Indigenous persistence in the face of imperialism: Andean case studies

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Abstract: A legacy of theories of culture change and assimilation is the assumption that the more intrusive the imperial social engineering policies, the more Indigenous cultures change. Instead, we argue that Indigenous cultural persistence can flourish despite imperial consolidation. We describe two ways that Indigenous identities are reinforced under imperial state consolidation. The first is top-down, where the empire codifies diverse identities that were fluid and not legible to the state. The second is bottom-up, where local Indigenous cultures pushed back against the rigid and divisive state-sponsored identity categories. We argue that because the bottom-up persistence of Indigenous identities is creative and fluid, material culture can change rapidly. We argue that this kind of persistence, not predicated on superficial material continuities but on core beliefs and praxis, deserves attention and analysis. We show how in the Andes, local Indigenous cultures were able to overcome top-down social engineering and persist in robust, creative ways. This creativity led to an Indigenous-led cosmopolitanism that spread Indigenous culture to even mestizos and poor Spaniards, as in the case of the formation of Morochuco identity in highland Peru. These new cosmopolitan identities based on traditional Indigenous lifeways would ultimately prove pivotal in winning independence for South America.

Introduction:

How do Indigenous communities navigate and subvert imperial rule to preserve their cultural autonomy? In this chapter, we address this question by showing that historical social landscapes inform both imperial rule and Indigenous resistance to it. Just as empires are inspired and bolstered by previous imperial ideologies and infrastructure, so too are Indigenous resistance strategies informed by historical beliefs, practices, and social landscapes. Indigenous communities often survive, subvert, and even topple empires. Likewise, culture change is multidirectional, with the cultures of the agents of empire being changed as much as the Indigenous subjects' cultures. While scholars have recognized that 'indices' of material culture change do not map onto the degree of assimilation, there is nevertheless an assumption that imperial power was more transformative than the agency of Indigenous communities.

This chapter explores these themes by focusing on the Inka and Spanish colonial empires in Peru (ca. 15th to 19th c.). We show that the ways that Native Andean local cultures changed through two empires could be seen as assimilation, but only if we think typologically with regards to identity, as imperial agents conceptualized identity. If we think about the contexts and meanings of the ways that Native Andean cultures changed, then the narrative becomes one of persistence and resistance. Specifically, we focus on the Indigenous peoples of highland Peru in Ayacucho and Cuzco. Ayacucho and Cuzco are appropriate case studies because they were areas of high state intervention in both the Inka and Spanish colonial periods. In the Spanish colonial period, they were also areas where Indigenous leadership and participation in rebellions were frequent and effective leading up to the independence of South America.

We show how even the most exploited Indigenous communities, those whom the Inka coercively removed from their original homelands, used cultural innovations grounded in traditional principles to push back against the material marginalization experienced in their new communities.This spirit of cultural innovation carried through to the Spanish colonial period and helped build a sense of community that could counter the socially divisive policies of colonial exploitation. For both the Inka and the Spanish colonial situations, cultural innovation took the form of unique ceramic styles and traditional ritual practices that incorporated the material culture of the empire.

Cuzco and Ayacucho were centers of Indigenous resistance in Spanish colonial Peru. We trace the genealogy of resistance against imperial exploitation and how they manifested in material culture. Our archaeological case studies for the Inka period are the communities of unfree laborers called mitmaquna and yanakuna, who were coercively removed from their homelands to serve state and royal interests. The mitmaqkuna community, called Yanawilka (Hu 2019), was located in the region of Ayacucho, near the former Inka provincial capital of Vilcas Huaman. The mitmaqkuna were a category of temporarily resettled labor colonists from among non-Inka ethnic groups. The Inka required them to relocate for state service and then they returned to their home provinces (*mitmaq* is a Quechua noun referring to colonists who are sent out in turns, while -*kuna* is a suffix denoting the plural). The yanakuna community called Cheqoq was located in the region of Cuzco, near the former Inka royal estate at Yucay and the Inka imperial capital of Cusco (Quave 2012). The yanakuna were similar to the mitmaqkuna except that their service was perpetual and their status inherited generationally once established (*yana* is often glossed as a servant in Quechua). For the Spanish colonial period, we focus on a community of textile laborers from Pomacocha (Hu 2016), whose ancestors were the mitmaqkuna at Yanawilka and other nearby communities. We also draw from historical accounts of innovative ritual practices that spanned both the regions of Ayacucho and Cuzco.

Theoretical perspectives on culture change in imperial and colonial situations

How does one identify cultural persistence in the archaeological and historical record? What counts as cultural discontinuity, and does cultural discontinuity imply successful assimilation or cultural destruction by colonial imperial powers? The archaeological and historical investigation of Indigenous persistence is hampered by three factors. First, a typological or segmented view of culture persists in popular and academic thinking, which favors colonial understandings of identity (Panich and Schneider 2019). Second, Indigenous resistance to the destruction of their culture often took forms that favored impermanence and mobility, leaving fewer traces in the historical and archaeological record than colonial projects of domination (Holland-Lulewicz et al. 2020). Third, the presence of the material culture of the dominant group is often interpreted as evidence for a lack of Indigenous resilience, even when it is not in reality (Sallum and Noelli 2020). Even when there are historical documents describing Indigenous resistance, they are filtered through the colonial gaze (Panich 2020, 15). If we take historical documents at face value, the colonized either assimilate or erase their own cultures. Yet, the strongest testament to the success of resistance strategies is the present-day persistence of vibrant Indigenous communities worldwide, who continue to resist sustained colonialism and imperialism (e.g., Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018; Panich 2020). We conceptualize cultural discontinuity as the permanent loss of traditional creative principles, not the discontinuity of certain material markers or subsistence strategies. Continuity does not mean stasis (Ghisleni 2018; Panich 2020, 13).

Material culture change can indicate a vibrant continuity of traditional cultural principles that adapt to changing circumstances. After all, the only cultures that do not change are dead ones (Miranda 2013, xiv; Panich 2020, 12). Here, we present a synthesis and reconceptualization of how cultures change in imperial and colonial contexts.

The theories of acculturation that dominated the social sciences until recently were rightfully critiqued for either ignoring or employing a superficial understanding of the role of power differentials in culture change (Cusick 1998, 137-142; Lightfoot 1995, 206-207; Singleton 1999, 4). Although proponents of acculturation theory did not explicitly argue that cultures of the dominant classes always disproportionately influence the cultures of the marginalized or subject classes, in practice this assumption was held more often than not (Howson 1990, 81-82). The dominating Manchu adopting the customs of conquered China is a notable counterpoint, for example (Bartel 1980, 18-19). Although theories of acculturation originated with scholarship on how North American Indigenous cultures change in response to European colonialism (Cusick 1998; Lightfoot 1995), many scholars studying ancient states and empires have adopted acculturation frameworks to explain how elites of subject groups emulate aspects of imperial culture to better distinguish themselves from the non-elite (e.g., Flammini 2010; Higginbotham 1996, 2000; Hodges 1989; Renfrew 1988).

Theories of creolization, ethnogenesis, and hybridity came to the fore beginning in the late 1980s (Deagan 1998; Hu 2013; Silliman 2015; Singleton 1999; VanValkenburgh 2013; Voss 2008, 2015; Weik 2014). These theories of culture change recognized the role that creativity and agency played in the formation of new identities in multicultural contexts (e.g., Lightfoot et al. 1998). Scholars adopting these frameworks show how cultural influence flowed in many directions and was deeply affected by historical context (e.g., Ghisleni 2018). In rejecting methods that index cultural change vis-à-vis quantification of material culture styles (e.g., Farnsworth 1989, Quimby and Spoehr 1951), scholars recognize the need for contextual analysis of artifacts to uncover past practices (Kelly 1997, 362-366; Mann 2008, 333; Singleton 1999, 4). Nevertheless, these practices are still slotted into discrete cultural units (Silliman 2005, Woolf 1997). Analytical units of "ethnic groups," "cultural logics," and "core values" categorize material culture and practices, which is problematic because it implies that cultural mixing is one of "pure" ingredients (Deagan 2013, Grahame 1998; Silliman 2015; Stein 2002).

Even when scholars "flip the script" and show that imperial cultures were just as influenced by subaltern cultures, the core assumption that cultures are discrete and segmented remains (Woolf 1997, 339-341). This segmentation of culture erases the complexity of political agency by making similar outcomes of culture change equal. For example, cultural change or persistence can both indicate active agendas of political resistance against the ruling classes, depending on the context. By operating on the level of analytical cultural units, these theories miss the heterogeneous political processes and strategies within each cultural unit and how these political strategies interact (Brather 2005, Woolf 2012). The politics of how social difference is created and maintained, especially in state contexts, are undertheorized in paradigms of creolization, ethnogenesis, and hybridity (though some scholars have applied entanglement theory to overcome this challenge, e.g., Norman i.p., Silliman 2016). While these theories recognize that creativity and agency play important roles in social and cultural change, they do not explain *how* such creativity and agency play out politically (Gardner 2013).

When outsiders impose a typological view of identity through the colonial and imperial legal system, they essentialize Indigenous identity. Unfortunately, these legal frameworks still persist and marginalize Indigenous peoples who are not considered "legitimate" according to outsiders' static view of Indigenous identity (Panich 2020). On the other hand, Indigenous and postcolonial epistemologies emphasize the creative vitality of Indigenous strategies of persistence under difficult colonial and imperial situations. The term "survivance" captures the bottom-up creative vitality of Indigenous strategies of persistence (Vizenor 1999, 2008). Recently, "survivance" has gained currency in archaeology, because it "pushes us to look for the ways that Indigenous people made pragmatic choices to resist, accommodate, or avoid various colonial impositions" (Panich 2020, 9). Furthermore, by focusing on the ongoing structures of colonialism as well as Indigenous social mobilization, survivance frameworks have broad contemporary significance (e.g., Gonzalez et al. 2006, Lightfoot and Gonzalez 2018). Indigenous epistemologies emphasize that history is not linear and that the present is embedded in the materiality of the past (Parfait-Dardar 2020; Smith 1999; Steeves 2015, 58-59; TallBear 2011). Persistence and resistance draw creatively from powerful traditional narratives and more often than not involve Indigenous cosmopolitanism (Hu 2017), such as the Taki Onqoy movement (Mumford 1998; Norman i.p.), the Tupac Amaru II rebellion (Walker 2014), the Pueblo Revolt (Liebmann 2012), and the Ghost Dance movement (Andersson 2008, Du Bois 2007).

Previously, theories of culture change based on a typological or segmentary view of culture were similar to colonial and imperial ideologies. In contrast, recent theoretical innovations in identity change and persistence have long been embodied in practice outside of academia. They have gained traction in academic venues mainly due to the participation of scholars and thinkers from diverse backgrounds and engagement with pluralistic communities and stakeholders (Atalay 2006, Cipolla et al. 2019, Colwell 2016, Kristensen and Davis 2015).

Cultural innovations in the face of Inka imperialism (15th-16th c.)

With little opportunity to make or shape their own prosperity, forcibly resettled groups under Inka imperialism resourcefully acquired the materials needed to engage in particular cultural practices that required prestige goods (Hu and Quave 2020). At both Yanawilka (mitmaqkuna community) and Cheqoq (yanakuna community), we find offering contexts demonstrating that mitmaqkuna and yanakuna meant to acquire more wealth, even within their domestic lives marked by asymmetrical gifting and unfair labor arrangements. Furtive acquisition of Inka imperial goods and prestige goods made these offering rituals possible.

The mitmaqkuna community at Yanawilka was only 5.2 kilometers from the important Inka provincial capital of Vilcas Huaman and comprised around sixty to seventy domestic structures. The domestic structure with the richest household assemblages (Y1) was also the only structure excavated that had Inka *urpu* nubbins underneath the foundation stones. The nubbins had wear and tear, indicating they were used for their intended function before being ritually deposited underneath the foundation stones. The inhabitants may have carried the nubbins from elsewhere, perhaps Inka trash middens, given that only the nubbin zones of those vessels were present in the ceramic assemblage. In addition to the nubbins, a non-Inka style miniature jar was also deposited in the floor and was oriented perfectly along the east-west axis (Figure 1a). The miniature jar was similar to other ritually deposited miniature jars in the Ayacucho region during the Late Horizon (e.g., Abraham 2010, 212). This structure appeared domestic, with evidence of

diverse activities such as eating, feasting, ritual, stone tool production, and cooking. Although the inhabitants of this structure utilized Inka material culture in their ritual offerings, they did so in a non-Inka way. The Inka narrow-mouth jar (*urpu*) represented the body of the Inka more than any other form (Bray 2018). This ritual interring of the Inka urpu nubbins was likely done in private without participation from agents of the Inka state, given the discarded and well-worn nature of what was interred.

Cheqoq, a yanakuna settlement on the Maras Plain some 20 km northwest of Cuzco, was associated with the royal lineage of the ruler Wayna Qhapaq (Quave 2012). At 22 ha, it is one of the largest domestic settlements outside the Inka capital city of Cuzco (Covey 2014, 155). The site consists of about 8 ha of imperial storage structures and 14 ha of domestic terraces with corrals and a ceramic production area. In one of the domestic complexes--Area Q--we recovered an offering dug into the floor 37 cm below an external wall facing a patio with multiple domestic structures around it. Thirty cm in diameter, the subfloor offering contained a complete, undecorated (Cuzco Buff) narrow-mouth jar (urpu/aríbalo); small fragments of burnt bone; ten small Spondylus fragments (one polished); charred coca seeds, quinoa/kiwicha, maize kernels, and Fabaceae seeds; and flakes of quartz in a matrix of soft, loose earth mixed with carbon and burnt earth (Figure 1c). The Inka jar was of a lower quality than the Cuzco-Inka sherds found at the site, with crooked handles and an incompletely polished surface. It was made of the slightly coarser paste among the two primary paste types found at Cheqoq and was poorly fired with visible fire clouding (Figure 1d). Spondylus shell in particular has been linked to fertility and water according to ethnohistoric studies of the Inka (Blower 2001; Salomon and Urioste 1991, 116).

Miniature Inka vessels were "typically linked to ritual and religious practices and associated with material wellbeing, prosperity, fertility, and ancestor worship" (Bray 2009, 120). Interring significant objects such as guinea pigs, camelid fetuses, stone, and ceramic figurines underneath foundations has been a widespread practice throughout the Andes as a way of bringing fertility to a household. Clandestine practices of ritual offerings of horseshoes have been observed in the Colonial period at Torata Alta, for example (Rice 2011, 502). By interring miniature representations of the Inka in the form of urpu jars or parts of them--in addition to including the fertility-associated Spondylus shell--the inhabitants of Cheqoq and Yanawilka may have intended to invoke the Inka's favor to secure future fertility. The incorporation of imperial elements into what is on the whole a local indigenous framework at Yanawilka and Cheqoq was not unique. For example, the community of Canchaje in Huarochirí engaged with similar ritual innovation to gain political agency and community cohesion in the Inka Empire, and those innovations survived the Inka empire into the Spanish colonial period (Hernández 2020).

Pottery type frequencies also lend some insight into the process of colonization under the Inkas. In the case of Yanawilka, the name of the ethnic group of the mitmaqkuna were "Condes," most likely referring to the Condes ethnic group that had their homeland in the region of Arequipa. None of the ceramic styles of the Arequipa homeland, however, matched those in Yanawilka. The pottery of Yanawilka most resembled the assemblage at Pulapuco, a settlement of the Lucana ethnic group. At Cheqoq, the overwhelming majority of decorated pottery was in the Inka imperial style at 80 percent (Hu and Quave 2020, Table 2), yet some of that may have resulted from the residents' proximity to the Inka imperial-style pottery workshop on site (Quave 2017).

There were also decorated ceramics that were stylistically unusual or unique, raising the possibility that the inhabitants of Yanawilka and Cheqoq, as newly created communities, created or were linked to communities producing novel non-Inka styles of ceramics. At Yanawilka, there were ceramic sherds that had a spackled texture and reddish or orange slip, with an incision that demarcated spackled and smooth surfaces (Figure 1b). At Cheqoq, where multi-ethnic retainer laborers lived, one might expect to find the creation of a shared identity. However, other than imperial pottery and Inka-related pottery, there was a minor proportion of Killke (early Inka/pre-imperial) pottery, but the next most common decorated category consisted of a mix of non-Inka, unidentifiable types (1 percent of decorated sherds). These types have not yet been linked to specific origin places of the yanakuna at Cheqoq, but they were heterogeneous in manufacture, paste, and exterior decoration (Figure 1e).

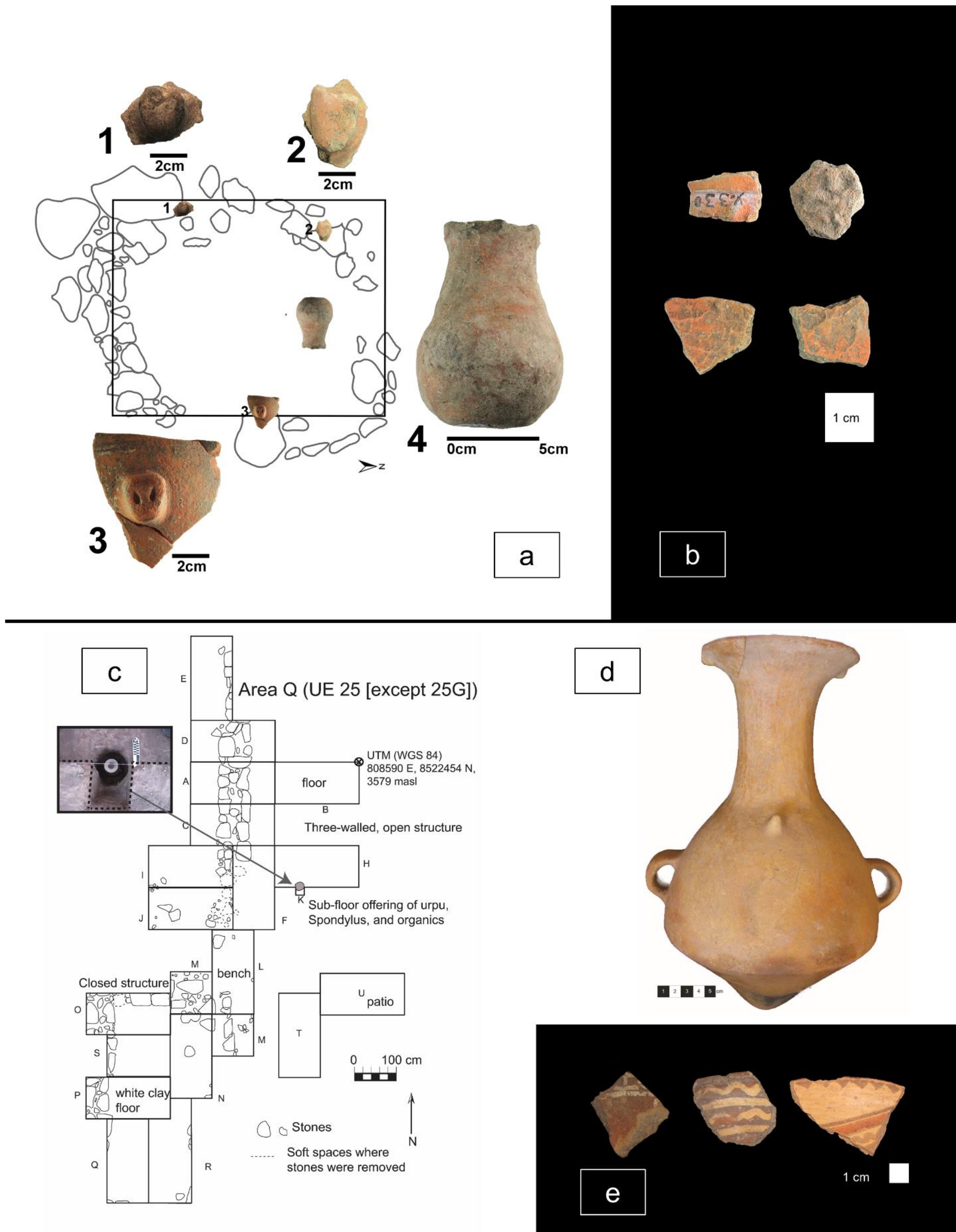

Figure 1. Excavated areas and materials from Yanawilka and Cheqoq. a) Structure Y1 at Yanawilka with the locations of Inka urpu nubbins (1, 2, 3) and miniature vessel (4). b) Unusual spackled sherds from Yanawilka. c) Area Q subfloor offering at Cheqoq with the location of an

unusual Inka urpu. d) Photograph of Inka urpu from Cheqoq Area Q offering. e) Unidentified decorated sherds from Cheqoq.

In prior interpretation of these sites of resettlement (Hu and Quave 2020), we have critiqued the notion that coerced resettlement into imperial production enclaves like these might have resulted in greater cultural unification (Rowe 1982). What we found instead was that there was uneven investment into the material culture of the dominant identity of the Inka. Some types of material culture were adopted, but not all. Even while the retainers at Cheqoq produced the pottery used by Inka nobles in pursuit of their imperial hegemony, the retainers also used an unexpectedly high proportion of non-Inka to Inka serving dishes in domestic spaces (Quave 2012, Fig. 8.9). The use of pottery likely originating in diverse places and societies at Cheqoq, coupled with the re-use of discarded or low-quality implements of Inka ritual reveal a cultural persistence that made use of what little could be had--the castoffs of the imperial workshop, the crumbs of the highly valued Spondylus--and forged a new version of cultural survival from the fragments.

The material culture of anti-government rebellions in late colonial Peru (1780-1824)

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Native Andean-led local revolts and widespread rebellions occurred with much higher frequency than any other period after the late sixteenth century (Langfur and Walker 2019, O'Phelan 2012, Sala i Vila 1996, Stern 1987). Despite excellent historical scholarship on this tumultuous and revolutionary period, the material culture of rebellion has not seen systematic study. In this section, we review the documentary evidence for the material culture that facilitated widespread Indigenous-led rebellions in the late colonial Andes. We show that Indigenous peoples used elements of Spanish material culture within indigenous epistemologies and praxis. Native Andean elites and nobility used elements from Inka and Spanish material culture that signified elite status: khipus, paintings of nobility, and writing. Native Andean commoners incorporated Spanish material culture into domestic rituals invoking success against enemies and household fertility and prosperity. Although many Native Andean commoners could not read or write, they nevertheless valued the materiality of rebellious political lampoons and proclamations and used them as badges of political kinship with other rebels.

The material culture that facilitated rebellion were largely media of communication, most of which were not legible to Spaniards. Khipus were Native Andean recording and communication devices made of knotted strings. Although some Native Andeans, especially the elite, were literate in Spanish-style writing, they continued to use khipus throughout the colonial period and well into the twentieth-century (Hyland 2016). Because the Spanish did not read or record with Native Andean-style khipus (though they did use a blended Spanish/Andean form called khipu boards to record numerical data), they were ideal communication methods for coordinating rebellion (Hyland 2017, Salomon 2004). On at least two occasions, messages facilitating rebellion were inscribed in khipus: 1750 and 1783 (Hyland 2017).

Writing on paper also played an important role in fomenting rebellion. Widely circulated political lampoons (or "pasquines") written in both Spanish and Quechua (the most commonly read languages) provided common points of reference that connected people of diverse backgrounds into wider political debates and urged rebellion (Armacanqui-Tipacti 1997; Richards

1997). Around the time of the Wars of Independence in South America (early 19th century), anti-royalist written proclamations were distributed to areas where the rebel armies planned to enter to win sympathy (Igue 2013). These proclamations often invoked both the Inka past and the international nature of the conflict. For example, Manuel Belgrano, the Argentinian rebel General, issued this proclamation to the villages of Peru in 1816, beckoning the utopian ideal of the Inka past:

> Already resolved, written, and sworn is our separation and Independence, ripped from the hands and power of those beasts. Our fathers of Congress have already resolved to revive and revindicate the blood of our Incas, so that they govern us. And I myself have heard from the fathers of our Country, together, with overflowing joy talk and resolve to make our King the sons of the Inkas (Cornejo 1963, 13, translation by authors).

Flores Galindo (1986) showed that invoking the idea of a shared utopian Inka past created unifying identities during times of general rebellion. Even among the creole Spanish (born in the Americas, often with Spanish ancestors who were also born in the Americas), claiming Inka ancestry was a way to differentiate themselves from their hated rivals, the Peninsular Spanish, or recent immigrants from Spain (McFarlane 1998, 321). During the Wars of Independence in Peru, the rebel general Bernardo O'Higgins proclaimed "Brothers and compatriots: The day of liberty for America has arrived, from the Mississippi to Cape Horn in a zone that almost occupies half of the world, proclaiming the independence of the New World" (CNSIP 1971, 198-199, translation by authors). By contextualizing local conflicts in the global revolutionary milieu, people found the rebel cause more appealing.

Colonial-era paintings of Inka nobility, drinking vessels with figurative scenes of Inkas called *keros*, and plays and costumes commemorating the Inkas were all proscribed after the Tupac Amaru II general rebellion in 1781, the largest indigenous-led rebellion in the Americas in history (Walker 2014, Stavig and Schmidt 2008). The figurative imagery on the keros and the attendant ritual practices were seen as idolatrous by the Spaniards (Curley et al. 2020; Howe et al. 2018). The ruling Spaniards feared the role these categories of material culture played in bolstering Inka-inspired millenarianism, even though they were equally "Spanish" in form and function (Martínez et al. 2016).

Everyday ritual paraphernalia also showed a mix of Native Andean and Spanish elements, but employed in fundamentally Native Andean ritual practices. During the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, local leaders sprang up in support of the Cusqueño leader Tupac Amaru II and viewed him as the legitimate Inka who will once again rule the Andes. In one such case, a family consisting of Pablo Chalco, Petrona Canchari (Chalco's wife), and Maria Sisa (Chalco's mother) were effective local leaders mobilizing people in support of Tupac Amaru II in the region of Ayacucho. According to witnesses, Pablo Chalco commanded authority among his supporters due to his family's ability to become wealthy through "idolatry" and "witchcraft." For example, he was accused of thanking the mountains using coca leaves instead of the Christian God for healing sick livestock. Petrona Canchari and Maria Sisa were accused of being witches who used various items in their rituals to increase the numbers of their livestock and to kill enemies. A yellow bag with ritual paraphernalia was confiscated from their house and included: sea shells, coca, bread, sweets (*chancaca*), chili pepper, ashes, "various small stones in diverse figures, ground chuño, pigs, young corn cobs, gold dust, rosary beads, knucklebone, *lipe* rock, bird excrement, camelid grease,

a comb, and many other rubbish…as well as a bit of grass from the *puna* in round figures, each tied with belts of different colors, and a black stone made of volcanic rock shaped like a bone, which she said was of the Inka" (Hu 2016, 295). The mix of Native Andean elements (sea shells, coca, ground chuño, young corn cobs, knucklebone, chili pepper, *lipe* rock, bird excrement, camelid grease, *puna* grass, and extraordinarily shaped stones) and Spanish elements (pigs and rosary beads). The sea shells, coca, small stones, grease, and young corn cobs were integral parts of domestic ritual all over the Andes for thousands of years to the present, and the rosary beads show how incorporative of Spanish elements these ritual practices were. The ritual paraphernalia were instrumental in creating legitimacy for millenarian movements, giving ordinary people concrete examples of fertility and power against Spanish-imposed exploitative governance.

The incorporative material culture that bolstered the idea of an Inka-led utopia helped people of diverse backgrounds--not just Native Andeans but also poor Spaniards, mestizos (people of Native Andean and European ancestry), and people of African descent--see themselves as part of the same political project. When the Spaniards first arrived in the Andes in the 16th century, the many ethnic groups that had allied with the Spaniards because they resented Inka rule were mainly responsible for the defeat of the Inka (Espinoza Soriano 1971). More than two centuries later, many of the descendants of those groups who had fought against the Inka were invoking just Inka rule to rebel against the Spanish. The incorporation of Spanish elements into indigenous millenarian material culture contributed to a powerful overarching "indigenous" consciousness that did not exist when the Inka were originally defeated in the 16th century.

Given material culture's important role in Indigenous-led rebellion, we should understand how material culture reflected and reinforced cultural affinity and political unity in a socially fragmented and competitive world. Historical documents give us glimpses into the more spectacular and obvious examples of rebellious material culture, but archaeology can show us the more quotidian aspects of how this incorporative and cosmopolitan material culture evolved. Historical documents skew toward the elites, but archaeology can access the material world of the common folk, who made up the vast majority of the participants and ad-hoc leaders in these general rebellions. Some of these common folk forged rebellious identities such as the Morochucos. The Morochucos were a collection of Native Andeans, mestizos, and poor Spaniards in the region of Ayacucho who spoke primarily the Quechua indigenous language and shared kinship ties and cultural practices from both Andean and European roots. This identity was formed in extensive economic networks of the obrajes and estancias (ranches) of the region of Ayacucho in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Aguirre 2017; Igue 2013). The Morochucos were effective rebels who played a pivotal role in winning the Wars of Independence in South America. In the next section, we examine how the formation of Morochuco identity is seen through material culture.

The community of Pomacocha and Indigenous persistence and innovation in material culture (17th-18th c.)

Our archaeology case study is the community of Pomacocha. Yanawilka, the mitmaqkuna community discussed earlier, was within the colonial limits of the community of Pomacocha. During the Spanish colonial period, the community of Pomacocha was an hacienda and obraje. An hacienda is an agricultural estate that has plantations and pastoral lands. An obraje is a workshop, usually for making textiles, and can employ anywhere from tens to thousands of people.

Pomacocha was an hacienda owned by a mestizo family in the 16th and the first part of the 17th century until the nuns of Santa Clara of the city of Huamanga maneuvered to usurp the lands. The nuns of Santa Clara built an obraje on the lands they usurped in 1681 and the Native Andeans who were living on the lands were employed to work there. At first, the workers were exclusively Native Andeans from the Conde ethnic group, but as the 18th century progressed, the workers became increasingly diverse: mestizos, poor Spaniards, and people from other ethnic groups and provinces (Hu 2016).

Obrajes were exploitative work places where debt slavery and other forms of coercion kept the workers in place (Salas 1998). The Spanish administrators in obrajes employed divisive social policies to control the working populace by putting mestizos, people of African descent, and poor Spaniards in charge of the Native Andean workers and their physical punishment. Nevertheless, obrajes were also socially dynamic spaces where workers of diverse backgrounds interacted and innovated new identities and material culture, creating a sense of community despite the top-down pressures stoking inter-caste animosity. The innovative material culture reflected a convergence of practices and manufacturing techniques from different social backgrounds. Eventually, these cultural practices made up the milieu that defined a new rebellious identity in the Ayacucho region: the Morochucos. Pomacocha became a Morochuco stronghold in the Wars of Independence. The excavations at Pomacocha reveal at least two examples of the material manifestations of the formation of the Morochuco identity.

The first example was half a pig's jawbone that was found intentionally embedded in a paved stone floor of the probable jail cell for men (Figure 2a, 2b). According to archival descriptions of the obraje of Pomacocha, there were two jail cells, one for men and one for women. The jail cell for men housed prisoners who were convicted of idolatry. They were described as "bruxos" or "shamans" (Hu 2016, 221). While we cannot be certain that the pig jawbone was part of a ritual, we cannot rule out the possibility that it was, given that the jail cell was populated by Native Andean shamans. Embedding animals or parts of animals into the floor or foundations of buildings is a common practice throughout the Andes and has been for thousands of years. We see a parallel between the pig jawbone, an animal of Eurasian origin, and the Inka urpu nubbins that were placed under the foundation and wall stones of Yanawilka. We are unsure of the purpose of the intentional embedding of the pig jawbone into the floor of the jail cell, but it might have pertained to increasing the available food for the prisoners and workers. Generally, the things people used in these rituals were related to the things they wanted to increase. In this case, it would be more pigs. The workers raised pigs within the walls of the obraje along with guinea pigs, cows, and chickens. Asking the shamans to increase the number of pigs would have meant more food for everyone, as food scarcity was an ever-present problem for workers in obrajes. Under the rule of certain administrators, the prisoners were allowed to mingle with the normal working populace during the daytime, only returning to their cells at night. The prisoners were from different provinces and ethnic groups (Hu 2016, 221). The co-mingling would have contributed to a sense of community and ritual cosmopolitanism among the workers of the obraje, who generally lived inside the walls of the compound.

The second kind of material culture innovation in the obraje of Pomacocha was the use of Spanish tile manufacturing techniques to make a traditional style of modeled pottery. In a trash midden dating to the early 18th century, a fragment of a ceramic vessel was found (Figure 2c, 2d). The surface treatment and paste was similar to the numerous roof tiles found during excavations

inside the obraje. The roof tiles were produced in the same community, probably within the walls of the obraje. The form of the ceramic piece, however, resembled Late Intermediate Period (LIP, 1100-1440 CE) modeled ceramics of South-central Peru, with its appliqued decorations and incisions. Despite its resemblance to LIP ceramics, the style was still unique and not seen in published literature. The vessel that the ceramic piece was attached to is also a mystery. It appears that the piece may have been one of the feet of a serving vessel, judging by the wear on the bottom and its form (Figure 2e, 2f). If it was indeed one of the feet of a serving vessel, this type of decorated feet is unprecedented in Peruvian archaeology. The ceramic piece shows elements of traditional stylistic elements from the Late Intermediate Period as well as innovative elements not seen elsewhere. The mix of traditional and new elements in both style and manufacture reflected the cultural dynamism of the obraje.

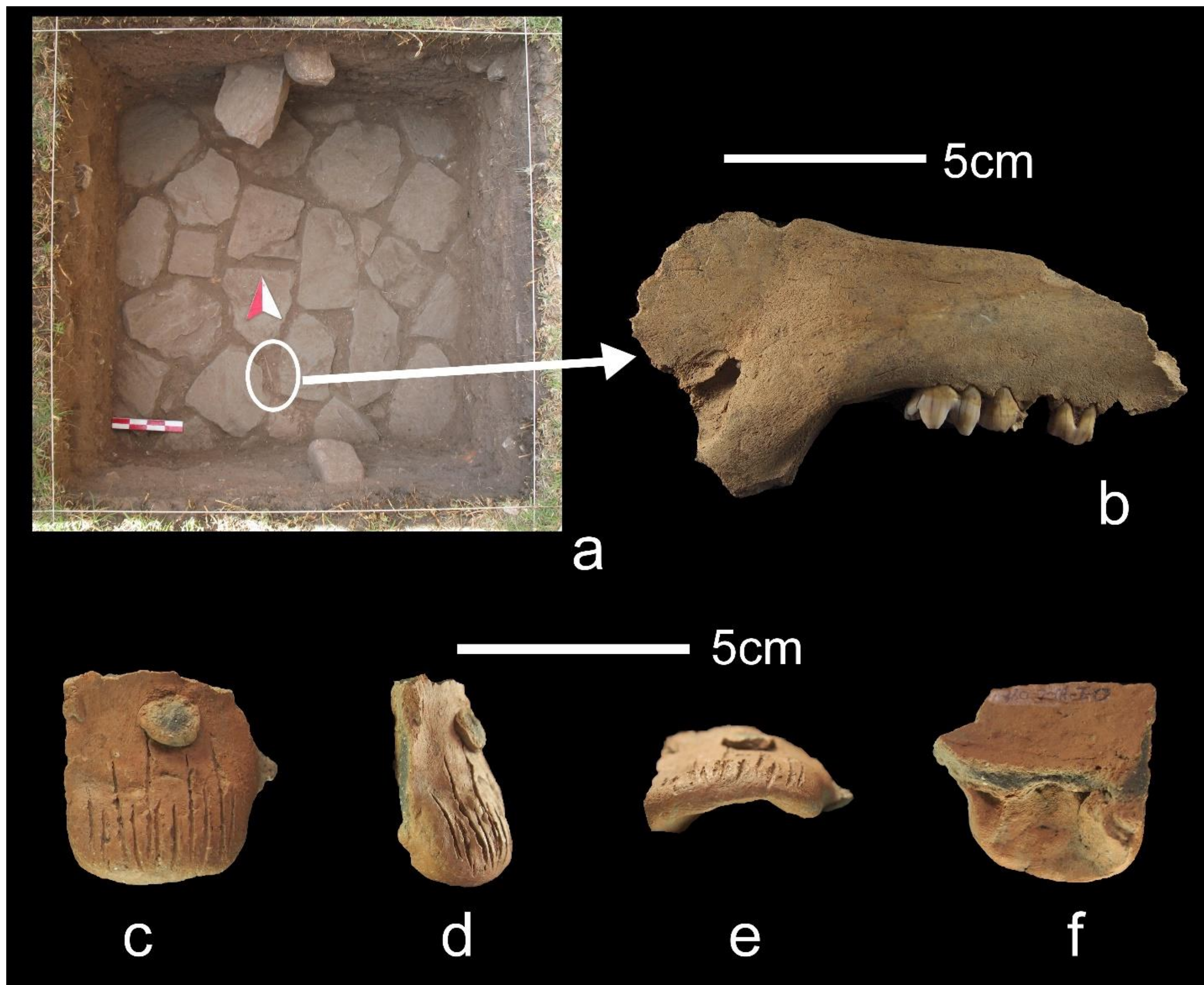

Figure 2. Artifacts recovered from excavations in the obraje of Pomacocha. a) Location of the pig jaw embedded in the stone floor of the probable jail cell for men. b) Pig jaw found embedded with the teeth pointing downward. c) Modeled and incised ceramic piece found in a trash midden. d) Side view of the ceramic piece. e) Bottom view of the ceramic piece showing wear. f) Back view of the ceramic piece showing it was probably originally attached to a serving vessel.

Discussion and conclusions: Cultural persistence as incorporation of new elements, not stasis

In this analysis we emphasized the processes that lead to the identified material signatures of persistence, as opposed to focusing on the material outcomes themselves. By theorizing this work through the lens of Indigenous-led cosmopolitanism, we lend fresh insight into the directionality and character of culture change in a colonial setting. We challenged the assumption that in imperial contexts, the incorporation of imperial material culture by local communities is a sign of imperial imposition. Instead, it can be a manifestation of cultural persistence. The examples we highlighted were the innovative and incorporative ritual practices and ceramic styles and manufacturing techniques of local Indigenous communities that were profoundly affected by imperialism. The innovations were not a sign of imperial imposition, but of local agency in pushing back against imperial exploitation. Counterintuitively, in the Spanish colonial period, the incorporation of new imperial elements into traditional forms and styles of material culture actually made the Native Andean framework more powerful, speaking to a wider range of people and ultimately mounting a more successful resistance against imperial power. In contrast to the Pueblo Revolt of the late 17th century where Spanish elements were thoroughly rejected and destroyed (Liebmann 2012), the Andean case studies we presented show how cultural persistence and resistance can also entail "indigenizing" the material culture of the imperialists. The diversity of responses to the material culture of the imperialists in millenarian movements show the fundamental creativity of Indigenous peoples rejecting exploitation.

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