ARCHAEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE IN THE ANDES

A Cross-Disciplinary Exploration of Prehistory

PAUL HEGGARTY & DAVID BERESFORD-JONES

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Edited by
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How did Quechua Reach Ecuador?

ANNE MARIE HOCQUENGHEM

THE QUESTION OF THE ANTIQUITY OF QUECHUA in Ecuador and how it arrived there remains a matter of debate among linguists. In this chapter we attempt, from an ethnohistorical and archaeological perspective, to disprove the theory of a pre-Inca seaborne spread from the southern coast of Peru, proposed by the linguist Alfredo Torero in *El quechua y la historia social andina* (1974). Rather, we support a spread by land during the period of Inca rule.

The Torero Thesis

The Classification of Quechua

In his introduction to *El quechua y la historia social andina*, Torero emphasized that the term Quechua embraces not a single language, but an entire indigenous language family of South America (Torero 1974: 9). By recourse to glottochronology, he calculated that the proto-language from which the different varieties of Quechua derived began its expansion from Peru at least eleven centuries ago (Torero 1974: 11).

In the first section of his book, titled 'Quechua languages, dialects, and varieties', Torero sought to establish the number and distribution of the languages of the Quechua family (Torero 1974: 11). He emphasized that his system of dialect classification was based on his own fieldwork, on scrutiny of historical documents, and on modern descriptions (then still limited in scope and number) of the living languages (Torero 1974: 16). He classified Quechua into two groups: 'QI', which he dubbed Wáywash, and 'QII', to which he gave the name Wámpuy. Along with this division, he further subdivided Wámpuy (QII) into a Quechua he called Yúngay ('QIIa') and another called Chinchay, which itself contained QIIb and QIIc variants. According to Torero, then, the different varieties of Quechua could be classified as belonging to

> two broad subgroups: Yúngay, including the varieties of QIIa, and Chinchay, embracing those of IIb and IIc. The latter distinction seeks to highlight on the one hand the close relationship between IIa and the languages of QI, and on the

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> other the equally intimate relationship between IIb and IIc and their very probable spread, over the past eight centuries or so, from the same region: the southern coast of Peru (in the modern-day department of Ica). The inhabitants of this region, especially those of the valley of Chincha, developed an intense economic and political activity in the first half of the current millennium.
>
> (Torero 1974: 29)

In another passage, Torero explained that he established his subdivision of Wámpuy (QII) into Yúngay (QIIa) and Chinchay (QIIb and QIIc) 'in A, B, and C according to their increasing distance from the QI languages or Wáywash' (Torero 1974: 29).

Moreover, Torero maintained that the subgroup he called Chinchay was the language that

> has shown the greatest capacity for expansion in the history of Quechua, and that which today has the largest number of speakers. Its diffusion across the South American Andes, which began two or three centuries before the rise of the Inca Empire and was maintained under that empire, was still in progress almost two centuries after the Spanish invasion of the Andean world. This was the same 'general Quechua' mentioned by the Spanish chroniclers. Pushed to extinction by Castilian Spanish in several regions (notably the Pacific coast) and in retreat in others, its varieties survive today in two very large but discontinuous zones: the northern region, or that of QIIb, and the southern region, or that of QIIc.
>
> (Torero 1974: 32)

Torero thus concluded that the Chinchay subgroup spread across the Andes during the Late Intermediate Period, and would constitute the 'general Quechua' described by the chroniclers, from which the current QIIb and QIIc varieties developed (in the northern and southern Andes respectively). He placed the Quechuas of Chachapoyas and Lamas in the QIIb group, in addition to those of Ecuador and Colombia; among QIIc varieties he included those of Ayacucho, Cusco-Bolivia, and Argentina (Torero 1974: 32–4).

The Spread of Quechua QIIb in the Northern Andes

In the second part of Torero's book, titled 'Quechua and the history of the Andean peoples', he sought to build on work begun in 1970, which constituted

> an attempt to correlate the history of certain languages and pre-Hispanic Andean peoples. Among the languages, we review the spread of early Quechua and its successive varieties, in relation to social factors studied through archaeological evidence and written documents, mainly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In particular, we emphasize the role played by the Quechua variety Chinchay, which from the first centuries of the present millennium spread through the Andes as a lingua franca until it became the 'general

> language', and which because of its usefulness as such, would be exploited and promoted by both the emperors of Tahuantinsuyu and the Spanish crown and church.
>
> (Torero 1974: 69)

Torero sought to determine the means by which Chinchay Quechua spread into the northern Andes, in the knowledge that the languages spoken on the northern Peruvian and southern Ecuadorian coast, at least at the time of the Spanish conquest, were unrelated to any of the varieties of Quechua. He recalled that over the course of several millennia a diverse range of products and forms of knowledge circulated both longitudinally and vertically among the Andean populations of fisherfolk, farmers, and herdsmen. He pointed to the advantages, in terms of potential for economic development, possessed by coastal societies with respect to those of the highlands, and in consequence of their greater potential for promoting trade on a large scale and over great distances (Torero 1974: 72–5). He suggested that on the northern coast of the central Andes during the early centuries AD (the Early Intermediate Period)

> the kingdom of Moche . . . acquired or developed a technological innovation which was to have enormous repercussions for ancient Peru: long-distance navigation for the purpose of transport or trade. We do not know what type of craft the Moche people used to this end, or the precise scope of their nautical wanderings, but there is archaeological evidence that they reached the Chincha islands, on the south coast, where they left their ceramics.
>
> (Torero 1974: 77–8)

On the basis of available archaeological data for the following eras (the Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate Period, and Late Horizon), Torero attempted to sketch a history of relations among the peoples of the central Andes capable of explaining the spread of Quechua there (Torero 1974: 78–80). To explain the arrival of a Chinchay Quechua (QIIb) in the northern Andes, he accepted an interpretation by the ethnohistorian María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco of a historical document titled 'Report on the method there was in the government of the Indians in the time of the Inca and how lands and tributes were distributed'. Rostworowski's reading of this document, which mentions a population of merchants in Chincha, led her to conclude that before the rise of the Incas, the merchants of the latter centre controlled two networks for trade in high-value products. The first, by land and llama train between Chincha and the Altiplano, enabled them to acquire copper; the second, by sea using log rafts equipped with sails, between Chincha and Puerto Viejo in Ecuador, gained them *mullu* (the *Spondylus* sea shell). As a consequence, Torero, following Rostworowski, accepted the possibility of a pre-Hispanic maritime trade route between Chincha and Puerto Viejo during the Late Intermediate Period (Rostworowski 1970; Torero 1974: 80–4; 1984: 373).

Torero then took into account a number of descriptions of native log rafts with sails found navigating off the northern coasts of the Andes at the time when the Spaniards first reached the region, and sought information on possible maritime voyages made by these craft. He paid particular attention to the raft boarded by Bartolomé Ruiz, pilot of Francisco Pizarro's vessel, which he described as 'making a voyage of exploration along the south coast of Ecuador or the north coast of Peru some years before the Spanish conquest' (Torero 1974: 84). He emphasized that this craft transported a cargo of valuable trade goods, and thus proved the presence of merchant raftsmen in the region before the arrival of the Spaniards (Torero 1974: 84–8). He also drew on a report by Pedro Pizarro of remarks by the Inca Emperor Atahualpa regarding the powerful Lord of Chincha, who was said formerly to have possessed a hundred thousand rafts (understood to mean prior to the Inca conquest of his lands). On the basis of these data, Torero concluded that during the Late Intermediate Period, the important Lord of Chincha ruled colonies established at different points along the coasts of Ecuador, Peru, and northern Chile. He also controlled a league of merchant raftsmen who navigated the length of the central and north Andean coasts, linked into a network of llama-train merchants covering the region from the highlands adjacent to the southern Peruvian coast to the Bolivian altiplano (Torero 1974: 92–6). In this way, Torero was able to explain how these Chincha merchants made it possible for 'the Chinchay varieties of Quechua to spread into these different regions, which only makes sense linguistically if they are taken to have irradiated from the central and southern coast of Peru. Highly developed trade and intense human interactions can explain this [spread]' (Torero 1974: 96).

To prove his claim that Chinchay Quechua spread from the south coast of Peru during the Late Intermediate Period and persisted under the Inca Empire, becoming the 'general language' described by Spanish chroniclers, Torero further cited information recorded by chronicler fray Martín de Murúa in the early seventeenth century. Murúa wrote that the language 'which is now commonly called the general Quichua, or that of Cuzco' came from Chincha and was the language of Chinchaysuyu, the north-western sector of the Inca Empire (Torero 1974: 96; Murúa [1616] 1962: I, cap. 27, 105). To support his perception that at the time of the Spanish conquest this language was different from the Quechua spoken in Cusco, Torero recalled that according to 'the Inca' Garcilaso de la Vega, at Cajamarca the Emperor Atahualpa took care to speak with Pizarro's interpreter Felipe 'in the language of Chinchaysuyu, which the interpreter understood better, since it was more common in those provinces than in Cusco' (Torero 1974: 96). Lastly, to confirm that the Quechua he called Chinchay spread before the Inca period, Torero recalled a tradition of the late eighteenth century, recorded by Juan de Velasco, according to which Quechua was introduced among the people of Quito in the highlands

after AD 1000 by their conquerors the Sciris, from the coast. It was said to have come as a surprise to the Inca Emperor Huayna Capac to hear a few words of this language spoken here (Velasco [1789] 1961: vol. I, 279; Torero 1974: 96–7).

On the basis of all this information, Torero maintained his thesis that Quechua spread into the northern Andes during the Late Intermediate Period, by means of Chincha merchants with trading networks extending by sea as far as Puerto Viejo, near the modern port of Manta (Torero 1974: 72–98). He again advanced this thesis quite clearly in an article published in 1984:

> With the economic and political power of Pachacamac and the central coast, the progress of Quechua II was assured from the beginning of the eighth century: towards the north (proto-IIA), finally taking root in the northern sierra; and towards the south coast (proto-IIB–C), displacing aru [Aymara] in the latter region.
>
> Inter-Andean trade would acquire new impetus and scope from the beginning of the present millennium, in a process that was to combine terrestrial and maritime routes to guarantee exchange between regions as distant as the Altiplano of the Collao and Ecuador. At this time arose, on the frontier between the central and southern coasts, the city of Chincha, an active trading nexus between the hinterland of the south-eastern Andes and the sea routes. These latter led to the kingdoms and lordships of Ecuador (and the south of Colombia) via the Gulf of Guayas (Guayaquil) or the port of Manta . . .
>
> We now know that the merchants of Chincha were very numerous: from six to ten thousand according to the sources (see Rostworowski 1970); that the priests of the sanctuary of Pachacamac were at the same time merchants (Torero 1974); that mercantile activity on the north Peruvian coast was intense and highly specialized (Rostworowski 1975: 340–2); that great rafts with sails ploughed the waters of the Pacific Ocean carrying trade goods, like those mentioned by Sarmiento de Gamboa as coming from the west towards Ecuador, or like the famous 'Tumbes raft' intercepted by a Spanish ship off the north coast of Peru, laden with twenty-two metric tonnes of rich and varied merchandise, some years before the conquest of Peru began, according to the description in the Relación Sámano-Xerez of 1527 (see Porras Barrenechea 1967: 62–8). The merchants of Chincha travelled to the south-eastern Andes (Cusco and the Altiplano of the Collao) and towards Quito and Puerto Viejo (Manta) in Ecuador (Rostworowski 1970).
>
> (Torero 1984: 371, 373)

From the perspective of archaeology and ethnohistory, then, I will attempt to assess the arguments put forward by Torero to sustain his thesis regarding the spread of Quechua into the northern Andes.

Torero's Arguments Considered

Chínchay Quechua and the Time-Depth of its Spread

We will leave evaluation of the validity of Torero's system for classifying the living Quechua languages, as well as the terminology he employs, to the linguists. We are aware that the use of glottochronology to attempt to reconstruct the origins and antiquity of the different varieties of Quechua is now highly controversial. We recall, nevertheless, a cautionary note by Gerald Taylor: 'every time it is possible to make progress in research on some precise aspect of Quechua dialectology one must expect surprises, which means that absolute protoforms very quickly become relative ones' (Taylor 1990: 94).

We will also leave to specialists in the Quechua languages, with their own expertise and specific methods of analysis, the assessment of Torero's thesis regarding the diffusion from the south coast of the Quechua he called Chínchay, from which he claimed the 'general language' had subsequently derived, followed by the living varieties of QIIb and QIIc (see the chapters and bibliographies in the current volume).

What concerns us here is that Torero, in giving the name 'Chínchay' to a Quechua language said to have spread two or three centuries before Inca rule, gave rise to considerable confusion, and this cannot be by chance. Indeed, the name Chinchay evokes at the same time a putative pre-Inca Proto-Quechua, the pre-Hispanic lordship of Chincha, and an extensive territory—Chinchaysuyu, the north-western part of the Inca Empire. It might be thought, in fact, that Torero chose this name on purpose, the better to encourage his readers to accept his general thesis.

We might further point out, with regard to the thesis of the spread of a Chínchay Quechua during the Late Intermediate Period, that so as to convince his readers, Torero cites Juan de Velasco, but not Martín de Murúa when he contradicts Velasco. Murúa states that it was towards the end of Inca rule, during the Late Horizon, that the Inca Emperor Huayna Capac ordered the spread of the language of Chinchaysuyu: 'To this Inca, Huayna Capac, is attributed the order throughout the land to use the language of Chinchay Suyo, which is now commonly called the general Quichua, or that of Cuzco ..., and this order that the language of Chinchay Suyo should be generally spoken was because he had a most beloved wife, a native of Chincha' (Murúa [1616] 1962: cap. 37, 105). In what follows, we limit ourselves, from the perspective of our own expertise, to contesting the archaeological and ethnohistorical arguments that Torero put forward to support his thesis.

Techniques and Aims of Pre-Hispanic Navigation

Thanks to iconographic representations in Mochica art, we know the type of craft employed on the north coast of Peru during the Early Intermediate Period. They were rafts made not of logs but of *totora* reeds, they did not have sails, and they were manoeuvred with oars. The navigation scenes shaped and painted by the Mochica are set in both the world of men and the world of mythical ancestors. In these images the crew, whether mythical or real, catch fish, carry prisoners with their throats cut, and transport assorted packages and pots. There is no question that using craft such as these the Mochica did indeed reach the guano islands off the north coast of Peru. Wooden Mochica objects have been found buried in the guano of the Macabí Islands off Chicama, which are currently held in the Desgranges-Dulignon collection at the Musée d'Aquitaine (where we located them with the assistance of archaeologist Claude Chauchat; Kubler 1948). There is no evidence, however, that the Mochica navigated (whether for trade or transport) as far as the guano islands situated off the south coast of the central Andes: those of Chincha, as Torero suggested (without, in this case, indicating his source). Analysis of Mochica iconography shows that pre-Hispanic imagery portrays myths and rites recorded and celebrated within the framework of a great ceremonial calendar and of representations of mythical and ritual navigations towards the west, with the aim of transporting offerings to the guano islands; there are no grounds to infer that the Mochica sailed as far south as Chincha (Hocquenghem 1979, 1987: 126 41, 107 21; 1998: cap. V).

Indeed, there is no evidence that the Mochica achieved innovations in navigational techniques at the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period. It was at the beginning of the *Late* Intermediate Period that log rafts with sails appeared in the iconography of the Sicán culture of Lambayeque; but these images, which continued to represent myths and rites, provide no evidence of a maritime route of exchange along the coast of the central Andes from AD 900 (Cordy-Collins 1990; Pillsbury 1996, 1999; Hocquenghem 2009, 2010).

Maritime Trade between Chincha and Puerto Viejo

In various publications (1995b, 1998, 1999) we have attempted to show that no careful reader of the 'Report on the method there was in the government of the Indians . . .' will find in this document (written perhaps after 1570 and before 1575) evidence to sustain the conclusion that a pre-Hispanic maritime trade route existed between Chincha and Puerto Viejo. Neither will they find in the 'Report' evidence permitting us to suppose that Chincha raft merchants sailed as far as the bays of the north Andean coast to exchange copper for *mullu*. Finally, our careful reader is unlikely to accept the conclusion Rostworowski presented in her influential article of 1970, and maintained in

later work (my own observations on this topic notwithstanding) (Rostworowski 1975, 1981, 1999):

> Chincha trade covered two distinct zones, one of them maritime to the north, which was intended mainly to obtain the sea shells necessary for religious ritual. In the second zone, trade was directed to the Andean region, where the merchants obtained copper, which took on a monetary value and served as the basis of trade for the northern sea shells.
>
> (Rostworowski 1970: 161)

It is true that the 'Report' states that at the beginning of the colonial period

> when this City of the Kings was settled by Spaniards there were in the valley of Chincha and its jurisdiction thirty thousand male tributaries and thirty caciques, each with a thousand Indians in his charge, and all thirty of them lords; there was but one great one whom all obeyed and respected, this one was before Topa Inca Yupanqui.
>
> Of these thirty thousand men, twelve thousand were farmers, who knew nothing but sowing maize and other seeds and roots which they ate and took sustenance from. On the coast of the sea were settled ten thousand fishermen, who every day or most of the week went to sea, each one with his raft and nets, and returned to their appointed and familiar ports, with no rivalry between one another . . .

Besides the farmers and fishermen

> There were in this great valley of Chincha six thousand merchants, and each one of them had a reasonable capital, because those who traded least did so with two thousand or three thousand ducats; with their buying and selling they went from Chincha to Cuzco all over the Collao, and others went to Quito and Puerto Viejo, whence they brought many beads of gold and many rich emeralds and they sold them to the caciques of Ica, who were very good friends with them and were their closest neighbours, and thus many emeralds have been taken from the tombs of the dead caciques in Ica.
>
> (Rostworowski 1970: 171)

The 'Report' thus attests to the presence in Chincha of a variety of groups: farmers who cultivated the land, fishermen who went to sea each day on their rafts to fish and returned to given ports, and merchants. With respect to the merchants, the document reveals that some went as far as Cusco and the Collao, and others to Puerto Viejo and Quito. Obviously in the former case, these journeys could only be made by land, while in the latter case, nothing in the document indicates that they were made by sea. Neither does the 'Report' refer to any trade in *mullu* or *Spondylus* shells.

So far as copper is concerned, the 'Report' tells us that it served as money, but there is no suggestion that Chincha merchants traded with it for *mullu*: 'The people of Chincha were very brave and very clever, because we can say that in the whole kingdom only they traded with money, because among

themselves they bought and sold with copper what they would eat and wear, and they noted down what each mark of copper was worth' (Rostworowski 1970: 171). Archaeologist Daniel H. Sandweiss, despite having read the 'Report' and remarked that it makes no mention of any exchange of copper for *mullu*, expected to find *Spondylus* during his dig at the Lo Demás site in Chincha (Sandweiss 1992: 9–10, 142). In fact, he found only three pieces of these shells. Why then, if Rostworowski's reading of the 'Report' suggested that *mullu* was the most important product acquired in the north by the Chincha merchants, is this material so scarce in late pre-Hispanic sites? 'One of the more intriguing questions about Chincha archaeology is why this species is not more abundant in late pre-Hispanic sites, considering that the ethnohistoric evidence is usually read as indicating that *Spondylus* (*mullu*) was the most important item acquired in the north by the Chincha merchants (Rostworowski 1970)' (Sandweiss 1992: 142). Sandweiss concluded that the low quantity of *Spondylus* in Chincha might provide indirect evidence that these merchants acted under Inca control: 'The excavations at Lo Demas confirm the scarcity of Spondylus in Chincha and provide indirect evidence to support the hypothesis advanced in chapter 2 that the Chincha merchants acted as agents of the Inkas and not as independent entrepreneurs' (Sandweiss 1992: 142). However, the low quantity of *Spondylus* encountered during excavations at Lo Demás might have an alternative explanation: *mullu* was never disembarked at Chincha, because this exotic northern product did not arrive there by sea.

It is surprising that Torero should tell his readers that the log raft with a sail carrying trade goods was sailing off the southern coast of Ecuador or the northern coast of Peru, when in fact the chroniclers state (as will be seen hereafter) that the Spanish abandoned it between Cape Pasado and Tumbes—in no sense off the Peruvian coast (Sámano [1527] 1968: 10–11; Jerez [1534] 1968: 197–8; Cieza de León [1553] 1998: ch. 10, 75–6). It might be thought, in fact, that if Torero failed to indicate his sources with absolute clarity, it was so as to persuade his readers of the existence of a maritime trade route between the northern and central Andes and thus of the validity of his wider thesis.

Regarding the Lord of Chincha's fleet of rafts and his power, Pedro Pizarro gives the following information when attempting to explain the origins of the name of the north-western sector of the Inca Empire:

> One of [the provinces], the main one and that with most people and best climate, they call Chinchaysuyu; they named this province for the town of Chincha, because Ataualpa told how, when the Marquis [Pizarro] asked him why the Lord of Chincha came on a palanquin, when all the other lords of the kingdom appeared before him loaded down and barefoot, he said that this lord of Chincha was formerly the greatest lord of the lowlands; that from his town alone he could launch a hundred thousand rafts to sea, and was very much his friend,

> and on account of this greatness they gave the name Chinchaysuyu [to all the land] from Cuzco to Quito.
>
> (Pizarro [1571] 1978: 221–2)

While this text does indeed state that the Lord of Chincha had a great many rafts, it does not suggest that these belonged to merchants; rather, they could well have been fishing rafts. Neither can we infer from this excerpt, as did Torero, that this important figure, prior to the Inca conquest of Chincha, controlled a league of merchant raftsmen who navigated the length of the coast of the central and northern Andes—nor that there were Chincha colonies established along these coasts.

In our view, Torero accepted acritically a highly dubious reading of the 'Report' made by Rostworowski, and founded the better part of his thesis upon this reading and upon its questionable interpretations and conclusions as to the possible existence of a pre-Hispanic maritime trade route along the length of the central and northern Andean coast between Chincha and Puerto Viejo. For this reason, it becomes very difficult to accept his theory regarding the spread of the Quechua he calls Chinchay during the Late Intermediate Period, which we must challenge in the light of fresh information. Firstly, we shall seek to present evidence regarding the navigation of indigenous rafts along the northern and central coasts of the Andes during the sixteenth century.

Indigenous Navigation Along the Pacific Coast of the Andes

The Northern Andean Coast

It was during Pizarro's second voyage, undertaken in 1526, that the Spanish for the first time encountered a great native log raft with sails. Its crew carried valuable goods, and according to Francisco de Jerez it was sailing to the south of Cape Pasado, between the Bay of San Mateo and Cancebí. Pedro Cieza de León stated that the encounter took place to the south of Cancebí, and added that the raft was from Tumbes (Sámano [1527] 1968: 10–11; Jerez [1534] 1968: 197–8; Cieza de León [1553] 1998: ch. 10, 75–6).

The chronicle of Joan de Sámano—the earliest and most complete available—tells how the pilot Bartolomé Ruiz, instructed by Pizarro to reconnoitre the coast to the south of the San Juan River, returned with the report that

> from that part, three degrees and a half from the equinoctial line, having lost the northerly, since time was short they turned back; [and] on that coast, which was heavily peopled, they found some bays where they took possession and watered; [and] they took a ship with up to twenty men on board, at which eleven of them jumped into the sea and the others were taken, the pilot kept three of them and

> put the rest on land so they could go free; and these three who stayed as interpreters he treated very well and brought with him . . .
>
> This ship I say he took looked as though it might carry up to thirty toneles [about 25 tons]; its hull and keel were made of some reeds as thick as posts tied with ropes of a type they call henequen which is like hemp, and the upper parts of other more slender reeds tied with the said ropes, where the people and the goods were, in the dry, because the lower part was in the water; its masts and poles are of very fine wood, and the sails of cotton made in the same fashion as our ships, and very good rigging of the said henequen, which as I say is like hemp, with some stones for anchors like a barber's grindstone.
>
> (Sámano [1527] 1968: 10–11)

From the island of Gorgona, and now with Pizarro and the Tumbes Indians who were to serve as interpreters aboard, Ruiz again set sail to continue his exploration of the Pacific coast beyond Cancebí. It is Cieza de León who left the most detailed description of this voyage, and his account merits careful study, since he indicates where indigenous craft were encountered, how many of them, and of what type (Cieza de León [1553] 1998: chs. 19–21, 103–15).

The Spaniards came to the island of Santa Clara:

> Another day, as they sailed along their route, at the hour of the nones [3p.m.], they saw a balsa [raft] approaching by sea, so large that it resembled a ship. They overtook it with their ship and captured fifteen or twenty Indians who were travelling in it, dressed in mantas [capes], shirts, and war garb; within a short while they saw four other balsas with people. They asked the Indians who were in the one they had captured where they were going and where they were from. They replied that they were from Tumbez and that they had left to wage war on those from Puná, who were their enemies; which the interpreters [the Spaniards] had brought with them confirmed.
>
> (Cieza de León [1553] 1998: 104–5)

The reports of both Cieza de León and other chroniclers, notably Miguel de Estete, then, attest that great log rafts with sails navigated along the coast of the northern Andes, as far south as the port of Tumbes, at the time of the Spanish arrival (Estete [1535] 1968: 362).

The Central Andean Coast

Cieza de León continued to describe the voyage of Ruiz and Pizarro to the south of Tumbes:

> Thus, unfurling the sails, they left that place, bringing along a boy [the Indians] had given them to point out to them the port of Paita. And as they were sailing, they discovered the port of Tangarará . . . and sailed until they arrived at a point that they named Aguja. Further on, they entered a port that they named Santa Cruz because they entered it on that day.

> While [the Spaniards] were in the place that I mentioned, some balsas with Indians went to where they were, carrying a lot of fish, fruit, and other provisions to give them.
>
> (Cieza de León [1553] 1998, 116)

Navigation beyond Cape Aguja offered some difficulties: 'Because the south wind was blocking them, they tacked for more than fifteen days; in truth, the east wind seldom prevails in those parts. They lacked firewood, and since they were close to the coast, they landed in order to supply themselves with it' (Cieza de León [1553] 1998: 117). At this point, the Spaniard Alonso de Molina disembarked, and when he tried to return to Pizarro's ship,

> the sea changed so much that the waves rose high, and the sea was swelled, so he could not reach [the ship]. The captain waited three days to take him on. But fearing that the cables might break and the ship wreck on the coast, they weighed the anchors to leave . . .
>
> They sailed from there until they arrived in Collique, which lies between Tangarará and Chimú, places where the cities of San Miguel and Trujillo were founded.
>
> (Cieza de León [1553] 1998: 117)

According to Cieza, 'They left there, and the captain sailed on his course, exploring until he arrived at Santa, with great desire to discover the city of Chincha, about which the Indians had related great things. But when he arrived where I say, the Spaniards themselves told him he should return to Panama to get people with whom they could settle and rule the land' (Cieza de León [1553] 1998: 118).

From Cieza's chronicle, then, we can see that south of Tumbes, the Spaniards saw no more great rafts transporting warriors or cargoes of valuable products, like those they had boarded to the north of the port. What they did see, in inlets along the coast, were rafts that approached the ship offering them various types of goods.

As for conditions for navigation to the south of Tumbes, these turned against the Spaniards once they had rounded Cape Aguja, whereupon they faced a strong southerly wind, high seas, and poor anchorages, all this after the feast of San Juan, now celebrated on 3 May. It should be noted that the voyage took place while the Julian calendar was still in force, before it was replaced by the Gregorian calendar on 4 October 1582, when ten days, from 4 to 15 October, were lost. The Spaniards, therefore, rounded Cape Aguja between April and May, when southerly winds begin to prevail at this latitude.

Although Cieza says Pizarro and Ruiz sailed as far as Santa, he offers no descriptions of any ports south of Collique, which must have lain between the mouth of the La Leche River and the River Reque, in the modern department of Lambayeque. Collique was an old name for the River Lambayeque and a

place in the Reque Valley close to the former haciendas of Pampa Grande, Sipán, and Saltur (Brüning [1922] 1989: 176). If the Spaniards had sailed as far south as Santa they would have seen, and thus mentioned, such important coastal sites as Pacatnamú in the Jequetepeque Valley and Chan Chan in the Moche Valley. It thus appears that Pizarro and Ruiz sailed only (and then with some difficulty) as far as the south of the current department of Lambayeque.

On his third voyage, and having experienced for himself the difficulties of navigation to the south of Tumbes and particularly beyond Cape Aguja, Pizarro disembarked at the former port to continue by land his path towards the conquest of Peru.

In the first part of his Chronicle of Peru, Cieza de León alluded to the difficulties of the maritime route from Panama to Peru. He mentioned the months (in the Julian calendar) that were most favourable for voyages, when the southerlies blew less strongly:

> I say navigation from Panama to Peru is in the months of January, February and March; because at this time there are always strong breezes, and the southerly gales are fewer, and the ships reach their destinations quickly, before another wind begins to blow, which is the southerly, which blows along the coast of Peru for much of the year. So the ships finish their voyages before the southerlies begin. They can sail in August and September, too; but they make less headway than in the period already referred to. Outside of these months, if any ships sail from Panama they will have a hard time of it, and they will make a poor voyage and a long one.
>
> (Cieza de León [1553] 1986: ch. 3, 30)

And the chronicler added that 'The southerly wind and no other prevails, as I have said, in the provinces of Peru, from Chile until near to Tumbez; which is advantageous in sailing from Peru to Tierra Firme, Nicaragua and other parts; but to go [to Peru from the north] causes problems' (Cieza de León [1553] 1986: ch. 3, 31).

The account of Pedro de la Gasca is even more revealing:

> And I say also that the land of Peru is fenced around with wind, because always all year round the southerlies blow from Peru towards Panama, except for two months when the northerlies blow, but of the three parts of the route that leads from Panama to Peru they cover but one, and in the other two even in those two months the self-same southerlies blow. And for this reason, this navigation is so difficult that it is impossible to reach Peru other than by tacking, sailing out to sea and then back towards the land; and there have been times when a ship has tacked a hundred and fifty leagues out to sea, and the same distance back towards land, and at the end of these three hundred leagues has arrived back at the part of the coast from which it left, or half a league or a league further on, and often further back, because although when they go luffing out to sea they stretch further down towards the other pole, when they go back towards land

> the current and the contrary wind that guard the coast push the ship off course, as I have said.
>
> And in this way, once when I was in Lima, a galleon was said to be sailing from Panama, and it took fourteen months to reach Lima, and in its tacking they said it sailed more than four thousand leagues, and it could never get further than the Santa River, which lies sixty leagues to the north of Lima; and trying its luck once more, it came back to the coast sixty leagues further north again, and so badly treated and coated in fouling, of which there is much in that sea, that it was of very little use thereafter and they had to send ships for the goods it brought to Paita, where it had arrived.
>
> (la Gasca [1551–3] 1998: 50–1)

Clearly, navigation proved difficult along the length of the central Andean coast, with voyages so hazardous, challenging, and slow that in the early colonial period it was both safer and faster for the Spaniards to disembark at Paita and continue on towards the south by land. We should recall that a naval sea route existed through the Straits of Magellan, to reach Lima from the south, before the one from Panama that reached the city from the north. And if conditions were difficult for navigation by Spanish ships equipped with keels, how much more so must they have been for indigenous log rafts, platforms floating on the sea?

Clinton R. Edwards (1960, 1965) indicated that rafts with sails were native to the Ecuadorian coast and navigated only as far south as Sechura. He added:

> By the first decade of the nineteenth century, Peruvian raft sailors apparently began experimenting with the lugsail, another European rig which had for some time been carried by small vessels in North American and northwest European waters. Earliest evidence for the use of this rig on South American rafts is in the journal of Amasa Delano, an American sea captain who observed the activities of Peruvian fishermen at the Lobos Islands in 1806 . . . A few years later another description of the lug rig appeared, in Captain David Porter's journal . . .
>
> (Edwards 1965: 74–5)

This might explain the fact that log rafts with sails could be seen transporting cargoes to the south of Cape Aguja during the nineteenth century—for example, the raft sighted in 1813 by David Porter, commander of the frigate *Essex*, as cited by Torero (1984: 373–4 and note 5). A similar case is that of the great rafts photographed by Enrique Brüning in Pimentel in 1887, 1894, and 1899 (Schaedel 1989: 40–1, 43, 71, 82–3, 84, 86, 87).

In April 1969, Gene Savoy embarked at Salaverry, the port for Trujillo, on a modern raft made of totora reed and cane (as mentioned by Rostworowski 1970: 155, fig. 8). This raft sailed from south to north, and reached Panama months later; it certainly never undertook the difficult voyage from north to south, to return to its point of departure on the north coast of the central Andes. In 1992 a fisherman from the bay of Yacila, to the south of Paita,

recalled how in the 1930s rafts would sail from Sechura to Guayaquil. Taking advantage of the southerly winds, and letting themselves be carried on the Humboldt current by means of a slab tied to a rope, these rafts reached their destination in fifteen days. The return journey was much more difficult and slow, with the craft obliged to navigate close to the wind and taking up to three months to return to Sechura.

Present-day maritime maps made for modern sailing ships take account of currents as well as winds, and indicate that south to north navigation along the coast is possible for the whole of the year. From north to south the route becomes more complicated: the direct route, which passes to the east of the Galapagos Islands, can only be followed from March to May (Hocquenghem 1993; see Fig. 14.1). Although the possibility of some coastal trade during calm periods of the southerlies cannot be ruled out, the information available as to conditions for navigation by native rafts towards the south along the coast of the central Andes argues against any maritime route for return voyages between Puerto Viejo and Chincha.

I will attempt to show that the archaeological evidence supports the view that high-value exotic trade goods certainly circulated between the northern and central Andes from the Pre-Ceramic Period onwards—but by land rather than by sea.

Terrestrial Trade Routes Between the Central and Northern Andes: The Far North of Peru and Southern Ecuador

Since 1986 I have sought to contribute to the development of a history of the region that marks the transition between the central and northern Andes: the departments of Piura and Tumbes in Peru, and El Oro, Loja, and Zamora-Chinchipe in Ecuador. The publications to emerge from this research show progress, revisions, changes of point of view, and new perspectives regarding the study of the pre-Hispanic modes and routes (both maritime and terrestrial) of intercourse between central and northern Andean societies (Hocquenghem n.d. [1989], 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2010; Hocquenghem et al. 1993; Hocquenghem et al. 2009). To summarize the major conclusions, and focusing on the trade routes, until around AD 900 (the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period) the land route that led from the valleys of Lambayeque on the northern coast of the central Andes passed through the Piura Valley, climbed via the Yapatera Valley to the Ayabaca sierra, and thence to the mountainous regions of Loja, Azuay, and Cañar. From the southern highlands of the northern Andes, a number of roads dropped to the coast (Fig. 14.2). From AD 900 an important change became apparent, when the Sicán people of Batán Grande, a site located in

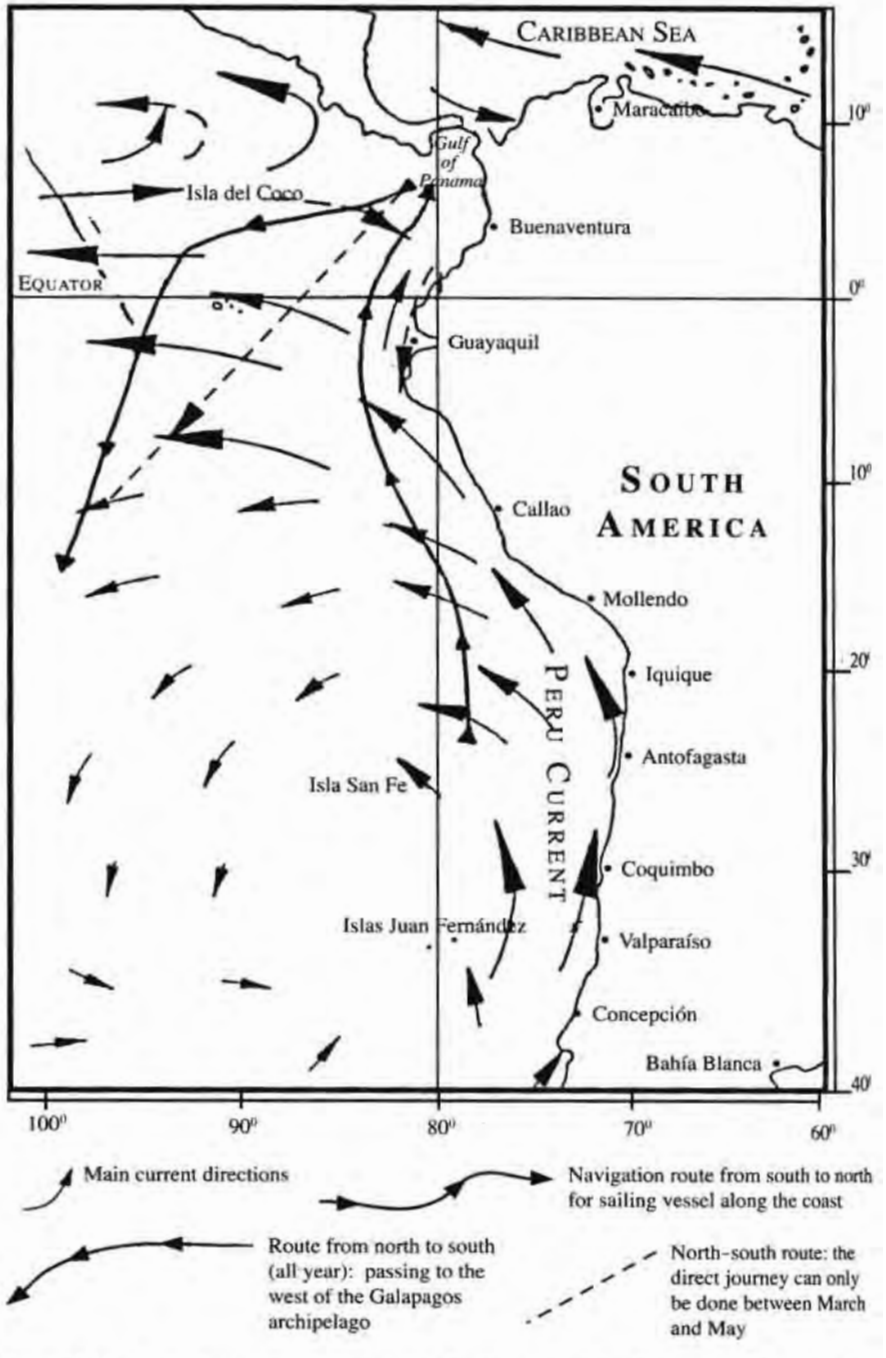

Figure 14.1. Sea routes and currents along the Pacific coast of South America. (Reproduced and adapted from Edwards 1965.)

the La Leche Valley in the department of Lambayeque, opened a new land route along the coast between the valley of Piura and that of Tumbes. It crossed the Chira River via Poechos, followed the Jaguey Negro ravine, passed through the Amotape Hills, and thence dropped to the valley of the Tumbes River. Via the port of Tumbes, this land route joined the maritime one navigated by log rafts with sails along the coast of the northern Andes and further north still (Fig. 14.2).

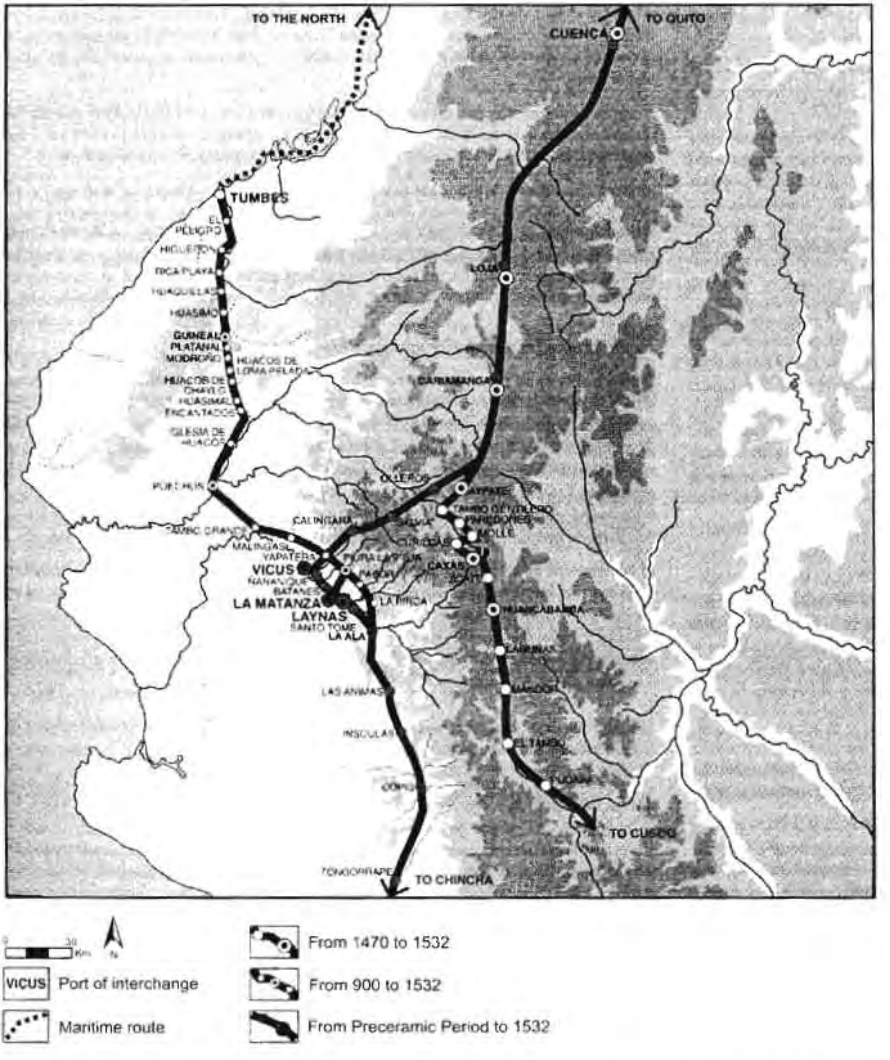

Figure 14.2. Trade routes between the central and northern Andes. (Reproduced from Hocquenghem 1998: 129, Fig. 6.)

It should be recalled (as already noted) that it was in Sicán iconography that representations of log rafts with sails, similar to those sighted and boarded by the Spaniards along the coasts of the northern Andes, first made their appearance. Indeed, from Tumbes northwards, coastal trade by these craft and by canoe made possible the circulation of goods along the whole of the Pacific coast, from the Gulf of Guayaquil to California. The quantity, variety, quality, and value of the exotic northern goods that entered via the port of Tumbes and were deposited in the tombs of the Sicán elite at Batán Grande, especially the *Spondylus* shells, bear witness to the scale and importance of this trading circuit from the tenth century onwards. Southern products leaving Tumbes for the north included notably bronze, an alloy of copper and arsenic discovered by the Sicán people at the beginning of the Late Intermediate. It should further be recalled that both copper and arsenic were found in mines located within Sicán territory, not far from Batán Grande (Shimada 1995; Hocquenghem 2004, 2009, 2010).

At the administrative and ceremonial centre of Tumbes and in the *tambo* of Rica Playa, with Manuel Peña Ruiz we were able to observe specialized workshops for processing shelliferous material of warm-water origin. Sea shells, particularly *Spondylus*, and conches such as *Strombus* and *Conus*, were landed whole at the port of Tumbes. They were cleaned, cut, and turned into smaller and more easily transported pieces, in workshops established along the length of the road opened by the Sicán people (Hocquenghem 1993, 1999; Hocquenghem and Peña Ruiz 1994; Velásquez Castro et al. 2006).

The road south from the port of Tumbes remained in use under first Chimú control, and then Inca. To the south of Piura, its route may be followed on a map of the archaeological sites of the Lambayeque valleys produced by Izumi Shimada (Shimada 1994, 1995). It was this coastal road that Pizarro and his companions followed on their march from *tambo* to *tambo* towards Cajamarca in 1532, after landing at Tumbes (Hocquenghem 1994, 1998: ch. 6).

As regards the ancient roads that led from the southern coast of the northern Andes to the highlands of Cuenca, Loja, and Piura, some were trodden by the Incas and remain in use today. One leads from the port of Tumbes towards Cuenca; this was the route followed by two Spaniards set down by Pizarro during his first voyage along the Pacific coast, and taken by the Indians to Tomebamba (Cabello Valboa [1586] 1951: ch. 25, 403–4; ch. 27, 421–2). Another rises from the Gulf of Guayaquil, opposite the island of Puná, to the cordillera of *mullupongo*, meaning 'the doors of *Spondylus*' in Quechua (from

pongo or *puncu* 'door' and *mullu* 'red sea shell' (González Holguín [1608] 1989: 295, 249). It runs on through the valley of the Jubones River as far as Cañaribamba, near modern-day Santa Isabel. In the highlands, it splits into two: to the north it leads towards the sierra of Azuay and continues through the Cañar region; towards the south, it passes through the Tablón de Oña to the highlands of Loja. Another road, mentioned by Miguel Cabello Balboa in his *Miscelánea Antártica*, rises rather further to the north, by Molleturo, whence it crosses the upland plains of the Cajas Mountains before dropping to Tomebamba (or Tumibamba, the modern-day city of Cuenca). The Inca Emperor Huayna Capac was on Puná Island when word reached him that a pestilence had struck Cusco: 'he determined to leave for Tumibamba, and crossing the Guayaquil river he crossed the mountains by rough and little-used roads and reached Tumibamba by the Mulluturu route . . .' (Cabello Valboa [1586] 1951: ch. 24, 393). Still further to the north another road leads through the valley of the Cañar River to Inga Pirca in Hatun Cañar (Hocquenghem et al. 2009).

The northern section of the highland road that linked Cusco with Quito during the Late Horizon passed through Cajamarca, Huancabamba, Ayabaca, Loja, and Cuenca. The Incas came to control it after subduing the proto-Jivaroan ethnic groups of the highlands of Piura and Loja (the Guayacundos), Caxas, Ayabaca, and Calvas, as well as the Palta and Malacato groups, and later allying themselves with the Cañaris of the highlands of Azuay and Cañar (Figs. 14.2 and 14.3; Hocquenghem et al. 2009).

The archaeological evidence suggests that during the Late Intermediate Period, the Sicán people and then the Chimú traded, through the port of Tumbes, arsenical bronze produced on the north coast of the central Andes and brought in by land, for *mullu* harvested in the warm waters of the Pacific coast of the northern Andes and Mesoamerica, among other products. On the basis of this evidence, it seems possible to discard Rostworowski's interpretation of the 'Report on the method there was in the government of the Indians . . .' and Torero's thesis as to the mode and moment of the introduction of Quechua into the northern Andes. It does not seem credible that it was Chincha merchants who brought this language to the region by the maritime route during the Late Intermediate.

We will now consider an alternative hypothesis: that it was the Incas who established Quechua in the northern Andes during the Late Horizon, by the land routes, one of which led to Tumbes on the coast and the other to Quito in the highlands.

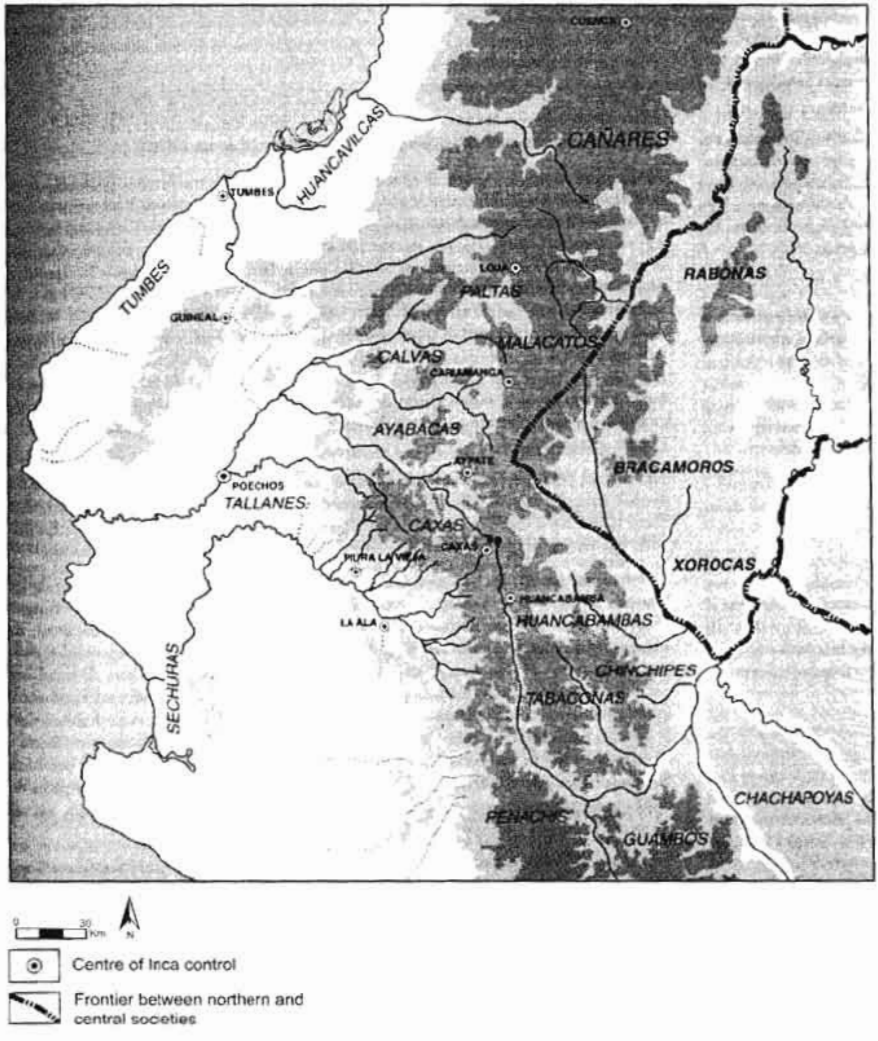

Figure 14.3. The border region between ethnicities subject to the Inca Empire and rebel groups. (Reproduced from Hocquenghem 1998: 181, Fig. 2.)

A Possible Inca Spread of Quechua by Land into the Northern Andes

The Languages of the Transition Zone Between the Northern and Central Andes Before Inca Rule

Torero's study of the languages of the northern coast of the central Andes suggests that the Mochica people of Lambayeque during the Early Intermediate Period and at the start of the Middle Horizon were not Quechua speakers. By the same token, during the late Middle Horizon and at the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period, Quechua was not the language of the Sicán people, whose tongue was rather related to Mochica. The Chimú people during the Late Intermediate and the Late Horizon probably spoke Quingnam (Torero 1986). In the highlands, the Cañaris of the modern-day provinces of Azuay and Cañar were not Quechua speakers either. In the modern provinces of Loja and Zamora Chinchipe, meanwhile, as in the department of Piura in northern Peru, the proto-Jivaroan native populations also did not speak Quechua prior to the Inca conquest. We must acknowledge that in 1989, influenced by Torero, we pointed to what appeared to be evidence of a penetration by Quechua speakers into the sierra of Piura during the Middle Horizon; however, in 1998, we were obliged to recognize that no such group existed (Hocquenghem 1989: 155–62; 1998: chs. 1–4).

If, until the end of the Late Intermediate Period, the peoples who mediated intercourse between the societies of the central and northern Andes did not speak Quechua, there are no grounds whatever to suppose that this language, in whichever of its varieties, might have spread through the frontier zone and further to the north before the advent of Inca rule.

The Spread of Quechua into the Northern Andes under the Inca Empire

It seems credible that it was only once the northern frontier of the Inca Empire reached the coast of the Tumbes Valley and the highlands north of Quito—that is to say, during the second half of the fifteenth century—that the spread of Quechua into the northern Andes began (Hocquenghem 1998: 175–93; Hocquenghem et al. 2009).

The Incas controlled communication routes by land between the central and northern Andes for military, political, socioeconomic, and religious reasons. They built administrative and ceremonial centres along these routes, and settled populations of *mitimaes* in the surrounding regions. *Mitimaes* were Indians obliged to leave their places of origin and to move to other regions where they fulfilled various roles in the service of the Incas. They retained the memory of their origins, the use of their traditional languages,

and respect for their own customs, as well as obedience to their leaders who, following conquest by the Incas, paid tribute to the Inca emperor. *Mitimaes* constituted a social institution specific to the central Andes, which became apparent during the Inca period but whose origins remain uncertain and might be pre-Inca.

To govern both the populations of *mitimaes* (which might themselves be multiethnic) and the local native groups recently brought into the empire, the Incas imposed the use of Quechua as a language of communication, lingua franca, or 'general language'. The 'Relation and description of the city of Loxa' states

> that the Incas, the native lords of that kingdom, had a general language, which was easier to learn than any other, and they obliged all the natives of the kingdom of Peru to learn and to speak it, especially the caciques and their children and other chiefs; and this language, apart from the others, which have already been mentioned, was spoken and understood especially by the caciques and native lords.
>
> (Jiménez de la Espada 1965: II, 301–2)

It is worth noting that Roswith Hartmann urged scholars to consider the possible role of *mitimaes* in the colonization of Ecuador by Quechua in an article published in 1985.

Regarding the 'general language' introduced by the Incas in the territories brought into the empire in the north, we shall once more allow the linguists to speak. According to Taylor,

> The varieties of the general language with which we are familiar from colonial documents represent stages in the evolution of a single dialect under the influence of regional factors and different ideological criteria . . .
>
> The first stage is very poorly documented, and aside from a few isolated words reproduced in the chronicles, we know of it thanks to the grammar and lexicon of Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, and to two texts included in these works, the Discourse for all the Indians' . . . and the 'Formula for general confession'.
>
> (Taylor 2003: 13–14; see also 2001)

According to the chronicler Murúa, the Quechua spoken in the northern Andes at the time of the Spanish arrival, albeit influenced among other factors by the local languages, was that of Chinchaysuyu, spoken in Chincha and ordered to be spread throughout the empire by Huayna Capac (Murúa 1962: ch. 37, 105, see the reference cited above). According to Garcilaso de la Vega, this variety of the general language was different from that of Cusco and was used by Atahualpa so as to be understood by Pizarro's native interpreter, Felipe (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1960: ch. 25, 52, see the reference cited above). According to Garcilaso de la Vega, Felipe

> was a native of the island of Puná, and of very common stock, a lad of barely twenty-two years, who had learnt the general language of the Incas as poorly as he had the tongue of the Spaniards; and that of the Incas he learned not in Cuzco, but in Tumbes, from the Indians there who spoke like foreigners, barbarous and corruptly.
>
> (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1960: ch. 22, 48)

Other authors, such as Miguel Cabello Balboa, thought that Pizarro's native interpreters, Felipe and Martin, were native to Poechos, in the Chira Valley upstream from Tangarará, through which passed the coastal road between the valley of Tumbes and that of Piura: 'Phelipe, and Martin, native Indian interpreters from Pohechos, taken to Spain the first time' (Cabello Valboa [1586] 1951: ch. 32, 469). According to Cieza de León, these Indians were given to Pizarro on the return leg of his voyage of exploration along the far northern coast of the central Andes, in the port of Tangarará at the mouth of the Chira River (also called the Tallana) (Estete [1535] 1968: I, 365–6). It should be noted that the village of Tangarará—the first site of the city of Piura—exists to this day on the lower part of the river (Hocquenghem 1998: ch. 6): 'When he wanted to retire to the ship, he asked each of the chiefs who were there to turn over to him a boy to learn the language, so they could speak it when they returned. They gave him a lad whom they named Felipillo and another whom they called Don Martín' (Cieza de León [1553] 1998: 125–6).

The natives of the Chira Valley were *tallanes* who by the time the Spanish arrived lived under Inca rule (Estete [1535] 1968: 365–6; Betanzos [1551] 1987: ch. 17, 253–5; Hocquenghem 1998: ch. 6). Whether native to Puná island or Poechos, in addition to his own language Felipillo spoke the general language of Chinchaysuyu, a Quechua also spoken by Atahualpa, since the Inca emperor hailed from the north (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1960: ch. 22, 48 and 25, 52; Hocquenghem 1998: ch. 6).

The 'general language' imposed in the northern Andes by the Incas during the Late Horizon as a language of communication was maintained by the Spanish during the colonial period. Indeed, church and crown spread it into Amazonia, beyond the former frontiers of the Inca Empire. Subject always to varying developmental factors, both regional and historical, it acquired fresh characteristics in particular in the aftermath of the Third Lima Council of 1582–3, as a result of efforts to standardize Quechua so as to maintain an orthodox variety and to control the process of evangelization. Over time, the current varieties of Quechua QIIb spoken in Ecuador and Colombia came into being.

To conclude, we should return to the key preoccupations of the current volume and of the symposium from which it arose. To introduce further debates and questions, and perhaps some answers, it is worth recalling what

Gerald Taylor emphasized in his article of 1990, 'À la recherche des "proto-quechua"': that is to say, the need to promote collaborative endeavour between Andeanists of different disciplines, whether linguists, anthropologists, or ethnohistorians, so as to build a holistic vision of the history of the region. Such a vision would enable us to assess in fair proportion the contribution of each of the disciplines, isolated from each other until now:

> Obviously, the picture I have just painted makes for a very summary vision of a state of affairs whose complexity even specialists are sometimes unaware of. They will not let go of a desire to see order established in the confused world of Andean dialectology, and they dedicate themselves only to comparing the best known dialects against each other, or against Aymara. Descriptions of the variants of the major dialects, especially those classified as Quechua 1, are still wanting, and the study of mixed dialects is left by the wayside. The role of other languages formerly spoken in the region is downplayed (except by Torero) and no consideration is afforded to the possibility of a non-Quechua contribution to the process of dialect diversification. Moreover, since there is scarcely any co-operation between the different disciplines working in the Andes, and since linguists, ethnologists, ethnohistorians and archaeologists proceed unaware of each other, there has been no attempt to establish an overarching vision that might help us better evaluate the import of isolated discoveries in any particular domain.
>
> (Taylor 1990: 97)

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