

Lumbreras and Peruvian Prehistory: A Retrospective View from Junin

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Introduction

Research in Peru's Mantaro Valley is featured in the earliest published work of archaeologist Luis Guillermo Lumbreras. The developing elucidation of the archaeology of the Jauja-Huancayo area is employed in this paper as a way of tracing some of the origins of the major intellectual facets that later characterized Lumbreras' contributions to Andean research. To set the stage for this appreciation, we need to understand the state of knowledge of the area when Lumbreras began his work there in 1956. As a subset of this background, the work of Federico Gálvez Durand is reviewed, because it provided a significant early resource base upon which, I argue, Lumbreras began to develop some of his subsequent intellectual interests. Following this, the argument turns to the specific themes that Lumbreras began developing, whose roots we can first detect emerging from his Mantaro Valley work, and focuses more intensely on the first decade or so of Lumbreras' intellectual contributions, as appreciated from the perspective of Junin.

Background Prior to 1956

The first mention of archaeological sites could perhaps be credited to Pedro Cieza de León, who described the ruins of the Adoratorio of Wariwilka in 1547 when he visited the area with La Gasca. Wariwilka had been a functioning religious sanctuary under the Inkas,¹ but had been destroyed a decade previously by the combined actions of Father Vicente de Valverde [1534, 1537], who wanted to eliminate 'idolatry' and Manco Inka II [1538], who wished to punish the Wanka for supporting his competitors, so that by the time Cieza arrived, 'el sitio donde él estaba fue quemado y abrasado', [the site where it was had been torched and burned] (Cieza 1932/1553, Cap. LXXXIV, p. 257). So thorough had the destruction been that Cieza asked a Hanan Wanka curaca, [governor] Don Cristobal Alaya, to help him find the ruins. The location of the site seems to have been forgotten after the sixteenth century; thus Cieza's description of the site remained the primary source until the site was rediscovered in 1931 by Gálvez Durand, and it was first professionally tested by Isabel Flores Espinoza (later Lumbreras' wife) in 1958.

With the onset of the Republican period, interest in the heritage of the country was renewed. In 1838, Leonce Angrand, then Vice-Counsel of France stationed in Lima, made notes and drawings of the ruins of Hatun Xauxa, Tunanmarca, and of an as-yet unidentified site between Sicaya and Orcotuna. The complete set of drawings are in Volume 8 (Numbers 16, 30, 32, 33) of his papers, presented in 1866 to the 'sala de la Reserva del Gabinete de Estampas de la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris', which remained unpublished for a century. Only in the last forty years has his work become readily available, first with the publication of twelve of his illustrations (including two of Tunanmarca) in Rivera Martinez's (1968, Plates 11 and 12) history of Jauja, and later in a published compilation of his work in Peru (Angrand 1972).

¹ Spanish translations are loosely approximate, and are furnished for the convenience of readers. And the usual English 'Inca' is spelled 'Inka' in this paper because of the political preference for this spelling by Peruvian indigenous specialists.

In the mid-nineteenth century local ruins were visited by Lt. Lardner Gibbon, who, along with his colleague William Herndon, was exploring the drainage of the Amazon for the U. S. Navy. Lardner mentioned the Inka ruins in Jauja, but his best description is of the Wanka site of Patankoto near Huancayo (Gibbon 1854: 8). Charles Wiener visited Jauja later in the nineteenth century. Of particular importance was Wiener's sketch of a large Inka usnu (Wiener 1880: 245) that has since been destroyed. His map of the storage qolqa above Jauja remained the only extant map of these storage buildings until the work of Craig Morris a century later. Wiener's text must be read with care, however. He mislabels three Moche vessels from the Hacienda Sausal in the Chicama Valley (1880: 60, 616) as being from Sausa (his spelling of Jauja or Xauxa), a mis-identification that has resulted in more than one local secondary school teacher informing his students that the Moche were in the valley (Browman, field observations, 1968 and 1969).

In the early twentieth century, Paul Berthon visited Jauja, and collected a stone feline sculpture, which he attributed to Tiahuanaco occupation (Berthon 1911, Plate 13), but which subsequent reviewers have attributed to Inka or other styles. Similarly published reports by other travelers occasionally illustrate an artifact, or a sketch of a ruin, when describing their journey through the valley between Jauja and Huancayo.

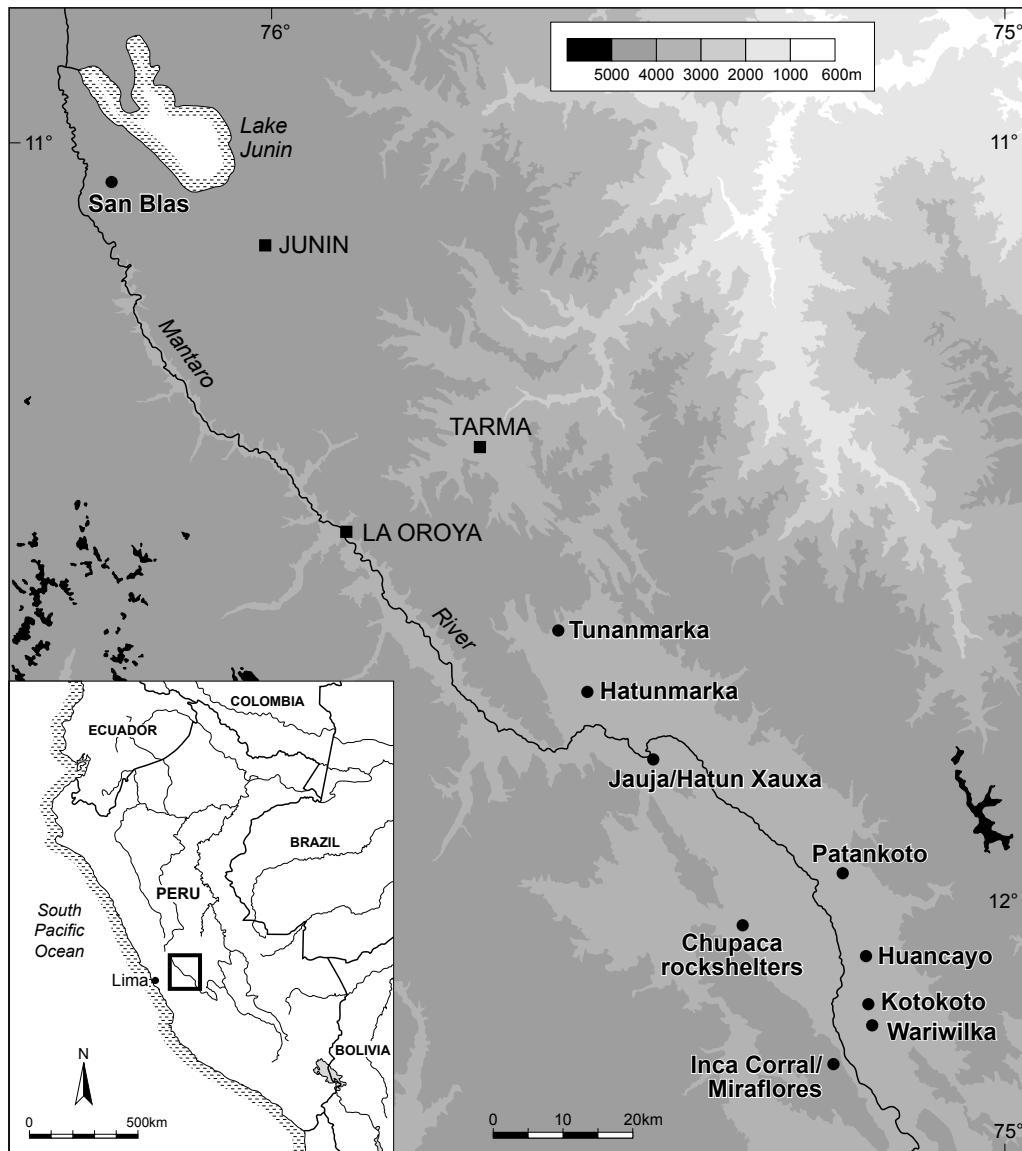
In 1926, Alfred V. Kroeber visited the valley for a few days, and sketched a whole vessel 'in a Huancayo home' (Kroeber 1944: 97) which he identified as having affiliations with 'Nasca Y and Epigonal Tiahuanaco' (Kroeber 1927: 642), and which Menzel later (1964) identified as being a three-fillet band design Chakipampa-derived Viñaque piece. This then provided the first secure evidence of a Wari presence in the Jauja-Huancayo area.

Kroeber later published the first evidence of a 'Regional Development or Early Intermediate Period Culture' for the area, which he called the Huancayo culture, defined by a Black-on-Red ware (Kroeber 1944: 98). His definition was based partly on Lila O'Neale's collections in 1931 (Kroeber 1944, Plate 38: b-n) and on a purchased vessel (Plate 38: a). The O'Neale collection materials belong to a regional development style subsequently called Usupuquio (Browman 1970). But the one purchased whole pot belongs to another style, that relates to an archaistic return to local wares after the collapse of the Wari state, and which led to the development of what Lumbreras subsequently defined as Mantaro de Base Claro and Mantaro de Base Roja, as type wares of the ethnohistoric Wanka peoples.

Lila O'Neale was a Guggenheim Fellow from Berkeley University, studying in Peru in 1931. She joined Julio C. Tello and Toribio Mejia Xesspe on a trip to Huancayo to examine the rediscovery of an important Inka ruin reported by a local collector, Dr. Federico Gálvez Durand, who announced in January 1931, that he had rediscovered the ruins of the important Inka shrine of Wari Wilka. Tello took O'Neale and Mejia with him when he went to verify that Gálvez Durand had in fact made this discovery. (Gálvez Durand contributes significantly to the story here, and is discussed in greater detail below.)

While at Huancayo, Tello and his colleagues visited several other sites. O'Neale made collections from eight of them, and brought them back with her to California. One part of her collections was studied by Kroeber, and he commented on them in his 1944 book.

In the early 1940s, while working at Chanapata in Cuzco, John H. Rowe also visited other parts of Peru making a collection of Inka and pre-Inka materials from a site near Huancayo. The identification of this site is not known. Rowe stated that 'there were no structures' and that 'the site is the only one of any size on the outskirts of Huancayo' (Rowe 1944: 54), but the only Inka sites subsequently described for the Huancayo city vicinity all have structures. Rowe, along with Dorothy Menzel, later returned to the Huancayo area in 1958 (at the same time that Luis Lumbreras and Isabel Flores Espinoza were working in the area), and made collections from eight other local sites. This 1958 work provided the basis for Rowe's assessment that two of these ruins, Patankoto and Kotokoto, were large Regional State or Late Intermediate Period 'cities' (Rowe 1963: 17).



Archaeological sites in the Mantaro Valley, Peru.

The collections made by O’Neale in 1931 and Rowe in ca. 1942 and 1958, were subsequently studied by Rogger Ravines (1966), who found the Wanka materials of the collection fitted well with the Mantaro styles which had just been defined by Lumbreras, based on his work the Gálvez Durand collection.

Gálvez Durand’s active and often reported research in the basin may have promoted the interests of other local scholars. Gutierrez Noriéga (1937) reported on a series of Wanka and Inka ruins, including Tunanmarca and Hatunmarca, in the Jauja area. Mercado Zarate (1941) provided descriptions of Sirwakoto or Masma, but more importantly he published the first descriptions of pre-Hispanic mines in the area. Horkheimer (1951) came to Huancayo to search for the Inka and early colonial site of Llocllapampa, but thanks to the intervention of Guillermo Mayer (father of Enrique Mayer), also made extensive visits to a number of Wanka and Inka ruins in the valley. Thus by the 1950s, the decade that we begin our focus on Lumbreras, a number of Inka and Wanka ruins had been visited, sketched, and briefly described.

During the 1940s and 1950s, Julio C. Tello, Toribio Mejía Xesspe and Julio Espejo Núñez visited the Huancayo area a number of times. To the best of my knowledge their collections remain essentially

unstudied and unpublished, except for a few articles about them in local newspapers in Huancayo at the time. My brief inspection of part of these materials in 1968 and 1969 in Lima indicated that these collections contained materials from sites that were now destroyed by urbanization and agricultural activities in the valley. We know little more about this important work than we did fifty years ago, when Bennett (1953: 16) observed that 'Mejía (1950), reporting on the survey work of Dr. Julio C. Tello, lists over 100 site names for the Mantaro Basin, of which the majority, 74, were in the Jauja Valley. No information about any of these is available....', or a decade later, when Lumbreras (1960b: 139) remarked that the 'zona que ha sido bien explorada por Espejo Núñez, pero que cuenta con pocas publicaciones de su parte', [the zone has been well explored by Espejo Núñez, but we can account for only a few publications on his part].

However sites from earlier time periods were virtually unknown. There were no materials described as being from the Middle Formative Chavin period within the valley. But just north of the basin, at the mine of San Blas, a local engineer L. W. Henry had made a collection of potsherds, which were described by Nomland (1939) and Kroeber (1944) as having links to the Chavin culture. With the report by Wells (1940: 353), who had collected in Tarma, Yauli, and Junin, that there were San Blas materials from Tarma, it was presumed that there should be artifacts from a San Blas-like Formative culture to be found in the Jauja-Huancayo basin.

Material from pre-ceramic or Archaic cultures were found only in some rock-shelters near Chupaca. Paul C. Ledig, who worked at the local Carnegie Magnetic Observatory, excavated two rock-shelters near the observatory in 1940 and 1941. Harry Tschopik Jr., who visited the area while doing ethnographic research, recorded and briefly described part of Ledig's collection (Tschopik 1946). Rosa Fung Pineda, one of Luis Lumbreras' cohort and colleagues, re-excavated part of Ledig's shelter. Her finds provided not only a better description of materials, but also the first indication that what had been presumed to be only material from preceramic or Archaic hunters, was in fact characterized, in the upper layers, to be in direct association with ceramic remains which subsequently were shown to be dated to the Regional Development or Early Intermediate Period (Fung 1959).

In hindsight, now we can see that several components of the time-space systematics for the basin were identified prior to 1957 and 1958, when Lumbreras set about the task of organizing the archaeology of the area. However, when Lumbreras arrived on the scene, little of this had been worked out, and while Inka materials were identified, all pre-Inka units were at that point combined into a roughly undifferentiated mass. Typical, for example, was the report published in 1957, the year Lumbreras arrived, which lumped ceramics from sites above Chupaca all into 'Wanka o Lucana' culture (Ordaya Espejo 1957: 40). Today the illustrations of these ceramics show them to be clearly recognizable as artifacts from Wari, Wanka and Inka occupations.

The Collection of Dr Federico A. Gálvez Durand

Federico A. Gálvez Durand (1873–1944) was a teacher at G. U. E. or Colegio Nacional Santa Isabel in Huancayo, as well as a lawyer, sometime journalist, and stamp and relic collector. Later he served as the president of the local Patronato Arqueología, president of the Sociedad Geográfica de Junín, and was a member of the Sociedad Geografica de Lima and the Sociedad de Arqueología del Perú (Anon 1944). The first documented reference I have found of archaeological excavations by Gálvez Durand was in 1927, but I suspect he began much earlier. An article in a 1934 *El Comercio* newspaper described his private museum, and referred to his excavations and collections as covering 'many years' work. Durand's museum comprised the largest collection of Wanka ceramics as well as metal artifacts such as tupus, discs, breastplates and adornos (Anon 1934), and it was kept in his home until after his death. Archaeologists such as Julio Tello, Julio Espejo Nunez, and Hans Horkheimer spent time at the private museum in his house examining his collections. Thus when Kroeber mentions (1944: 97) that he spent a few days in Huancayo in 1926, and 'had the opportunity to sketch, in a Huancayo home' some archaeological pieces, it is likely that Kroeber's sketches were of pieces in Gálvez Durand's collection made in Gálvez Durand's museum at his house, which was well known in town.

Gálvez Durand's rediscovery of the temple of Wariwilka, on January 23 (Flores Espinoza 1959: 178; Tello Devotto 1959: 276) or January 25 (Suarez Osorio 1967: 4), 1931, moved his reputation from the regional to the national level, attracting (as we noted earlier) a visit by Julio C. Tello and his colleagues to verify the identity of this important shrine. Although I have not been able to locate any articles from either the Huancayo or Lima newspapers from that year, Gálvez Durand must have excavated Wari style ceramics during his first explorations. The 1934 article on his collections (Anon 1934) makes reference to materials from a local 'Cultura Megalítico Andino', an extension of the Tiahuanacoide culture. And Tello, in his 1939 synthesis of Peruvian prehistory, remarked on a number of pots recovered from tombs contiguous to the Wariwilka Adoratorio, and held in the Colección Gálvez Durand of Huancayo, which identified the site as part of what Tello termed 'Wari o Wanka' culture, and dated it to A.D. 800–1331 in his scheme (Tello 1940: 683, and Lamina VII, facing p. 714). While Tello returned several times later to the Jauja-Huancayo basin, and recorded another seventy-four sites (Bennett 1953: 16), I have found no other information about Tello's assessment of specific sites except Wari Wilka and Hatun Xauxa.

Gálvez Durand regularly conducted excavations to acquire additional whole pots, figurines, metal tupus, and other objects, at sites around the basin. His major excavations seem to have been during the 1930s, a period during which he was assisted by his wife, among whose duties were to clean the metal objects and other whole artifacts recovered (Horkheimer 1951: 7). Whether Gálvez Durand kept notes, or kept all the information in his head, is not clear. Horkheimer reports (1951: 15–16) that when he revisited the Inka settlement called 'Inka Corral', excavated in 1938 by Gálvez Durand, adjacent to the Inka bridge that crossed the Mantaro from Miraflores to Chongos Bajo, all that he could find in 1950 were the five Inka houses, Inka bridge abutments, and the remains of the excavation units that Gálvez Durand had illustrated and discussed in his 1939 article in the *El Comercio* newspaper. While Horkheimer was disappointed not to find a lot of surface materials to collect, his report indicated that the newspaper articles about Gálvez Durand's work did contain a reasonable amount of excavation description. We do know that in the inventory of the Gálvez Durand collection made two years (1946) after his death, Julio Espejo Núñez reported that 98% of the collection lacked provenience data (Matos Mendieta 1959a: 188).

With the death of Gálvez Durand in 1944, the collection began to dissipate. By 1950 Horkheimer (1951: 7) reported that the collection was in poor shape, having suffered greatly from theft, and from damage in the 1947 earthquake. Because of these problems, in 1952, in honor of the 100th anniversary of the founding of G. U. E. Santa Isabel, Gálvez Durand's family donated to the school, in his memory, the remaining part of his collection consisting at that point of 1,654 items (Suarez Osorio 1967: 9). It was this portion of the original collection that Lumbreras later had access to in his analyses.

The 'Colección Gálvez Durand', or 'Museo Dr. Federico Gálvez Durand', formed the database for most of the assessments of archaeological culture in this part of the Mantaro Valley at this time. Unfortunately the collection has continued to experience losses (Mendez Cristobal 1968).

Archaeologists have studied the collection trying to define what impact the Wari may have had on the Andes. Tello (1940) was the first to expressly remark on the stylistic identity of pieces from the Gálvez Durand collection with the Wari site itself. Gálvez Durand had described the same pots as demonstrating the Tiahuanaco penetration from the Titicaca region (Anon 1934, Matos Mendieta 1959a: 203). Later Bennett studied the collection while preparing the analysis of his excavations at Wari, and noted several examples of 'Wari Polychrome' in the Gálvez Durand collection (Bennett 1953: 16).

Isabel Flores Espinoza, assisted by Luis Lumbreras, made a surface collection of sherds from Wari Wilka in 1957 and 1958, and purchased a number of pots from local farmers in the village surrounding the site, to add to the collections of the Instituto de Etnología y Arqueología at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. She used the Gálvez Durand collection as comparative material during the evaluation of her project. The relationship between John Rowe and Jorge Muelle was very

good at this point, so Rowe, along with Dorothy Menzel, visited Huancayo while Lumbreras and Flores Espinoza were working, to take notes both on the Gálvez Durand collection that Lumbreras was then evaluating, as well as on the whole pots that Flores Espinoza had collected (Flores Espinoza 1959, Menzel 1964, Menzel, personal communication 1970).

Menzel (1964: 39) treats the eight vessels illustrated in Flores Espinoza's work (1959) and one additional one illustrated in Lumbreras' work (1959a) as being the product of a single grave lot from Wari Wilka. However, Flores Espinoza states (1959: 180–183) that 'we took the opportunity to acquire this past October a collection of huacos, encountered in various places ... The data given us by the informant (for one pot) was a little confused ... In one of the tombs ...'. These statements make it clear that the pieces were purchased from local farmers who had excavated them from a minimum of three different locations. As a PhD candidate at Harvard University, I hesitantly pointed this out to Menzel. Her reply (Menzel to Browman, February 5, 1970) was that: 'you are perfectly right about Isabel Flores' report, and I am very sorry I never noticed it and did not put that bit in my report. The trouble is, I based my discussion on my field notes, which I took in 1958 before Flores' publication appeared ...'. Menzel went on to point out, that whether the pots belonged to a single grave lot or not, it did not change her evaluation of them as all being Middle Horizon 2B in time. This collection of pots was in some ways a microcosm of the Wari pots in the Gálvez Durand collection, where Menzel (1964: 39, 43, 46, 55; 1969: 85) noted a large number of Middle Horizon 2B pieces of Viñaque, and imported or imitation Pachacamac styles.

Because of the number of similar specimens, it is likely that most of the Wari specimens in the Gálvez Durand collection came from the Jauja-Huancayo basin. However some caution needs to be employed, because we know that later in life Gálvez Durand purchased some specimens from outside of the valley to round out his collection. We have specific references to the purchase of examples of prehistoric pottery from Nasca and Ayacucho (Browman 1970: 28, 209; Horkheimer 1951: 7; Julio Espejo Núñez, personal communication, 1970) as well as to the purchase of ethnographic specimens from Piura and Sullana (Horkheimer 1951: 7). And in the 1934 article describing his collection there were references to many items derived from coastal sites (Anon 1934). Gálvez Durand may have collected more widely, for example, Larco Hoyle (1963: 47, Lamina 72) illustrates a 'Chavin' piece from his collection. Because nothing similar had been found in the basin, I sent a photocopy of this to Berkeley for an assessment. Dorothy Menzel wrote back (personal communication, February 5, 1970) that 'John Rowe, Larry Dawson and I all agree that the incised blackware stirrup spout vessel illustrated in Larco Hoyle's *Épocas Peruanas* of 1963, Fig. 72, is Early Horizon'.

Museo Gálvez Durand as a Springboard

The years from 1956 to 1959 seem to have been heady ones for archaeology students at the Universidad Nacional de Mayor de San Marcos. During this period Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel, Director of the Instituto de Etnología y Arqueología, was collaborating with Dr. Jorge C. Muelle, Professor of Peruvian Archaeology at this institute, training a cadre of students who became the major Peruvian archaeologists of the next quarter century, as well as sending at least two 'expeditions' to the central sierra. Among the students and researchers involved with these expeditions were Hernán Amat, Duccio Bonavia Berber, Augusto Cardich Loarte, Félix Caycho Quispe, Isabel Flores Espinoza, Carlos Guzmán Ladrón de Guevara, Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, Ramiro Matos Mendieta, Max Neira Avedaño, and Luisa Ruiz – for the most part the 'Who's Who' of late twentieth century Andean archaeology.

The 'First Expedition to the Sierra Central' was in 1957, the second in 1958. Eugene Hammel, Edward Lanning, Dorothy Menzel, and John Rowe, from the University of California Berkeley, also collaborated with this fieldwork (information from Lumbreras 1959a, 1959b, 1960b, 1974, Flores Espinoza 1960, and Menzel, personal communication, 1970).

Lumbreras initially surveyed the Museo Gálvez Durand under the auspices of the first expedition

in 1957 with additional research on the collection continuing during the second expedition in 1958, during which time he began developing the basis of his ideas for Huarpa I and Huarpa II, as well as developing ideas about the Mantaro Base Clara and Mantaro Base Roja wares he associated with the Wanka. He collaborated with Flores Espinoza on a paper on Wari-contemporary tripod pots found in the Museo Gálvez Durand collection and elsewhere in the sierra. In addition he participated in fieldwork with Isabel Flores Espinoza at Wari Wilka and Wichqana, with Duccio Bonavia at Aya Orjo and Rancho, and undertook his own field observations at Wari (Lumbreras 1957, 1959a, 1959b, 1960b, Flores Espinoza 1960). We can discern the origins of several later important themes in Lumbreras' work first occurring in his Huancayo basin studies. These themes include time-space systematics, the influence of geography, the need to define broad over-arching patterns, and the need to ascertain the archaeological phases reflected by changes of production and social organization. However, at this time there was not much discernable interest in his later interest in making archaeology relevant to current societal problems.

The thrust of the first series of publications that Lumbreras wrote, from the perspective of his work with the Gálvez Durand collection, was about time-space systematics. He was very aware of persistent problems of assigning Andean cultures into some kind of evolutionary order. He noted, for example that 'Toda la cronología que podemos tener para la Sierra Central es relativa ... obtenida a base de establecimientos de superposición de grupos arqueológicos' [all the chronology that we have for the Central Sierra is relative ... obtained on the basis of the establishment of superposition of each archaeological assemblage] (Lumbreras 1959b: 63). Initially the ordering principal that Lumbreras employed was an earlier one devised by Tello (1940), based on the idea that cultures went through three periods – initial or archaic, developed or typical, and decadent (Lumbreras 1959a: 194, 1960a: 226). Lumbreras employed this idea of cultural evolution to attempt to work out the relative positions of various Huarpa, Wari, and Wanka/Mantaro ceramic units. Thus, for example, the Wanka and Chanka periods he saw initially as periods of decadence in ceramic technology, with loss of technical value and artistry (Lumbreras 1959b: 102).

Lumbreras was also looking for broader organizing principles, and experimented with employing the 'Rowe-Lanning'² system of IP/EH/EIP/MH/LIP/LH in his ordering of the ceramics from the Gálvez Durand collection. Although this is not clear from his first publication (1957), the notes (Mendez Cristobal 1968) and labels (Suarez Osorio 1967) that he left on the artifacts in the collection preserve his use of these terms. This scheme, which dominated the work of North American Peruvianists, was talked about by the participants of the First Central Sierra Expedition, with the result that Jorge Muelle, Eugene Hammel, and Edward Lanning presented a formal version of it to the institute students in January of 1958 (Flores Espinoza 1959: 184). Lumbreras made some brief allusions to this system in 1959 publications (Lumbreras 1959b, 1959c), but his first full discussion of organization of Peruvian cultures employing this scheme was in 1960 (Lumbreras 1960b).

Lumbreras spent a considerable amount of research time in the central sierra during these years, partly because he believed that 'La Sierra Central sugiere ser un área excepcionalmente importante para la explicación de una serie de fenómenos en el desarrollo de nuestra cultura antigua', [the Central Sierra seems to be an exceptionally important area for the explication of a series of phenomena in

² John Rowe and his students developed the scheme called 'Rowe-Lanning', based on materials from the Ica Valley. I named it 'Rowe-Lanning' because while it was published by Rowe first, in 1962, this book was not widely available in South America. Thus many students of Peruvian archaeology first became aware of the scheme through Lanning's 1967 book. While working in the Mantaro in 1968, I was asked by students of the Universidad Nacional del Centro what I thought of Lanning's new scheme. In addition, I added Lanning's name onto the scheme because he was one of three individuals who first, formally, presented it to the students of the Instituto de Etnología y Arqueología of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in January 1958. N. B. IP/EH/EIP/MH/LIP/LH = Initial Period, Early Horizon, Early Intermediate Period, Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate Period, and Late Horizon.

the development of our ancient culture] (Lumbreras 1959b: 96). Lumbreras was one of the first researchers to realize that Bennett's earlier assessment of Huarpa culture as being only 'post-Wari' was incorrect, due to reversed stratigraphy (Lumbreras 1959c: 229, 1969b: 220). Consequently, Lumbreras sought to find broader patterns in the archaeological material. He had already recognized the occurrence of 'Ayacucho' or 'Wari' style wares in the Gálvez Durand collection, not only in typical polychrome anthropomorphic and zoomorphic iconography, but also in items such as Wari Black Decorated (Lumbreras 1960a: 199). Using the Wari-related tripod vessels from the Gálvez Durand collection, he worked with Isabel Flores Espinoza³ in a paper that explored the wider ramifications of this particular Wari ceramic type (Lumbreras 1959b: 65, 1960a: 194). His re-analysis of the Wari material suggested the existence of a pre-Wari 'Huarpa I' and a post-Wari 'Huarpa II', an archaizing style, and he recognized that what he originally called 'Mantaro Negro sobre Blanco', later Mantaro Base Clara, was essentially identical to what he called Huarpa II in the Rio Pampas, and what Matos Mendieta (1959b) was beginning to call 'Coras' in Huancavelica. Because the Gálvez Durand collection had substantial amounts of ceramics that resembled Huarpa II, but nothing that looked like Huarpa I, he concluded (using Tello's evolutionary schema) that the Mantaro wares and the Rio Pampas wares were part of a broad pattern of derived, or what he then termed 'decadent', post-Wari ceramic wares, one which based on these ceramics linkages should also be closely linked on other cultural levels as well (Lumbreras 1959a, 1959b, 1959c, 1960a, 1960b).

One of the concerns that grew out of Lumbreras' work with the Gálvez Durand collection was the proliferation of culture names, each one derived from a regional site, which he thought masked overarching links and regional developments. As he began to try to define broader patterns, he argued that the large numbers of names hid more important evolutionary events. This was most explicitly stated after he had worked with his former co-student, and later his wife, Isabel Flores Espinoza, to elucidate the time-space systematics for the Tacna area (Flores Espinoza 1969). The difficulties encountered caused him to write a celebrated letter to his colleagues in northern Chile, suggesting that there were too many names for ceramic types, and that moreover, the particularism and the splitting of each ceramic industry into a series of minor types was masking broader events such as migration and the impact of the biogeography of the cultures, with thus 'una "lógica cronológica" que puede ser destruida por otra "corológica" con igual valor y quizá con mas razón' [a 'logical chronology' which ought to be extirpated by the other 'biogeography' with equal value and with perhaps greater rationality] (Lumbreras 1972: 27).

The forerunner of Lumbreras' 'lumping' strategy to see broader patterns began in part with his background of studying the Gálvez Durand collection, and with his suggested merger of Mantaro/Coras/Arqalla into the proposed basis of Tello's 'Confederación Chanka'. The latter idea was first used in his 1959 and 1960 works, and explicitly noted as a 'more or less homogeneous culture' from the Rio Pampas up the Rio Mantaro to Xauxa, in his works of 1969 and 1975. Lumbreras credited this approach to the ideas of Andean cultural 'co-traditions', as elicited from Bennett (1948) and Willey (1948). Based on the solid empirical evidence from his work on the Wanka and Chanka federations, Lumbreras took the idea of 'horizon styles' and 'cultural co-traditions' to identify other broad evolutionary trajectories in the central Andes.

At the temporally early end of the ceramic sequence, Lumbreras began to isolate three centers of Chavin period development. He was one of the first to recognize that there was not a single monolithic 'Chavin' culture, but in a similar way that was then being suggested for formative Mesoamerica and the Olmec, there were several coeval centers of development, not just a single 'mother' culture. Based on

³ Lumbreras worked closely with Flores Espinoza on the analysis of materials for at least three of her early papers. Some of the examples from the work of Lumbreras on Gálvez Durand collection were utilized in a paper on Wari tripod bowls by Flores Espinoza, and Lumbreras also worked closely with her on the Wichqana excavations at Wari (Lumbreras 1959a: 131; 1959b: 65, 75). He assisted her with the analysis of materials from Tacna, work which was also part of the basis for his noted letter on Arica phases (Lumbreras 1960b: 147, 1972a).

his work on the collections, as well as in the field with Isabel Flores Espinoza and others in Ayacucho, and the reports from his fellow students from the Instituto de Etnología y Arqueología, Lumbreras initially proposed three possible centers: one around Chavín de Huantar, a second perhaps at Paracas, and a third somewhere in the southern highlands, his Chanapata D/Qaluyu center (Lumbreras 1959a, 1959d). He borrowed Willey's White-on-Red horizon, trying but later rejecting the idea of linking it to White-on-Red styles in the southern highland, such as Paqllamoqo and Chiripa (1969, 1975). The Wari 'invasion' into other areas, he argued, gave rise to the later 'regional states', with their Wari-related features (Lumbreras 1960a: 231).

Lumbreras' broader synthesizing perspective allowed him to identify new patterns, which had earlier been overlooked, again the result, he argued, of over-particularization in defining ceramic style names. In the southern highlands, where traditionally only two broad ceramic horizon styles had been identified, that of Tiahuanacoide cultures and the later Inka cultures, Lumbreras defined two other broader patterns inter-digitating between Tiwanaku and Inka. The first of these was the 'Horizonte Tricolor del Sur', a post-Tiwanaku collapse assemblage, including Alfarquito, Allita Amaya, Chiribaya, Churajon, Maytas, Mollo, and other assemblages, running from about 12° S latitude down to the Quebrada de Humahuaca, and presumed to date sometime after A.D. 800 (the accepted end date of the Wari empire at that point). The second and later horizon style, the 'Horizonte Negro sobre Rojo', including immediately pre-Inka clusters such as Chilpe, Chullpa, Collao, Saxamar, and other altiplano assemblages, was presumed to have first appeared about A.D. 1200–1300 (Flores Espinoza 1969: 295–296; Lumbreras 1960a: 236, 1960b: 140–147).

One aspect of the cluster of 'horizons' or 'co-traditions' that Lumbreras began to ascertain seemed to be determined by geographic factors. Thus he emphasized that both 'autoctonism' and 'aloctonism' (Lumbreras 1981: 33), or internal and external factors, were critical to the patterning discerned in the Andes. Early on he observed discrete cultural shifts between northern, central and southern Wari materials in the Gálvez Durand collection (Lumbreras 1959b), and he employed this organizing factor, 'one of biogeography' as he called it in his 1972 letter, to make other links as well. The 12° S latitude boundary was the result of these observations, and he later pushed this further during an Andean-wide workshop, sponsored in part by UNESCO (Lumbreras 1979, 1981), in which he attempted to divide the entire Andean chain into five macro-biogeographical areas, each one with similar ambient conditions internally which had an impact on the resulting sociopolitical organizations that developed.

In working with the problems of chronology, Lumbreras quickly lost interest in the 'Lanning-Rowe' periodization scheme. He was interested in the evolution of Andean cultures, and he noted that Rowe's scheme was anti-evolutionary (Lumbreras 1969a: 149). Significant changes in culture had to be more than just ones of style or time, but needed to involve social and production changes (1967: 256, 1969b: 18, 1975: 50). At the time that he was attending the Instituto de Etnología y Arqueología in Lima in 1957, 1958, and 1959, and here Emilio Choy had an important influence on Lumbreras. Emilio Choy owned a Lima restaurant, where many of the students met after class, to discuss archaeological problems (McGuire 1992: 65). In August of 1959, the students (through Centro de Estudiantes de Antropología) and professors of the Instituto de Etnología y Arqueología initiated a 'Semana de Arqueología Peruana', held in November of that year, at which most active Peruvian nationals gave presentations. Among the papers was one by Choy (1960), detailing the type of Marxist archaeological interpretations that Vere Gordon Childe (1936, 1942) had devised, as modified from Lewis Henry Morgan's work, comprising three stages of Savagery followed by three stages of Barbarism, culminating in Civilization. This approach emphasized the importance of changes in related social institutions at each stage. One could presume that Choy's paper may have been the highlight of the meeting, as in the summary remarks discussing the significant events of the week, Jorge Muelle (1960: 397) remarked on 'la erudición de Choy', and suggested that the participants heed his clarion call to restructure archaeology. Lumbreras refers to Choy 'como uno de nuestros maestros más queridos', [one of our most cherished teachers] and says that:

‘Emilio Choy ha iniciado en el Perú lo que estamos llamando “Arqueología Social” y quizá pudo hacerlo porque no es un arqueólogo profesión los que le permite una gran libertad; con su trabajo precursor sobre “La Revolución Neolítica en los orígenes de la Civilización Andina”, Choy inicio un nuevo acápite en la investigación, que ahora invade América Latina y que tiene sus orígenes en el método desarrollado por Gordon Childe’, [Emilio Choy initiated in Peru what we call ‘Social Archaeology’, and he was perhaps able to do this because he was not a professional archaeologist, which permitted him greater intellectual liberty; with his precursor work over ‘The Neolithic Revolution in the Origins of Andean Civilization’, Choy began a new research agenda in investigation, that which today has spread throughout Latin America and which had its origins in the method developed by V. Gordon Childe] (Lumbreras 1974: 152).

Lumbreras found this approach much more congenial than the ‘Lanning-Rowe’ periodizations. In the next publication on the implications of the Gálvez Durand materials he wrote (1960a: 224) about the ‘Neolithic Revolution’ that had transformed the Andean area at about 1000 B.C.E., and suggested that new productive means, the ‘revolución del maíz’ resulted in the new politico-religious cult called Chavin. In his subsequent work, Lumbreras frequently paid homage to Choy and to Childe. Society was defined by work to satisfy needs, and by its productive forms; thus phase shifts should not be based on stylistic or chronological criteria alone but on productive features (1969b: 18). The ‘Neolithic Revolution’ was seen partly as being characterized by the appearance of a workforce employed to modify institutions of reciprocity, as new notions of property required new forms of social relations (1990a: 111). He spoke of the Moche as being the first examples of the Marxist stage of slavery (1968: 43, 1969a: 139). Childe’s urban revolution with its new class organizations (1968: 142) could be interpreted as the Wari becoming the first despotic, expansive militaristic state with industrial production (1969a: 139). He further questioned the validity of the ‘comunista’ image of the Inka that the French social Marxists loved to champion, arguing that these were nothing more than the surviving remnants of a variety of communal or primitive community elements from the stage of Barbarism (1968: 149).

In his classic 1974 book *La Arqueología Como Ciencia Social* and in later papers, Lumbreras set out his arguments for what portions of the classic Marxist evolutionary model could be imported into the Peruvian situation, and which ones were inappropriate. Thus, for example, while he accepted certain aspects of modes of production along with their associated forces of production and social relations of productions, as useful to define periodization, he rejected the idea of an ‘Asiatic Mode of Production’ being appropriate for the Andes (1974, 1981). For Lumbreras (1974: 27), the objective of archaeology was ‘de tomar conocimiento de las Formaciones Sociales “prehistóricas”, para enriquecer nuestra imagen del proceso social y conocer sus leyes’, [to secure knowledge of the prehistoric Social Formations in order to enrich our image of social process and to comprehend their laws].

It is on the basis of this work that Lumbreras became known as one of the founders of the ‘Latin American Social Archaeology School’. In 1975, a group of Latin Americanists met in Teotihuacan, Mexico, and explored many of the ideas Lumbreras championed, and decided to develop a non-imperialist or non-bourgeois procedure for studying Latin American archaeology. The members of this group known as the ‘Reunion de Teotihuacan’ kept in contact through additional meetings. In 1983, several of the group met in Mexico again. The ‘hard-core’ of the group, known as the Grupo Oaxtepec, comprised Felipe Bate, Manuel Gándara, Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, Julio Montane, Mario Sanoja, Iraida Vargas, and Marcio Veloz Maggiolo. They adopted an agenda which eschewed dogmatic Marxism, strongly rejected French structural Marxism, and modified their approach to the study of modes of production through the inclusion of cultural influences, and also advocated the use of the social practice of archaeology as a tool with which to fight for indigenous and oppressed peoples’ rights (Politis 1995: 220; McGuire 1992: 67).

Lumbreras argued that in Peru, national political agendas always influenced the practice of archaeology, so that archaeology should become a part of such agendas (1981: 35). He argued that indigenous people had spent more than three thousand years discovering the optimum methods of exploitation of the

Andean environment, while the present Euro-American capitalist methods resulted in the destruction of the environment, desertification, and other ecological disasters. 'Estamos llegando al final del tercer milenio sin patrimonio cultural propio y con un patrimonio natural con el que no sabemos que hacer, porque el recetario colonial es insuficiente o no sirve', [we have arrived at the end of the third millennium without our own cultural patrimony and with a native patrimony that we did not know we had, because the colonial prescription is insufficient or unworkable] Lumbreras argued (1990b: 27). Archaeology was thus one vehicle by which Peru could reclaim its appropriate patrimony.

Conclusion

The work of Luis Lumbreras is poorly recognized by many North American students, largely because since 1958 the 'Rowe-Lanning' stylistic periodization schema has become the dominant paradigm for North American Peruvianists. Lumbreras started out on a parallel track to many of North American students in the 1950s. Based on the conclusions of his studies of the Gálvez Durand collection from the Jauja-Huancayo Mantaro basin, it is possible to follow the course of some of his attempts to use this database to answer broader evolutionary and developmental questions. These were many of the same questions that his fellow students of Peruvian prehistory were asking. The replication of certain patterns of evidence first observed in the Gálvez Durand collection and then in other materials from the Junin sector of the Mantaro valley, seen in the late 1950s, seems to have led him to develop questions about wider and more general perspectives of archaeology, and provided another important part of the evolution of Lumbreras' most significant contributions to Peruvian prehistory. The view from Junín provides another magnifying glass through which to appreciate the wealth of his ideas.

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