

Archaeology, Landscapes and Dreams: Science, Sacred Offerings, and the Practice of Archaeology

Kevin Lane and Alexander Herrera

Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street,
Cambridge, CB2 3DZ, UK

In much of the Andes, landscapes are conceived as animate, and archaeological sites are no exception. In this paper ritual offerings enacted to obtain permission for archaeological excavations **and** surveys in the Central Andean highlands are examined. We assess the role of indigenous beliefs in relation to landscape and archaeological sites; eschewing ideas of the 'noble savage' and its theoretical incarnations in the shape of a past 'phenomenology of landscape' in favour of explanations that reflect rational decisions towards pragmatic ends.

'The archaeological ruins left by ancient cultures are not inert or dead objects: they have a reality which actively influences our lives both individually and collectively... they are the source of our identity.'

(Mamani Condori 1996: 635)

Introduction

Archaeological surveys take place in two distinct types of contexts: those in which local memory or identity holds no particular attachment to the prehistoric environment and those that do. In the former, communities hold little in the way of identification with the ancient landscape beyond perhaps a detached curiosity or a temporally and context dislocated association, sometimes expressed in 'New Age' practises. In the latter, **the** archaeologists' engagements are profoundly affected by indigenous interpretations of their modern world through their own regional history. Archaeological research in these areas has to weave a **thread** through a network of emotive relationships between people, places and time to ameliorate feelings of intrusion and trespassing.

In this paper we present a narrative where the 'superstitious' *campesino* or indigenous farmer and his actions are viewed as meaningful and objective, juxtaposed against the often cynical appraisal of these same actions by 'pragmatic' archaeologists. We examine how this tension affects

archaeological field research and excavations in particular. Further, we dismiss the interpretation that these people-landscape relationships are necessarily the consequence of a particular state of consciousness or appreciation of the natural (*contra* Tilley 1994), but should rather be viewed as concrete strategies pursued by people to negotiate their position within the natural and social environment.

The setting

Since 1999 we have engaged in regional survey and, more recently, carried out test excavations at select sites along a transect crossing four major altitudinal gradients in three major valleys of north-central Peru (Fig. 1). This work has yielded a database including more than 300 previously unreported sites (Lane, Herrera and Grimaldo 2004; Herrera, Advincula and Lane 2002; Herrera and Advincula 2001; Herrera 2000). Their altitudinal locations range from the coastal oasis of the Pacific (c. 450m) to the flanks of, and passes across, the western and central Andes mountain ranges: the Cordillera Negra and the Cordillera Blanca (c. 4300m and 4800m respectively). The central aim of the survey was to allow comparative research into the *longue durée* of inter-regional social relations across the transect. It follows a traditional route of trade between the coastal valley of Nepeña, across the important intermontane basin of the Callejón de Huaylas, and into the riverine oasis of the upper Marañón valley, located at the bottom of the heavily segmented eastern slopes of the Cordillera Blanca.

In this highland area of vertical extremes, most communities today share a dispersed settlement pattern and a similar economic base founded on an admixture of agriculture and herding (Morlon 1996; Brush 1977). Anthropological research has tended to concentrate on communities in the southern Andes (e.g. Bolin 1998; Guillet 1992; Mitchell 1991; Flannery et al. 1989; Allen 2002) while comparatively few investigations have taken place in North-central Peru (e.g. Brush 1977; Stein 1961). Partly, this bias is a consequence of the widely held view that southern Andean communities are somehow a more 'pristine' indigenous parallel for pre-contact Andean values and practises (Allen 2002). Certainly the sheer inaccessibility of many southern communities, along with lesser exploitation of mineral resources in the region, has helped inhibit the dislocation and erosion of local traditions, which have severely affected most communities elsewhere. These changes are the consequence of a broad range of historical processes which begin in the sixteenth century and include Christian proselytising,

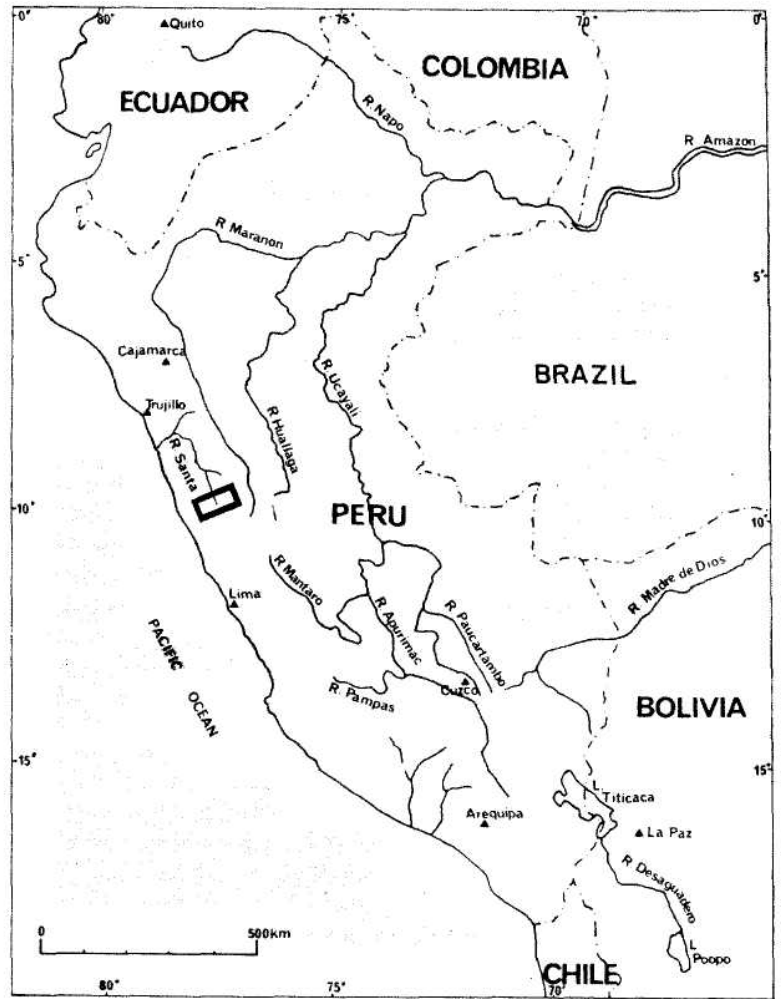


Figure 1. Map of Peru, with area of study shaded in rectangle.

forced resettlement, quasi-feudal *hacienda* regimes and, most recently, massive migration to less impoverished regions both in Peru and abroad.¹ However, many highlanders we met shared, albeit perhaps in a more fragmentary manner and tied only to a handful of place-names, world views which conform to an analogical view of personhood, such as is found in the

anthropological literature on Andean perspectives (e.g. Allen 2002; Isbell 1978; Wachtel 1976; Zuidema 1989). In such world-views particular groups of people are related, through social bonds expressed in the idiom of kinship, to certain mountains, rock formations, caves, sources of water or other places. In the southern Andes, for instance, mountains and hills are referred to by 'their people' as *apus* or fathers (Bolin 1998).

Believing

Below we consider some of the different means by which people across the transect access and interact spiritually with their environment. These interactions are mediated by dreams, space, place, time, and states of well-being.

Dreams, we learnt, can be a powerful medium of communication with God (cf. Zuidema 1989; Brody 1981). During one of the author's (AH) first fieldwork experience in central Conchucos, a young teenager, after learning the stated purpose of the visit, led him to the place where his mother had found a beautiful *conopa*² lama effigy. Once on the spot he recounted his mother's dream after she had taken the effigy home. A bearded white man had scolded her for taking 'his' *conopa*, demanding it be returned. It was promptly reburied somewhere in the fields we were standing on, but the boy's mother suffered a miscarriage nonetheless.

In the community of Chorrillos, villagers told of a man who dreamt of wealth springing from the site of Markitahirca located on a hill near to the community. The dream said that this wealth would be his as long as he did not give away its location or removed the treasure from its place. Armed with his iron *barreta* he went to the appointed place and found the gold. His ostentatious display of goods bought with this treasure and his subsequent telling led to his demise, said his fellow colleagues. In his final weeks he lost weight and finally died. This, we were told, had happened within the previous five years. Instances of sickness arising from such actions, leading to severe loss of weight and even death are very real for these communities. Although most of the *campesinos* we came to work with in the field refrained from addressing any mountain or place as kin, they all shared a fear of particular places. These include holes in the ground, whether natural or artificial; lonely paths at dusk; places where water gathers or comes out of the ground, such as a spring, reservoir or lake; and any site where human skeletal remains may be found. Such places are dangerous because being there can lead to acquiring *mal de aire* or *mal de sitio* (literally 'air illness')

and 'place illness'). It was explained to us by the local people, that digging in such places is fraught with danger because of *antimonio* fumes (literally 'antimony' [Sb]), which can lead to illness and death. Such places are treated with a mixture of respect and fear that is commonly debunked by 'outsiders' as ignorant superstition.

Also, during our survey of dams and reservoirs of the high Cordillera Negra, our then guide Alejandro Chavez refused to camp within a certain distance of these artificial lakes, afraid that the coming night would awake them and lure us into their depths. The lake of Negrahuacanan in the Cordillera Negra (meaning 'Weeping Blacks') alludes to the myth that during the late nineteenth century the lake once revealed its hidden gold by pulling back its waters. A group of black slaves that were working in the area rushed towards the lake bottom at which point the lake came back and consumed them. Their widows later came to mourn their passing with their tears.

Time of day has been mentioned as a factor in the predisposition of *mal de aire* or *mal de sitio* to gain hold. Night time, and especially dusk are particularly ill-favoured periods. For the south Andes, Allen (2002) has described the view held by people in Sonqo, that archaeological sites and the night belong to the *machukuna*, or Great Old Ones, a race of beings from before the present era who can be helpful, and/or envious, and hence harmful to people.

While such eloquent views regarding night-beings were not expressed by people in our region of study (see below), we were frequently thought to be *pishtaku*. These Andean were-beings are thought to resemble a white man in a poncho, often wearing a wide brimmed hat and carrying a sickle, and perhaps a whip. They waylay unsuspecting travellers on lonely paths, preferably at dusk, in order to kill them and extract their fat. Reasons given for the *pishtaku* existence revolve around economic interests and the great value of human fat. One informant thought the *pishtaku* were under orders of President Fujimori who needed human (*campesino*) fat to pay the countries huge foreign debt. A second view made them pawns of mining companies, who needed human fat to keep their machines working. Without elaborating on details it seems clear that the *pishtaku* myth can be related to feelings of exploitation and that it probably dates back to the mid-sixteenth century.

Elsewhere, the villagers of Chíncho, in the southern Yanamayo valley, hold the *shishaku* to be the spirit of an indigenous person (*indígena*) that kills non-indigenous, civilised people (*gente civilizada*), a category within which they include themselves. This insight elucidates present-day introspective perceptions: they regard themselves as radically different to the people that came before, even though this is unsustainable from a historical and biological standpoint. Such attitudes reinforce the dearth of overt referencing, connection, or allusion to the past. For instance, in Pichiu, in the Cordillera Negra, we were told that the *awilitus* (also *gentiles* or pagans; see below) went into their houses (*wayi* a term also used for mortuary structures) with the onset of the biblical flood. There they died and subsequently dried up into mummy bundles. These narratives appear to mark a substantial difference with the *campesinos* of the southern highlands, who emphasise a much closer interrelation with the past (Bolin 1998; Allen 2002; Flores Ochoa 1968).

This is not to say that people in the North-central highlands are divorced from the historical and cultural landscape they inhabit. *Awilitus*, the Quechua³ kin-term used to refer to the ancient ones (from the affective Spanish diminutive for 'grandfather') clearly evokes descent relations. It is the most commonly used term to refer to the prehistoric peoples of the past, albeit as living entities. The relationship between people and landscape, and people's interactions with archaeological remains, appear to be less structured by traditional narratives than by specific kinds of relationships with specific places within an animated landscape. This may well be due to a more culturally erosive post-contact history.

For instance, before entering, *chullpa*⁴ offerings of coca, tobacco and alcohol are generally made in an effort to ward off *antimonio* and the ill-will of the *gentiles*, who are said to inhabit these—mostly ransacked—archaeological structures. The term *gentiles* or pagans, used as a synonym to *awilitu*, appears to have similar connotations to the above mentioned *machukuna*. In what seemed a paradox at first, among the agro-pastoralist community of Cajabamba Alta there has been a clear tendency to site modern alpaca corrals near to or beside *chullpas* (Fig. 2). When questioned on the possible reasons for this, the president of the community, Tomas Florentino, noted that the *gentiles* which inhabit the *casitas* ('little houses') helped watch over the flocks. For the Bolivian highlands similar practices are echoed by Mamani Condori (1996).

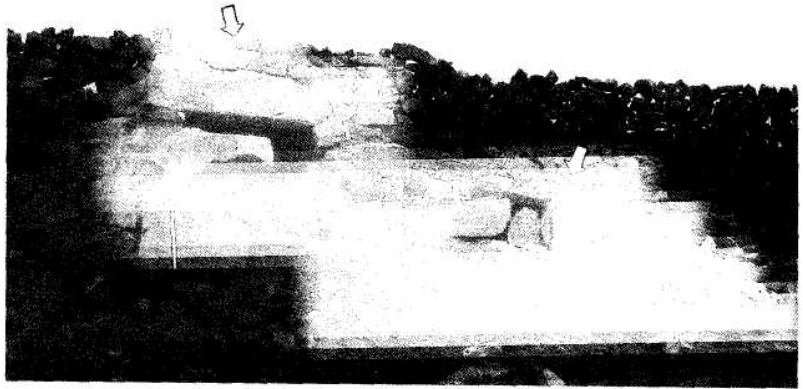


Figure 2. Modern corral of Pukacorral with *chullpa* tombs within.

Our archaeological survey concluded that the practice of associating *chullpa* tombs and corrals dates back at least to the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1100-1450). In fact, the simultaneous construction of *chullpas* and corrals cannot be ruled out (Fig. 3). Principles of duality, expressed as complementary opposites in both the physical and the metaphysical worlds (e.g. Zuidema 1964), have deep roots in the Andean region which may well go back four thousand years (Izumi and Kano 1963). These two examples bring to mind the ambivalent nature of certain places, times, and of the *awilitus*, both malicious and abetting by turns.

A series of incidents, even confrontations between us, as archaeologists, and local people were engendered by such preoccupations with the appeasement and balancing of relationships between people, the animated landscape and the perceived 'other'. These incidents were the result of a direct correlation between our actions—or the lack of them—and how these were interpreted by the local people.

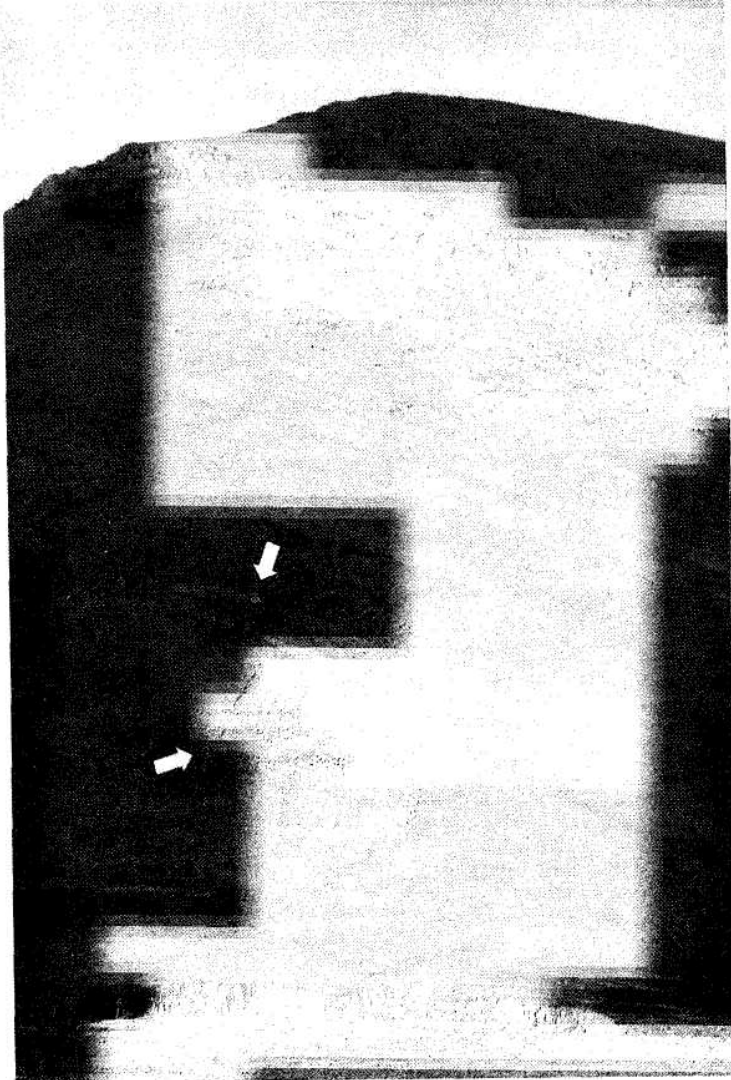


Figure 3. *Chullpa* tomb (top arrow) in association with ancient corral (bottom arrow).

Case study 1: Excavation and survey at Yurakpecho

This case study is based around the community of Chorrillos, in the Cordillera Negra, and deals with a series of misadventures that occurred during our 2003 fieldwork season in the area. In particular, they concern issues arising from a perceived lack of respect, trespassing and the power of dreams. The team involved in these experiences was lead by Kevin Lane.

It was August 2003 and our work in the Cordillera Negra had not gotten off to a good start. The car had dramatically broken down in a flurry of grating metal and steam. We had lost a 30kg pack with all our cooking utensils, and now the spring beside the pre-Columbian site of Yurakpecho, where we intended to work, had dried up.

Situated at 3500m, the Comunidad Campesina Jose-Carlos Mariátegui de Chorrillos has a reputation of being particularly introspective in an area not known for the locals' openness. The people are traditionally wary and tend to be suspicious of outsiders. Within the communal territorial boundaries lie the remains of extensive and complex irrigation systems, as well as a number of necropoli and settlement sites. The archaeology encompasses the main habitation site of Yurakpecho, situated atop a virtually inaccessible peak at 4500m. This complex dates at least to the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1100-1450) and includes a nucleated settlement core of 4.5ha with numerous outliers across the adjacent ridge.

Our guide on the last two visits to the area had been Santiago Granados. An outwardly streetwise, urbane man and a respected member of his community, Santiago doubled up as the local emergency nurse as well as the church sacristan. This combination of practical healing and spiritual guidance often meant that he also fulfilled the role of local *curioso*, as a shaman is called in the region. Santiago emphatically denied being a *curioso* although he believed that certain dreams could be visions. On one occasion, when we visited a *chullpa*, he commented that he had dreamt the incident with the same people there present. In his dream he had been promised a golden sickle, but as he had no *pago* offering at hand, he explained he would refrain from seeking the sickle. He did nevertheless make us promise to come back with him on another occasion, when he would be better prepared. Santiago was also nervous of accompanying suspected *pishtaku*, especially as this entailed staying away and actually camping with us. By turns he also seemed amused and alarmed by our

apparent lack of concern in entering and studying the *chullpas*, the caves with rock art and the sites in general scattered around the area.

Our work at Yurakpecho included survey and excavations stretched over the course of two years and three separate expeditions to the area. The locals had already harassed us previously, ignoring a permit from the National Institute of Culture and a letter of introduction from the regional development council. They demanded we submit a request for permission, and alleged illegal intrusion and trespassing. However, matters really came to a head in 2003.

We camped a distance away from the site of Yurakpecho. Never a believer in local myths I had decided to eschew any type of 'pago' offering. After severe difficulties, compounded by lack of water, food and a potentially lethal accident when some rather large stones from a settlement wall almost hit me as we were climbing to the site, we got to work. I remember that the day was singularly hot and unproductive. Our wry guide, Santiago, ostensibly pragmatic and worldly-wise, felt that the place was almost angry. I began to wonder whether this was punishment for my conscious oversight of reverence to the place.

That night both Santiago and a Peruvian student, Carmela Alarcón, dreamt. In their dreams they saw a group of men attired in ancient ponchos extolling us to seek permission, emphasising that they were angry and hurt by our intrusion. Next day as we carried on our unfruitful work an angry committee from Chorrillos appeared. Carmela started, exclaiming that she had seen them or people similar to them in her dream? The committee accused me of trespassing. A heated discussion ensued. The group and I were threatened with expulsion. Increasingly irritated and apprehensive I feared for the fieldwork and more importantly, ourselves. After much heated argument and a patchwork compromise they left.

A relieved Santiago enigmatically said, 'It is done, we are now accepted.' Carmela concurred. An hour later we came across our first major find: the remains of an ancient 'pago' offering, within a household unit and on the same floor level two stone pre-Columbian conopas (Fig. 4).

The above case illustrates the insidiousness of local perceptions and how they can shape strategies on archaeological fieldwork. After our 'acceptance' there was a marked lightening of the work atmosphere, even

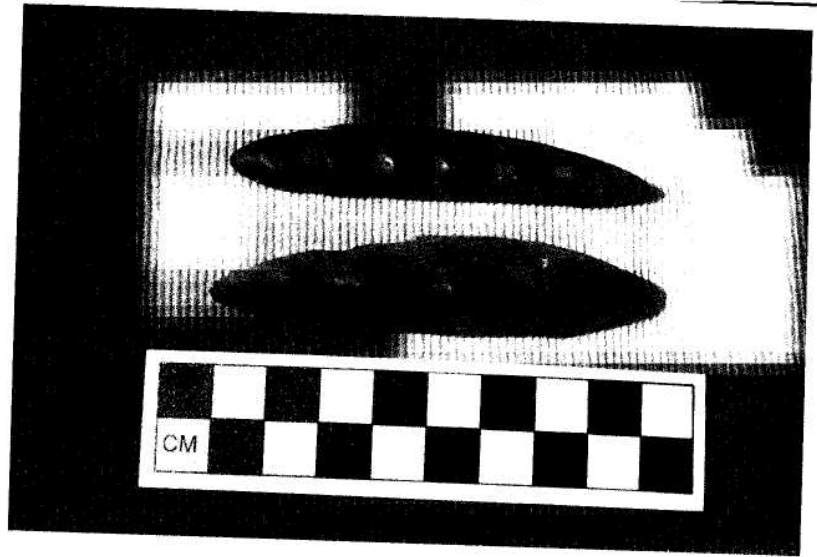


Figure 1. *Conopa* offering excavated at the site of Yurakpecho.

amongst those who, like me, had discounted these local beliefs. This earlier unease had probably been unconsciously heightened by my resolute decision not to engage in a *pago* offering to the site as well as by my marked irreverence when entering *chullpas* and caves. Whilst previously every wrong action had been interpreted quietly, by Santiago, as a lack of respect and by us as bad luck, now every endeavour was at the very least tolerated by the *awilus*.

This incident served as a timely reminder of the stark differences inherent between 'us' and 'them'. We were outsiders and this distinction would never be bridged. Yet, even though as 'foreigners' we fell outside of local comportment in relation to the landscape, the challenge at Yurakpecho served to highlight the limits of our actions. Respect, an issue echoed by Allen (2002) and Bolin (1998), stands as the cornerstone of any interaction with local populations. In an environment mediated by interaction with dreams and places it is better to acquiesce than to resist, no matter what our informed 'professional' persona might tell us.

Therefore, it is immaterial what one, as the outsider, conceives of his or her actions; it is the perceived reactions as interpreted through locals such as

Santiago that should hold sway. If it is well nigh impossible for us to adequately interpret the present indigenous phenomenology of landscape how can we propose to do this for the past?

For the rest of the field season at Yurakpecho every day a pair of condors would slowly circle the site. Santiago smiled; it was a good omen.

Case study 2: The Pishtaku in Conchucos

After six years of fieldwork in central Conchucos (1996-2002), several months of which were spent working and living in the hamlet of Huagllapuquio, I (Alexander Herrera) find it intriguing that a Peruvian archaeologist such as myself should still be suspected of being a *pishtaku*. In this section I chart five years of changing attitudes and relations between archaeologists and the rural population. I focus on how the rituals we engaged in impinged upon this process and conclude that rituals at archaeological sites provide a crucial context for exploring and negotiating social bonds with the 'other'. Underlying tensions surrounding perceived economic dependence and 'unfair' principles of labour organization can fuel demands for the reiteration of rituals and fuller engagement in ritual cycles.

In 1996, weeks after hearing the dream of my teenage guide, I made my first journey from the small hamlet of Huagllapuquio, six hours on foot from the end of the last dirt road, to the area around the saline spring of Yangon. Preliminary reconnaissance indicated investigations at Yangon and Gotushjirka would be archaeologically fruitful, albeit logistically and socially challenging. The site of Yangon lies at the bottom of the gorge-like lower Yanamayo valley (2000m), two hours down and three hours up a steep path from the one score of houses that comprises Huagllapuquio. All tents, tools equipment and supplies would have to be carried first down then up, either on the backs of mules or people. Excavations at the hilltop site of Gotushjirka, only thirty minutes from Huagllapuquio, would be far less challenging in comparison.

In the village, I had met and stayed with Francisco Samaritano and his family. Despite their welcoming friendship I was aware of being a foreigner in my own country, and that some people in Huagllapuquio thought me to be a *pishtaku*. I initially put this down to my European physique, urban style of dress and the distrust towards outsiders that is often found in small, close-knit communities. ^{^^}

A year later I returned to begin work, accompanied by a colleague of a more thoroughly 'Andean' appearance. We were pleasantly surprised that we quickly managed to hire a mule to transport equipment to Huagllapuquio, although no muleteer could be found. However, we soon found that hiring help was to remain a complex task. In Huagllapuquio we were now suspected of being a team: the *pishtaku* and his adjutant. No one would accompany us at dusk, on their own, past Torregaga, the massive vertical rock outcrop which is the landmark of the lower Yanamayo valley. It took weeks before a handful of people took up the offer of paid work (16 per cent above the average daily rate) at Yangon. During this first season no one spent a single night at our camp, preferring a long daily return journey on foot, despite the offer of free food.

It seems that *pishtaku* can act in teams; they can change their physical appearance and speak Quechua. Yet they are considered less dangerous during the day. Clearly, some action was required if excavations were to go ahead in the following dry season. In the nearby town of Yauya, I had learned how a teacher had recently been beaten close to death on the suspicion of being a *pishtaku*.

Months before the intended start of excavations I returned to the region and formally requested the permission of the district council. At the suggestion of the mayor I addressed open meetings in the district capital and a community meeting in Huagllapuquio. The legally binding official permit, issued in Lima by the National Institute of Culture, was of no interest to anyone. After I gained approval in both instances preparations for the excavation began.

However, when I arrived at Huagllapuquio on the agreed day with four Peruvian colleagues no one would accompany us to the valley bottom site. It would have been impossible for anyone to return after dusk. A young man volunteered to come the next day, so we pressed ahead alone. Of course, he never did. I suspect he feared going alone, and no one, it seems, was about to allay his fears.

Through the municipality we contracted a field assistant from the district capital. On the 11th of July 2000, a first *pago* offering ritual was made at Yangon (Fig. 5). Under the guidance of a colleague from Cusco we ritually addressed the main surrounding mountains, the neighbouring Yanamayo river and Yangon itself. We requested permission to dig and asked for good



Figure 2. Archaeologists and field assistant engaged in *pago* offering at Yangón site.

data. Around a small hole in the ground we chewed coca leaves, smoked tobacco and took turns libating and sipping alcohol. Each of the participants had his excavation fortune read from coca leaves and chose leaves for two *k'intu* bundles, one of which was buried along with sweets as an offering, as a ritual feeding of the site. Alcohol libations were copious and the burning cigarettes stuck into the ground did not go out; seemingly our offering had been accepted.

A few weeks later a slightly larger ceremony was conducted on the prominent summit platform at Gotushjirka, this time in the presence of several people from Huagllapuquio, including potential field assistants, onlookers and a few children. Our colleague clearly enjoyed his role of *misayuy*, as shamen are referred to in the southern highlands. Our hosts, on the other hand, seemed impressed by the elaboration of the ritual, even though no one in Huagllapuquio can understand the Cusco Quechua dialect. This time every single named mountain around was addressed.

Relations with the community improved as excavations at Gotushjirka began. The local *curioso* paid one visit yet he became ostensibly nervous near our excavation pits. As soon as human remains were uncovered

children were forbidden to come to the site, I presume by their parents, but some still they sneaked in when they could. On the basis of dreams, local field assistants have asked me to hold additional offering rituals. Because of the pressure of completing the season's excavations I have refused. Perhaps my refusal is related to the suspicion of being a *pishtaku*, a suspicion that some people in Huagllapuquio still hold.

The day metal finds were first and unexpectedly made a condor was spotted sitting on the summit rock where our libations and offerings had been made. Dark cloud cover gave way to slight rain, a rare occurrence in the dry season. Then a pair of condors long circled above the site. This singular and evocative series of events underscored, to me, the power of place as a setting for ritual.

Gotushjirka is a powerful place by virtue of its setting. It is prominently located above a narrowing of the Yanamayo valley and it has a 270° viewshed reaching from the glaciers of the Cordillera Blanca to the West, to the peaks of the Cordillera Oriental. Additionally the surface and environs of the archaeological site are littered with marine fossils, including some on the summit rock, where the condor sits. Gotushjirka evokes a symbolic link between the sea and the air crucially mediated by the summit rock. This link is probably as old as the earliest ceremonial platform erected on the summit, which may date back four millennia. In a way, our ritual, just like the condor's flight, reanimated this ancient landscape.

Conclusion

These first steps towards an anthropology of archaeology are the result of preoccupations concerning our role as social scientists and our 'otherness' when engaged in fieldwork. Consciously or not, the incorporation of ritual into archaeological practice provides a platform for the negotiation and affirmation of such 'otherness'. Within an indigenous metaphysical framework rituals at archaeological sites can be about the reaffirmation of identity (Mamani Condori 1996) or about the temporary integration, no matter how fragile, of our 'otherness' within the local ideological network. From a socio-economic standpoint, offering rituals executed before the start of archaeological fieldwork ease access to labour. In the case of Huagllapuquio a successful allegiance was established with a section of village kin. At Yurakpecho difference prevailed and the community asserted its collective authority, demanding briefings and regular reports.

The idiom of 'otherness' extends to anyone outside the immediate community. In Peru, a large majority of current anthropology and archaeology students at national universities are themselves second or third generation immigrants from the highlands. They, in turn, consider themselves more 'in-tune' with highland sentiments and beliefs. They see themselves as the professional spokespeople for these ill-represented and 'mute' communities. The rural people we met, however, begged to differ; to them we are outsiders all. Any apparent reflexivity or empathy on our part is mere self-delusion. Full understanding of local culture, as archaeologists, is probably impossible considering our urban background, our distinct 'otherness' apart from *campesinos*. More often than not proximity is proscribed by how much Quechua one knows.

Yet, as a counterpoint, we propose that a sense of belonging or 'inclusiveness' is mediated by acute knowledge of the environs. This extends beyond a mere knowing or naming of the various physical landmarks, something considered worthy of respect in its own right. Belonging, however, is based on sharing an ideal understanding of place within a spectrum that encompasses the past and the present as embodied in a living and active landscape. Interactions within such landscapes—what might be termed 'landscapes of identity'—are guided by multi-faceted cultural values and rules. We argue, that these rules are not reflections of an altruistic view of the world, but are anchored in practical tenets, which negotiate a series of social relations mediating the natural and human worlds, including property rights, risk-minimisation strategies, and rural economics.

If, as Starn (1994) states, anthropologists have moved away from an examination of people towards a more inclusive and multi-vocal perspective relishing in diversity and innovation, it is likewise true that there is a tendency to glorify cultures battered by centuries of marginalisation, isolation and despair. Nonetheless the question of preferential access to the past expressed by Mamani Condori (1996) looms large. Traditional knowledge about the past and professional archaeology differ radically in their social context, means and purpose. Their juxtaposition can provide a baseline for reflection about both, yet this baseline must be founded on mutual respect. Within a pluralist framework their hybridisation is not inconceivable.

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Notes

¹It is worth noting that Allen (2002), in the newest edition of her seminal work, revisits the community of Sonqo and comments on the significant cultural changes effected as a consequence of the loss of isolation, which is linked to the provision of vehicular tracks to and from urban centers.

² *Conopas* effigies in the shape of either animals or domesticated plants are regarded as imbued with magical properties and are usually used in *pago* offerings (Bolin 1998).

³ Quechua is the largest indigenous language groups in Peru, and varying dialects of the Ancash-Huaylas variant (Parker 1976a,b) are spoken by local people across our area.

⁴ Quechua term used across the Andes for above ground open mortuary structures; in the Ancash highlands they generally sit on an elevated terrace or platform, are square in plan and have elaborate entrance thresholds. None have remained intact, yet the pieces of wood, cord, textiles, pottery, as well as human and animal skeletal remains found scattered inside indicate mortuary practices included the keeping of mummy bundles.

⁵It was noted that the committee that came to inspect us all shared a restricted number of very local surnames. Surnames, incidentally, also shared by our guide, Santiago. Although, some of us took this as mere coincidence, the dreamers in our group thought that these people probably shared a common ancestry with the poncho attired visitors of our dreams and that they had been deliberately called to the site for this purpose. This they believed could have been done without any explicit or direct prompting. A sense of outrage would have been directly transmitted to their descendants from the adjacent world of the *awilus*.