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RECENT WRITING ON THE PEOPLES OF THE ANDES

Susan E. Ramírez
De Paul University

LOS CABALLEROS DEL PUNTO FIJO: CIENCIA, POLITICA Y AVENTURA EN LA EXPEDICION GEODESICA HISPANOFRANCESA AL VIRREINATO DEL PERU EN EL SIGLO XVIII. By Antonio Lafuente and Antonio Mazuecos. (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 1987. Pp. 256.)

THE HISTORY OF A MYTH: PACARIQTAMBO AND THE ORIGIN OF THE INKAS. By Gary Urton. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Pp. 172. $19.95 cloth, $8.95 paper.)

INCA CIVILIZATION IN CUZCO. By R. Tom Zuidema. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Pp. 101. $19.95 cloth, $9.95 paper.)

INCA RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By Father Bernabé Cobo. Translated and edited by Roland Hamilton. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Pp. 279. $22.50 cloth, $10.95 paper.)

INKA SETTLEMENT PLANNING. By John Hyslop. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Pp. 377. $30.00.)

LINES TO THE MOUNTAIN GODS: NAZCA AND THE MYSTERIES OF PERU. By Evan Hadingham. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. Pp. 307. $15.95 paper.)

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANDEAN STATE. Edited by Jonathan Haas, Shelia Pozorski, and Thomas Pozorski. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Pp. 188. $42.50.)

PREHISPANIC SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE LOWER SANTA VALLEY, PERU: A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLEX NORTH COAST SOCIETY. By David J. Wilson. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. Pp. 590. $55.00.)

Each of the eight books reviewed here, whether based on archaeological remains, historical documents, anthropological inquiry, or a combination of all three, deals with various aspects of what Evan Hadingham calls "the mysteries"—and more generally with misunderstanding of the Andean peoples before 1800. Half of these works (those by Hadingham, Hyslop, Wilson, and Haas, Pozorski, and Pozorski) depend primarily on archaeology to decipher and interpret the role and power of the state. Although their conclusions do not all concur, these works force recon-

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sideration of various well-known theories and standard periodizations. Three others works (those by Urton, Cobo, and Zuidema) reveal to one extent or another how "history" is written. Gary Urton's *The History of a Myth* exemplifies the use of archaeology to verify "history" or myth (depending on one's perspective), reminding readers that both history and myth are constructed or invented for specific purposes within given spatial and temporal contexts. Fray Bernabé Cobo's "history" describes the Incas but is perhaps more valuable for what it reveals about his own mindset and the climate of opinion in the first half of the seventeenth century. From today's perspective, Cobo's work seems a quaintly curious reflection of his times. Tom Zuidema's research, if proved correct, has the potential for exposing the early Spaniards' myopia as well as some contemporary investigators' ethnocentrism in forcing information about the Inca kings and administration into a European linear and genealogical mold. Even the study by Lafuente and Mazuecos, although differing greatly from the others, comments in passing on the suspicion and mistrust born of misinformation and stereotypical expectations between creoles and Europeans in the eighteenth century. These views of the past comment on the difficulties of understanding "the other," then and now.

The well-written book edited by Jonathan Haas and Shelia and Thomas Pozorski, *The Origins and Development of the Andean State,* is the earliest and most general of the studies under review here. In explaining the formation and evolution of a complex society in various geographical locations, individual contributors focus on such factors as habitat diversity, environmental conscription, warfare, limited access to prestige goods, concentrated control over production, charismatic leaders, trade, religion, population pressure, redistributive exchange systems, and regional specialization. In the process, important theories and accepted chronologies for certain periods and cultures are tested and refined. For example, contributor Robert Feldman revises Michael Moseley's theory about the maritime basis of civilization in concluding (based on a study in the Supe Valley) that the dichotomy between maritime and agricultural bases of civilization is no longer tenable. The essay by Shelia and Thomas Pozorski on the coastal origins of Chavín de Huantar iconography refutes the long-held belief that Chavín was the "mother culture" and also questions seriously the existence of the so-called Early Horizon. Robert Carneiro's well-known ideas on the origin of the state are found wanting in Santa when David Wilson turns up evidence of interregional raiding from the south rather than internecine warfare. Richard Daggett's work in the Nepeña Valley, however, supports Carneiro's theory of "circumscription warfare."

As a historian rather than an archaeologist by training, I found that one way of ordering the sometimes confusing and contradictory conclusions of the various studies was to think in terms of power, which allowed a

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better grasp of their implications. The study of the rise of the state is really the study of power—its concentration and use. Some authors deal with types of power: ideological (William Isbell), economic (Thomas Pozorski, Charles Hastings, and Haas), and militaristic (John and Theresa Topic, Shelia Pozorski, Wilson, Daggett, and Katherina Schreiber). Other contributions (those by Feldman, Shelia and Thomas Pozorski, and Izumi Shimada) focus on different aspects of the balance of power, concluding that at various times the coastal population was more advanced culturally than the population of the highlands. Yet another subset of researchers discuss the physical manifestations of power (Haas, Alexandra Ulana Klymyshyn, and Carol Mackey).

Perhaps a better way of ordering the material is suggested by M. C. Webb, who in a masterful summary section of *The Origins and Development of the Andean State* categorizes theories about state origin into four kinds of explanations: coercive and militaristic (the "blood and iron" approach), cooperative and voluntaristic (the "sweetness and light" approach), ecological, and ideological. The first and third types of explanations are usually paired, as are the second and fourth. Webb points out that Andean states probably had cooperative beginnings and became more coercive over time. He concludes insightfully that the discrepancies in the findings of the individual authors therefore depend on what era or stage the state was in during the period under study. He thus answers indirectly Betty Meggers's question in this work about whether or not the process is global and linear or localized and multilinear. The answer is both, depending on spatial and temporal considerations and the level of generalization.

Wilson's contribution to *The Origins and Development of the Andean State* foreshadows his own book, *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Lower Santa Valley, Peru*. This massive, detailed, and copiously illustrated study constitutes the definitive archaeological statement on the Lower Santa Valley. Wilson's diachronic study covers a long time span. It begins in the preceramic and egalitarian culture of Las Salinas; proceeds through the beginnings of agriculture, social differentiation, and the supravillage cooperation stage (Cayhuamarca); moves on to the chiefdom level of organization (Late Suchimancillo); and concludes by considering the valley's subsequent incorporation into the Moche (Guadalupito), Chimu, and Inca empires (Late Tambo Real). The data from Santa confirm Karl Whittfogel's hypotheses regarding the hydraulic origins of the state, but neither Moseley's nor Carneiro's theory proves acceptable in this regard. Wilson also finds evidence of contact with Wari but none of conquest, a reflection consistent with the work mentioned by Katherina Schreiber. Wilson's study of the late pre-Hispanic era found that the Inca conquered the Santa Valley too late to integrate the coast effectively into the empire, a conclusion consistent with two ethnohistorical studies on the North Coast and Ecuador (see Ramírez 1990; Salomon 1986). Indeed, Chimu statecraft and cul-

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ture affected the Inca, a theme mentioned in the study by Haas, Pozorski, and Pozorski. Wilson also confirms Shimada's observations that much more interaction occurred along the coast, especially to the north of the valley, than in the south or the highlands to the east.

Among the more intriguing archaeological remains Wilson found in the Santa Valley were two groups of desert ground drawings, both very similar in technique and construction to those found on the Nazca Plain more than 465 miles to the south. These drawings are fascinating because the relatively small Santa drawings and their larger Nazca counterparts all date from approximately the same time period and share certain figures, like those representing llamas. Unfortunately, Wilson fails to speculate on the possible interaction between the peoples living in the two areas.

Evan Hadingham's *Lines to the Mountain Gods: Nazca and the Mysteries of Peru* does not mention the lines found in Santa but does include pictures and some information on other terrestrial drawings, such as those on the slopes of Cerro Unitas in Northern Chile, the ones near Palpa (Peru), and others in Blythe, California, in Rice County, Kansas, and in Parker, Arizona. Although popular in tone and organized lightly around "mysteries" and other unexplained or understudied phenomena, the book is based on solid research, where it exists. Regarding Nazca, Hadingham discusses several ideas about the meaning of the lines. Were these grooved patterns in the Peruvian desert an astronomical calendar (according to Maria Reiche's earlier explanation), routes for ceremonial activities or pilgrimages (Helaine Silverman), an airport for extra terrestrials (Erich von Däniken), or a map of constellations (later Maria Reiche and now Phyllis Pitluga)? Hadingham also questions the meaning of Nazca "ray centers," *quipus* (knotted strings, devices the Incas used for keeping mathematical and other kinds of records), and the *ceque* system (the radiating lines and shrines centered on Cuzco made famous by Zuidema), speculating somewhat on their coincidence of form and use. Hadingham also relates Nazca culture to Jívaro headhunters. Do the trophy heads pictured in Paracas and Nazca iconography represent antecedents of Jívaro practices?

As might be expected from a popularizer, Hadingham presents some concepts uncritically, such as Michael Moseley's maritime basis of civilization and Geoffrey Conrad's "split inheritance" explanation for the growth of empire (Conrad 1984), both of which are still being debated. Nevertheless, this British-American archaeologist's book is readable and even entertaining, with its discussion of hallucinogens and shamans. *Lines to the Mountain Gods* will inform the public regarding some of the "mysteries" that scholars have spent years and even lifetimes attempting to solve.

Four of the eight works under review deal with the late pre-Hispanic era when the Incas dominated much of the Andes to varying degrees. John Hyslop's *Inka Settlement Planning* is in every sense as technically re-

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fined and detailed as Wilson's study of Santa. But whereas Wilson provides an inclusive pre-Hispanic diachronic analysis of one geographically defined valley, Hyslop studies the remains of the short Inca era, which were scattered throughout the empire they amassed. By studying the stone and adobe ruins, Hyslop can perceive how the once extensive empire was organized, managed, and defended. He first discusses *ushnus* (thrones, receiving stands, seats, basins), rocks and outcrops, water systems, military settlements, and other Inca phenomena in the context of their physical environment. Then with the help of ethnohistorical material, Hyslop interprets his findings. For example, ushnus at shrines, administrative centers, and fortresses are explained as having been centers for Inca hospitality, ceremonies, rituals, and sacrifice, giving this architectural feature practical as well as symbolic meaning. It also played a role in tying or relating the Incas to local peoples outside Cuzco. Hyslop concludes that religion and ideology, two categories not easily separated in the Inca world, were used to justify the empire's sometimes forceful expansion.

One historical source cited by Hyslop in his bibliography that has helped him and other archaeologists interpret their silent material world is the work carried out by Father Bernabé Cobo. Part of his corpus is now available in English. One section on the history of the Inca empire was also translated by Roland Hamilton and published in 1979. The recently published second volume, *Inca Religion and Customs,* represents Cobo's thoughts and findings on these two topics.

Cobo was a Jesuit priest and scholar who began his observations in 1609 but did not publish his thoughts until 1653. This delay made his chronicle a rather late one. John Rowe's introductory remarks remind readers that Cobo based much of what he wrote about Inca religion on manuscripts written by Juan Polo de Ondegardo (1559), Cristóbal de Molina (1575), Alonso Ramos Gavilán (published in 1621), and Pedro Pizarro (1571). Cobo did not rely on personal observation because much of Inca religion had already disappeared or been forced underground by the time he began his work. His comments on customs, in contrast, were based on his own observations, which were casual rather than systematic. Whether discussing religion or customs, the writings of this naturalist turned ethnographer and historian cannot be accepted uncritically for two additional reasons: all his comments are filtered through his seventeenth-century Christian worldview, and he assumed that the customary behavior of the Indians that differed from that of Europeans represented native culture prior to European contact. As Rowe points out, Cobo assumed "cultural stability" when many things, from hairstyles to technology, had already changed radically by the time Cobo was traveling around taking his notes. For example, Cobo maintained that Indians believed in the Universal Flood and a creator of the universe, two ideas that probably represent religious syncretism that had occurred since 1532. His work

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also embodies prejudices left over from the times of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo.

Hence the Incas are presented as tyrants. Although Cobo admitted that their religion was organized and moralistic and included ceremonies, specialized personnel, and the concept of sin, Indians are depicted nevertheless as pagans and oracles as mouthpieces for the devil. Yet despite these shortcomings, Cobo's account is useful, especially for the central and southern highlands, because when it is evaluated judiciously, it lends meaning to the stone and adobe remains lying scattered or buried throughout the Andes.

In discussing polytheism and ancestor worship, Cobo (like other earlier chroniclers) retells the Inca origin myth of Pacariqtampo. This myth is the main focus of Gary Urton's *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas,* which best exemplifies the successful intersection of archaeology, (ethno)history, and anthropology. Urton provides the sociohistorical context of the construction of the Pacariqtambo origin myth during the forty years between the entry of the Spanish into Peru (1532) and the writing of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's history of the Incas in 1572. Urton's analysis is based in part on a 1718 manuscript (transcribed and printed as an appendix to the volume) found in a private archive. In it a provincial nobleman, Rodrigo Sutiq Callapiña, argued successfully in 1569 that he was a descendant of the first Inca King, Manqo Qhapaq. Urton's analysis establishes the relationship between the construction of an individual elite genealogy and the writing of the official history of the Inca empire.

Because we have no true "Inca" myths (all were recorded later by Europeans or European-trained Indians), the Pacariqtambo myth represents reconstructed histories and individually motivated interpretations, or what Urton terms *mythohistories.* The elites of Cuzco and the provinces manipulated a myth to appropriate the Incas as their ancestors for individual and family gain in status, prestige, position, and power (akin to the way Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala manipulated his own genealogy to lend veracity and legitimacy to his account). This practice established the nobility of their lineages and secured their positions in the reorganization of the native population being carried out under Viceroy Toledo. By providing the context within which the Indians produced a myth from a certain history, Urton records the history of a myth to help readers understand the processes whereby historical representations are formulated.

Urton's pathbreaking *History of a Myth* shows further that the Indians were not powerless and passive during these early colonial times, a belief now firmly grounded in studies like those of Steve Stern (1982). But unlike the Indians who participated in the Taqui Onqoy disturbances, those involved in Urton's story worked within the new structures and system being established by the Spanish. They participated in creating

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their own history, seemingly conscious that historical truth is determined by those who hold power. They helped create their own history for their own selfish ends, but they did it also to lend a supernatural aura to the origins of their past rulers and claimed ancestors and to create a proud identity. A brief analysis of this viceroyalty-wide perspective would have led Urton to this important insight.

The Pacariqtambo myth of origin appears again in Tom Zuidema's *Inca Civilization in Cuzco.* This splendidly suggestive little book offers a unique and integrated view of Inca kinship, kingship, and the ceque system. Zuidema analyzes the Pacariqtambo story in terms of kinship, "age classes," profession, and territory. In contrast to the genealogical relationship of the named Incas accepted by Rowe, Hyslop, and others, Zuidema believes that the names of the ancestors were primarily titles that indicated their respective genealogical distance from the reigning king. He then elaborates his hypothesis that the Inca kinship system was a complicated model of the redistributive principle that applied to women, goods, privileges, and ideas. Zuidema argues that an administrator's rank was a function of the rank of the group he administered, proportional to the size of its territory (in the jurisdictional sense?), its distance from Cuzco, the hierarchical position of the group in its own locality, and so on. Such an interpretation contradicts most chroniclers, who claimed that each Inca king founded his own *panaca,* a kindred made up of all his descendants except for the heir to the throne. In not accepting the historicity of the Incas, Zuidema undermines or casts doubt on theories based on the Inca genealogy and "split inheritance," such as Geoffrey Conrad's ideas on religion and empire. Finally, Zuidema draws attention to the dangers of interpreting another culture when scholars persist in thinking with the Western mind-set.

Antonio Lafuente's and Antonio Mazueros's *Los caballeros del punto fijo: ciencia, política y aventura en la expedición geodésica hispanofrancesa al virreinato del Perú en el Siglo XVIII* is the only book to deal almost exclusively with the eighteenth century. In many ways, it has little or nothing to do with pre-Hispanic times and the lives of the native Andean population. Rather, this work deals primarily with the fate of a scientific expedition sponsored by the Academy of Sciences of Paris. The group was sent to the Andes to take measurements to determine the true configuration of the earth and to gather useful information on cartography, geography, ethnohistory, astronomy, botany, and navigation in the 1730s.

The expedition turned into an odyssey for the Frenchmen and Spaniards who eventually participated. Length of stay in the Andes ranged from Pierre Bouguer's nine years to Joseph Jussieu's twenty-seven. Two members died—one of fever and the other murdered. Charles-Marie de la Condamine was robbed en route and then twice accused and tried for smuggling. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, two officers of the Royal

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Spanish Navy, were charged with disrespect for viceregal authorities. The entire group (minus one) had to survive a war between Spain and England, internal squabbling, and a riot in Cuenca. Throughout their stay, expedition members often lacked money and went into debt. Having no institutional support for the last three years in the field, they took on other jobs: Louis Godin accepted a professorship in mathematics at the Universidad de Lima; Juan Seniergues and Jussieu practiced medicine; Luis Morainville worked as an architect and painter; Joseph Verguin made maps; and Theodore Hugot made a living as a watchmaker.

In another sense, the experiences related in *Los caballeros del punto fijo* parallel modern attempts to understand the peoples of the Andes. The scientific curiosity engendered in these scientists by the Enlightenment makes the book read like a tale of Europeans rediscovering America. Expedition members transcended the stereotypes prevalent in Europe (as exemplified in Voltaire's *Candide*) to examine American society and customs for themselves. Their accomplishments were many and varied, among them learning about quinine, a cure for malaria. La Condemine "discovered" rubber for Europe. As a group, the members produced a map of the province of Quito, a valuable description of the Amazon, and various reports on the corrupt and deplorable state of administration of the colonies. They also determined the indetermination of the line of Tordesillas, recommending that Spain and Portugal find a more realistic way to establish boundaries.

Yet throughout the long expedition, the curiosity of the Europeans was matched by the questioning of the Americans. American-born creoles greeted the Europeans with suspicion and resentment and circulated rumors about their mission. Jumping to the conclusion that the scientists were really prospecting for precious metals and stones, the locals labeled them *chapetones* and *peninsulares*, descriptions of Spaniards born on the Iberian peninsula that had negative and sometimes insulting undertones.

A gulf divided the Americans from the Europeans, even at the elite level, a gulf narrower but no less significant than the one between the Europeans in 1532 and the natives they encountered. The gulf seems as great or greater between twentieth-century archaeologists and ethnohistorians and the peoples they now study. Must we not stay flexible in our views and allow for alternative, non-Western interpretations? Can we expect our ideas about the Wari, the Chimus, the Incas, or eighteenth-century Europeans for that matter to be unbiased or to remain unchanged? Are we not still engaged in fabricating our own past to make sense of our world (consider the recent U.S. movie *JFK*) ? In viewing "the other," people learn about themselves and gain new perspectives on their own identity and concerns. These eight books, in showing the difficulty of accurately understanding "the other," acknowledge nevertheless that we are all connected in a continuing saga.

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