–1572).

portant ethnohistoric record (Schaedel and Garrido 1953). We should note, however, that his map presumably shows the ecclesiastical boundaries, which did not always coincide exactly with the political boundaries. The southern boundary I have used is that determined by Espinoza Soriano (1971) in his reconstruction of the boundaries of the early colonial province of Huamachuco. The boundary between Cajamarca and the province of Huambos, to the north, is the most uncertain.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1985) and Remy Simatovic (1986) assert that the sociopolitical structure of Cajamarca was marked by a trait they call "discontinued territoriality." Many towns were occupied by members of more than one *waranga* in the 1571–1572 *visita.* A similar situation existed in the province of Conchucos, at the north end of the Callejón de Huaylas (Cook 1977; Espinoza Soriano 1974). Ramírez (1985) has discussed this phenomenon, which is also found in other parts of the central Andes, and suggests a mechanism by which it could have arisen. A leader could "rent" land from another, sending some of his own subjects to work it. Some of the population movement that led to this situation may have been a pacification measure used by the Inka. The movement of groups of people for just such a purpose is a widely documented Inka policy. The towns with residents from multiple *warangas* (Figure 5, "Shared Towns") are all on located on borders: either the borders between the *warangas*, or the borders of the province. Tacabamba, especially, is located at the northern extreme of the province, far from other settlements (see Figures 3 and 5). This is a likely location for a state-directed settlement. If these movements occurred through "renting" before the Inka conquest, they imply that political unity, or at least cooperation, had been achieved among the Cajamarca chiefdoms. Such an arrangement is not likely to arise in a climate of hostile relations, which the defensive features at some sites show existed in the region

Table 4. Pachacas and Towns of the Waranga of Bambamarca, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Location	Toponym
Pachaca	
Ambagay[a,b]	
Animache[a]	
Bambamarca[a,b]	Bambamarca
Cuzo[a]	Cuzco
Guancamarca[a,b]	Huangamarca (Guangamarca)
Pisso[b]	
Quidin (Quiven)[a,b]	Queden
Sulluchi[a]	
Suruchuco[b]	Sorochuco
Tacabamba[a,b]	Tacabamba
Tingomayo[b]	
Yscay (Yscan)[b,c]	
Town	
Celendín[b]	Celendín
San Bartolomé de Tacabamba[b,c]	Tacabamba
San Gil de Guacchabamba[b]	
San Jerónimo de Bambamarca[b]	Bambamarca
San Matías de Puyaca[b]	
San Pablo Chalaques[b]	San Pablo
Santa Clara de Yanabamba[b]	Santa Clara
Todos los Santos de Llaucan[b]	Hacienda Llaucan

[a] Source: de Barrientos 1967 [1540].
[b] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.
[c] Source: Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985 (after the *visita* of Velásquez de Acuña in 1571–1572).

during at least part of the Late Intermediate period. If Espinoza Soriano's (1970, 1973) data on pre-Toledan *reducciones* is correct, it is also possible that this population distribution is a result of dislocation by the Spanish government. Whichever of these explanations is correct, it is clear that it must be a rather late phenomenon, and probably does not reflect the situation that must have prevailed during most of the Late Intermediate period.

Population Size

The population data available for Cajamarca are summarized in Table 8. These data have been discussed by Remy Simatovic (1986). Here, however, I would like to go beyond Remy Simatovic's analysis in order to derive an estimate of the Preconquest population of Cajamarca. The only figures for the whole province of Cajamarca that are available from all three *visitas* are for the number of tributaries. Although the 1578 *visita* was a continuation of the 1571–1572 *visita*, we cannot, as Remy Simatovic points out, simply add the results to obtain the total population. In addition to changes in the numbers caused by births and deaths in the intervening years, *reducciones* would have led to considerable shuffling of the population. The de Barrientos (1967 [1540]) *visita* is likely to have underestimated the population, for reasons that have already been discussed. The population trend from the moment of the Spanish Conquest, or even earlier, was precipitously downward (e.g., Cook 1981; Smith 1970), yet the tributary population of Cajamarca apparently increased sharply from 1540 to 1567. The tributary figure for 1540 is obviously much too low, and cannot be considered a reliable source for projecting the total population.

We can make a rough approximation of the total population in 1567 by deriving a tributary index (Cook 1981) from the *visitas* for which both tributary and total population figures are available by

Table 5. Pachacas and Towns of the Waranga of Caxamarca, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Location	Toponym
Pachaca	
Caba[a]	
Callao (Cayao)[b,c]	
Caxamarca[a]	Cajamarca
Cayas[d]	
Chaupis[c,d]	Cerro Chaupe
Chilic[d]	Jelique (Gelig)
Chinchin (Chinchen)[a,d]	(several)
Collana[d]	
Curi[a]	
Lachan Yungas[b]	
Namogara[d]	Namora
Otusco[d]	Otuzco
Oxamarca[c,d]	Oxamarca
Pomapamor[a]	
Vacas (Baca, Guacas)[a,b,d]	
Xoco[a]	Chuco
Xulique[a]	(Choloque: several)
Yaocuxulca[a]	
Zambad[d]	
Town	
San Antonio Caxamarca[b,d]	Cajamarca
San Bartolomé de Tacabamba[b,d]	Tacabamba
San Esteban de Chetilla[d]	Chetilla
San Pablo Chalaques[d]	San Pablo

[a] Source: de Barrientos 1967 [1540].
[b] Source: Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985 (after the *visita* of Velásquez de Acuña in 1571–1572).
[c] Source: Espinoza Soriano 1970.
[d] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.

dividing the number of tributaries into the total population (Table 8). Rounding these figures, we get a range of 5.5 to 7, resulting in a range for the total 1567 population of 28,430–36,183.

Although Cook (1981) distrusts depopulation ratios when applied to the entire Andean area, this method provides a simple way to arrive at a rough estimate for the Preconquest population of the Cajamarca region. This method should be more reliable when applied to a more restricted area. I follow Cook in using 1520 as a baseline for "Preconquest," since European diseases reached the area before the Europeans themselves. Cook's (1981:Tables 18–20, 25) estimates, by various methods, of the population for the north sierra show ratios for the 1570 population to the 1520 population in the range from approximately 3:2 to 4:1, with the model he considers most accurate (Model 5; Cook 1981:98–106) giving a ratio of 1.8:1. Applying these ratios to the range for 1567 results in estimates ranging from 42,645 to 144,732 for the 1520 population (Table 9). A convenient round figure to use for comparative purposes, based on the most reasonable depopulation ratio, would be 60,000. This figure is consistent with the division of the province into six *warangas*. The mean population of the *warangas* would have been 10,000. Applying tributary ratios of 5.5 and 7.0 gives us 1,429 and 1,818 as estimates of the mean number of tributaries per *waranga* during Inka times. This figure is somewhat high, but not unreasonably so.

Ceramic Distributions

During the Late Intermediate period, Cajamarca ceramics show a great deal of local variation. Especially in the case of Amoshulca Symbolic and Amoshulca Black Geometric (Figure 4:F–P),

Table 6. Pachacas and Towns of the Waranga of Pomamarca, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Location	Toponym
Pachaca	
Acomarca[a]	Hacienda Agomarca
Ascape[b,c]	
Aspac[d]	
Callad (Callada, Callao)[a,b,c]	
Capayn[a]	
Chuquiral (Chuquirar, Chuquiras)[a,b,c]	
Collana (Coliana)[b,c]	
Guambo (Guampu)[a,b,c]	
Guatayn[a]	
Llamadén[c]	Hacienda Llagaden (Yagaden)
Pariamarca[c]	Pariamarca
Yanamango[a,b,c]	Yanamango
Yauro (Yauros)[a,b,c]	
Town	
Nuestra Señora de la Asunción[b]	Asunción
San Bartolomé de Tacabamba[b]	Tacabamba
San Buenaventura de Pomamarca[b]	
San Esteban de Castilla[b]	Chetilla
San Gil de Guachabamba[b]	
San Jerónimo de Bambamarca[b]	Bambamarca
San Jorge de Ollamucho[b]	(Hacienda) San Jorge
San Juan de Yanac[b]	San Juan
San Pablo de Chalaques[b,d]	San Pablo

[a] Source: de Barrientos 1967 [1540].
[b] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.
[c] Source: Espinoza Soriano 1977 (after documents dated 1565, 1567, and 1571).
[d] Source: Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985 (after the *visita* of Velásquez de Acuña in 1571–1572).

classification at the subvariety level is possible due to distinctive constellations of paste and pigment features and, to a lesser degree, decorative motifs. These subvarieties are regional in distribution.

Cajamarca Black-and-orange (Figure 4:A–E) and Amoshulca Symbolic are both abundant in the Chota region (Morales Chocano 1979; Shady Solís and Rosas La Noire 1977; Silva et al. 1982). None of the Cajamarca Late Intermediate period types have been reported south of the Crisnejas River. Too little is known of the region just north of the river, however, to confirm that it formed

Table 7. Additional Towns Listed in the Itinerary of the Visita of 1571–1572, with Corresponding Modern Toponyms.

Town[a]	Toponym
San Agustín Cataxa	Catache
San Bernardo de Chumbil	San Bernardo
Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Llamaden	
San Bernardino de Neazia	San Bernardino
San Nicolás Yastón	
San Sebastián de Cazadén	
Jesús de Yanamango	Jesús, Yanamango
San Marcos de Chondabamba	San Marcos

[a] Source: Remy Simatovic 1986.

Table 8. Population of the Province of Cajamarca During the Sixteenth Century After the Spanish Conquest.

Year	Tributaries	Total	Tributary Index
1540	3,493	—	—
1567	5,169	(28,430)	(5.5)
1567	5,169	(36,183)	(7.0)
1571–1572	4,263	23,691	5.58
1578	740	5,224	7.06

Note: Parentheses indicate estimates, as described in text.

a boundary throughout the period. Amoshulca Symbolic ceramics are found in the Celendín region, near the Marañón River (Chávez 1976), but have not been reported to the east of the river (Figure 3).

The situation to the west, in cis-Andean Cajamarca and on the coast, is more complex. Ceramic distributions in the cis-Andean region are not well known. Although investigations are being carried out in the Zaña Valley (Dillehay and Netherly 1983; Netherly and Dillehay 1986), most of the work published to date has been focused on earlier sites (e.g., Dillehay et al. 1989). Most published work in the region between the Zaña and Jequetepeque has also been directed toward earlier sites (Carrión Cachot 1948; Onuki 1989; Terada and Onuki 1985b, 1988), although the presence of later ceramics has been mentioned (Carrión Cachot 1948). The data available for the Jequetepeque Valley (Ravines Sánchez 1982) and the region from the Jequetepeque to the Chicama (Horkheimer 1941; Jaeckel 1987; Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987) is spotty and mostly preliminary in content. Recent survey in the middle and upper Lambayeque Valley, including the Huambos region (Shimada et al. 1991), may help remedy this situation when detailed data become available.

The Late and Final Cajamarca types are dominant at Guzmango Viejo (Jaeckel 1987; Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987). Final Cajamarca is also common at Tantarica (Jaeckel 1987; Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987). On the coast, Cajamarca Semicursive is present at the site of San José de Moro (Disselhoff 1958a) and Ventanillas (Eling 1987), among other sites. The "Cajamarca or Cursive Tripod" illustrated by Kroeber (1944) and the "Cajamarca" described by Larco Hoyle (1948), were based on coastal finds of Cajamarca Semicursive. The other Late and Final Cajamarca types, however, are rare on the coast.

Another style, known mainly from finds at coastal sites, has come to be known as "Coastal Cajamarca." These shallow bowls with annular bases are made from a red or orange paste that is very different in appearance from the kaolin paste of the Cajamarca Basin. They are usually covered with a light-colored slip only on the interior. Painted decoration in red and/or black is applied over the slip. On the basis of the small amount of data currently available, it appears that at least three substyles can be distinguished (Julien 1988). One of these features thin painted lines in pairs and large solid discs. In another, the paint covers broad areas with geometric and zoomorphic figures. Shimada (1982, 1985, 1987) has reported a third substyle from Batán Grande, with decorative patterns formed by broad painted lines, sometimes with saw-toothed edges.

Table 9. Estimating the Population of the Province of Cajamarca in 1520.

Estimated Population in 1567	Depopulation Ratio	Estimated Population in 1520
28,430	3:2	42,645
28,430	1.8:1	51,174
36,183	1.8:1	65,129
36,183	4:1	144,732

"Coastal Cajamarca" appears around the middle of the Middle Horizon, and lasts at least until the beginning of the Late Intermediate period, possibly continuing into the Late Intermediate period, a time range approximately coinciding with the Late Cajamarca phase. Occurrences of the style have been reported from the Motupe Valley southward to the Jequetepeque Valley with sporadic occurrences as far south as the Moche (Figure 3; Eling 1987; Kosok 1965; Shimada 1985; J. Smith, personal communication 1982; see also Disselhoff 1958a, 1958b; Ravines Sánchez 1982; Shimada 1982, 1987). Matos Mendieta (1965–1966) has also reported Cajamarca ceramics from Morropon in the Vicús region, but it is not clear whether these are "Coastal Cajamarca" or not.

"Coastal Cajamarca" is not dominant at any of the sites from which it is known, but it is very common in sites in the central Jequetepeque Valley. Most of the collections I have seen from this region contain at least some of this ware. It may originate in the *chaupiyunga* zones of the valleys, between the coast and the highlands, or may be a coastal imitation of highland wares. It appears to be an imitation of highland Cajamarca ceramics executed in local clay, but the motifs differ from those of intermontane Cajamarca. Presumably, it is imitating the nearest highland ceramics. This is borne out by the fact that the ceramics of the Huambos region show characteristics intermediate between those of the Cajamarca Basin and northern "Coastal Cajamarca" (Shimada et al. 1991), suggesting that they provided the inspiration for the northern substyle. Batán Grande's interaction with the highlands must have been directed toward Huambos. The variability present in "Coastal Cajamarca," along with its regional distribution, promises that the ceramics of the cis-Andean *warangas* (Guzmango, Chuquimango, and Chondal) will prove to be distinguishable from those of the intermontane *warangas* once data on cis-Andean ceramic distributions are available.

DISCUSSION

Were the Cajamarca *warangas* based on native sociopolitical units, or were they entirely an Inka administrative convenience? How far back in time can we trace them? The settlement data from the survey area shows that a single site, Santa Delia, was dominant in the regional settlement hierarchy. It is nearly four times the size of the next largest site (Cerro Callacpoma [Caj-28]), and about seven times the size of the next largest site with comparable construction density (Quililic [Caj-58]). The sites of Guzmango Viejo and Tantarica, similar in size, architectural elaboration, and construction density, are also the largest sites in their region (Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987). These sites were evidently regional capitals. Each lies within the territory of a different *waranga* (Figures 3 and 5): Santa Delia is in Cajamarca, Guzmango Viejo in Guzmango, and Tantarica in Chuquimango. Guzmango is named as the residence of the *curaca* of Guzmango (Silva Santisteban 1985:21). The name Tantarica is not mentioned in the sixteenth-century documents, but the site is located near the *hacienda* Chuquimango. Santa Delia may have been supplanted as the capital of the *waranga* of Cajamarca by the construction of the Inka provincial capital. This degree of pre-Inkaic centralization of settlement within the territory of each of these three *warangas* supports their existence as pre-Inkaic sociopolitical entities. The lack of obvious capitals for the other *warangas* may be due to the lack of published survey data.

Although both Guzmango Viejo and Santa Delia were occupied during Early Cajamarca, their major occupations are later. The earliest ceramics present in great quantity at Guzmango Viejo are Cajamarca Floral Cursive (Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987), of Middle Cajamarca B date, and the major occupation at Santa Delia dates to Final Cajamarca (Julien 1988). Tantarica dates exclusively to Final Cajamarca (Jaeckel and Melly Cava 1987). Thus, the main occupation of each of the known *waranga* capitals postdates the collapse of the hypothesized Coyor polity. This suggests that the *warangas* grew out of the vacuum left by the sociopolitical disintegration of the late Middle Horizon. The process of sociopolitical centralization was not entirely peaceful. Fortified sites like Yanaorco (Figure 3) suggest that it involved armed conflict, or at least the threat of it.

There is some indication of cooperation between the *warangas*, which might represent an early stage of a higher level of centralization. In accounts of the conquest of Cajamarca by the Inka (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]; Cieza de León 1959 [1553, 1873]; Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]: 344–345), the peoples of the province resist the Inka as a single entity. This implies that the *warangas*

(chiefdoms) were cooperating in some fashion by this time. The formation of an alliance with Chimor (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:317; Rowe 1946, 1948; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1942 [1572]) also implies political cohesion.

What was the nature of the pre-Inka Cajamarca polity? We can fairly confidently eliminate the possibility of a state. Cabello Balboa (1951 [1586]:317) states that the Chimú "de ordinario tenia gente en Campaña," i.e., possessed a standing army. The implication is that Cuismancu had none, yet an institutionalized mechanism for the application of force is frequently considered one of the hallmarks of the state (e.g., Service 1975:15–16). Furthermore, Andean states are characterized by redistributive systems requiring extensive administrative and storage facilities. The presence of such facilities, which are usually quite visible archaeologically, has not yet been demonstrated in pre-Inkaic Cajamarca.

Although at least three of the *warangas* were rather highly centralized around the large sites of Guzmango Viejo, Tantarica, and Santa Delia, the degree of centralization for the province as a whole was quite low. Aside from the city of Cajamarca, constructed by the Inka, no single site emerges at the upper echelon of the settlement hierarchy. Instead, the three known capitals of *warangas* appear to be roughly equal in size and complexity. Therefore, the inferred pre-Inka political cohesion of the province may have been recently established, and not yet highly developed. Although it might be argued that the threat from the Inka acted as a catalyst in the process, accounts of the conquest of Cajamarca (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]; summarized in Rowe [1948]) indicate that the expedition to conquer Cajamarca was made on the initiative of a general, before the conquest of intervening territories. This makes it less likely that political unification was accomplished as a response to a prolonged period of perceived threat. The response to the Inka threat may, rather, have been a hasty response to the sudden appearance of an invading army, which triggered preexisting mechanisms for cooperation among the *warangas* in times of stress. There may have been a perceived ethnic unity, whether or not there was political unity.

The presence of Chimor on its western boundary might also have been an incentive for centralization. However, as I argue below, the Cajamarca *warangas* probably did not perceive Chimor as a threat to their independent existence. Instead, it was more likely seen as a source of economic opportunity. This would have provided an incentive to centralize to the degree necessary to implement mutually beneficial exchange. The proximity of the cis-Andean *warangas* to Chimor almost certainly contributed to their ascendancy over the intermontane *warangas* during most of the Late Intermediate period.

CAJAMARCA IN THE CENTRAL ANDEAN CONTEXT

In Cajamarca, the Inka converted a loosely confederated group of chiefdoms into a province. Political unity was not well developed, but ethnic identity was. Was this situation typical of the dozens of ethnic groups in the central Andean Highlands, or were some aspects of the Cajamarca case unusual? To answer this question, we must look at comparable data from other highland regions. We can look at things such as population, geographic area, size of communities, degree of centralization, and evidence for internal conflict. The types of sources and level of detail vary considerably from case to case. In order to better convey the range of variability, both in the sources of data and in the groups themselves, I will describe each region individually, rather than presenting a point-by-point comparison. Finally, the coastal polity of Chimor, which is much better documented than the highland groups, will provide a contrasting case.

Far to the north of Cajamarca in the Quito region of northern Ecuador, we find that the Inka province was made up of chiefdoms (*llajtakuna*, singular *llajta*) that were quite small (Salomon 1986). A *visita* in a portion of the province in 1559 shows that population ranged from slightly more than 1,000 to less than 200 total inhabitants (Salomon 1986:Table 4). Even allowing for depopulation, this is much smaller than the *warangas* of Cajamarca. Each *llajta* was led by a *cacique* or *curaca*, and consisted of one or more *parcialidades*. When there were multiple *parcialidades*, the *curaca* presided over one of the *parcialidades*, and each of the others was led by a *principal*. Despite the small size of the political units, the leaders wielded considerable power (Salomon 1986). The *curacas* appear to have enjoyed relatively equal status, with networks of alliances linking *llajtakuna*

in widely separated portions of the province, allowing access to varied resources (Salomon 1986). There is no evidence for widespread warfare among the chiefdoms. Unlike the Peruvian groups discussed below, Quito did include a substantial portion of the cis-Andean slopes, the Yumbo country. However, the population here was principally at low elevations, exploiting the tropical forest, and appears to have been ethnically distinct from, although economically interrelated with, highland Quito (Salomon 1986).

Although the Huamachuco region has been the focus of several archaeological projects (Krzanowski 1977, 1984, 1985; McCown 1945; Thatcher 1972; J. Topic and T. Topic 1978, 1985, 1987; T. Topic and J. Topic 1984, 1987), most of the published data have pertained to periods earlier than our interest here. However, surveys by Krzanowski (1977, 1985) in the Alto Chicama Valley provide some interesting information. In this restricted region, Krzanowski located five sites with areas exceeding 20 ha. He estimates a total population for the valley of 10,800 (Krzanowski 1985: 85). Overpopulation was, according to Krzanowski, one of the most important dynamics in the evolution of culture in this area. He cites the construction of terraces to increase the available area of agricultural land, and warfare, indicated by defensive site locations and other defensive features, as consequences of this.

The province of Conchucos was located at the northern end of the Callejón de Huaylas. Although not a great deal is known, an early *visita*, dating to 1543, (Cook 1977; Espinoza Soriano 1974) provides some interesting information. There were three *parcialidades*, probably *warangas*. The population was distributed in small hamlets or villages, with the largest having from 100 to 150 tributaries; most were much smaller. There were several villages in which the people did not all belong to the same *waranga*. There were 1,901 tributaries; the total population of the province must have been around 10,000 or a little less. However, Conchucos had been severely punished for an uprising in 1539, including the execution of 600 children (Espinoza Soriano 1974). It is likely that the population would have been much higher 20 years earlier.

Huánuco was the site of the major Inka center of Huánuco Pampa. It was not, however, the home of a large pre-Inka polity. The region was ethnically diverse; several ethnic groups were administered from this Inka center. The largest of these, the Chupaychu, was composed of four *warangas* (Ortiz de Zuñiga 1967–1972 [1562]). This group was apparently united under one ruler at a late date, possibly in Inka or even early Colonial times (Morris and Thompson 1985). Other groups include the Yacha (a single *waranga* [Ortiz de Zuñiga 1967–1972 (1562)]), the Wamali (Morris and Thompson 1985), and a *waranga* of *mitimaes* moved in by the Inka (Ortiz de Zuñiga 1967–1972 [1562]). The archaeological sites are rather small, rarely containing more than 50 houses, and are usually located on ridges (Morris and Thompson 1985).

A little farther south, we find the Chinchacocha and Tarama ethnic groups. In 1575, the population of the provinces of Chinchacocha and Tarama were about 11,000 and 6,000, respectively (Hastings 1987). The Chinchacocha, around Lake Junn, had an economy emphasizing herding, while the Tarama were more agricultural. Documentary sources refer to them sometimes as a single province and sometimes as separate provinces. Certainly, the groups are difficult to distinguish archaeologically (Hastings 1987). The largest archaeological sites are under 10 ha in area. There is not a clear site size hierarchy, and the largest sites may have been dominant only in a local sense (Hastings 1987). Most settlements had some degree of fortification. It is clear that this was a region of small population sizes, that armed conflict was common, and that political centralization was not developed.

The Wanka province, bordering Tarama to the south, provides a great contrast. It was divided by the Inka into three subdivisions called *saya*: Hatunxauxa, Lurinwanka, and Ananwanka. These may have had little relation to pre-Inkaic organization (Parsons and Hastings 1988). The most complete archaeological data are available for Hatunxauxa, or Sausa (Earle et al. 1987; Hastorf 1990; Hastorf et al. 1989; LeBlanc 1981). During Wanka II, in the later part of the Late Intermediate period, sites became larger, and settlement locations moved from the floors of the highland valleys to defensive locations on ridge crests, at some distance from prime agricultural zones (Hastorf 1990; Hastorf et al. 1989; LeBlanc 1981). This trend was reversed during Wanka III, after the Inka conquest of the Wankas. The Prehispanic population was 27,000 *indios de guerra* (de Vega 1965 [1582], cited

in D'Altroy 1987). D'Altroy estimates the total population of the largest polities to be in the range from 15,000 to 40,000 (D'Altroy 1987). The largest sites (i.e., Hatunmarca) cover as much as 95 ha, with more than 2,000 buildings, and a population from 8,600 to 14,200 (Earle et al. 1987). There is some evidence for the presence of central storage facilities before the Inka conquest (Parsons and Hastings 1988). It is clear from the ethnohistoric sources (e.g., Cieza de León 1959 [1553, 1873]; Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]; see D'Altroy [1987] for a detailed analysis) that the Wanka, although a single ethnic group, were far from politically unified at the time of the Inka conquest. Power lay in the hands of military leaders, or *cinchecona* (D'Altroy 1987; LeBlanc 1981). D'Altroy has described the process by which these military leaders gradually amassed more power, eventually becoming permanent leaders. The Wankas were not even able to unite when confronted by the Inka army. Some *cinchecona* capitulated without a fight, while others resisted, forcing military action (D'Altroy 1992:78).

Archaeological survey in the Carhuarazo Valley, in the province of the Andamarca Lucanas, reveals that the settlement pattern at the beginning of the Late Intermediate period was characterized by village sites located in small groups (Schreiber 1987). Most are in defensible locations, and some have defensive walls. Later, after A.D. 1200, the settlement pattern is dominated by two large (over 20 ha) towns. A marked settlement hierarchy is present, with numerous villages and hamlets. This pattern suggests to Schreiber (1992) that two simple chiefdoms developed in the survey area during the Late Intermediate period, and were combined by the Inka with two other simple chiefdoms, in the same valley but outside of the survey area, to form the Inka province.

The Lupaqa are the best documented of the circum-Titicaca polities. In Prehispanic times, this group consisted of 20,000 households (perhaps 100,000 total population), living in seven towns (Diez de San Miguel 1964 [1567]). They were divided into two moieties, each with its own ruler. Although moieties are a common Andean organizational device, they have not been identified at such a high administrative level in the more northerly highland groups. These moieties were not geographic entities; both were present in each of the towns. Although most of the resources available to the rulers came from one town, Chucuito, this town was not larger than others (Murra 1968, 1975). This settlement pattern, however, appears to date to Inka times. Hyslop (1977, 1979) has described a number of Late Intermediate period fortified hilltop towns that were abandoned at about the time of the Lupaqa's incorporation into the Inka empire in favor of the lakeside towns known to the Spaniards. This corroborates accounts in the chronicles of warfare in the Titicaca region before the Inka period. Although the Inka encountered a few large groups, such as the Lupaqa and the Colla, the region had clearly been more fragmented at an earlier date. The chronology of this process is as yet unknown. Although Julien (1985) presents evidence for a Colla state extending beyond the Titicaca Basin and perhaps even incorporating the Lupaqa, Stanish (1992:87–88) suggests that the evidence is better interpreted as reflecting the region of Colla political and economic influence, rather than direct control.

Cajamarca's immediate neighbor to the west presents a strong contrast to the highland groups. Chimor, on the north coast, was a highly centralized empire governed from Chan Chan, in the Moche Valley. At its greatest extent, according to ethnohistoric sources (Rowe 1948), Chimor incorporated the region from Tumbez, at the Peru–Ecuador border, to the Chillón Valley near Lima, a stretch of over 1,000 km, although its rule was more firmly established in the region from Lambayeque to Casma. After consolidating its home base in the Moche, Chicama, and Virú valleys, it grew incrementally by conquest. The urban core of the capital at Chan Chan, covering 600–750 ha, is made up of approximately 10 large adobe compounds, or *ciudadelas*, surrounded by areas of less-formal elite architecture and lower-class barrios (Moseley 1990; West 1970). There is a wide range of population estimates for the city. West (1970) estimates the population of the urban core at 67,500; Hardoy (1973) extrapolates from this a total urban population of 100,000. Moseley (1975) estimates less than 25,000–30,000, based on a hypothesized sequential occupation of the *ciudadelas*. Besides Chan Chan, the empire incorporated several other large urban settlements, such as El Purgatorio (Túcume) and Pacatnamú. Schaedel (1978b:46) has estimated the population of the Chimú heartland, from Motupe to Casma, to be 600,000. Social organization was rigidly hierarchical. The control of territory within valleys was closely related to irrigation rights, resulting in fan-shaped

regions dictated by the area irrigated from a particular canal (Eling 1987; Netherly 1977, 1984). The sociopolitical organization was based on a system of ranked moieties ranging from imperial to local levels (Netherly 1977, 1984, 1990). The Inka response to governing such a vast territory was to divide it into several provinces (Moseley 1990; Netherly 1988).

Curiously, during the entire period of Chimú expansion, there is no evidence of any attempt to conquer the neighboring highlands (Topic 1990). One reason for this may the physical difficulty of such a conquest. A lowland army would be at a severe physical disadvantage at the altitude of Cajamarca until acclimated, and therefore highly vulnerable. It is improbable that an invading force would be given the opportunity to acclimate. Moreover, it is clear from ethnohistoric sources that Chimor and other north-coast polities had developed other means of obtaining needed highland resources. Coastal people living in the highlands with the consent of the highland *curacas* probably supplied highland goods, such as crops or ore, to their coastal homelands. The highland *curacas* would, in turn, receive coastal goods (Ramírez 1985; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1985). This does not mean that border skirmishes did not take place. There is evidence that the Chimú did push their boundaries further up the coastal valleys during the Late Intermediate period (Topic 1990). However, boundary adjustments such as this fall far short of threatening the existence of the Cajamarca *warangas* as independent political entities.

The Late Intermediate period groups described here varied greatly in size and degree of integration. The common theme that seems to have united many regions, however, is the trend toward aggregation during the Late Intermediate period. Some ethnic groups, such as the Lupaqa, appear to have been unified at the time of incorporation into the empire, while others, such as the Wanka, were badly fragmented. The groups in the more heavily populated regions all appear to have been undergoing a process of political centralization, cut short by the Inka conquest. The less densely populated provinces, such as Huánuco and Conchucos, show little evidence for sociopolitical centralization. The evidence for Cajamarca supports the notion of some form of cooperation that integrated the entire province, although this may not have taken the form of strong central political control. This unity, since it does not appear to have been strongly developed, had probably been only recently established. While the duration of Lupaqa unification is not clear, it does not seem to have had a great deal of time depth. The Wanka, given more time, may also have arrived at such a condition. If the Inka conquest had not cut off the process, and the individual *cinchecona* had continued to amass greater powers, one may eventually have come to dominate the rest.

All the groups just mentioned are single ethnic groups. Regions such as Huánuco, with a great deal of cultural diversity, do not show the same indications of increasing political integration. Certainly, the less diverse groups would have been easier to govern as a unit. The Inka capitalized on the ethnic unity of these groups in integrating them into the empire (Patterson 1987). We might even consider the possibility that this unity is, to a certain extant, an Inka fiction, created to make them more governable. In the case of the Wanka, the ethnic singularity had long hidden the fragmented and bellicose nature of the group; scholars had considered them to be a single "kingdom." It was not until extensive archaeological research caused a reassessment of this situation that their disunity became clear (D'Altroy 1987).

We might also compare the size and density of settlement in these provinces. Cajamarca appears by far to have been the largest in area of the highland provinces mentioned here, although several, including the Lupaqa and Wanka, exceeded it in population. That the Inka included groups from such a broad area in a single province supports the notion of some degree of pre-Inkaic political unity for Cajamarca.

The archaeological settlement patterns of all the regions described reveal a settlement hierarchy characterized by several sites at the highest level of the hierarchy. In the absence of written descriptions, *none* of them would have been described as politically unified on the basis of archaeological evidence alone. The lack of a well-developed settlement hierarchy among the Lupaqa, usually considered to have been unified with an established capital at Chucuito, underscores the lateness of their political integration: probably not enough time had passed for a classic pyramidal settlement hierarchy to develop. Clearly, the entire highland region was in a state of flux, with a strong trend toward increasing scale of sociopolitical integration among the larger ethnic groups.

CONCLUSIONS

The provincial capital at the present site of the city of Cajamarca was probably established by the Inka. The place had always been of some ritual significance, and there may have been a small population at the site. This is shown by the remains on Cerro Santa Apolonia (Caj-1), a small hill within the city. There is no remaining architecture, but there is a stone sculpture (commonly known as "Silla del Inca"), and abundant surface ceramics dating from all periods from Late Huacaloma through Final Cajamarca. However, there is no evidence that it was a major population center before the arrival of the Inka. The capital served as a collection center for goods from the adjoining provinces for the imperial storehouses. As de Xerez indicated, a residence for the Inka was maintained at the hot springs now called Los Baños del Inca, and an *acllahuasi* was constructed in the capital, presumably adjoining the oversize plaza. Two or more temples attracted pilgrims from a wide area.

At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the province of Cajamarca, with a total population of around 60,000, was divided into seven major administrative units, or *warangas*. Five or six of these correspond to pre-Inkaic chiefdoms, while one or two were established by the Inka. Locations of many of the components of these chiefdoms can be identified by tracing correspondences between modern toponyms and place names appearing in old documents. Probable capitals can be suggested for three of the chiefdoms: Guzmango Viejo for Guzmango, Tantarica for Chuquimango, and Santa Delia for Cajamarca.

The area encompassed within these chiefdoms was relatively large, in comparison with other highland regions, but the population density was not great. Cajamarca, unlike the other groups (except Quito), integrated both cis-Andean and intermontane groups into one unit. The terrain in the cis-Andean region is very broken, and arable land tends to be found in pockets, leading to a scattered population and overall lower density. The broader intermontane valleys have larger contiguous areas of arable land, encouraging population concentration. The land usable for pastoralism was also divided into isolated pockets. While there was use of different vertically differentiated environmental zones, the arrangement of those zones in relatively close proximity obviated the need for vertical archipelagos, such as those described by Murra (1968, 1975) for the Lupaqa. Unlike the Chillon Valley, where mutual need for resources such as coca by both coastal and highland populations led to multiethnic settlements (Dillehay 1977, 1979), Cajamarca directly controlled most of the necessary resource zones. In the Chillon case, the coastal population was apparently dominant, tolerating the highland intrusion. In Cajamarca, the situation would have been reversed, with coastal populations exploiting resources at the pleasure of highland rulers. The implications for coast–highland relationships are interesting, and their exploration will be a fruitful avenue for continued research.

The chiefdoms of the future Cajamarca province appear to have achieved a state of incipient political integration, such as that already better established, but nevertheless still recent, among the Lupaqa. However, the Inka may have exaggerated this integration as a device to legitimize their administration.

The Inka, after conquering Cajamarca, created a major administrative center in the province, raising it to a greater level of economic importance than other Inka provinces in northern Peru, perhaps filling a level of macroprovincial importance like Huánuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson 1985) and the "other Cuzcos" mentioned by Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980 [ca. 1615]). Major construction was undertaken in the provincial capital, which became a redistributive center for keeping accounts and storing tribute from neighboring provinces. Unlike Huánuco Pampa, Inkaic Cajamarca suffered the fate of becoming a Spanish *villa*, so the Inka buildings seen by de Xerez were demolished in less than 20 years. By 1780, only the Cuarto del Rescate was left.

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NOTE

[1] According to Cieza de León (1959 [1553, 1873]:94), some Cajamarquinos said that they were conquered by Topa Inka, Pachacuti's son and successor. However, since Topa Inka was left in charge of military matters during the latter part of Pachacuti's reign, these statements are not necessarily contradictory.

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