

# The First Millennium ad in North-Central Peru: Critical Perspectives on a Linguistic Prehistory

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## Introduction

On the topic of languages in the ancient Andes, most archaeologists have preferred to err on the side of caution when assigning specific languages to prehistoric cultures or regions. Not only do languages change, die out and get replaced, they do so often with relatively little physical footprint. The imperfect fit between spheres of material culture, style, ethnicity, and language also makes this caveat even more profound (see Stark 1998). Despite its obvious importance, a series of factors magnify the reluctance, on the part of archaeologists, to grapple with a linguistic prehistory.

The best-known descriptions of indigenous pre-Hispanic languages are those of early chroniclers and other eyewitness testimonies. Even in these cases, difficulties arise in identifying specific languages, many now extinct, and their time-depth. Not only are complex societies often multilingual; ethnography and linguistic anthropology also make exceedingly clear that language is situational and dynamic. Like any aspect of culture and identity, language is always in a state of flux, can be slow or quick to change, and can take different forms synchronically (e.g. Hanks 1996; Keane 1997).

Absent the speakers, of course, archaeologists are further removed from the links between language and identity. Also, without tangible evidence to refer to comparable linguistic patterns (e.g. inscriptions, glyphs), archaeologists engage with artefacts, material style, and distributions to comprehend ancient language. Indeed, the analytical approaches, with their attendant goals and methods, remain somewhat different for historical linguists (Heggarty 2007). One might say it is the reverse approach, compared with archaeology. If the examination of words, vocabularies, and grammars, and their relationships and flows, are the domain of historical linguistics, it

remains artefacts and their contexts which form the crux of archaeology. Yet both are interested in the target as culture-historical phenomena (e.g. culture or language), each with diagnostic style(s) and structures, diachronic transformations, and their implications for corporate groups.

In practice, relatively little in the archaeological record allows us direct access to language patterns, so the careful framing of argument is vital. There are at least two levels of normative assumption when one connects artefacts (or style distributions) to language (or language distribution) (e.g. Torero 2002)—one is for assuming collective behaviour; another is for assuming a direct link between expressions of the collective behaviour (things) and language. This aside is raised to flag mainly the contrasting positions of language in both these endeavours, but also the core, sticky problem of methodological logic and the usable data for inference. As in archaeology and palaeoanthropology, at the same time that new discoveries in past languages enhance current perspectives or force reappraisals (e.g. Quilter et al. 2010) they highlight how existing understandings are conditioned by the vagaries of sampling and a remarkably imperfect record. In any case, archaeologists will need to shoulder the burden of chronology. Linguistic evidence, if it is useful for reckoning prehistoric time, can only be suggestive and complementary, concerning ‘orders of magnitude’ and relative sequences (Heggarty 2007: 323–5; 2008: 49).

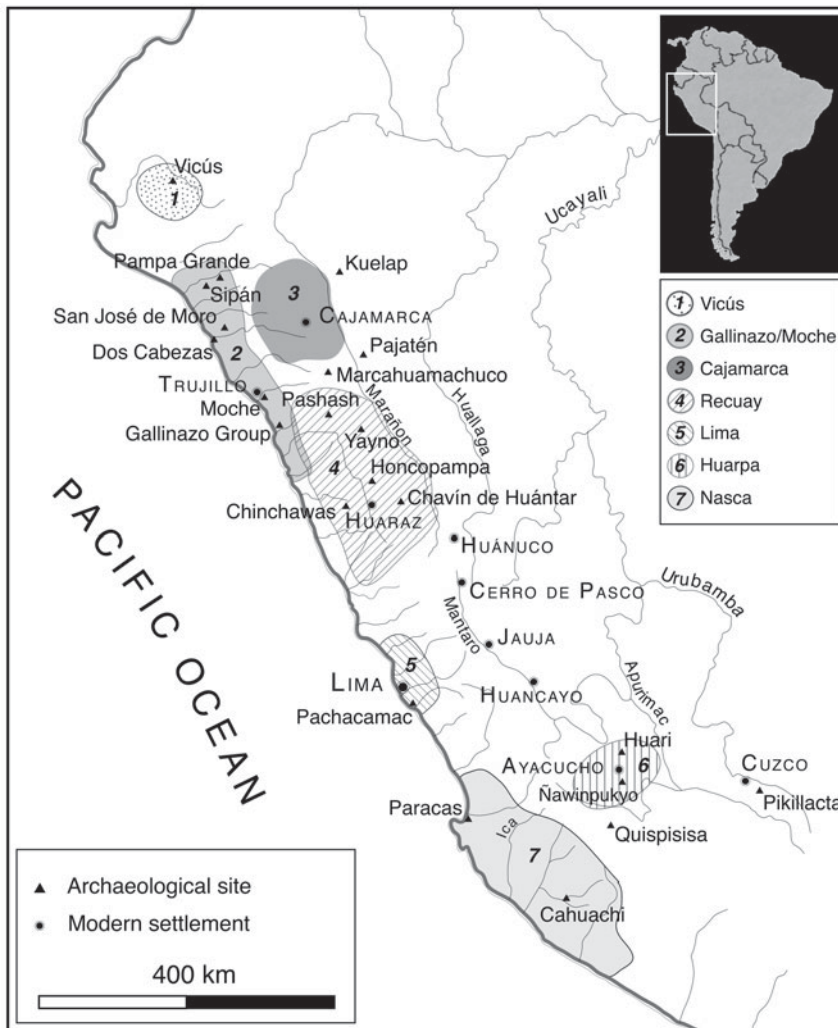
Several fundamental points insist that we consider a linguistic prehistory, however. Ancient people must have used different languages as key elements of identity, and they changed during the course of Andean prehistory (e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 1995; Adelaar with Muysken 2004; Torero 2002). Language distributions may also be seen to provide an independent line of evidence for cultural expansions (e.g. Beresford-Jones and Heggarty 2011; see also chapter 3 in this volume). In other words, ancient languages were significant for culture(s) and their development, and vice versa. There can be little doubt of this. Rather, it is the variability, distributions, and trajectories of the languages that constitute the principal issues of contention. Our understanding of them will only be enhanced when linguists and archaeologists work together through disparate bodies of evidence and models, one of the main goals and contributions of the Andean archaeology and linguistics events at Cambridge University (2008) and the Catholic University of Peru (2009).

The challenge facing this study and the general rationale for any linguistic prehistory is how well language patterns match the distributions and chronologies of material styles. If, as Appadurai (1986: 5) noted more than twenty years ago, ‘[things] constitute the first principles and last resort’ of archaeology, any linguistic interpretation of the long prehistory prior to the Inkas can only be as solid as the stylistic and spatial analysis of the artefact record. Let us now look at the cultural developments of the first millennium ad in

northern Peru, and their degree of fit with language distributions, and discuss some preliminary implications for ancient language use.

### Language and First Millennium Cultures of North-Central Peru

North-central Peru (Fig. 7.1) features as an important domain for Andean linguistic prehistory because of its cultural diversity throughout the first



**Figure 7.1.** Map of northern Peru showing major sites of the first millennium AD and major cultures of north-central Peru.

millennium ad. The archaeological record is paralleled, in very general terms, by a strong diversity of languages historically known to have existed in the region. Several languages characterized the coastal portion during late pre-Hispanic times, including Quingnam and Mochica. Culle and forms of Quechua and Aymara may have been spoken at different times in the adjacent highlands (Cerrón-Palomino 1995; Adelaar with Muysken 2004; Torero 2002). The archaeological implications of this variation remain unclear, but nonetheless offer very rich potential for future research. The first two sections of this chapter summarize the culture history of north and north-central Peru, and the third details specific patterns of interaction in Ancash.

#### **Early Intermediate Period (ad 1–700)**

The Early Intermediate Period was a time of unprecedented social and cultural dynamism in the central Andes.<sup>1</sup> After the cultural integration attributed to the Chavín civilization (Burger 1992), the central Andes witnessed the proliferation of many distinct regional cultures. The major highland cultures included Pukara, Huarpa, Recuay, and Cajamarca. Along the coast, the principal cultures were Nasca, Lima, Moche, Gallinazo, and Vicús (Fig. 7.1). Each can be associated with a provincial corporate art style (Moseley 1992: 73), demonstrating a suite of local artistic traditions and technical preferences. In addition to being very distinctive styles in terms of appearance, they formed parts of long-lasting and fairly insular traditions. The heterogeneity is often attributed to the emergence of competing regional polities or large-scale ethnic groups, sometimes with different languages (Schaedel 1985).

The period is also known for major developments in social complexity. Firstly, some of the largest and most complex sites of ancient Peru emerged (Makowski 2004). Extensive nucleated settlements appeared, often showing urban demographic concentration and/or associated with major ceremonial buildings (Shimada 1994; Silverman and Proulx 2002). There were also significant technological advances—in subsistence (e.g. irrigation, terracing, intensification of herding) as well as in making valuables. Craft specialists in coastal centres were often located next to elite ceremonial and residential buildings, suggesting they were associated with high-status factions (e.g. Shimada 1994; Uceda and Rengifo 2006; Vaughn 2006). Finally, in many areas, there was unprecedented social differentiation, as shown by variability in burial practices, imagery of artworks, accumulation of wealth, access to labour, and life histories as manifested in bioarchaeological data. Scholars

<sup>1</sup> Note that I use calibrated AD dates. The rationale for AD 700 is that P-511, the key date used by Rowe and his colleagues for dating Nasca 9 in Ica, falls essentially between AD 531 and 968.

attribute many of the developments to the emergence of the first territorial states, especially along the central and north coasts (Patterson et al. 1982; Topic 1982; Wilson 1988; Bawden 1996; Billman 2002).

The cultural dynamism of the coast during the Early Intermediate Period was, to some extent, paralleled in the highlands, especially in the north highlands. Densely occupied demographic centres emerged, often with monumental buildings of ceremonial and secular importance, and wealth accumulated in certain groups within those settlements. There was also widespread emphasis on finely made goods for purposes of status display, in life and the afterlife. The Early Intermediate Period was also a time when warfare resulted in different cultural outputs throughout the central Andes: forts, weaponry, and imagery.

Small corporate kin-based collectivities characterized the highland region. Larger, more powerful polities emerged in certain valleys of Ancash, likely headed by native lords akin to those known during late pre-Hispanic and colonial times for highland Ancash (Espinoza Soriano 1964, 1978; Cook 1977; Varón Gabai 1980). The largest developed in civic-ceremonial centres, often fortified, dominating productive valley pockets with good access to high-altitude lands, especially in the southern area. The main known centres include Pashash (Cabana), Yayno (Pomabamba), and the greater Huaraz area (Grieder 1978; Lau 2005). These were also located in positions advantageous for trading relations with surrounding hinterlands. Further north, Marca Huamachuco and Coyor were among the key centres in the modern departments of Huamachuco and Cajamarca, respectively. The more elaborate developments appear to have occurred later during the period, after about ad 400. But overall, there seems to have been little widespread social or cultural integration (e.g. multi-valley) in the north highlands.

The cultural developments from the regions of Huancayo, Junín, Jauja, Cerro de Pasco, and Huánuco are less well defined. Although post-Formative styles have been identified, the lack of stratigraphic excavations and radiocarbon dates hinders finer spatial and temporal correlations (e.g. Browman 1970; Morales Chocano 1978; Hastorf et al. 1989; Parsons et al. 2000; Mallma Cortez 2004). Long-term, intensive settlement survey in Junín, for example, had difficulty differentiating between Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon occupations (Parsons et al. 2000: vol. I, 90). Nonetheless, the styles of this zone appear, at this nascent stage of research, less elaborate and perhaps more similar to each other than their northern neighbours, the Recuay and Cajamarca. It should be noted that the local decorated pottery from Huamachuco during the Early Intermediate Period shows few similarities with either Cajamarca or Recuay (Thatcher 1975; Krzanowski and Pawlikowski 1980; Krzanowski 1986). The stylistic heterogeneity characterizing these regions is not incompatible with a model of linguistic diversity.

Recuay's cultural boundaries were largely coterminous with the modern department of Ancash. Not much is known about the origins of the culture, but to some extent it had local precedent, namely in the Huaraz White-on-Red style (Bennett 1944; Lau 2004b). In architecture, stone sculpture and especially ceramics, Recuay style was very distinctive from its highland contemporaries. There are also some diagnostic practices in the culture that do not appear as intensively elsewhere in the highlands, such as metal casting, negative painting, and certain designs and weaving techniques.

The Early Intermediate Period on the north-central coast is commonly associated with the Gallinazo and Moche cultures. Traditional chronologies place Gallinazo cultures (also known widely as Virú) before Moche. Thought to have overlapped mainly with Moche's early phases (e.g. Larco Hoyle 1948; Lumbreras 1974), it is fairly clear now that Gallinazo, although it may have developed earlier, extended throughout the Early Intermediate Period. Not only do Middle and Late Moche sites show Gallinazo styles, but Gallinazo groups appear to have been neighbours or a type of lower class, perhaps vanquished peoples in several Moche valleys; they occupied the same valleys and must have had very complex histories of entanglements (e.g. Shimada 1994; 1999: 485; Donnan 2007; Millaire and Morlion 2009). Some scholars suggest that Gallinazo was the underlying base culture, a little tradition on which the great Moche art tradition was established (Castillo and Uceda 2008: 723).

On other occasions, I have mentioned the technical similarities between Gallinazo and Recuay cultures (Lau 2004b). Iconographic connections are especially strong between Recuay and Gallinazo, but commonalities with other cis-Andean and coastal cultures in northern Peru, namely Moche and Vicús, are also recognized (e.g. Bankmann 1979; Reichert 1982; Makowski and Rucabado 2000; Lau 2004a). Overall, the coastal region appears to have shaped many of the cultural elements and stylistic preferences known as Recuay.

The degree to which the Early Intermediate Period's developments coincide with prehistoric languages and movements remains much harder to determine. One complicating but also potentially revealing problem for this region's prehistory is that the northern cultures had lasting interactions with groups in what is now southern Ecuador. Cultural encounters with this zone, perhaps by way of the eastern Andean *montaña* or through seafaring traffic, may help explain the shared ways of doing things between Ecuador and northern Peru (see Kaulicke 1992; Hocquenghem et al. 1993; Church 1996). The key time period for this was the first three or four centuries ad. Not coincidentally, this was also the time when the imagery of the early ceramic styles of different traditions (Vicús, Moche, Gallinazo, Recuay) might be said to have been the most similar—in particular, crested animals, house representations, individual figures and their gestures, and felines. In time, these diverged, as divinities and ideologies saw transformations or outright replacements.

**Middle Horizon (ad 700–1000)**

In the Middle Horizon, a time period associated with the widespread expansion of Wari culture, cultural assemblages in different parts of northern Peru began to change at a rapid pace. The orthodox interpretation is that Wari, by secular, religious, and military means, extended political hegemony over smaller polities throughout the central Andes. Extending from its capital at the site of Huari, Ayacucho, the Wari dominated as far as Cajamarca in the north and Moquegua in the south (Menzel 1964; Lumbreras 1974; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Schreiber 1992).

I wish to elaborate here on the most widespread field of Wari interaction in northern Peru: the intensification of long-distance exchange. In general, the distribution of Wari material culture was highly variable in location and intensity, and co-occurred with other luxury goods. This is manifest along the coast as well as in select locales in the highlands. When considered together, interesting patterns emerge that have implications for the region's linguistic prehistory.

First of all, the most prominent cases of exotic Wari-related objects are not in large administrative centres (e.g. Viracochapampa, Honcopampa) but, rather, in very specialized ceremonial contexts that, crucially, have local precedents: San José de Moro, Ichik Wilkawaín, Chinchawas, and Cerro Amaru. Rather than Wari people per se, the consumers of Wari material culture at these settlements were likely local elites, or 'aggrandizers' (Lau 2002). The principal cases result from collection and display habits related to funerary practices (Bennett 1944; Topic and Topic 1992; Castillo 2003), but some contexts suggest their importance in other public ceremonies as well (feasting, offering caches). More data are certainly necessary, but the available evidence is consistent with the model of local elites using special objects to instantiate the prestige of Wari association. I would limit my observations to areas of northern Peru, but the southern extensions of Wari influence also seem to bear out some of these points (see also Menzel 1964: 39; Williams and Nash 2002; Jennings 2006).

Secondly, entire regions do not see much Wari presence, in physical imports or in stylistic influence. In Huánuco and Cerro de Pasco, relatively little evidence has been reported. In Junín and Huancayo, Wari presence appears to have been mainly limited to certain temple sites and high-status burials, which also contained trade wares from the north highlands and central coast (MacNeish et al. 1975: 60; Mallma Cortez 2004: 107–8). In Ancash, where there has been more systematic research, Wari was present especially in the west, along strategic routes in the Callejón de Huaylas and Cordillera Negra at mortuary sites (mainly burial mausolea, known as *chullpas*) and trading nodes. In stark contrast, evidence of Wari presence is negligible in



eastern Ancash, to the east of the Cordillera Blanca (Lau 2006: 159–63). Without additional evidence of administrative or military control, it is difficult to demonstrate Wari ‘expansion’ across northern Peru as having been based on extensive and contiguous territorial control and associated population movements. Rather, the current record indicates an expansion in central and northern Peru that was discontinuous and highly localized, but nevertheless systemically related.

Thirdly, the importation of Wari ceramics (taken only as Wari polychrome styles from Ayacucho) was fairly limited. Wari imports never dominated ceramic assemblages, or even imported assemblages, as much as they formed small, but critical, parts of polythetic, cosmopolitan collections. Other key prestige styles in this practice, more or less rare in the Early Intermediate Period, were Cajamarca cursive, Cajamarca costeño, Nievería, and Pachacamac, polished blackwares from different regions, Wilkawaín negative, Late Moche, and various others. These represent prestige regions, each with its own political and social complexity, as well as a symbolic capital.

Fourthly, when they do appear, Wari materials frequently occur with other sorts of luxury media, most notably Cajamarca cursive pottery, *Spondylus* sp., and obsidian from the Quispisisa source (Burger et al. 2006; Lau 2006). If they do not physically occur together, one often finds, almost predictably, Cajamarca pottery, obsidian, and *Spondylus* sp. in other parts of the site or in associated deposits. These long-distance materials appear to have been bundled in very specific exchange practices.

Finally, over the relatively short span of a century or two, many of those places that saw Wari imports, even in small frequency, began to emulate them. Hence, key designs, forms, and colour schemes from Wari canons become parts of local styles, displacing and/or reworking earlier canons and techniques. Some were more successful technically at reproducing Wari style (Castillo 2003), while others hybridized specific elements (e.g. Terada and Matsumoto 1985; Lau 2006). It is also at this time that foreign Wari-associated markers—especially vessel forms (open bowls and drinking cups), specific designs (band/meanders, geometrics, pendants), and polychrome schemes—spread to non-elite sectors of local society by being integrated into the common local decorated wares of the highlands. These are linked to secular Wari styles—which are essentially local emulated forms (Menzel 1964: 69; Anders 1989). The north coast seems to have developed on a separate trajectory, without much further input from the central highlands.

What are the implications regarding ancient populations and, advancing to the next level of inference, the languages of these cultures? It is becoming clear that there is very limited evidence for military conquest, extensive territorial control, or large population movements. There may be evidence of administrative infrastructure at specific locales, such as centres and trading



settlements. But their association with Wari, in terms of either physical presence of Wari material culture (e.g. ceramics) or ‘influence’ in terms of stylistic correspondences, remains consistently ambiguous—which I believe raises major concerns if we are trying to document population movements and associated language spreads. Most Wari-associated provincial settlements, the ‘administrative centres’, are located in valley bottoms and are not well situated for defensive purposes, for example, on mountain spurs or ridge-tops (cf. Cerro Baúl). Viracochapampa, despite its classic Wari form, was never finished and seems never to have had a major Wari occupation there, or one that left Wari refuse (Topic and Topic 2000: 204). Honcopampa has long been contended to be the provincial centre of highland Ancash, also owing to its architectural correspondences (Gary Vescelius, in Buse 1965; Isbell 1991). However, recent work indicates that its rectangular patio-groups, and even its D-shaped structures, may very well have local antecedents (Herrera 2005a; Lau and Ramón 2007). Radiocarbon dates, for example, indicate that Yayno’s quadrangular enclosures were built at least several centuries before the rise of Wari. Very little Wari pottery has been found at Honcopampa. And what few pieces have been reported come mainly from *chullpa* mortuary monuments, which are best recognized as northern highland in derivation (Isbell 1997: 287). Finally, some sites in the north highlands have been tallied incorrectly as part of the Wari network (e.g. Williams and Piñeda 1985).

In sum, the arguments for a territorial Wari presence in northern Peru become weaker when diagnostic materials can no longer be seen as foreign or aboriginal to the Ayacucho highlands, especially when specific forms do not occur with other diagnostic and corroborating evidence. Middle Horizon patterns in northern Peru are generally more indicative of exchange interaction with Wari. This is a pattern long advocated by some scholars (Shady 1988; Topic 1991) which has found greater resonance as scholars study Wari influence away from the Ayacucho core and large centres in general (e.g. Lau 2005; Jennings 2006). I would limit the foregoing to the early part of the Middle Horizon, around ad 700.

This is not to deny Wari presence in northern Peru, but to qualify it as being patchy and rather light in most areas at this time. Nor do I challenge Wari’s impact in spurring widespread cultural transformations, especially later in the Middle Horizon. The distribution of material culture suggests that early Wari expansion was not the complete replacement of local assemblages that we might expect from major population movements, but rather fairly limited, strategic, and limited to certain social contexts and uses. Local groups, especially, enhanced their social status through display of rare goods either from Wari or associated with its wide religious-cultural programme. This included Cajamarca pottery, *Spondylus*, Nievería, and obsidian; textiles too were almost certainly part of the Wari ‘package’ but are less perceptible

archaeologically. If language transfers occurred as a result of these transaction patterns, they might be thought of as being restricted to elites, or more conservatively, between the interaction partners, especially early on during the period.

Only later, during the later Middle Horizon, after ad 800, do we see greater transformations in local styles of making, especially in ceramics, often adopting Wari derivative modes and transforming, indeed often extinguishing, the last vestiges of local corporate traditions, such as Recuay, Cajamarca, and Lima. This was more comprehensive in distribution, blanketing regions as opposed to occurring at nodes within regions, and may not have discriminated much between the people of small villages or those of the local political centres. If Wari people settled areas in northern Peru and made lasting cultural impacts in terms of language, it would be at this time. But this remains speculation. The more parsimonious hypothesis would be that there was little population movement, just more widespread (material) cultural transformations facilitated by Wari interaction and ideology.<sup>2</sup>

It might be mentioned that the terminal Middle Horizon in the north-central highlands culminated in greater cultural connections and economic interaction with groups on the Pacific littoral. This is shown mainly through ceramic evidence, where imported vessels become increasingly dominated by press-moulded wares, with their attendant techniques and imagery, of coastal style. Spindle whorls also indicate fairly intensive fibre-producing industries, probably for commodities exchange with communities at lower elevations nearer the coast (Lau 2005). By the Late Intermediate Period, the plastic decoration typical of coastal Ancash pottery styles, namely Casma incised, became very popular in highland areas and it has characterized local decorative modes in pottery production up until the present. Some scholars have suggested a form of vertical complementarity between highland and coastal communities during this time (Schaedel 1985).

### **Interaction in Highland Ancash: Multiple Patterns and Chronology**

Recuay entered into myriad patterns of cultural interaction with adjacent cultures and associated ethnic groups, especially coast–highland relations (e.g. Bennett 1944; Reichert 1977, 1982; Bankmann 1979; Proulx 1982; Wilson 1988; Makowski and Rucabado 2000; Lau 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006). At present we can identify stronger and weaker periods of interaction between

<sup>2</sup> Much needed bioarchaeological studies of populations, comparing skeletal materials from Ayacucho, Ancash, and other departments, are underway and will help to elucidate these competing models.

Recuay and coastal groups. The first one occurs during the early centuries ad, and certainly by ad 200, when there were key relationships between Recuay and different groups on the coast, especially Early and Middle Gallinazo, Early Moche and Vicús-Medio, and Vicús-Gallinazo. Although some scholars postulate Recuay development out of Chavín traditions, I would argue that cultural connections with the north and north-central coast were more important during the early formation of the style.

It is unnecessary to detail the relationships here, but it is possible to list the most prominent: negative painting; ceramic forms and decoration; textile techniques and imagery; architectural ornament, on ceramics as well as on buildings; house and human effigies of the chiefly elite; shared genres of action in imagery (e.g. sex); positions and activities of human effigies; personal ornamentation (headdresses, ear spools, trophy ornaments); a shared 'crested animal' motif, as well as many other iconic designs (bicephalic creatures, diamonds with crosses, etc.); and 'buffer zones' between ethnic groups and multicultural gateway communities (e.g. Cruz Blanca, Cerro León, Huancarpón). Many of these were also commonalities with Vicús (Vicús-Local and Vicús-Medio). Scholars contend that the Vicús area saw intervention from Gallinazo groups, likely transmitted through conquest and/or elements of a warrior elite ideology moving in from the south (Kaulicke 1992; Makowski et al. 1994; Makowski 2004).

Another important line of evidence is the proliferation of kaolinite production of certain forms and decoration. Fine kaolinite bowls with exterior, repeated geometric decoration were especially common. Mostly contemporary with Early Recuay, these were prominent along the Pacific flanks of southern La Libertad and northern Ancash (e.g. Strong and Evans 1952; Proulx 1982; Topic and Topic 1983). Further into the Andes, similar wares were typical in the Cordillera Negra and western side of the Callejón de Huaylas (Wegner 2003; Lau 2004b). Early first-millennium interaction in northern Peru also involved Cajamarca tradition groups (Lau 2006).

Strong cultural exchanges, therefore, articulated coastal and Recuay groups by the first centuries ad. Reichert (1982) felt that the influence flowed from highland to coast. Wilson has suggested that it was due to commercial interests associated with llama transport and trade of coast-highland products along the western slopes of the Andes (Wilson 1988). It has also been suggested that the interaction resulted from the spread, via conquest, of an elite warrior class of Gallinazo origins (Makowski 2004). Strong and Evans (1952: 242), meanwhile, postulated that negative painting was introduced to Gallinazo groups by the Recuay. But the current evidence, if anything, suggests the reverse was more likely.

Slightly later, between *c.* ad 200 and 500, periodic Recuay-Moche interactions resulted in one of the most unique trajectories of intercultural relations

in the ancient Americas. As neighbouring cultural traditions during the greater portion of the first millennium ad, very distinctive, but eclectic, forms of interaction connected the two regions. Another list of prominent relationships may be useful here, some of which continued from earlier times: the 'crested animal' design; house and human effigies of the chiefly elite; personal ornamentation, especially headdresses, in imagery; shared genres of action in imagery (e.g. combat, sex); and Moche emulations of Recuay pottery (Bankmann 1979; Reichert 1982). At present, there does not seem to have been much traffic of durable commodities between Recuay and coastal groups.

In sum, Recuay maintained rich stylistic interaction with other northern cultures, especially Gallinazo, Vicús, and Moche—especially during the early centuries of the Early Intermediate Period (Fig. 7.2). It is notable that the key innovations in representation during this time centred on changing attitudes towards human beings, activities, and social relations. The artworks point towards the propagation of new, increasingly 'humanized' ideologies about the authority of secular leaders and their factions. Notably, all the northern cultures also seem to have valorized warfare, weapons, and warriors in their culture and imagery. Settlement pattern studies suggest that the time was one of great uncertainty and competition, with increasing reliance on fortified, hilltop settlements (e.g. Daggett 1985; Wilson 1988).

In addition, the Recuay shared iconographic relationships with the Lima culture of the central coast. These date probably to the middle and late parts of the Early Intermediate Period. Because of the timing of this interaction, as well as the same range of images as found in highland Ancash, most scholars feel that the influence moved from the north highlands to the central coast, perhaps mainly through the medium of textiles. Lima groups may have borrowed from the Recuay style, which acted as boons to elite ideologies (Makowski and Rucabado 2000: 231–2).

The second major wave of coast–highland interaction was during the latter part of the Early Intermediate Period and into the Middle Horizon, during the seventh and eighth centuries. Another list of relationships can be offered: imported coastal styles in highland Ancash (Late Moche wares, Nievería polished and early press-moulded wares, probably associated with coastal valley groups, especially Virú, Santa, Casma, and Nepeña); images and specimens of marine shell, *Strombus* and *Spondylus*; images of marine fauna (e.g. marine birds, crustaceans); and images of Wari mythical creatures.

In contrast to the earlier patterns, there was greater exchange of durable prestige goods, especially fancy ceramics, in this later interaction pattern. These complement other indices of wider interregional interaction (discussed earlier), with Cajamarca and with Wari, for instance (Fig. 7.3), and of the influx of south-central Andean obsidian into the region (Burger et al. 2006).

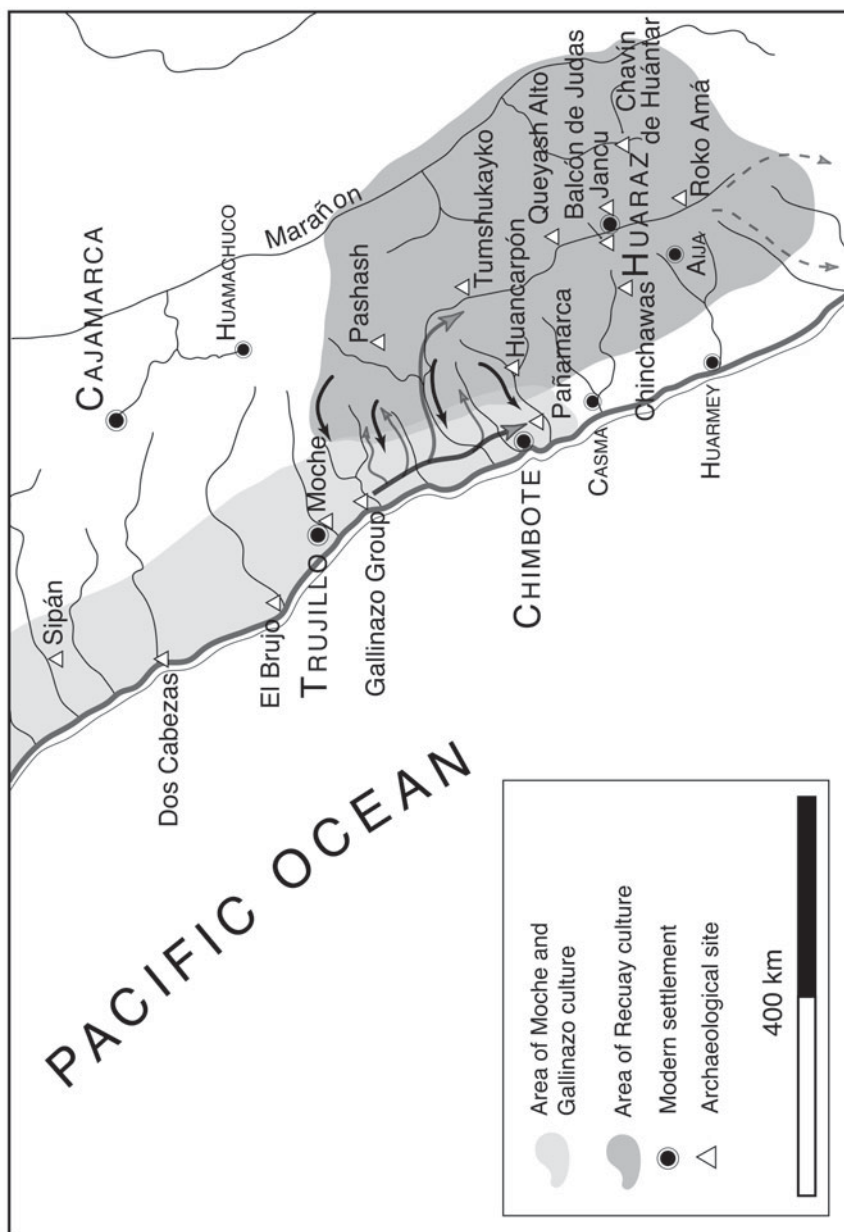


Figure 7.2. Flows of cultural interaction during the early Early Intermediate Period.

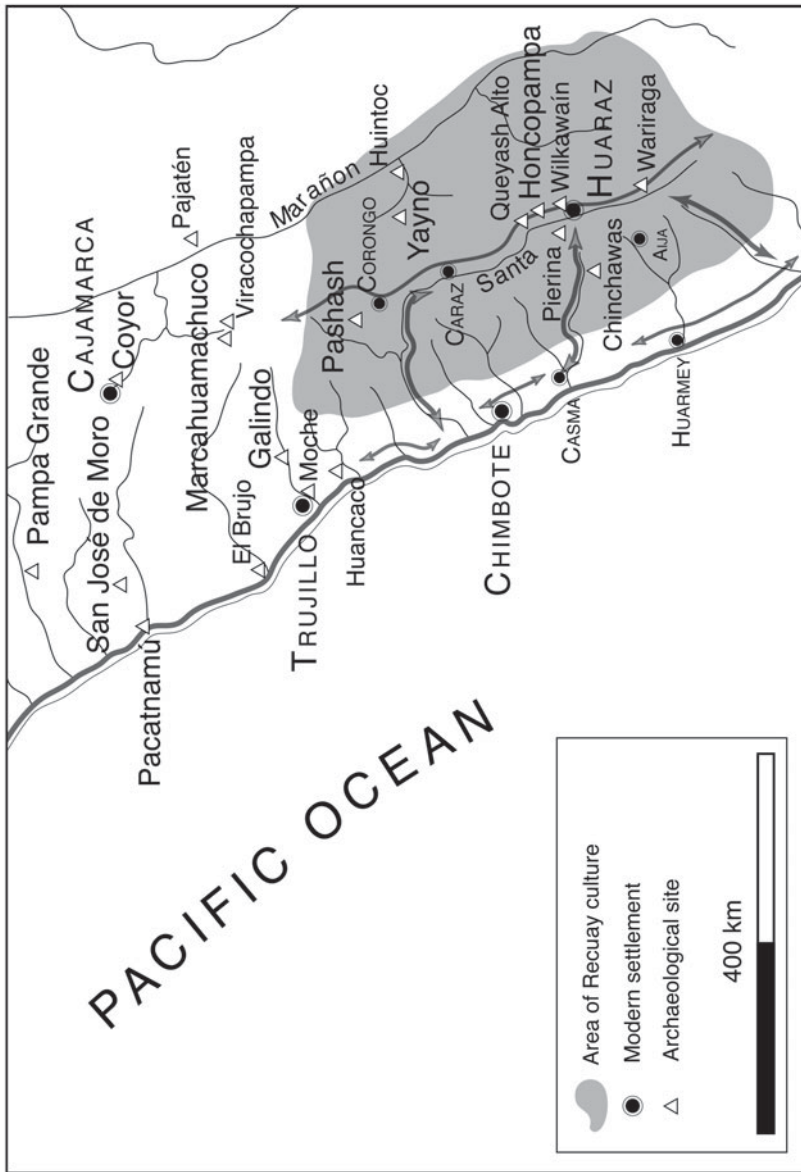


Figure 7.3. Flows of cultural interaction during early Middle Horizon.

A surge of long-distance exchange marked this period. For example, Cordillera Negra groups during the seventh century ad had access to Late Moche and Early Wari polychrome wares (Lau 2005). This seems also to have been the case for people in the Callejón de Huaylas (Ponte 1999; Paredes Olvera 2007). The interaction focused on prestige goods for display and ritual offering purposes, which emphasized exotic, unfamiliar goods and the imagery of powerful societies, especially Wari and groups within its exchange network. Rare raw materials such as marine shell as well as obsidian also began to be traded. Both the range of sources and the frequency of exotics therefore increased considerably—demonstrating the growing ability and desire of cosmopolitan elites to acquire rare sumptuary items from different, far-flung regions of the central Andes.

Several summary points can be made at this stage before addressing their linguistic implications in the next section. Firstly, during the first millennium ad, there were distinct periods, or waves, of interaction, some of which were of greater intensity. We can discern the first around ad 100–300, the second around ad 600–800, and another at the end of the millennium. The intervening times may have been periods of reduced coast–highland interaction. A second general point is that there were different sorts of interaction, scales of network, and cultural/regional preferences. The first period is oriented towards the northern and coastal areas, and seems more stylistic in nature, with fewer transactions of prestige items. The second is the reverse, with less stylistic interaction, but more traffic in luxury goods. The second is also partly nested within a larger interaction network articulated by the Wari state, and taps into many surrounding coast and highland regions. The third was probably a combination of stylistic and trade interaction with coastal societies to the west.

In the case of Recuay, interest among highland groups in coastal styles was particularly strong during their initial development as well as during the period of their eventual demise. Interestingly, the major Recuay centres of Pashash and Yayno maintained relatively little interest in exotic styles and/or goods during their apogee (middle to late Early Intermediate Period), in spite of displays of astonishing wealth in monumental architecture and burial offerings. The Middle Horizon witnessed in particular a great intensification in long-distance trade, and especially a burgeoning of new demand for foreign goods across the Callejón de Huaylas and Cordillera Negra, such as in Huaraz, Ichik Wilkawaín, and Chinchawas (Lau 2005; Burger et al. 2006). Meanwhile, groups throughout the Conchucos (east of the Cordillera Blanca), such as at Yayno, continued in their isolation—either intentionally, or because they were outside the trade networks facilitated by Wari. In contrast, when the Inka annexed Ancash, they installed one of the major north routes of the Qhapaq Ñan near Yayno, connecting Cajamarca to Piscobamba to Huánuco



Pampa. This helps to account for the large amounts of foreign items (*Spondylus* sp., goldwork, rare stone beads, obsidian, and Inka pottery) found in a late reoccupation context at Yayno. Unlike in the first millennium ad, with the rise of the Inka Empire local groups were clearly drawn into a larger economic system.

Finally, the most intensive cultural interchanges during the first millennium likely occurred along, firstly, the Pacific flanks of the Cordillera Negra, especially in the northern reaches of Ancash and southern La Libertad, in the coastal valleys and adjacent foothills of the Nepeña, Santa, Chao, and Virú valleys; and secondly, the portion of the sierra between Huamachuco and Ancash. These were stylistic frontiers, and may have also been the social boundaries of different language groups.

## Discussion

Having provided a general picture of cultural diversity and patterns of interaction in Ancash during the first millennium ad, I wish to return now to specific, contentious issues of linguistic data for the time period and region. This section reviews the relations between archaeological and linguistic data in the study region, and offers, where possible, recommendations for future research.

### **Ancient Ethnicity and Language**

The existing literature presents few studies linking linguistic data and the archaeological record for ancient times prior to the advent of the Inka Empire. Some scholars have used the structure of Andean languages to provide a framework for understanding the patterning of cultural practices or specific physical forms and images, both modern and ancient (e.g. Urton 1996; Arnold 1997; Allen 2002; Howard 2002). Most other work, however, focuses on comparing ancient and historical groups, as bounded units, sometimes deemed 'ethnic groups' articulated variously by environment, identity, and language (e.g. Isbell 1974; Schaedel 1985; Stanish 2003: ch. 4). It is the second strand which is most relevant here, and here I consider only several of the cases most pertinent to this study.

Archaeologists interested in prehistoric language typically employ historically known patterns to inform comparisons with archaeological developments. More specifically, it is deemed useful to reinforce, extend, or reject continuities between cultures of the same region. All too often, however, scholarship presents prehistoric linguistic divisions as tidily mirroring historical ethnic traditions, on the one hand, and distributions of ancient material styles, on the other.

The early Andean sources do not constitute neutral, disinterested forms of description. With respect to boundaries and language, some chroniclers almost certainly placed stress on certain forms of differences and constructed linguistic categories precisely for administrative, missionizing, and various other purposes. Further, even the documentary sources for ethnic or language regions should be thought to be mainly concerned with patterns of the terminal Late Horizon. Ethnicity is often at once the work of and a response to colonial powers (e.g. Patterson and Gailey 1987; Ferguson and Whitehead 2000). Inka state-building was no different in having tinkered with the composition of ethnic groups and their territories (Patterson 1987: 122; Rostworowski 1990; Topic 1998: 111, 121). The point is that ethnic provinces during Inka times (Rowe 1946: map 3), and their associations with local languages, must be treated critically; they do not form a precise template for pre-Inka groups.

Schaedel's overview (1985) provides the most explicit consideration of historical continuities in northern Peru. He detailed cultural diversity and coast-highland interrelationships, and settled largely on a model of ethnic diversity based on cultural and ecological regions. He contended that material styles co-varied with ethnicity, wherein corporate styles were largely equated with *macro-etnias* (ethnic groups) and subdivisions (substyles) with smaller constituent groups, *etnias*.

corporate style (e.g. Recuay) = *macro-etnia* (ethnic group)

substyle (e.g. Pashash Recuay or Katak Recuay) = *etnia* (chiefdom)

For later prehistory, he mapped historical patterns—distributions of ethnic groups and corresponding languages—and basically extended them into deeper time, at least to the Late Intermediate Period.<sup>3</sup> This *modus operandi* has largely been followed in subsequent scholarship on language and historic territories in Ancash department. Schaedel's approach, it might be noted, derived from the direct historical method, and followed the general approach to culture and integrated regionalism ('The Peruvian Co-Tradition') of his dissertation supervisor, Wendell Bennett (1948). In general, much scholarship on language prehistory by non-linguists in the Andes also presumes the stability of languages, their fixity in geographic areas, and the utility of the direct historical method (Bird et al. 1984; Isbell 1974).

Throughout his career, Schaedel was particularly interested in defining cultural styles and groups, and his early synthesis of stone-carving (Schaedel

<sup>3</sup> Many insightful points that refer to language and archaeological correlates are located not in the main text, but in the notes portion of the essay (Schaedel 1985: 460–5).

1952) provoked an interest in the north-central highlands region where major sculptural styles developed (Chavín, Pashash, Huaraz, etc.). He cultivated an interest in ethnohistorical writings of the region, and in his 1985 article discusses the Culle language in reference to archaeological groups of highland La Libertad and northern Ancash departments.

More recently, Herrera (2005b: 68–74) summarized the evidence for ancient language distributions along a transect across Ancash—roughly crossing Nepeña–Yungay–Yauya. Following the general linguistic picture, *sensu* Torero, Adelaar, and Cerrón-Palomino, he notes that during late pre-Hispanic times (Late Intermediate Period and Inka) there was very likely a coastal Quingnam population, a ‘corridor’ of Culle speakers along the Marañón, and Quechua speakers in the intervening areas. Language formed one of the major bases for late pre-Hispanic regional identity; another was in the form of ritual communities centred on ancestor cults and associated geographical features (Herrera 2005b: 68, 288).

### **Homelands, the Local, and Internal Variation**

What we think of being ‘traditional’ and ‘indigenous’ languages for a region needs thoughtful reflection. We must not settle on teleology as a response to the issue of language dispersals. Finding a language somewhere (via toponymy or historical reference) is not necessarily the same matter as establishing how it got there, why it is or was there in the first place, or that it had an expansive impact out of there.

Archaeological interpretations of ancient languages in the Andes often pivot on the general fixity of language-speaking groups in a region. Yet both archaeology and ethnohistory inform us that large-scale movements and cultural mixing not only were possible, but were not infrequent and sometimes regular events in the pre-Hispanic past. Forced resettlement, intermarriage, and vertical colonization were common political and economic strategies (e.g. Rowe 1946; Murra 1980; Aldenderfer 1993). Different cultural groups lived side by side, with a range of interaction and material consequences in space and time (e.g. Proulx 1982; Kaulicke 1992; Makowski et al. 1994; Goldstein 2005; Lau 2006).

Moreover, cultural styles can appear without clear antecedents, casting doubt on issues of linguistic continuity. For example, the rise of Chavín in the Ancash highlands seems rather out of place, for its synthesis of architectural monumentality, pottery, and iconography was very foreign to highland Ancash (Burger 1992: 128). That it should have prominence there remains at once strategic and a convergence of previous solutions found elsewhere. Chavín was itself replaced by White-on-Red styles and later by Recuay, which bore little resemblance, in turn, to their Formative forebears (Lau 2004b). The point is that neither Chavín nor Recuay fully constituted the local, traditional,

or aboriginal in Ancash; their cultural and linguistic homelands remain unresolved. The same may be said for many of the major cultures of the first millennium ad.

Another key issue regards the variability we may attribute to elite versus non-elite culture and languages. What is becoming clear is that the corporate art styles we associate with major cultures of the Early Intermediate Period (e.g. Moche, Recuay, Nasca, etc.) are, in large part, associated with the wealthy elites and elite ideology within the larger society. Not everyone participated in the ideology and associated practices (Castillo and Uceda 2008; Bawden 1996). One could argue that the languages associated with the material culture should also be, *sensu stricto*, limited to elites—at least at the initial level without additional evidence extending the pattern to other segments of society. The caveat might also be made that elites frequently have their own language; or the same language is mannered and changes in use during special occasions or times when issues of representation and status are critical. These of course are established forms and means of social distinction (e.g. Keane 1997).

### **The Problem of Culle**

The Culle (or Culli) language remains tantalizingly enigmatic as an archaeological problem. Adelaar (1988: 111) avers, '(f)ew languages have been so neglected by history as Culli', yet it remains key for issues of ethnicity and social boundaries in the north highlands. Excellent syntheses exist on the little that is known about Culle—wordlists, historical documents, and toponymy (Adelaar 1988; Torero 1989, 2002; Andrade 1995)—so I will limit my discussion mainly to issues of the archaeological implications and correspondences.

Toponymic survey and evaluation find that Culle was a native language centred in the sierra region of: La Libertad (especially Alto Chicama, Huamachuco, and Santiago de Chuco), northern Ancash (especially Pallasca), and, according to some sources, as far as the south of the Cajamarca department (Krzanowski and Szeminski 1978; Adelaar 1988; Torero 1989). Toponymic study indicates that there may have also been a south-eastern panhandle of Culle speakers along the River Marañón (Fig. 7.4), bordering Ancash and Huánuco (Adelaar 1988: 127).<sup>4</sup> Culle was primarily a highland language, with apparently very little coastal presence.

<sup>4</sup> The western bank is often known today as the Conchucos region (or 'Callejón de Conchucos'), composed of the modern provinces of Sihuas, Pomabamba, Mariscal Luzuriaga, San Luis, Asunción, Antonio Raimondi, and Huari. This should be distinguished from the Conchucos ethnic group and its historical region, also known as 'Conchucos' but limited to the headwaters areas of the Tablachaca (that is, mainly the modern provinces of Pallasca and Corongo) (see Espinoza Soriano 1964; Cook 1977).

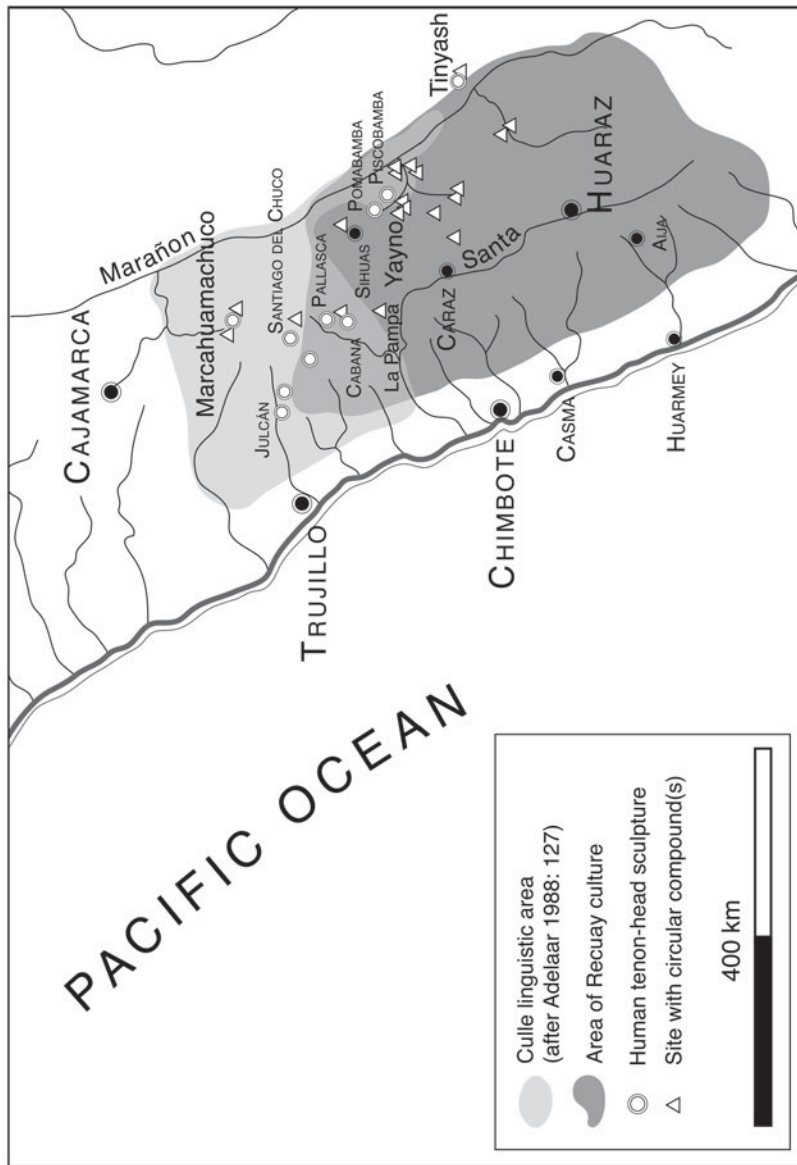


Figure 7.4. Reconstruction of geographic extent of the Culle language, based largely on toponymic study (based on Adelaar 1988: 127).

From early colonial times the language is referred to as spoken in the north highlands. Santo Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, the second archbishop of Lima, conducted visits to the north highlands region around the turn of the seventeenth century. In various commentaries, he talks about the language ‘linga’, which almost certainly refers to ‘Culle’. He used the term mainly to chart the linguistic capacity of parish priests/clerics, conversant enough in the language (to proselytize actively in the locality). Culle is said to have existed even as late as the 1940s, and scholars believe that the language may still survive in more remote parts of the northern Ancash highlands (Adelaar 1988: 124).

Regrettably, Culle settlements, time-depth, and dialectal variability are basically unknown. Further research would be promising because it was a native language in the north highlands that coexisted and had frontiers with Quechua both in historical and in late prehistoric times. There must have been frequent interactions between speakers of the different languages. It was also the language of the pre-Hispanic Catequil oracle and cult, famous throughout Peru and chronicled in Spanish descriptions (Topic et al. 2002). Schaedel (1985: note 3) conjectured that Recuay culture may have been represented by a Culle-speaking polity based at Pashash (Pallasca) and a Quechua-speaking polity to the south, based in Huaraz. Grieder (1978) named some of the Recuay pottery styles at Pashash using terms from Martínez Compañón’s Culle wordlist. Toponymic clues lead Herrera (Herrera 2005b: 71–2) to argue for the presence of Culle-speaking groups near the confluence of the Yanamayo and Marañón rivers. Recently, Billman and his colleagues have been describing developments in the middle Moche Valley as having Culle relationships.<sup>5</sup>

There are few indicators of material style that match well with Culle’s toponymic distribution. Pottery does not seem to be a good index. One kind of physical trace which needs further research consists of the circular enclosures of the north highlands. Known primarily from the large, monumental sites of Marca Huamachuco and Yayno (Topic and Topic 2000; Lau and Ramón 2007), there are also smaller versions in the Huamachuco, Santiago de Chuco, Pallasca, and Conchucos regions (e.g. Murga Cruz 1983; Terada 1979; Herrera 2005a). They are characterized by an outer ring of agglutinated buildings just inside the perimeter wall, with doorways that open on to a central, interior open space, sometimes called a ‘patio’. Some are multistorey and of very fine stonework, while others employed more expedient construction methods. They seem to have had multiple uses, but in general were probably

<sup>5</sup> In poster presentations at various venues, entitled ‘Reconstructing Culle Ethnicity from the Discarded Fragments of Daily Life: Household Archaeology at Cerro León in the Moche Valley, Peru’.

the defensible residence compounds of collectivities of different sizes and means, perhaps extended families or small lineages.

The other class of material culture which, at present, seems to parallel the panhandle distribution of Culle is stone sculpture: specifically, the stone tenon-heads of 'life-like' style, described by Kroeber (1950) and others (e.g. Wiener 1880; McCown 1945; Schaedel 1952; Grieder 1978) for the north highlands, especially at Huamachuco, Santiago de Chuco, and Pallasca. Very similar types of tenon-heads can be seen in collections further south-east in Pomabamba and Piscobamba, said to come from nearby sites along the headwaters of the Marañón. Tenon-heads of human subjects occur in other areas of Recuay culture, but the 'life-like' style pertains mainly to the Recuay areas of northern Ancash and the Conchucos region.

Overall, if Recuay appears to mark the sharpest break from the general cultural pattern, one could invite speculation about its linguistic correspondences, such as an influx of foreign-language speakers into a much larger field of cultures speaking relatively similar languages. It is here that we could test different scenarios of language (e.g. Culle ⇔ Quechua, Quechua ⇔ Culle, etc.).

### **On Wari Expansion**

When Menzel (1964) wrote her seminal essay on Wari culture, she characterized its expansion as having both secular and religious intents. Nearly a half-century on, there remain relatively few systematic studies concerning the religious workings of Wari, especially those that might relate to its political economy. In likening the Middle Horizon to the Late Horizon, scholars have focused on the economic infrastructure of imperial expansion, finding correspondences in Wari evidence in those expressions of power that were meant for resource extraction and direct economic exploitation. Key contributions exist on roads, administrative centres, labour mobilization, and expressions of intensification (e.g. terraces).

Not enough has been made, perhaps, of the religious ideology of Wari, which might have promoted its own image away from its source, what Menzel (1964: 68) called 'religious propaganda'. Like Menzel, scholars have considered Wari religious cosmology, mainly through iconography, but rarely from a systemic perspective that incorporates other material manifestations of Andean religious life. So, if we might take the Inka comparison further, we ought also to consider the ways that Andean states promote cosmological bases for geopolitical relations, linking lands and people through key places—sites of memory and local religious power. *Ushnu* ceremonial places, *capacocha* sacrifices, shrines, and ceque lines, and the incorporation of local



divinities/shrines into greater pantheons, were stock strategies in Inka relations with their provinces.

Glowacki and Malpass (2003) stress similar points in a synthesis of Wari 'sacred landscapes' and advocate a fertility model essentially driven by ecological pressures and imperial directive. Ramirez (2005) describes how divine lordship, with movable centres, as practice and ideal, effects native Andean cosmology, settlement, and identity. And recently, McEwan (2005: 163) has suggested that major Wari centres were essentially massive venues for ancestor ceremonies and the provincial administration of local groups under the sanction of the Wari state. In these, the authors emphasize production and ideology in the state's political economy, but in a considerably different manner: forms based on reciprocity and complementarity, as well as structured hierarchical relations between regional divinities and peoples.

A 'ceremonial infrastructure' may have purchase on a linguistic prehistory, because it might realign some of our expectations for the material correlates of Wari statecraft, which have hitherto focused on the search for Inka-style administrative centres, ceramic-use practices, roads, and storage systems. Can the existing record and lack of clear success in the search for Wari administrative and military occupation (based on territorial control) be explained simply by other forms of expansion? Asking new questions of the existing record may be the key to understanding Wari expansion.

The final points I wish to make about Wari expansion concern its idiosyncratic character, which I believe also has implications for the linguistic picture. Recent research demonstrates, increasingly, that many provincial groups, in the north and south, engaged with Wari culture in diverse, largely unpredictable ways. Sometimes areas feature outposts and settler communities of the culture (Williams 2001). Alternatively, local groups participated in its economic network, prospering through trade, accepting gifts, emulating styles for secular uses, and/or seem to form part of the network without direct evidence of having been conquered (e.g. Topic 1991; Jennings and Yépez Álvarez 2001; Lau 2005). At other times, local groups seemed to pass up opportunities for intensive economic interaction with Wari altogether.<sup>6</sup> While some segments actively resisted Wari culture (e.g. Castillo 2003), other areas saw very little Wari interest to begin with, perhaps a tactical strategy on Wari's part in regions of political complexity or with negligible exchange interest (Lau and Ramón 2007). In other words, Wari expansion was never complete or comprehensive, and may figure, in synchronic and diachronic terms, more as an

<sup>6</sup> Contrast the considerable Wari presence at Ichik Wilkawain with Queyash Alto, just 15 km to the north, where Middle Horizon occupation yielded negligible Wari evidence. Pashash during the Middle Horizon also shows few Wari relationships.

array of different relations between stakeholders, coerced or otherwise. We might extend these tensions broadly to the linguistic picture, even though specific identification of Middle Horizon cultures and their respective languages remains preliminary, at best.

The Middle Horizon's integrated pluralism challenges the top-down perspective typical in Wari studies. Most emphasis in current studies has been placed on what is done by Wari in its hinterlands (trade, conquest, building projects, etc.). Not enough has been made of the specific interests of each group in the region of encounter, or of the fact that Wari was involved in a mutual process of interaction and transformative change. In other words, we should ask not only why Wari bothered with Nasca, Recuay, Cajamarca, or Moche—but also vice versa. As in the Chavín Horizon, Wari incorporated foreign cultural elements, synthesizing and recasting them strategically.

An understudied topic is the degree of mutual stylistic interaction between different highland groups, especially towards the end of the Early Intermediate Period. For example, there is some, albeit limited, evidence to indicate that Recuay groups interacted with their south-central Andean neighbours centuries before the Middle Horizon. For example, wide loom tapestry technology may have been a Recuay technique adopted by Wari weavers (Rodman and Cassman 1995). Stone sculpture was another possible 'vector' of Recuay influence and designs for southern Andean cultures, especially Wari (Schaedel 1993: 231–6). In addition, some Recuay motifs (of supernatural beings) and the way they are represented are very similar to polychrome pottery designs found in the Ayacucho area before Wari expansion (Lumbreras 1959; Menzel 1964).<sup>7</sup> The shared conventions and imagery imply partly overlapping cosmological beliefs between the regions in question *prior* to Wari centralization. In all likelihood, the common ideas were part of the initial appeal of Wari for Recuay people and a strategy of Wari religious expansion. They also alert us to possible inter-language encounters prior to the Middle Horizon.

### General Distributions and Specific Correspondences

Understanding the role and changes of languages for cultures in the past, if that is a goal of interdisciplinary archaeology–linguistics scholarship, will to some degree be dependent on the logic of specific argument as well as the degree to which arguments can be pegged to tangible material remains and cultural contexts. Empirical data locating the cultural distributions in time and space as contemporaneous units will be crucial. Greater synergy between archaeologists and linguists may facilitate investigation of linguistic traits and

<sup>7</sup> Frequently classified as the Chakipampa A (Menzel 1964) or Rudaqasa style of the 'Transicional' period between Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon (Lumbreras 1959).

attendant cultural dispositions that have diagnostic material traces that can be situated in comparable temporal and spatial contexts.

The foregoing has focused on reviewing assemblages of artefacts as well as their distributions. It has emphasized historically known language distributions and discussed their fit with archaeological patterns, rather than language expansions. Yet there are other ways that linguists and archaeologists can enhance understandings of ancient languages and cultures. While not particularly convincing individually, any correspondence might become an independent line to help substantiate a larger argument. For example, what are the lexical aspects of the language, and how are words put together? How are terms used together syntactically? Is it possible to think of languages with diagnostic stylistic elements that might correspond to material style? For example, Urton (1996) has argued that certain elements (joints, transitions, sites of transformation) in Chavín imagery follow a general lexical structure of Quechua and sometimes the meanings of Quechua terms. He is not arguing that Chavín people were Quechua speakers, for which there is little evidence, but he does champion the notion that the structure of the imagery is not incompatible with native Andean linguistic structures.

Specific values, criteria, or meanings in linguistic terms may have further significance for identifying ancient cultures. For example, what form does the numerals system take in the language? Is there variability in the prehistoric or early historical record (see Quilter et al. 2010)? Linguists have emphasized that, in the Mochica language, there is a propensity to use numeral classifiers which refer to tens of things, in addition to pairs and hundreds (Torero 2002: 346–7; Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 342–3). In the tombs of Dos Cabezas, Donnan has observed recently that the ancient Moche culture (*c.* ad 400) deliberately bunched objects (offerings and architectural elements) in sets of fives, tens, twenties, and forties, and often in pairs (Donnan 2007: 199–202). Ultimately, while these may make for only small correspondences, they help greatly to corroborate the temporal depth and logic for associating languages with specific cultural patterns.

Other diagnostic criteria might also be appropriate, such as colour schemes or the diversity of words for certain phenomena (see also Isbell 1983: 256). One final recommendation might be to centre work on key terms that have certain diacritical importance and variation in the Andean past. Terms and their constituent values, such as ‘amaru’ (Quechua for serpent, or mythical animal), or the oracle names ‘Pariacaca’ or ‘Catequil’, have their own histories and material footprints in toponymy and archaeology. The linguistic presence of a term can then be compared with the culture-historical career of an image or distribution, considering all the different variation (origins, spreads, divergences, etc.). These are basic relationships that will help locate and map Andean languages of the past.

My recommendation for a more material-oriented linguistic prehistory is basically culture-historical in its intent, to reconstruct cultural patterning over time and space. More analysis of linguistic data and patterns within them can be presented to discern variability and relationships to other different types of datasets. Now, beyond the question of whether they come from a common source or have grown more similar or different, we might theorize that some words may be similar because they are of great *intercultural* importance across different groups, whether that might be in the domains of commerce, kinship, ritual, or herding, etc. That is, a term forms part of a cultural context: it informs it, participates in it, reflects it somehow. Though it may not generate the cultural context, it sometimes plays a role in conditioning it. It may also endure because of it. It might also move because the cultural context moves with it ('qero', 'mullu'). Or the cultural context might be more stationary, more locative ('chullpa', 'hirca').

Few would declare that languages determine other dimensions of culture, but they certainly might reflect cultural dispositions that have material footprints. For example, there are great numbers of classificatory terms for potatoes in the Andes, many of which it might be useful to examine in relation to the archaeological record for different reasons (e.g. the rise of potato diversity, spread of potato types, the correlation between certain types of potatoes and certain dialects). Other terms that have distributional significance include native words for clays, obsidian, *Spondylus*, mortuary monuments (e.g. *chullpas*), and stone (e.g. Howard 2006). Colour and technical vocabulary in textile production have been crucial for understandings of local meanings, cross-group aesthetic judgements, and technical practices (e.g. Cereceda 1987). Identifying the terms for other techniques and materials might also be fruitful from the archaeological standpoint, such as gilding, winning precious metals from ores, arsenical bronzes, fishing, amongst many others. Analysis could further determine degrees of relatedness, which can then be articulated with other diagnostic elements of the archaeological record, to discuss cultural relationships (similarity, contemporaneity, distance, etc.).

Hence finding correspondences between linguistics and material culture might be said to be fundamental first steps in an approach where words and other linguistic elements, as that stuff of 'culture', might work alongside pottery, implements, house forms, styles, etc. in a cultural reconstruction with spatial and temporal variability. This might form one of the methods to address the myriad research questions that may arise in consideration of archaeology and linguistics of the Andes, and their attendant scales and contexts.

### Conclusion

This chapter has considered the large-scale cultural developments of north-central Peru during the first millennium ad, with an emphasis on their implications for ancient language use. Although the ethnohistorical record remains essential for providing a working model for the late pre-Hispanic linguistic picture, how far back in time it can usefully reach remains unclear. Also, at present there are few specific patterns of great time-depth that can be tied unambiguously to language dispersals.

Ancash is of special interest to language and Andean prehistory because of its long history of research, central geographic position in northern Peru, diversity in archaeological cultures, and the presence of a series of languages, many now extinct. During the first millennium, cultural interaction between north highland groups and their neighbours was very prominent at the beginning and the end of the Early Intermediate Period. The end of the Middle Horizon also saw intensive interaction and cultural transformations. Patterns of major language change might be sought in these periods.

There was considerable cultural variability in north-central Peru during the Early Intermediate Period. The northern margins of Ancash department formed an important cultural interface especially between Recuay and neighbouring cultures (Moche, Gallinazo, Huamachuco, Cajamarca). It is also rich in historically known Amerindian languages. The Middle Horizon coincided with widespread, but highly specialized interaction, almost certainly promulgated by Wari's extensive socioeconomic network. The data are weak for military conquest or large-scale population movement from the Wari's Ayacucho heartland, but significant Wari impact is attested to, first in the intensification of long-distance trade and then in the widespread emulation of Wari stylistic elements.

The linguistic prehistory of the Andes remains in its infancy. Yet promising strides to understand ancient languages have been made in recent years. It would be helpful for archaeologists to have more comprehensive toponymic studies and in-depth analyses of specific terms that may have diagnostic correlations with material culture. These are to ease the difficult but necessary burden of congruence between different kinds of empirical data that are not otherwise linked in time.

The recognition of population movements is critical, and bioarchaeological studies will almost certainly help to define groups and compare source regions for skeletal materials and associated remains. This summary has been unable to consider environmental or climatic constraints on the movements of cultures and languages (e.g. Isbell 1974; Schaedel 1985). The extensive high-altitude grasslands in the central highlands, in areas from Junín up to southern Ancash, probably favoured forms of wealth and transportation/exchange

based on camelids. North of central Ancash, puna grasslands greatly diminish in size and there is a greater emphasis on maize farming, especially at lower elevations. The extent to which ecology affects language patterns remains for future work, but it is an example where distinct practices (e.g. pastoralism) may cross-cut rigidly ethnic/cultural divides.

Future research might also consider other cultural phenomena that have wide distributions, but are limited to highly localized contexts. For example, regional *huaca* cults, such as Catequil, Pariacaca, and Pachacamac, were also vectors for differential language use, which may have manifested in innovative toponymic patterns (e.g. Astuhamán 2008: 107–16, fig. 3; Topic 2008: 324–32). Also, to what extent did status groups have their own special languages, such as traders, warrior classes, religious specialists, khipu handlers, or craft-people? Alternatively, might we think more in terms of techniques—in textile and metal-work, for instance—in relation to language patterns and boundaries (Lechtman 1996)? And still of the southward spread of *chullpa* monuments, or the enduring value systems associated with the prestige exotica of Cajamarca tradition pottery or *Spondylus*? These result from distinctive practices and value systems that span great distances, cross-cutting regional cultures and environments, and are of variable temporal scales and intensities.

Ultimately, innovative research questions need to be developed to further theorize the temporal and spatial complexities of ancient language use. Only new data and resulting models will shed light on the restless languages of ancient Andean cultures, which most archaeologists have long considered mute.

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