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TELLING STORIES, PRODUCING THE NATION: ARCHAEOLOGY'S ROLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTEMPORARY ECUADOR

by

O. Hugo Benavides

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1999

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April 28, 1999 — Chair of Examining Committee

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The City University of New York

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Abstract

TELLING STORIES, PRODUCING THE NATION:
ARCHAEOLOGY'S ROLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION
OF CONTEMPORARY ECUADOR

by

O. Hugo Benavides

Adviser: Professor Leith Mullings

The main objective of this dissertation is to understand the role of archeology in the maintenance and functioning of the Ecuadorian nation-state. The premise of this study is that the archaeological past is a contested terrain in which different actors compete to embody a national history that is closely linked with the heterogeneous national communities that conform the Ecuadorian nation-state. The field work component of the research was carried out at the archaeological site of Cochasquí and Quito. The field research assessed how the archaeological past is socially reconstructed and articulated into hegemonic national histories. The ultimate purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between national history and hegemony by

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determining how archaeology contributes to the historical legitimization of the nation-state and the construction of a national heritage.

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This dissertation is dedicated to

the memory of:

Hernan J. Vidal

(1957-1998)

and

Prof. Eric R. Wolf

(1923-1999)

two "geniuses in residence" at the Graduate Center

whose lives dramatically enriched mine.

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PREFACE

> And who, at the same time, as a human being, is far freer in a strange land than he has ever been at home. Home! The very word begins to have a despairing and diabolical ring.
>
> James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*

I entered this debate by having lived a third of my life in Ecuador and the rest of it as an Ecuadorian in New York City (i.e., what has been theatrically referred to as a Guayaco en Hollywood). I was born in Guayaquil, Ecuador, 30 years ago and in little over a year after that I was brought to live in the third largest Ecuadorian city in the world, New York City. Since then I have been caught, transfixed, condemned, and forced to live in two worlds, that of mi pueblo, which was also that of my past, and that of el barrio, which was that of my immigrant group in a foreign setting, and that of my daily reality, the present (Martinez 1992; Anzaldúa 1987).

Out of this contradiction came many things including this dissertation, which in itself is a result of this continuous pull between two separate realities, very much in the Castañedean sense (Castañeda 1968 and 1971). Always living in the shadow of a separate world, never being complete, but always reaching to be in that other place which

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would make you whole, only to find that when you reached it you somehow had lost what you had initially had. Out of this contradiction also came my interest in anthropology, where I found a group (although less numerous than I had initially hoped) of misplaced people, caught in the bridge between two or more amorphous and ever changing mainlands (Eric Wolf, personal communication). It was out of this existential contradiction that I decided to return to Ecuador, literally to my past, for my dissertation fieldwork. It was not so much a search for my roots as it was a search for my own existence, as expressed in the following poem:

There is another song,
about a man whose life, like the river
continually runs away from him:
"Soy como el agua del rio,
todo se me va en correr."
Perhaps my life ran counter to my shadow.
At times my shadow fled from me.
Strange how you look around one day
and you're home again, for a while,
never more than a while, and you realize
that somehow you made your way to the sea
and that you had come home to understand
how your life ran and the river runs.
(Quintana 1995: 151).

To say my fieldwork (or "home"work, see Sawalha n.d.) was ridden with anxiety and anguish, would actually be an understatement. There were times in the field when I thought I would not make it, when my own past was lost with the new reality in which I was immersed. Every single certainty that I had painstakingly constructed in my own life was challenged

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and questioned by completely opposite ones. And unlike what I would expect, these new found certainties were seemingly working perfectly, giving nobody but me, at least in appearance, any kind of hardship. My own frame of reference had vanished completely, not leaving a single trace that I could hold on to. Steadily my own sense of being -- all my assurance soon gave way -- leaving me stranded in what became a foreign land, with no idea of how to act, what I was feeling, or what reality was any longer. In many ways it was like reenacting my own future death (see Dorfman 1998 for a similar description during the U.S.-backed military occupation of Chile).

But this is par for the course. I had fulfilled yet another rite of passage in my anthropological training, that of fieldwork. I had immersed myself in another culture. I had been questioned at the very core of all my cultural assumptions and through this brazen vantage point -- trial through fire, if you will -- had gained a critical understanding of cultural constructions. My fieldwork had changed me, forced me to give up who I was, and had allowed me to understand cultural differences in a more essential manner. Therefore culture shock was a given, not surprising and definitely nothing to write "home" about. But write I did, as much as I could, to my partner and friends, but also in my

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journal. I was desperately trying to hold onto whatever was me that was so rapidly being destroyed and annihilated, because the truth of the matter was that I thought I was home. Or at least I was supposed to be.

I would agree that in many ways these were the travails of fieldwork, which in no way denies the wealth of the experience. Fieldwork is an experience that is insightful to explore, problematize and acknowledge as a rich source of understanding and wisdom about the human condition (Fortier 1996; Rabinow 1977 and 1988; Dwyer 1988; Said 1989; Rosaldo 1986). Fieldwork is not simply a means to an end but rather, it provides important truths about the research itself. The motivations, empathy, existential shifts, reactions and transformations that result from fieldwork are essential elements of the investigation process, elements that could be used as windows to understand the reality that one is seeing and trying to recreate.

In this vein, I think my experience was very much that of the indigenous anthropologist who returns home (Fahim 1982; Jones 1970; Hymes 1974; Nayarran 1993; Bennoune 1985; and Morsy 1988). I returned home with a whole set of methodological tools, only to find out that they did not work as they should, or more importantly, that they did not give me the status they gave others. I saw many foreign colleagues use

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these same tools to claim authority, while I only received contempt, or at best, disbelief. It was an experience which was harsher than I ever could have imagined and which echoed in me Wilde's description of his own feelings during his imprisonment at Reading Gaol:

> But we who live in prison, and in whose lives there is no event but sorrow, have to measure time by throbs of pain, and the record of bitter moments. We have nothing else to think of. Suffering-curious as it may sound to you - is the means by which we exist, because it is the only means by which we become conscious of existing; and the remembrance of suffering in the past is necessary to us as the warrant, the evidence, of our continued identity. Between myself and the memory of joy lies a gulf no less deep than that between myself and joy in its actuality (Wilde 1964: 71).

And just as for Wilde, my deep pain and sorrow also became a source of enlightenment:

> One of the many lessons that one learns in prison is that things are what they are, and will be what they will be. ... Whatever is realised is right (Wilde 1964: 102 and 122).

Therefore, even though I thought I had learned enough about social differences and their construction both in Ecuador and the United States, I received yet another lesson, this time more global, and more painfully immediate to my own sense of being. Once again I learned the price one pays for being different and for acknowledging that difference. There was

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nothing wrong with what I was doing; the main problem was that I, whom they recognized as an Ecuadorian from the wrong class and race wanted to do research. I was discriminated against for not fitting most of my compatriots' ideas of how I should look and behave.

My fieldwork experience made me rethink my own identity and desire to call Ecuador my home. I had left home, both my parents' and the country, years ago to study abroad. And on my return I was reminded of why I had left it in the first place or why it could only be a home in the past. As I was leaving Ecuador once again to return to a new found home, I kept thinking of James Baldwin's work (1988a, 1988b and 1984) and how important it was for him to go to "another country", where one can escape the initial constraints that tie us, even though we may find new ones (see also Leeming 1994). It must be another country, because staying home in those instances will only mean death. It could be a physical death through suicide or at the hands of the powers that be (imprisonment, mental hospital, etc.), or the one Baldwin (1984) feared the most, an emotional one, a comatose state of sorts, which would only allow you to reproduce the imposed exploited image of yourself (Rhys 1982; see Kincaid 1997 for a similar discussion of issues surrounding her family and country of origin, Antigua).

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It is precisely this questioning of the role imposed for Latinos that has led me to where I am today. This is an area that has also slowly become a rich source of intellectual inquiry, see for example Anzaldúa 1987; Martinez 1992 and 1998; Rodriguez 1992. All of these works deal with the aftermath of never being fully who you are culturally, "of yearn(ing) for the other even when I am with the other: nowhere (to) feel complete." (Martinez 1992: 4). There is also an emerging literary concern of this same reality in the works of many Latino authors such as Ana Castillo (1986; 1996), Julia Alvarez (1992), Cristina García (1992), Junot Díaz (1997), and Jaime Manrique (1992 and 1997). As well as the concern of John Leguizamo's (e.g., Mambo Mouth, Spicorama, and his recent Broadway hit Freak), Coco Fusco's (1994 and 1995) and Guillermo Gomez-Peña's (1991; 1994 and 1996) performance art, which has incorporated the political/artistic aspect of this alienation or hyphenation of our latinized and immigrant bodies (see Taylor 1998; and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

This same reality has been addressed by Canclini's (1992) concept of the hybrid (lo híbrido). The híbrido expresses a reality of multiple ones, where there is no longer a single underlying truth, but a multiplicity of truths that have been produced at different moments and respond coherently

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to discrete and overlapping situations. However, this hybridity is not the same throughout the continent or even among groups from the same nation. Rather, it describes is rather a blend of different traditions to create a new reality. The constant presence of the south in the north creates a Latino, Chicano, and Nuyorican identity. These identities themselves have then been able to offer cultural artifacts like salsa rhythms and soap operas (telenovelas) to the rest of the continent and the world, including their home countries. There is a dynamic reappropriation of symbols throughout the continent, very different from that expressed in el mestizaje, but in many ways not completely independent of it. El mestizaje (see discussion in Chapter 1), still largely misunderstood and conveniently mystified is but the initial hybrid nature on which a Latino identity successfully wobbles.

However, it is this identity politics that makes it viable to be an exotic Latin American, that is, for it to be culturally very fashionable in academic and other circles to be Latino (Franco 1991; Gomez-Peña 1994). We now have magazines and journals that produce Latinoness, such as Latin American Antiquity, Latin Inches, Latina, etc. These media support our identity and teach us about ourselves, even how to behave like ourselves; they also allow the non-other to learn

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about, admire and/or gaze at us. This is a result of many different forces -- the exoticization of culture by a transnational market; a politically revisionist policy of anglocentric circles; the appearance of the first generation of Latino immigrants in the white collar job market; the intimate frustration about the collapse of leftist utopias in Latin America; and the increasing pauperization of Latin American communities.

However, these forces and many others have provoked a series of social conditions that makes it possible for Latin Americans to translate their identity and struggle into a fruitful Latino cultural experience. Yet at the same time the production of Latinoness is linked to an ever growing mechanisms of excluding immigrants (e.g., Proposition 187 in California) from this nation's mainstream. In this sense, the production of Latinoness and the fear of Latinos becoming the second largest ethnic group in the U.S. after whites are opposite sides of the same coin.

Many of these concerns are present in the unequal and uneven pull between north and south experienced by Latinos. What is the nature of this hybrid Latino identity? How are so many essential contradictions maintained without breaking the Latin body at its seams? And finally, how do these essential contradictions inform traditional definitions of the nation,

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la patria (the country, patriotically speaking) and el pueblo (the people)?

These are some of the more personal concerns that have triggered this dissertation, and my questioning of Ecuadorian people in general. It is also important to state that these are the same issues that have caused me many, maybe too many, sleepless nights.

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

> (The nation) had seduced everyone and everything, even History herself.
>
> Marguerite Yourcenar, *Memoirs of Hadrian*

Recent research documents the central place of history in the construction of nationalism and the nation-state (Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 1983; Friedman 1992; Herzfeld 1982 and 1987; Hill 1988 and 1992; Foster 1990; Fox 1990; Handler 1988; Lowenthal 1985). No nation can endure without a national history that legitimizes its existence (Renan 1990 [1882]). The past therefore readily becomes a contested landscape through which different actors compete for authority, representation and power (Bond and Gilliam 1994). Archaeology is an important element in this project because it contributes the material needed to construct these histories (Rowlands 1994). However, the specific role of archaeology in the modern nation-state has received little critical analysis.

This dissertation addresses the complex relationship between the archaeological past and the nation-state in the historical production of contemporary Ecuador. It explores how the archaeological past informs the present and is transformed into authoritative national histories that are

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articulated by a series of identity components which vie for a constant hegemonic state project in the making. In researching the multiple narratives of the archaeological past, this dissertation ultimately questions the notion of historical truth per se and rather, points to the multi-layered contexts in which all historical versions are, and must, always be produced.

This research is particularly relevant in the context of the contemporary Ecuadorian nation-state. Ecuador exhibits a pervasive representation of archaeological images in its currency, state institutions, political rhetoric, public policy, literature, music and general national discourse (Muratorio 1994a and b; El Comercio 1995). These archaeological representations, for example, have played a crucial role in Ecuador's historical claims in the territorial dispute it maintains with Peru (El Comercio 1995). These representations are also vital for the present invention of a national white/mestizo identity that strives to maintain its hegemony over the Indian population and the nation at large (Crain 1990). This dissertation addresses these issues by assessing the role of archaeology in the invention of an Ecuadorian national heritage and identity.

The study is premised on the proposition that the archaeological past is a contested terrain in which different actors compete to embody national histories that

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contribute to the operationalization of the nation-state. In this dissertation I argue that historical invention is an essential enterprise, not only for the nation-state itself, but for all national movements that are contesting political authority and power. Furthermore, I argue that contesting histories are not detrimental but rather, essential for the consolidation of any national movement and the nation-state.

The research included an ethnographic study of an archaeological site, and examined how the site, and other national archaeological narratives, are represented and provide differing constitutive meanings for the maintenance of the nation-state. The project. which consisted of two segments, explored the manner in which archaeological knowledge is produced and articulated into national histories.

The first phase entailed a detailed analysis of the site of Cochasquí in order to understand the processes involved in the social construction of archaeological data. It explored how the archaeological past is nationally constructed from the empirical evidence of Cochasquí, a monumental pre-Inca site just north of Quito. The second part of the research consisted of an analysis of the manner in which archaeological evidence is articulated to the national community and used to invent hegemonic histories. This second phase of the research explores how national

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histories are played out in a broader stage and the effect they have on the construction of the Ecuadorian nation-state. For this endeavor three (e.g., legitimizing, contesting, and multi-vocal) versions of the national past were analyzed.

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CHAPTER 1:
THEORETICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

> To everyone who looks back on his past life it presents itself rather through the beautifying glass of fancy, than in the faithful mirror of memory; and this is more particularly the case the further this retrospection penetrates into the past. Among nations, the same feelings prevail. They also draw a picture of their infancy in glittering colors. The fewer the traditions they have, the more they embellish them; the less trustworthy the traditions are, the more they sparkel in the brilliancy which fancy has lent them, the more the vain-glory of the people will continue to cherish, to ennoble and diffuse them from generation to generation, through succeeding ages. Man's ambition is two-fold: he will not only live in the minds of posterity; he will have also lived in ages long gone by. He looks not only forward but backwards also; and no people on earth is indifferent to the fancied honor of being able to trace its origin to the gods, and of being ruled by an ancient race.
>
> (Benjamin Thorpe, 1851, *Northern Mythology*)

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

This dissertation is primarily concerned with one broad theoretical issue: how does the archaeological past contribute to the operationalization of the nation-state. More specifically, the dissertation's contribution lies in understanding the production of national histories which participate and are formulated in a hegemonic structure that vies to support the contemporary nation-state: that is, how archaeological knowledge is produced, represented and

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articulated with the different discourses implicit in the nation-state's agenda. From this broader problematic derive three issues that are directly relevant to the research.

I. The Cultural Production of the Past

The first issue is the particular role that archaeological knowledge and evidence play in the nation-building process. In recent years studies have addressed this question from the standpoint of cultural representations in exhibitions and museums (Haraway 1989; Stocking 1985; Clifford 1988 and 1992; Price and Price 1995; Handler and Gable 1997; Gable et al. 1992; Young 1995). These studies examine the issue of power, authority and authenticity in the display of cultural artifacts. This dissertation addresses similar points by examining the site of Cochasquí. Through the analysis of official and local perceptions at Cochasquí we can understand how the past, is constituted from the archeological evidence and, elaborated to support the varied interests of the individuals and communities involved. Some recent work has addressed archaeological research explicitly (Bender 1998; Silberman 1982 and 1989; Patterson 1989; Peterson 1995; Morse 1994; Wilk 1985; Harke 1998; Beach 1998; Oyuela-Caycedo 1994). Bender's (1998) work at Stonehenge, England, and Silberman's (1982 and 1989) work in Israel highlight the close

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relationship of archaeology and nationalism in states that openly recognize the value of archaeology in legitimizing its religious, territorial and political claims. This dissertation addresses the more common situation in which the state is not necessarily directly involved in archaeological research. This analysis is directed towards understanding the subtler forms in which archaeology contributes to the historical legitimization and functioning of the nation-state.

II. The Nation-State and Hegemonic Histories

The second and much larger issue is the problematic articulation of hegemony in the construction of nationalism and national histories. Nationalism has been the object of research since it was recognized and analyzed in the 19th century (Renan 1990 [1882]). Since then nationalism has been a continuing object of scholarly inquiry in social research. The approaches used in researching nationalism have tended to be largely influenced by the political trends of the period (Bhabha 1990).

Since the 1980's there has been a renewed interest in nationalism in the social sciences (Hobsbawm 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Gellner 1983; Smith 1983 and 1987), including Anderson's (1983) influential text, The Imagined Community. Since then we have seen a series of texts engaging this work

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(e.g., Fox 1990; Malkki 1995; Lomnitz-Adler 1992) and the publication of the 1991 edition in which Anderson addresses many of the concerns raised by various scholars. Although a political scientist, Anderson imbued the study of the nation with an anthropological understanding. For Anderson the nation, as all other social phenomena, does not have an intrinsic reality. The nation is imagined, similar to the way in which our kinship ties or gender roles are "imagined." It is the fact that this imagined reality seems natural and fixed that is at issue. The exploration of the form that imagining takes then becomes the main question to be pursued.

With this original proposal, Anderson was able to shift the discussion on nationalism to a more analytic level which still begged for an interpretive model to explain its construction. Anderson proposed one himself in which the elite, mainly through the print media and educational institutions, were the most influential and viable agents in nation-building. According to Anderson it was the ruling elite's political project that allowed the nation to come into existence. Using Italy and other European nations as examples, he concluded that the idea of the nation is, and must be, present before there is a politically constituted nation-state (Anderson 1983).

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One interesting aspect of Anderson's work was its connection with Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony. It allowed people to understand that national histories were not only necessarily self-deceiving but also the backbone of every nation-state. Hegemonic national histories are constructed in such a way as to make them seem the rightful and natural ones. Sustained by the state, these national histories take on myth-like qualities that secure their atemporality and therefore allow for their adaptation to the changing conditions of the nation. In this sense history becomes a mechanism for suppressing time which supports certain groups' authority over others and strives to neutralize other possible versions of the past (Herzfeld 1987; see Fabian 1983).

Foucault's (1990) work outlines the manner in which these authoritative histories, far from being simply monolithic, manage to incorporate many counter-hegemonic descriptions and inherent internal contradictions. Foucault's work on the different social discourses of sexuality (1990), medicine (1994), science (1972), madness (1988), and prisons (1995) construct a much more dynamic understanding of hegemony and of its actual construction and coming into place. He moves us away from a simple understanding of authoritative discourses and rather informs them with a much more nuanced array of players and characters.

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Although Foucault's analysis suffers from a eurocentric focus (see Stoler 1996), it also serves to demonstrate that an authoritative discourse is never merely the creation of the ruling elite. This is also a central idea in Asad's (1985) work, in which he argues that for a hegemonic discourse to be successful the ruling elite as well as the rest of the population must be convinced of its reality. This conception implies that none of the groups involved, including the elite, could conceive it as a simple plan for domination. Both of these authors seem to question and complicate Anderson's (1983) model of an elite that relies on a hegemonic media and information apparatus for inventing an imaginary state of cohesion and belonging. At the same time, the political reality of present-day national struggles, e.g., Eastern Europe, Chiapas, etc., and the difficulty of any simple dismantling of national discourses either by isolated individuals or large-scale social movements (Indian movements), seems to validate Foucault and Asad's arguments.

This has led to more recent theoretical reworking of the very concept of hegemony by many social theorists (Popular Memory Group 1982; Scott 1985; Corrigan and Sayer 1985; Stephen 1989; Alonso 1988; Silverblatt 1988; Bommes and Wright 1982; Virginia Dominguez 1986; Wright 1985), including a significant group of historians concerned with Mexico's past

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(Joseph and Nugent 1994). For this group of scholars, the power of hegemony can no longer be understood exclusively as ideological control but more specifically it is expressed in its capacity to constitute itself as a regulatory system supported by contrasting state formation processes. In this sense hegemony is not a finished ideological product, but rather it is a constant struggle for domination, a dynamic nation-state project in the making. Hegemony works because it is not one thing but rather a multiple set of realities with different meanings that can adapt to both the times and people that construct and are immersed in it. In this manner it incorporates everything around it, including the analytical work done to understand it (Sayer 1994; Foucault 1980; Roseberry 1994; Bommes and Wright 1982).

The application of this analytic model (Joseph and Nugent 1994) to Mexico's past immediately brings up both the nature of the relationship between nationalism and hegemony within a Latin American reality and the question of post-colonialism in general. Most importantly the application of Anderson's (1983) model to Latin American reality is fraught with difficulty and exposes its essential weaknesses (see Rowe and Schelling 1991: 24-27). So far Smith (1990) and Mallon (1995) have provided the most general critique of the application of Anderson's model to Latin America. Both have

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seriously questioned the elite's role as uniquely interested in creating a national spirit, especially in places such as Guatemala and Peru where they were clearly more interested in maintaining, and to a large degree creating, greater ethnic differences among the populations. For Mallon (1995), the depiction of the impoverished in Peru as "traitors" is due more to issues of representation and power than to their actual interest in a national ideal. In this sense non-elite groups contribute to nation building in more dynamic and subtle ways than Anderson would have it.

In a similar vein Smith (1990) argues that in third world settings like Guatemala the elite struggle for the construction of a coercive state that reinforces greater ethnic division. This divisive strategy is particularly the case in moments when the elite benefit more from capitalist development than from a popularly supported state, in other words, a state reinforced by the aura of the nation. This example seems to warrant a rethinking of the relationship between state formation and nation building as not being necessarily straightforward. Rather, there would seem to be a greater need for understanding the histories and processes involved in each of their constructions as interrelated and not a single entity.

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In terms of the post-colonial debate, this theoretical approach has provided for interesting intellectual production (Harrison 1991; Spivak 1988 and 1992; Young 1995; McClintock 1995; McClintock et al. 1991; Chaterjee 1986 and 1993; Patterson and Schmidt 1995; Minh-ha 1991). Post-colonial theorists have reworked century-long discussions of race, ethnicity and sexuality and infused them with a more complex understanding of their roles in hegemonic constructions within post-colonial national contexts. In this sense their work reiterates much of the national liberation literature of Cabral (1974a and b), Fanon (1965 and 1967), Memmi (1991), Ribeiro (1972 and 1988), Freire (1992) and C.L.R. James (1933 and 1938). Although post-colonial studies were mainly brought to the forefront in the last couple of years by Indian scholars (Guha and Spivak 1985; Chaterjee 1990) and writers (Rushdie 1981, 1989 and 1994; see also New Yorker 1997), and are intricately related to India's recent independence from colonial rule, they now also form part of a much larger cultural studies agenda (Hall 1981 and 1986; Gilroy 1987; Appiah 1991; Bhabha 1990).

Even though Latin America gained independence over a century and a half ago there are still many factors that reflect its close relationship to the past colonial structure and mark its economic and cultural neo-colonial dependency.

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In this regard the application of post-colonial theory to Latin America can be fruitful and timely since the continent's reality presents many fascinating aspects to explore, in regards to its neo(post)-colonial heritage. For example, Indian movements such as the CONAIE (see Coronil 1997; Barbero 1987 and 1993; García-Canclini 1992a and b, 1993; Rowe and Schelling 1991; Franco 1991).

III. The Nation-State's Gender and Racial Components

Finally, the third issue I would like to consider is the way that gender, race and sexuality are integral to the nation-building project. It is quite clear that all nation-states rely on implicit truths (or lies) about their national identity in terms of their ethnic, racial and sexual components (Mosse 1985; Parker et al. 1992). Most, if not all, western nation-states claim a white male heterosexual image as the desired civilized ideal. In this respect Ecuador is no different. In these terms, other sexual forms and gender identities have a disrupting potential ("a strategic marginality", see Anzaldúa 1987 and Mallon 1996) that is closely kept in check by the Ecuadorian nation-state (Benavides 1998; Andrade 1997 and 1995). Many recent contributions have pointed to the need to explore the processes by which these sexual categories are deployed,

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regulated, and ultimately, expressed, as a way of analyzing a vulnerable locale of the nation's discourse (McClintock et al. 1991; Mallon 1996; Lancaster and di Leonardo 1997; Guttman 1996; Cobham 1992; Rubin 1984; Abelove et al. 1993).

Therefore, it is not surprising that "sexuality appears to be a volatile symbol in debates about the character of national identity" (Beriss 1996: 191). However, it is also becoming apparent that placing all the responsibility on the state for controlling and reproducing sexual and gender identities is too simplistic. Recent examples of a more textured analysis (Murray and Handler 1996) also seem to show that the state rather imposes certain policies or guidelines which people must contend with, but that what is selected or imagined from them lies largely outside of the realm of coercive state power (Dominguez 1996: 304). In this respect any work should focus not only on the normative capacity of the nation-state, but also incorporate a problematization of the agents of regulation within each society (Schein 1996: 199).

These new textured approaches are strongly informed by Foucault's (1990) analysis of sexual discourse as a much more complex and dynamic struggle for power and hegemonic production. However, future works would also need to incorporate the colonial and subaltern critiques which are

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thoroughly lacking in Foucault's analysis (see Spivak 1988; and Stoler 1996) and take into account the interrelationship between the categories of sex and race, understanding that every sexualized being is also a racialized one. In other words, the post-colonial body, as a national body is both a sexualized and racialized one and that all of these categories (sex, race, gender, class, age, etc.) serve to create moral mores or geography that helps map the nation-state's existence (Stoler 1996).

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THE ECUADORIAN SETTING

Ecuadorian Archaeology

Given this theoretical framework and the considerable time depth claimed by the Ecuadorian nation-state as its legitimate past, which extends back to the prehispanic period (7,000 B.C. - A.D. 1532), the lack of a critical analysis of Ecuador's archaeological history is particularly revealing. Archaeological research in the country has been carried out for a little over a century and can be divided into five periods (Collier 1982): 1) Pioneer (1878-1899); 2) Developmental (1900-1934); 3) Transitional (1935-1952); 4) Florescent (1953-1980) and 5) National (1980-present) (see Idrovo 1989).

However, even before the first archaeological investigations a series of foreigners described the prehispanic monuments that they encountered in their exploration of what later became the national territory. The first of the four most significant early archaeological descriptions was carried out by Antonio de Ulloa (1944; 1995) and Jorge Juan (1964; 1991) in the 1700's. These two Spaniards described and sketched a series of pre-Inca ruins in the north Andean highlands of the then Real Audiencia de Quito while escorting (and on behalf of the Spanish Crown secretly keeping an eye on) the French Geodesic Mission sent to locate the

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equator and measure the center of the earth. Another member of this mission, the French La Condamine (1747) also reported on archaeological ruins, providing us with the first modern description of the Inca ruins of Inga Pirca located in the current Province of Cañar. In addition to the archaeological descriptions provided by the members of this Geodesic Mission we also have the writings of the German naturalist, Alexander Von Humboldt (1993), who described several Inca ruins while collecting information for his ground breaking treatise on the geography of the Equatorial Andes. Finally, during the early republic, Francisco José de Caldas, a Colombian, (1849) described the Inca road and other Inca ruins in the southern section of the Ecuadorian Andes.

This initial foreign presence in archaeological research was maintained throughout the century, marking a significant trend in Ecuadorian archaeology. As reported in a 1980 survey by D. Collier, of the 109 archaeologists who had worked in Ecuador, only a third (35) were Ecuadorians and only 14 (less than a seventh) were women (Collier 1982). This foreign male dominance in archaeological research has had an impact on the research agenda in terms of sites and subjects selected for study as well as on the role archaeology plays in the national state project enterprise (Echeverría 1995).

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It is only within the last two decades that a significant restructuring of these uneven power relations has been brought into focus with more Ecuadorian (male and female) and women (national and foreign) archaeologists at work in the country. However, surprisingly most (but not all) significant contributions to Ecuadorian archaeology have been made by Ecuadorian nationals, for example, F. González Suárez (1878; 1892); J. Jijón y Caamaño (1912; 1914; 1952), E. Estrada (1954, 1956, 1957a and b), and to a lesser extent C. Zevallos Menendez (1971) .

The first attempt at writing a grand archaeological/ historical narrative of what today is Ecuador was undertaken by the Jesuit priest Juan de Velasco (1790). Although Velasco's narrative is highly questionable because of its constant references to a fictitious Kingdom of Quito (Salazar 1995a; Moreno 1992), it served as the primary source for an emergent Ecuadorian nationality and is still cited as part of the official national history in grade and high school textbooks (Navas Jimenez 1994; García Gonzalez 1997), as I will later discuss.

This initial archaeological effort was continued during the early Republic period by several foreign investigators (Bamps 1879, 1887, 1888; Bollaert 1860, 1870; Dorsey 1901; Hamy 1882, 1897) but most importantly by Archbishop Francisco

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González Suárez. González Suárez's (1890) early three volume national history Historia General de la República del Ecuador (General History of the Republic of Ecuador) unlike Fermín Cevallos's (1870) also sought to include and describe the prehispanic period in terms of the material remains found throughout the Ecuadorian territory that the decimated Indian cultures had left behind. Gonzáles Suárez's two major archaeological works, Los aborígenes de Imbabura y Carchi: investigaciones arqueológicas sobre los antiguos pobladores de la República del Ecuador (1878) and his Atlas Arqueológico (1892) comprise the first seriously scientific inquiries into Ecuador's archaeological past.

Suárez was interested in systematizing a field of historical knowledge for the institutionalization of the nation-state in what he considered to be perilous times, for example, Eloy Alfaro's Liberal Revolution. Therefore, through his historical enterprise Suárez led the way for the production and appearance of professional archeologists who would carry on a national agenda (Benavides, forthcoming). With this purpose in mind, Suárez surrounded himself with a group of young students, not surprisingly from the upper social class in Quito, to create the first historical society in the country. It would be one of these students, Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, who would carry on his project of making

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archeology a viable intellectual pursuit (Vargas 1991). If González Suárez was the first Ecuadorian to carry out intensive scientific investigations during the Pioneer period, Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1914, 1918a and b, 1919a and b, 1920a and b, 1922, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1933, 1941/46, and 1952) is by far the most important and influential archaeologist during the Developmental period (1900-1934), and possibly of all times.

Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño was born in 1881 into one of the wealthiest textile-producing families in the country. He played a pivotal role in national politics, becoming a leader of the Conservative Party and mayor of Quito. He also had enormous economic and social resources to expend in his archaeological research. He carried out his work with great passion, as was particularly apparent in his final work (1951), Antropología Prehispánica del Ecuador on which he labored until the moment of his death. He dedicated a major part of his life to excavating, collecting, researching and writing about the prehispanic cultures of America. The most important part of his archeological work --the excavations in the country's highland and coast, as well as Maranga, Peru, where he met Alfred Kroeber and Julio C. Tello -- was done between 1909-25. Jijón also lived in Europe between 1912 and 1916, visiting museums, researching archives and making

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academic contacts. He also funded the internationally renowned German archaeologist, Max Uhle's (1922a, b and c, 1923, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930a and b, 1931, 1933, 1936, 1937 and 1939) Ecuadorian research for fourteen years (1919-1933), and he developed an impressive library and artifact collection which is now open to the public, as the Museo Jijón in the Pontificia Universidad Católica, and the Fondo Jijón at the Banco Central Library, both in Quito (Vargas 1991; Echeverría 1995; Collier 1982).

Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, more than any other figure, is hailed as the central founding force of Ecuadorian archaeology (Salazar 1997). Both through his ground-breaking archaeological excavations and by the sheer breadth of his intellectual production, Jijón y Caamaño systematized archaeological knowledge into a viable discipline that not only made it worthy of scholarly pursuit but became an essential element in the continuous debate about the nation (Jijón y Caamaño 1992). Jijón y Caamaño may be seen as the first professional archaeologist legitimizing the place of archeology in the national discourse (Benavides, forth.).

Therefore it is not surprising that at the turn of the century Ecuador was one of the thriving centers of archaeological research in South America (Willey and Sabloff 1974) including such scholars as Paul Rivet (1908), Marshall

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Saville (1907/10, 1909, 1914, 1924), R. Verneau (1907) Carlos Manuel Larrea (1919; 1965), J. Felix Proaño (1918a and b, 1923), Carlos Grijalva (1921, 1938), and Otto Von Buchwald (1917, 1918a and b, 1920, 1921). The latter four, together with Jijón would form in 1909 the Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos (Ecuadorian Society of American Historic Studies), which would later (in 1921) become the current Academia Nacional de Historia (National Academy of History). Together they published the first scientific/scholarly historical journal (June 1918) in the country as the society's Bulletin (Echeverría 1995; Moreno 1992; Salazar 1988 and 1995a).

The Transitional Period (1935-52) helped to set the stage for the surge of archaeological activity that was to develop in the following decades. It was unlike the two previous periods in that it was not characterized by a pivotal figure. It was marked by two characteristics essential for future investigations. The first feature salient in the work of Collier and Murra (1943), is the use of stratigraphic sequences as a basic element of archaeological analysis in the country. The second was the presence of an influx of North American academic researchers which set the tone for increased United States interest in Ecuadorian archaeology over the next four decades (Collier 1982).

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The Florescent period (1953-80) was marked by the use of scientific methods applied to archaeological research, such as the full operational use of radiocarbon for absolute dating of organic material and seriation for the relative dating of pottery and other cultural artifacts. This period also marked a shift from the highland to the coast as the center of archaeological interest and led the way for a radical new understanding of tropical forest culture of both the coast and the Amazon (Lathrap, Collier and Chandra 1975) and of the national territory within the wider development of South American cultures (Lathrap 1963; 1966; 1970; 1977; Meggers 1966).

This regional shift was mainly due to archaeological work which focused on the coastal cultures of Valdivia, Manteño-Huancavilca, Milagro-Quevedo, etc., conducted by Emilio Estrada (1954; 1956; 1957a; b; c; d; and e; 1958; 1961; 1962a and b) and Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans (1958; 1962 and 1965; the latter two also co-authored with Estrada). Estrada's work embodied many of the regional elements that have made the geographical divide of coast and highland an important feature of the nation's history (Maiguashca 1994). In this regard, it is instructive to compare Estrada to Jijón since they were similar in their interest in the

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archaeological heritage of the nation but were informed by completely different regional traditions:

> Jijon was an aristocrat with great inherited wealth, an ethnohistorian, a bibliophile, and a Quiteño; Estrada was a successful businessman, a dirt archaeologist, and a Guayaquileño who was more interested in world trade and international yachting than in the Archive of the Indies. These differences of temperament and the origin of these two men account largely for the focus on the highland during the Developmental Period and on the coast during the Florescent (Collier 1982).

This period also saw the appearance of large projects at Real Alto (1974-8, Donald Lathrap, director, from the United States, Unversity of Illinois), El Azúcar (1968-9, Edward Lanning, from the United States, Columbia University), Cochasquí (1964-5, Udo Oberem, German team, known as "Grupo Ecuador"), Esmeraldas (1974-5, Alcina Franch, Spanish team), Loja (French Mission), and Inga Pirca (Antonio Fresco, Spain).

All of these projects embodied a new magnitude of interdisciplinary research strategies and the coming together of a large array of scholars, including graduate students (Salazar 1995).

The excavations at Real Alto, however, were paradigmatic in many ways for the development of Ecuadorian archaeology in a very important manner. This impact was due to many reasons: it shifted our whole understanding of the emergence of agriculture in South America (Zevallos et al. 1977; Lathrap

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and Marcos 1975; Lathrap et al. 1977) and it placed Ecuador, which had been traditionally eclipsed by Mexico and Peru, on the modern archaeological map (Marcos et al. 1976; Lathrap et al. 1977). It also brought into the picture a whole generation of scholars who were to continue their interest in Ecudorian archaeology far beyond this initial project (Marcos 1978; 1986; 1988; Pearsall 1978; 1979; 1980; 1988; Damp 1979; 1988;, Zeidler 1984; 1991;, Muse 1991; Kreid 1985; Kried and García 1989; DeBoer 1995 and 1996); and which later, with other foreign scholars, would be part of the first university program of archaeology at the ESPOL (Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral) in Guayaquil (Alvarez 1986, 1986/7, 1991; Mutal 1985).

In the last two decades, what has been tentatively termed the National Period, there has been a significant increase of academically trained Ecuadorian archaeologists. This new generation of archaeologists is significantly different from the previous one of Presley Norton (1982 and 1986), Lenín Ortiz, Olaf Holm (1953, 1960 and 1975), and Jorge Marcos in an important way. Unlike their predecessors, the new generation came from a more varied class background, including those strata that traditionally had been economically restricted from pursuing archeological research as a professional possibility.

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The development of archaeology programs at the ESPOL (a public institution) and at the PUCE (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador) in Quito, both in the Anthropology Department and in the Center of Archaeological Investigations in the Pedagogy Department in the 1980's, allowed a traditionally excluded group of people, including women, to obtain a formal training in archeology. It was this formal academic training obtained both in and outside of the country that allowed a new group of young Ecuadorian archaeologists to carry out archaeological research throughout the national territory (Victoria Dominguez 1986; Idrovo 1989; Salazar 1985a and b; Valdez 1986; Cordero 1998).

At the same time there were other national institutions, such as the Casa de la Cultura, that contributed to an increase in archeological research in the country. For example, Ecuador's Banco Central until the late 1980's provided an extensive cultural resource budget that funded a series of archeological projects throughout the country, e.g., Tahuín, La Tolita, Salango, etc. Other long-running projects such as ECUA-BEL and the cultural and economic cooperation between the Spanish and Ecuadorian governments also provided long-term training and employment for several Ecuadorian archaeologist (Salazar 1995b; Buys 1991). The creation of the Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural (INPC) in 1978 was

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also very influential in the restructuring of Ecuadorian archeology through its regulation of both foreign and national investigators in Ecuador. The INPC also provided an initial professional entry into the national scene for many archeologist (Salazar 1995). In the nation's capital, the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha continues to have an interest in managing archaeological sites, such as Cochasquí itself. All of this institutional support also reflected a clear shift from an individual pursuit to a much more team-based approach to archaeological research in the country.

However, it is also clear that the last five years have seen a significant decline in funding for archaeological research. Academic programs such as the ones at the ESPOL have closed or been severely limited. The Banco Central, once the largest national funding agency for archaeological projects, has almost completely closed its doors to funding cultural programs in the country. This refusal to fund cultural projects reflected an 180° degree turn from the Bank's initial understanding of culture as an essential element in the maintenance of Ecuador's national identity and of itself as the keeper of this national ideal. Ironically, the large oil firms exploiting the natural resources of the Amazon are the only active source of funding for independent archaeological research. However, the funding from oil

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companies brings ethical dilemmas in terms of the environmental and cultural survival debate.

Finally, these economic hardships have placed an enormous strain on the already frail constitution of Ecuadorian archaeology and are contributing to a rapid reenactment of the traditional, stark class structure and foreign dependency in archaeological research. The economic crisis is returning archaeological research to the hands of the bourgeois dilettantes and foreign researchers who can afford the time "to play" in the dirt or have other Ecuadorians do it for them (Salazar 1995b).

Ecuadorian National Identity and the Prehispanic Past

During the 1970's the then military dictator of Ecuador General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara stated in a speech emphasizing Ecuador's Indian ancestry, that there were "no more problems in reference to the Indians ... we all become (**pasamos a ser**) white when we accept the objectives of the national culture" (in Whitten 1984: 167; my emphasis). This is a similar sentiment to the ones expressed almost a decade before by the Ecuadorian historian Gabriel Cevallos García (1960) when he argued that Ecuador was made up of Ecuadorians, not of whites, Indians, blacks or of any other racial/ethnic group.

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These statements reflect both contradictions and anxieties about what it actually means to be Ecuadorian. The Ecuadorian identity is far from being clearly defined or understood and yet is constantly espoused in diplomatic forums, international soccer games, territorial disputes, and national elections (El Universo, May 1997; Hoy, Feb. 1997; Gallardo et al. 1995). Therefore, what seems apparent is the ease with which an Ecuadorian national identity is used despite a hesitation to analyze what being Ecudorian really means, especially in regard to its ancestral Indian past. Echeverría's (1995) Master's thesis is one of the few exceptions in this respect. It analyzes the relationship between an Ecuadorian identity and the nation's archeological past by examining the manner in which archeologists' (both national and foreign) theoretical framework have affected the interpretation and representation of archaeological reconstructions in several museum exhibitions throughout the country.

However, most of the research on Ecuadorian identity has been concerned with the pervasiveness of national hegemonic ideologies (Whitten 1965 and 1981; Muratorio 1994a; Guerrero 1991 and 1994; Stutzman 1981; Espinoza Apolo 1995) and to a lesser extent with modern constructions of national identity (Crain 1990; Acosta et al. 1997). Although neither of these

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two bodies of work explicitly deal with archaeological knowledge or the ancestral past per se they do provide an initial opening into the complex racial and ethnic ground on which Ecuadorianess has historically been built.

Stutzman (1981), for example, focuses on the ideology of mestizaje and blanqueamiento. He demonstrates how members of the Ecuadorian national culture like many other Latin American countries (Friedlander 1975; Knight 1990) aspire to whiteness as the highest symbol of civilization even as they expound an ideology of miscegenation. This contradiction is further complicated by the continuing oppressive treatment of the indigenous population while the national rhetoric simultaneously refers to the glories of its ancestral tradition. Stutzman connects this "glorious past" to an official national history that has taken on mythical proportions.

Muratorio (1994b) also problematizes the contradiction of a mestizo identity that claims both European and Indian heritage in equal terms. Out of this contradiction a national culture has developed in which the construction of the Indian "other" is portrayed as an aristocratic male Inca, while contemporary Indian populations are portrayed as feminine and submissive (see Gould 1996 for a similar process in Nicaragua). This mythical invention of the Indian "other" not

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only has strong ethnic and gender implications, but is also devoid of genealogy, of actual historical connections between the present and the past. The official national history attempts to erase this contradiction by including the Indian "other" not as a real contemporary subject but exclusively as an archaeological invention.

This process limits the historical dimensions of the Indian to museums, archeological sites and to past contributions that do not question the present situation and treatment of the indigenous populations at the hands of the national culture. In the best cases, museums such as the ones at Real Alto and Salango attempt to revitalize the past and empower the present local inhabitants of the archeological sites (Alvarez 1991; Marco 1986a and b). But this has not been a completely successful enterprise, as is evident in these two in-situ museums, as well as many others that I visited in the last year, i.e., Rumicucho, Cochasquí, etc.

The in-situ museum at Agua Blanca on the coast might be the best example of how the joint work carried out by anthropologists and the community gave way to a strong empowerment of the local inhabitants in acknowledging their indigenous heritage and political rights (McCewan 1990; McCewan and Hudson n.d.). However, even at Agua Blanca there have been no dramatic changes in the regional or national

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authorities' understanding of the continuity of ethnic identity, and even less in assessing the Indian's contribution to the national culture.

As is clearly evident, not all groups are equally represented in this miscegenation process. Indians are seen as closer to the nation's natural history and as having contributed more to the mestizaje of the country (see Haraway 1989; Wade 1993 and 1994 for other examples in the Americas). The black population in Ecuador, meanwhile, is doubly disadvantaged by a blanqueamiento ideology that defines them as inferior, as well as by a mestizo ideology that denies their existence, since we are all now mixed (Stutzman 1981; Whitten 1974; 1965). Ultimately, mestizaje in Ecuador is about passing as white and becoming less Indian (Espinoza Apolo 1996: *passim* 48-54).

The mestizaje process in Ecuador has many parallels with this nationalizing ideology in other Latin American countries. The idea of a mestizo race superior to its black, Indian and even white European constitutive components was initially put forward in the late 1800's in Mexico (Smith 1996). Vasconcelos (1997) and other ideologues originally proposed a "cosmic race" that served to legitimize the aspirations of the local elite against foreign European and North American intrusions and to distance themselves from the rest of the

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non-white national citizens. Soon afterwards this mestizo ideal swept through the southern part of the continent and by the beginning of the 20th century was an essential part of Latin America, including the Ecuadorian state (Quintero 1997; Quintero and Silva 1991). In this sense, as Hale elaborates:

> mestizaje has been a remarkably effective ideological tool in the hands of elite in many parts of Latin America, a unifying myth put to the service of state and nation building. A pervasive effect of this process, in turn, is for alternative or contested meanings to be down played or even erased. Mestizaje as an elite generated myth of national identity, it could be said, tends to obscure the conditions of its own creation, to cover its own tracks (Hale 1996:2).

In this same manner the mestizaje process serves not only as a pillar for the construction of a national identity, but also as a viable ideological tool for the maintenance of the status quo and oppression of the majority of the Ecuadorian population (Muratorio 1994a; Stutzman 1981). More than a literal reality the mestizaje ideology is an ideal, a wish and rhetorical recourse to cover up any difference (racial, ethnic, economic, religious, sexual, etc.) in the country. Difference is seen as dangerous and therefore its mere presence could, and does, question and threaten any construction of a national identity. This is evident in the fact that in Ecuador a mestizo ideology has been traditionally employed by the elite to maintain power over the indigenous

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populations and other national groups. It is as if through the actual invention of a national Ecuadorian identity there is an homogenizing attempt and need to hide and silence "the other." Up to now the country has been historically based on the exclusion of difference, on the negation or denial of "an other", especially of the Indian as a possible ethnic basis of the nation (Silva 1995: 34).

However, Mallon (1996) and several other scholars (Anzaldúa 1987; Moraga 1986 and 1994; Sandoval 1998; Cypess 1991), significantly the majority of whom are women, strive to emphasize the liberating or counter hegemonic elements of this traditionally exploitative state ideology. They do this by appreciating the contradictory nature of a mestizo ideology that both creates inequality (Smith 1996: 149) and liberates us from absolute identities (Anzaldúa 1987). It is this essential contradictory nature of mestizaje that becomes a source of contention and which allows for a thorough critique of many of the traditionally accepted social categories through the vantage point of a "strategic marginality" (Mallon 1996: 173).

The ambivalent history of "La Malinche" (Cortez's female Indian lover and partner) who is seen as a traitor from an authentic Indian national perspective or as a liberator from the vantage point of a mestizo nation (see Cypess 1991), and

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even Rigoberta Menchú's (1985; 1998) uncharacteristic narrative, point to the centrality of feminine sexual discourse in the maintenance of the national status quo. Sexuality, and specifically female sexuality, becomes a major locus of contention and domination, as well as the site of the policing of boundaries that is essential for the maintenance of the character of both the nation and the state (Mallon 1996). All of this points to the powerful potential of a "strategic marginality" to disrupt the traditional categories embodied by the nation-state.

This strategic marginality may provide an interesting approach for future research in understanding the hegemonic devices and myth in the maintenance of the Ecuadorian status-quo. Silva (1995) suggests that two central myths have allowed the dominant groups to maintain a national hegemony in the country: the territorial and vanquished-race myths. The territorial myth relates to the actual control over the Ecuadorian state's geographic space: the Spaniards (read contemporary white/mestizos) were able to conquer the Indian groups who are presented as never able to fully dominate the territory. However, the last territorial wars with Peru, especially in 1941 and 1981, make it impossible to support this myth any longer. Nonetheless the national rhetoric expounded in the latest border incident with Peru (1995)

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demonstrates significant investment in this myth (S. Espinosa 1995; Gallardo 1995).

The second, the vanquished-race myth, relates to the fact that the Indians are presented as being defeated in three different instances: first, by the geography; second, by the Incas (which is nothing other than the Cuzco version of the contemporary Peruvian invasions) -- (El Comercio 1995); and a third time by the Spaniards. However, this myth also cracks under its own ambiguity. For example, the enormous amount of Andean research (i.e., Murra 1989; Salomon 1986) has demonstrated that the native polities possessed a complex and singular control of their environment and geography. At the same time, the Inca conquest is no longer unanimously seen as a foreign invasion, but rather, it has been incorporated in such a manner that many of the descendants of the groups that suffered from their conquest now consider themselves direct Inca descendants (Pakari in Bulnes 1994). This process has also been studied by Salomon (1990) for the Cañaris, who, although once the fiercest north Andean foes of the Incas, now consider themselves their legitimate and rightful descendants.

Finally, there is the Indian movement itself, which in the last decade has claimed an Inca heritage and through it has been able to occupy many of the political spaces that had been

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historically denied to them (CONAIE 1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1997 and 1998).

As Crain (1989 and 1990) describes, since the 1960's Indians have been repeatedly tempted to be incorporated into a new definition of the Ecuadorian national culture that would now value this oppressed group's historical legacy. These attempts have been more clearly formulated during the center-left governments of J. Roldós (1979-81), O. Hurtado (1981-84) and R. Borja (1988-92). In each of these three governments there were several symbolic demonstrations demanding the incorporation of Indians into a modern economy that would supposedly liberate them from the traditional oppression suffered in both the Colonial and Republican periods. This economic strategy could be defined as a new form of governmental indigenismo (Silva 1995). This trend was also continued by Abdalá Bucaram's recently ousted government, with the creation of a Ministry of Indian Affairs led by the Amazonian Indian leader, Rafael Pandam, which was supposed to be seen as reward for the Indian support of his presidential candidacy. In reality he was trying to divide the Indian movement by supporting the Amazonian groups' claim against the CONAIE and other national Indian leaders (Macas 1992).

However, since a national appropriation of local traditions inherently severs them from their initial

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historical meaning, the new discourse is fraught with contradictions. These national rewritings of native history have been met by a strong indigenous nationalism, such as that of the CONAIE (Confederación Nacional de Indígenas del Ecuador) that seeks to transcend the country's current political borders. In the last decade CONAIE has put forward a radical critique of the Ecuadorian nation-state by struggling for the creation of a multi-national state and the right for self determination of all Ecuadorian nationalities, including Afro-Ecuadorians and other oppressed groups (Quimbo 1992; Kowii 1992; Macas 1992).

In this manner, CONAIE, through its political arm, Pachacutik Nuevo País has wrestled to become one of the leading political forces in the country, holding a significant number of seats both in the congress and in the recent Asamblea Nacional. The CONAIE's larger project of serving as a voice for a larger group of disgruntled social movements, however, has not proven successful. At the same time there is a significant group of Ecuadorian scholars (Acosta et al. 1997) who question the existence of an actual national identity due to the state's impossiblity to control the national territory and the lack of a national language and culture (Quintero 1997). For these authors Ecuador is still

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very much "a nation in emergence" (una nación en ciernes) (Quintero and Silva 1992).

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RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The four main objectives of the research were:

1) To determine how the archaeological past of a site, such as that of Cochasquí, is socially and nationally constructed.

2) To assess how a particular version of the past obtains a privileged space in the representation of Cochasquí's history, determining the mechanisms by which the facts highlighted in the site's dominant history are selected and officialized.

3) To determine how particular constructions of the past are articulated at the national level, what these national histories represent and what historical authority or authenticity they rely on.

4) To determine how the contrasting national histories serve to consolidate (or not) the different interests of the nation-state.

The research was carried out both in Quito and Cochasquí, in the northern Ecuadorian highlands, from January to October of 1997. I worked as part of the Programa Cochasquí (Cochasquí Research Program) team at the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha (Pichincha's Provincial Council). The Programa Cochasquí is the regional organization in charge of the administration of the archaeological site of Cochasquí. Most

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of the research at Cochasquí took place from the first week in February to the end of June, although I made several additional visits to the site and the Program's office in Quito throughout the research period until I left in October.

During these five months I typically joined the staff in their daily trips from Quito to the site from Tuesdays through Sundays, while spending Mondays at the Program's office in Quito. I followed this schedule unless other activities demanded a more flexible scheduling. I also stayed at the site over extended weekends on five different occasions to participate in different religious rituals: to celebrate the spring equinox, summer solstice, full moons and a wedding. The staff worked two different weekly schedules, (Monday-Friday and Wednesday-Sunday) which made it possible for the site and office to be open during the seven days of the week.

My research strategies at Cochasquí included interviewing the personnel involved in the creation and maintenance of the site, examining the site archives, recording the guided tours, analyzing the site museum, participating in the daily activities at the site and administering questionnaires to the tourists.

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Research at Cochasquí

The first phase (see first objective - Chapters 2 and 4) demanded the analysis of the social and national construction of the archaeological past at Cochasquí. For this endeavor, I carried out both ethnographic and bibliographical research. I performed 9 in-depth open-ended interviews with both current and previous staff members: two researchers (both archaeologists), two site directors (the current and previous one), one guide, three local workers and the current Consejero (Council member, who is also the original director of the Cochasquí Program) administrative head of the site. The interviews covered their roles, participation and understanding of the development and maintenance of Cochasquí as an archaeological site and its central place within the national Ecuadorian discourse. I also carried out on-site observations and informal interviewing (see discussion below).

In terms of archival work I examined: 1) scientific publications and monographs produced about the site, (e.g., Oberem 1980); 2) material published by the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha under the supervision of the Programa Cochasquí, (e.g., Costales 1990-1); 3) unpublished manuscripts in the site's archives, which I was responsible for cataloging and reorganizing while working at the site, (e.g., CETURIS 1972); and 4) other documents (e.g., Larraín 1977; Wurster 1979) that

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dealt with the general area of Cochasquí located in the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) at the Casa de la Cultura and in the Biblioteca Especializada de Ciencias Sociales (Specialized Social Science Library) of the Pontificia Universidad Católica, both in Quito.

In the second phase of the research (see second objective - Chapter 3) at Cochasquí I analyzed how various versions of the site's archaeological past have been represented in the official venues through which the history of the site is disseminated to the public. I analyzed Cochasquí's past as it is expressed at the in-situ museum (Museo Quilago), the guided tour of the site and Program sponsored public activities. This analysis was directed at determining which voices have been privileged in the official representation of the site and which facts have been selected to create a dominant history. The analysis was also useful in showing how each venue affected these representations and how they were influenced by the general reception, contestation or acceptance by the public. For this purpose on-site observation of the in-situ museum, participation in guided tours, informal interviews and questionnaires were carried out.

I analyzed the in-situ museum in terms of the distribution of the artifacts exhibited. I also recorded each

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of the four official guides' public tours of the site (on average an hour and a half long) as well as one of the English tours that was offered. In addition to this I accompanied each of the guides on two or more occasions to provide a comparative basis for the content of their own tours. I also accompanied other staff members, i.e., archaeologist, local workers, etc., when because of a large number of tourists they had to substitute as guides themselves. My strategy during these guided tours was to participate as another tourist member of the group: I sought to limit my conversations with the tour guides; rather I engaged the tourists in order to learn about their background, interest in the site and their emerging understanding of it. In order to avoid constraining people's comments and opinion I limited any note taking until the end of the tour when I returned to my lodgings at the site.

I was conveniently incorporated into the Program as an official guide and was asked on several occasions (over 20) to provide the tour of the site for a group of tourists. Initially this occurred when there were English-speaking tourists or when there was an unusually large number of visitors at the site. However, by the middle of my research period I was added on to the weekly roster as site guide. Working as a tour guide provided me with a wealth of first-

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hand experience and understanding about the nature of the guided tours themselves and of the tourists' interactions in the dissemination of the information about the site.

As a result of the initial open-ended interviews that I had carried out with current and previous staff members at Cochasquí, I decided to change my research methodology. Informal interviewing was used to obtain information about the history of officially sponsored tours, museum and public activities and to gain a better understanding of the social and national construction of the site as a whole. The initial formal interviews proved to be quite limiting. The formal setting of either a tape recorder or note taking (when some interviewees outright refused to be taped) seemed to discourage meaningful exchanges and rather created a setting of distrust and fear. The shortcomings of formal interviews were made evident to me on several instances when people either denied or contradicted information that they had knowingly and willingly provided in less personally intrusive and objectifying contexts. Although it never was completely clear why this was so, it seemed that people did not mind offering me information but did mind being treated as objects of study in order to obtain the same information.

As a result of this I decided to follow a less formal approach of engaging in familiar conversations with a minimum

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of direct questioning (see Sacks 1995, especially preface; Lancaster 1996). Lancaster (1996) employed a similar methodology in his study of post-revolutionary Nicaragua, providing a much more comfortable research setting for himself and his collaborators. Undoubtedly Lancaster's interest in obtaining trustworthy information in such a sensitive political setting, aggravated by his own problematic North American identity, was influential in his pursuing a less intrusive methodology. In this regard my own intimate relationship with my research collaborators, as an Ecudorian, (Fahim 1982; Spivak 1988 and 1992; Rosaldo 1986 and 1989; Anzaldúa 1990; O'Hearn 1998) determined the sensitivity of my research and was very influential in my selection and elaboration of a "scientific" methodology that could be less objectifying and dehumanizing than the formal one I initially attempted to employ (Gibbon 1990; Gero 1990; Gero and Conkey 1990; Gero et. al 1983; Harrison 1991; Blakey 1991; Vargas 1990 and 1995).

Both the current Director of the site and I made it clear that I was collecting information for my dissertation research. It also was clear that my research project was the main reason I was interested in talking about the issues that were being raised. However, I made sure that anonymity would be maintained, since I do not doubt that on occasions

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informants forgot the reason for my questioning in these less formal settings.

The use of informal and unstructured interviewing (Bernard 1994: 209) immediately provided a wealth of information that made the more formal and structured interviews pale in comparison. I engaged and participated in personal and group conversations with as many of the staff members and local population as possible. There were three contexts where conversations, especially group conversations flowed in a much more relaxed fashion, although by no means were conversations limited to these settings: in the jeep to and from the site, in the communal kitchen and at the entrance to the site.

The conversations in the jeep allowed me to dialogue with the urban staff members who made the daily visit to their work place, Cochasquí, from Quito. It also allowed me on quite a number of occasions (at least twice a week) to talk to members of the comuna including the comuna's president and local workers who took advantage of the transportation to get a free ride to and from the site to the country's capital, Quito. On the other hand, the discussions at the entrance to the site, mainly engaged during the morning or very late in the afternoon, included a majority of the local staff and other members of the comuna, i.e., spouses, friends, or

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whomever happened to drop by. This was mainly due to the fact that both a local guard and the two local guides would spend their free time at the entrance to the site waiting for tourists to make their way up to the site. These conversations would be joined by one or more members of the Quito staff that wandered their way down to the entrance with me as soon as we had arrived. Meanwhile, the conversations in the communal kitchen took place primarily in the afternoon during and after our dinner and the participants were once again mainly the urban Quito staff. We were occasionally joined by the local staff as they made their sporadic visits tot he kitchen.

The shift in my research methodology also implied a shift in my method of notetaking. As expressed above I never took notes during an actual conversation but would rather wait to be alone and write up my notes either at my lodgings at the site and/or at home during the evening. This ultimately demanded a field journal to jot down quick observations and general notes, either when I was alone or had nothing else to do, a "clean" journal in which I wrote only at home where I would retell the conversations and experiences of the day; and my own personal journal used to unravel some of the more personal elements that entered into my research.

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I also administered a voluntary, two-page questionnaire to visitors after visiting the site and museum. These questionnaires along with the yearly visitors information at Cochasquí provided an insight into the demographic dimensions of the people actively consuming and therefore involved in the reproduction of the site. During my research period I conducted a total of 94 questionnaires. The archaeologist at the site agreed to continue to ask tourists to fill out more questionnaires during 1998.

Based on previous visits to Cochasquí, it appeared that the local population tended to have a very different understanding of the site than the one expressed in the official media for the site. As a result of this I was interested in conducting a limited ethnographic study of the comuna of Cochasquí with two main objectives. The first was to provide information about how the site is seen by the community, in terms of their relationship to it and its role in the greater national setting. The second was to provide a reconstruction of the ancient local history.

However, once again I had to shift my initial objectives since I was surprised to find that several ethnographies had already been carried out at the comuna. In all, six different ethnographies have been researched and written within the last two decades. By far the most thorough one is Jose Salcedo's

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(1985) Al Rescate de la Identidad Cultural en Cochasquí (To The Rescue of Cochasquí's Cultural Identity) which I discovered in manuscript form at the site's archives. There are also two ethnographies written by comuna members themselves who give a more local account of life in the area: Virgilio Pulla de la Cruz's (1997) Historia Hecha en Cangahua: Guía del Centro Monumental Arqueológico y Vida Socio-Cultural de Cochasquí (History made in Cangahua: Guide of the Archaeological Monumental Center and Socio-Cultural Life of Cochasquí) and Evangelista Rodriguez's (1980) Historia de Cochasquí (History of Cochasquí). Finally, there are three more ethnographic enterprises funded and published by the Programa Cochasquí itself: 1) Piedad and Alfredo Costales's (1990-1) Historia India de Cochasquí: Ensayo de Interpretación Etnográfica con Documentos (Indian History of Cochasquí: Interpretive Ethnographic Essays with Documents); 2) Lucia Moscoso and Gaby Costa's (1989) Historia Oral de Cochasquí (Oral History of Cochasquí); and 3) Domingo Paredes and Eduardo Estrella's (1989) Cochasquí: Aspectos Socio-Económicos y Nutritivos (Cochasquí: Socio-Economic and Nutritional Aspects).

Since these six ethnographies offered a wealth of information about the comuna I decided to use that data instead of duplicating efforts and producing yet another

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ethnography of the town, at the same time checking and verifying those issues that were essential for an accurate portrayal of the local comuna's members perspective of the site and their own local history. I carried out this enterprise through informal interviews in two settings. First, I interviewed comuna members when they appeared at the site or in the car to and from Quito. However, this opportunity only allowed me to talk to the local population which was already associated with the site because they had family members working at the site, were locally appointed comuna officials or in some other way had acquired some level of trust and confidence of the site staff.

The second context was afforded by my collaboration with the comuna's grade school as an English instructor. I taught English at the school twice a week, two hour-long classes each day. One class consisted of 50 students ranging from 1st to 3rd grade and the second, a smaller class, of 16 students from 4th to 6th grade. This teaching position allowed me contact with an entirely different segment of the local population, i.e., children, parents, teachers, doctors, school helpers, etc., who were not originally in close relationship with the site's administration. It also allowed me to obtain a closer rapport with the town members by attending public comuna

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meetings as well as participating in two school sponsored fiestas.

Research at Quito

The second part of the research explored the vehicles through which archaeological evidence is conveyed to a larger audience and the process by which it is constituted into national histories (see third objective - Chapters 5, 6, and 7). For this endeavor three different renderings of the national archaeological past were analyzed and compared. These three loci varied according to the extent to which they are sponsored by the state (history textbooks), contest state authority (Indian social movement, CONAIE), or express opinions that range between these two extreme positions (national newspapers).

The first locus was represented by high school history textbooks, particularly their archeological contents. Since history textbooks in Ecuador have to conform to a strict canon set by the Ministry of Education, they provided an excellent opportunity to assess the state-sponsored version of national history. For this purpose I analyzed F. Juan de Velasco's narrative of the Kingdom of Quito to determine the contribution made by this official history. Unfortunately, I was unable to carry out my initial ethnographic attempt to

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study teachers and students in different high school institutions because of a prolonged teacher's union (UNE, Union Nacional de Educadores) strike; and rather I decided that it would be better to incorporate this research element into a future follow-up project.

The second locus examined was a social movement with a wide media coverage and national audience. I concentrated on the CONAIE (Confederación Nacional de Indígenas del Ecuador) because of their recent impact on the national political scene, i.e., the 1997 Asamblea Nacional and their relevance to the debate over the Indian presence in the construction of the nation-state. Since their initial massive uprising that paralyzed the country in 1990, movement activists have consistently presented a different and alternative picture of the Indian community within the Ecuadorian nation-state. My interest in the CONAIE was explicitly with their representation or reading of the nation's history and Indian heritage. I examined official publications of the CONAIE and other publications of its members, as well as printed media coverage of the organization.

The third locus was national newspapers. The major newspapers, El Universo, El Expreso and El Telégrafo (Guayaquil) and El Comercio and Hoy (Quito), were analyzed. These newspapers were selected because they represent to a

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large degree the geographical and broad political (from moderate left to extreme right) diversity of the country. These newspapers were also scrutinized for regional variations because the highlands and coast have long entertained differing views of the nation and its history. Two types of articles were examined: features about the nation's past, specifically concerning prehistory and archaeologically produced knowledge, and the news articles that reported on these events. All Sunday editions, and randomly selected week edition in the last four years, January 1993 to December 1996 were analyzed (editions for 1997 were also analyzed on a weekly basis while I was living in Quito). Sunday editions were selected because they provided a synthesis of the major news of the week, contain special history features and is the day that people buy newspapers the most.

Finally, these three different loci were compared (see fourth research objective - Chapter 8). I contrasted the three different national histories to determine what forces have the power to represent the past nationally and the effect of these representations on the heterogeneous national communities. At the same time, by contrasting these versions of national history the multiple contradictions inherent in their discourse were made explicit, offering an insight into how the nation-state incorporates the many contradictions and

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attempts to resolve them. The analysis of how state-sponsored textbooks, the CONAIE, and the printed news media represent the archeological past offers a rich understanding of how national histories are constituted as such.

The analysis consisted of comparing these three versions of a national history at three distinct levels. The first level of comparison was the narrative content, that is, the actual stories and "facts" (names, dates, places, relationship, etc.) to which these histories relate. The second level of comparison was stylistic and was directed toward determining how the national histories are expressed and represented. At this level I was concerned with the order in which the narrative is related, how the facts are interwoven, and the relationship between the narrative structure and the story itself. The third level compared the venues by which these national histories are represented. In this manner, I explored how the media used to express these national histories impacted upon the narrative themselves. Through this comparison I sought to determine how the choice of media affected the efficacy and range of influence of each national history.

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DESCRIPTION OF CHAPTERS

In the initial chapters I assess the issues highlighted in this introduction, analyzing how the archaeological data is converted into history at Cochasquí. Chapter 2 describes the different histories that are expressed at the site by the Program in charge of the site's maintenance as well as by the other players involved in its historic production, i.e., anthropologist, community, etc. Chapter 3 deals explicitly with the hermeneutics of historical production -- that is, how history, an official history in particular, gets constructed and expressed to the tourist at the site. Chapter 4 discusses the national, ethnic/racial and gender elements involved in the historical discourse present at Cochasquí and how they are vital in the social production and maintenance of the site as such.

The following three chapters (5, 6, and 7) all describe and analyze a particular type of national history: Chapter 5 discusses the official history of an ancient kingdom of Quito as it is narrated in the official textbooks used by high schools in Ecuador. Chapter 6 tackles the opposite type of national history, that is, an alternative one, as represented by the Indian movement and the CONAIE. Chapter 7 discusses a national history that is less easily constrained by official or alternative discourses and therefore presents a different,

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more multi-vocal one within the print media. This national history is illustrated in the media coverage of the struggle between the community of Sacachún and the city of Guayaquil over San Biritute (archaeological monolith).

Finally, chapter 8 compares these three national histories in terms of their content, form and style of representation, and assesses how these characteristics affect their narrative potential. This chapter is concerned with understanding how it is that national histories are constructed and articulated within the greater hegemonic discourses of the nation-state. It also strives to explain how an image of a unified national history can persist under the authoritative guise of the nation in face of so many contrasting and contradictory versions of the past.

The conclusions in Chapter 9 describe the manner in which both parts of the research are integrated and the final findings of the research. In all I hope this dissertation answers most of the questions raised, and enables us to formulate more precise and valid ones.

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SECTION II
COCHASQUI

INTRODUCTION

> There are hypotheses, theories that say those skulls could be war trophies put in the pyramid during their religious ceremonies. ... There are several investigations, many that say that they were human sacrifices. Others say that they didn't sacrifice, because we believe more that these were peaceful cultures, that they didn't carry out human sacrifices, **right!** (Tour Guide, Virgilio, 2/2/97; my emphasis).

THE HISTORICAL DRAMA OF COCHASQUI

The archaeological site of Cochasquí is a locus of constant contestation and negotiation. Far from being a monolithic historical monument, Cochasquí presents an array of multiple histories that actively participate in the production of the site. As an archaeological and historical drama (both national and regional), Cochasquí has a full series of characters, some playing more important roles than others, but all equally involved in its "production" or "invention" (Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

In this sense, the archaeological site of Cochasquí is produced in the same manner that any other historical site is produced (Handler 1986 and 1988; Handler and Gable 1997; Bender 1998; Silberman 1982; 1989; 1995). That is, no single person, event or even institution can be ultimately

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hailed as being exclusively responsible for the site's construction as such. Rather, a complex cast of characters and events are intricately involved and actively competing in and negotiating the maintenance and representation of the site to the tourists. As Handler and Gable (1997: 9) have suggested in their study of Colonial Williamsburg, the site of Cochasquí can also be appreciated as a "social arena in which many people of differing backgrounds continuously and routinely interact to produce, exchange, and consume messages." That is, a never-ending amount of interaction and contestation defines the ever-changing dynamics of the site of Cochasquí.

This dynamic production of Cochasquí is apparent in the multiple functions given simultaneously by the different tour guides at the site: 1) based on the size of the site it is hailed as a major agricultural and urban center; 2) based on the view and control of surrounding areas it is said to have been a military garrison; 3) based on astronomical research it is seen as an observatory; e.g., pyramid number five is explicitly associated with the Scorpion constellation; 4) based on monumentality it is considered a ceremonial center; 5) and based on personal experience it is a major ritual, esoteric and/or UFO center. All functions which as we will see in the following chapters vie for attention and official sanction depending on the context in

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which the narratives have been produced or are being related.

This section provides an understanding of the multiplicity of histories inherent in the production of the archaeological site of Cochasquí, from the original inception of the pyramids at Cochasquí as a real life museum, to the dynamic historical discourses present at the site today. The description of the multiple histories at Cochasquí (Chapter 2) will enable us to assess the construction of an official history (Chapter 3) and an engendered and racialized national past (Chapter 4) at the site.

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CHAPTER 2
SITUATING COCHASQUI:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF MULTIPLE HISTORIES

> It is not, then, its collection of objects and buildings that makes Colonial Williamsburg (or Cochasquí) historical; it is the narratives that surround and make use of these things. ... We can imagine creating histories without objects, but not without language.
>
> R. Handler and E. Gable,
> *The New History in an Old Museum*

NARRATING COCHASQUI AND ITS MULTIPLE HISTORIES

The site of Cochasquí is just 56 kilometers north of the city of Quito, Ecuador's capital, conveniently located at an hour-and-a-half drive north of the city (Fig. 1). However, it is not easily accessible since it is at a significant distance from the main highway (an 8 kilometers steady climb). Although it is a stone-paved access road (empedrado), the 20-minute ride is quite demanding on the car and kidneys; by foot it would be a two-three hour uphill hike, depending on one's speed and endurance (Mantilla n.d.). The difficulty in getting to Cochasquí seems to add to the suspense and allure of visiting the site, an important element, as we shall see, in its social production. As an article in El Comercio (March, 1997) expressed, visiting the prehispanic pyramids at Cochasquí is very much a trip to the past.

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The archaeological complex of Cochasquí is located in the northern Ecuadorian highlands, along the southern slopes of the Mojanda volcano (4300 MASL). The center of the archaeological ruins is geographically situated at 0°6'' northern latitude and 80°0'' of longitude. The general altitude (MASL) of the pyramids oscillates between 2960 and 3080m. Its high altitude is responsible for the strong gusts of wind, especially during the summer months, and the average day temperature of 13-14 C, with a significant 6-7 degree drop at night. There is a significant amount of annual rainfall (500 mm) with a severely marked dry period during the summer months of June, July and August (Rowland 1989; Wurster 1989).

The site is very close to a cluster of small land holders that make up the comuna (small town) of Cochasquí. The comuna itself is made up of a series of barrios (neighborhoods) with the most important one being centrally located with respect to all the other ones and at a significant distance from the site itself (see Fig. 2).

Since its initial opening to tourists in the late 1970s Cochasquí has become one of the most frequented archaeological sites in the country, averaging around 20,000 tourists a year between nationals, foreigners and academic institutions (Informe Anual 1997). As initially described by the German archaeologist Max Uhle (1939: 127):

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> the ruins are located to the west of the old path (tradition has it that this was part of the royal Inca road that connected Otavalo to Quito) that comes down the Mojanda from the town of Otavalo and which was followed by Cieza in his trip to Quito. This is the most extensive and most important complex of archaeological ruins and mounds (tolas) in northern Ecuador.

Based on his excavations, the first scientific ones at the site, Uhle (1939:5) initially divided the site into three distinct areas: 1) a southern group of ruins made out of over 20 round mounds, approximately 5-12m high; 2) a central space in between the southern mounds and northern pyramids of approximately four hectares which he defined as zona pueblo (town zone); and 3) a northern group of seven rectangular mounds (or pyramids) with long ramps, e.g., 200m long.

As a result of later excavations and descriptions of the area by the Cochasquí Program, along with the comuna of Cochasquí (Fig. 4 and 5), there are a total of four different archaeological components present at the site: 1) pyramids (with and without ramps); 2) funeral mounds; 3) domestic mounds; and 4) domestic (both ceramic and lithic) assemblages (Mantilla ND). In total, the present configuration of the site exhibits 15 pyramids, 9 of which have access ramps and six which do not (Fig.3) and five to six mounds, although over 30 round mounds have been defined at the site (see Wurster 1989 and Benavides 1986). The pyramids have been labeled from

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one to 15 going from east to west and north to south (although initially in the 1963 excavations they were just given letter names).

The three pyramids held as the most important ones are number 9, 14, and 13, respectively. By far the largest pyramid is number 9. It is 90m long N-S, 80m wide E-W, and 21m high. It is also the one that has endured the most looting, suffering a severe cut in the early 30s that disrupted the 200m long ramp from the actual body of the pyramid. The next largest pyramid is number 14, which also possesses the largest ramp (approximately 250m long). This is also the pyramid that is selected for most of the rituals and ceremonies, (e.g., while doing my fieldwork a wedding took place on this pyramid), and described by many of the shamans as having the most amount of "energy" of all the pyramids. Pyramid 13 is also interesting in that two hardened earthen platforms on its top, discovered in the 1962-3 German excavations of the site, are open for public display (Figure 6).

There are several different historical discourses at work at the site that make up Cochasquí's archaeological heritage. I will describe, based on my observations at the site, the six main areas of historical discourse. However, it must be stated that this does not exhaust, by any means, the

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different historical elements at work at the site or the complex interaction between the different historical discourses at any given time.

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History of Cochasquí, The Tour Guide of the Site

> "The tour is concrete and concise, provides clear information and the tour guide is very patient and explains himself well, very important to fully appreciate this wonderful place. Thanks." (Tourist, 1/18/97).
>
> "They are wonderful guides and the tour is very good. We felt as if the prehistoric spirits were here." (Tourist, 1/4/97).

The site tour consists of a guided walk which allows the tourist to visit and even climb some of the pyramids and mounds (Fig. 7). On average the tour guide takes one or one and a half hours, mainly depending on the guide's and tourists' interests. The main stops of the tour are the open trench pit by pyramid 5, a small model at the center of the site, and pyramids 9, 13 and 10, respectively. One also visits a reconstructed Andean hanging bridge which the tourist may walk over, two ethnographic reconstructions of indigenous houses, a small ethnobotanical garden and the in-situ museum (the museum will be discussed separately). The access to the site and the tour guides are free of charge, since the maintenance of the site is covered by a state institution, i.e. El Honorable Consejo Provincial de Pichincha. The visitors are prohibited from walking on the site without staff supervision or tour guides, a rule that I found to be

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overlooked only during the major holidays celebrated at the site, such as the Inti Raymi and shaman festivals. There are hourly tours from approximately 10am-3pm, but they depend more on the number of tourists than on a regular schedule. The order of the four guides' tour rounds is regulated through weekly rosters. It is also not uncommon that other staff members, i.e., the archaeologist, guards, carry out tours when there is an overwhelming number of visitors.

The tour begins at the main entrance to the site, where the guides welcome the visitors:

> The area we are going to visit has been defined as an archaeological site. That means that it is the national patrimony of the country, declared so in 1979. In 1981 the honorable Provincial Council of Pichincha took over the site and welcomes you to initiate the guide (Wacho 2/15).

Afterwards, while the tourists are still gathered at the entrance, the guides give a very succinct history of the ancient inhabitants of the site:

> Good, these people or culture to which we legally belong as Ecuadorians, corresponds to the **Quitu-Cara** culture, of whom they say are pre-Inca, that is from before the arrival of the Incas, ... We know that they were a peaceful people, a people dedicated to astronomy, dedicated to agriculture and to other important activities that they needed to survive (Pullas De La Cruz 1997: 11).
>
> A matriarchal culture, we say matriarchy when there was kingdom of women. And above all Cochasquí, because here we had Quilago, the Princess Quilago ... Who would say that this culture, that this

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> leader Quilago would unite with the Mangos, with the people of Cayambe to resist the Incas (Virgilio, Tour Guide).

And a brief explanation of the meaning of the name Cochasquí:

> Cochasquí has several meanings. It means people (or town) of the moon or center of the lakes. It is, let's say, a mixture of Quechua, but it is not actually Quechua. It is a mixture, okay (Marcia, Tour Guide, 2/21).

The first major stop once inside the site is the open trench pit on the eastern slope of pyramid five. The trench is approximately two by four meters long and around 10m deep. It was one of the original pits excavated by the German archaeologists (Grupo Ecuador), which was left open for public exhibition to demonstrate the building techniques used to construct the pyramids. A brief history of both the excavation by the German archaeological team and the building technology is offered to the visitors at this instance:

> We are in an excavation unit. This excavation was carried out by German archaeologists from Bonn University, of the Ecuadorian group, headed by Dr. Udo Oberem. These excavations were done in 1964-5. Their objectives were to determine the initial constructions of these pyramids. As we can appreciate here, there is a step, from the step up we can observe the Cangahua blocks, which is a volcanic material that is bound by the Chocoto. Chocoto is a mixture of water, dirt and cascajo, plant remains. This pyram... [unfinished thought]; The depth is approximately 12 meters. It was done of this depth to determine if there were any pre-Columbian jewels or there were evidence of subterranean communication between pyramids, that

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> [hypothesis] in this area at least was completely discarded. But we are going to see later on that there were pyramids that had chambers, passages (Wacho, Tour Guide, 2/15).

The next stop, the longest one in the tour, is at a small model with all the major pyramids and mounds visible at the site. The model is located in a central area which offers a good view of all the surrounding pyramids. On many occasions I observed that this was the first time that the visitors were able to appreciate the magnitude of the pyramids they had just walked by. It was this central location that afforded them clearer visibility of the archaeological ruins they were visiting, and particularly of the long ramps that several of the pyramids present.

It is also at this stop that a detailed explanation of the history of Cochasquí was elaborated. Among the subjects discussed were: the Quito-Cara people who are hailed as the initial inhabitants of the site; a brief outline of the three major areas of archaeological remains, i.e., pyramids, mounds and zona pueblo; the different interpretations of the functions of the site (as highlighted in the introduction to this chapter); a description of the Inca conquest of the site and the defense of it by a female warrior/leader known by the name of Quilago (see chapter 4); an account of the Spanish conquest and decimation of the local population (discussed

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later on); a brief history of the owners of the hacienda of Cochasquí until its recent expropriation by the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha (discussed below); and, a chronology of the archaeological excavation made by the German archaeologists Max Uhle in the 1930's and Udo Oberem in the 1960's.

It is very important that the site is hailed as being of Quito-Cara origin:

> Well, as I was saying, as I was telling you, this is a tribe, pre-Inca, it is before the Incas. It is a civilization that comes from the Guayllabamba river to the Chota, the same cultural traits, the same customs, divided into chiefdoms. Among the most important we have Ibarra, Otavalo, Cochasquí y el Quinche. All these cultural traits, yeah. The Caranqui population, inhabited by the Quitus-Caras, the archaeologists divide it up into two formative parts for Cochasquí: the first period or Cochasquí 1, from 950-1250 A.D. and the second period or phase 2 from 1250-1550 A.D., yes (Wacho, Tour Guide, 2/15).

This is interesting since there is no independent archaeological/ethnohistoric evidence for the existence of a cultural group known as the Quitus, at Cochasquí or anywhere else in the northern Andes. This name of "Quitus" rather, comes from the written history of P. Juan de Velasco (1790; see discussion in chapter 6) that describes this fictitious polity as a kind of founder of a pre-national Ecuadorian heritage (Moreno 1985). The Caras themselves as a group are

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also of dubious origin, unless their name is short for Caranqui, a polity that did inhabit the area north of Cochasquí during Inca times (Bray 1991).

The following stop permits the visitors to actually climb through the biggest pyramid at the site, allowing them to come in direct contact with Cochasquí's rich history. The stop is at the center of pyramid 9, exactly where both the looting (huaqueo) by the hacienda owners and excavations by Max Uhle in the early 1930's produced a cut between the ramp and the main body of the pyramid (Fig. 8). In the tour description of one of the guides:

> This pyramid has been exploited. (It) was excavated by the first German archaeologist that came in 1932, and he doesn't only excavate number 9, but all of them. But he excavates pyramid number 9 in a cross shape because it is the biggest one, the widest one in body. This pyramid is the biggest one, as you can all see, it measures approximately from top to bottom 40 meters. And in his excavations he found a couple of lateral chambers and inside one of these chambers he found 577 skulls. Five hundred and seventy-seven skulls. And he also found, as we are told, pottery material, obsidian, the lithic material of the area. We can't confirm that he found any gold, what it (the culture) is advanced in is astronomy; that they took jewels out is unclear, there was nobody to control this (Juanito, Tour Guide, 2/8).

The visitors are also told about the looting of the hacienda observed by Max Uhle in 1932. According to Uhle (1939) the looting was an intense large-scale project that

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involved a large crew of men digging and re-directing one of the water canals to pass through the center of the pyramid. This hydraulic technique facilitated the excavation and provoked the main damage that the pyramid suffered.

The description of subterranean chambers, burials, and skulls, found in pyramid 9 significantly increases the aura of mystery surrounding Cochasquí's past:

> Since Dr. Max Uhle carried out excavations in it, finding some chambers and lateral passageways, the skeleton of a woman supplicating or asking for mercy and around 579 skulls but only the skulls were believed to have been war trophies of the wars that took place in the area (Marcia, Tour Guide 2/21).

The next stop takes us to pyramid 13 (Fig. 9-10). This pyramid is significant for two reasons: 1) it displays the actual Cangahua blocks and Chocoto floors used to build the pyramids; and 2) it exhibits two circular surfaces that are interpreted by some as astronomical calendars. The southeastern slope of the pyramid has been left exposed, protected only by a wooden and aluminum roof to allow the visitors to see the multiple layers of Cangahua blocks, some weighing over a ton, and Chocoto floor fillings that were used to make up the pyramid (see Fig. 10). However, only small groups are taken to see this feature more closely, since larger groups might endanger it.

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The two circular surfaces excavated by the German team, also left open for exhibition at the top of pyramid 13 is another point of contention. The guides discuss the divergent views: Udo Oberem's team saw them as domestic/ceremonial dwelling floors, while Valentin Yurovich (Russian astronomer) claims they are lunar and solar calendars. Although this discrepancy is noted, the calendar explanation receives a greater amount of implicit validity and is eagerly taken in by most of the visitors. The following is one of the guides' description of how the lunar calendar might have functioned:

> But now there exists another theory from Valentin Yurovich, who shows that the canals had different positions. For example the canal that is closer to us is in direction to the Cotopaxi volcano. The other one is in direction of the Pichincha volcano, right. When you pour a liquid into these canals you can observe the positions of the moon or the moon's phases. And according to this, our Indians farmed their products, giving it the name of lunar calendar, right. The interesting thing about this platform is that it was constructed of a single piece. It is one flat board that forms this circle, the material is burnt clay. Its width is approximately 6cm, as you can observe (Marcia, Tour Guide, 2/21).

After crossing over a reconstructed hanging bridge, the actual visit of the pyramids ends on top of pyramid 10. Pyramid 10 is claimed to be a kind of military observatory because it is the highest artificial point at the site. On a clear day (but even more impressive on clear, full-moon

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nights) one is capable of having a full 180 degree field of vision, enabling one to see the Eastern Andean mountain range and its peaks, Cayambe, Cotopaxi, Pambamarca, Pichincha, Carahauirazo and Illinizas. You are also able to see the city of Quito and the town of San Antonio de Pichincha, where the equator is located. Finally, following the reconstructed Indian path (chaquiñan) one exits the pyramid area to visit the ethnobotanical garden and the reconstructed Indian huts.

There are two reconstructed domestic dwellings, both made out of Cangahua and Chocoto, which are explained in lengthy detail to the visitors (see Pullas De la Cruz 1997). The first and larger one is a rectangular house with two rooms and no windows. One of the rooms is the bedroom and storage area, while the other room serves as the kitchen (tulpa). The verandah-like entrance to the house serves as the eating area and it is also where friends and family are received and entertained. The second house is one large circular room. Only the cooking and sleeping actually take place in the house while all the other activities take place outdoors. This circular house or bohio also includes a guinea pig pen and a tulpa (Cangahua hearth):

> the tulpa, where they prepare the food, cook the food; three blocks of Cangahua form a triangle, where they place the clay pots, to cook the food, make a fire, putting the wood underneath, like a candle to give light where there was not any, they lit it up (Pullas de la Cruz 1997: 36).

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Finally, as one exits the bohío one can observe the ethnobotanical garden. The garden is made up of two sections. The one to the left of the exiting path presents all the plants indigenous to the Americas, while the one to the right presents all the European plants introduced to the continent which became part of the indigenous diet and way of life. After exiting the general site area, one continues to the site museum where the tour guide concludes.

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History of Cochasquí, The Museum

United in History
Welcome to Cochasquí
National Patrimony
(Sign at Museum Entrance)

The in-situ museum at Cochasquí, located a couple of meters from (and above) the main entrance to the site, is the last stop of the tour guide. The tour of the museum takes about half an hour, but as with the rest of the tour, the duration really depends on the rapport between the guide and the tourists. The museum consists of one long rectangular room with display panels on each side of the room as well as along the center and back of it (see Fig. 11). All the artifacts in the museum were either donated by the local population, loaned by the Colegio Nacional de Tabacundo (the Tabacundo high school), or products of surface collection and from a salvage excavation carried out in 1986. It is interesting to note that no actual artifacts from the archaeological excavations of 1932 by Max Uhle or by Udo Oberem et al. in 1962-3 are present at the museum. The artifacts from the former excavation seem to have been completely lost, while the artifacts from the latter one are either in Germany or stored at the Instituto Geográfico Militar in Quito.

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There was enormous care in the design and construction of the museum structure. The museum was built in 1990 and was made of local materials, just like the domestic ethnographic reconstructions, to provide a feeling of authenticity. This reconstruction of an "authentic" structure, using the same material with which the pyramids and mounds of the site were built, was the original idea of the ex-Director of the site, ethnohistorian Alfredo Costales (Programa Cochasquí 1990).

The walls of the museum are made of cangahua blocks, cemented together by chocoto, dry maize leaves and mishque (cactus pulp). The thatched roof was made out of long, flanked carrizo tied with pieces of chilpe (cactus twine). The double entry door is made out of mantaquera wood and covered over by esteras (thin pieces of wood), although when the museum was originally inaugurated the door was covered up with dried-out animal hide. The interior of the museum also maintains this indigenous authenticity in the fact that all the shelves are pyramid shaped, designs which are still used in some Andean Indian houses. One of these types of shelves (hornacinas or pacarinas) is a triangular-shaped cut embedded in the wall that allows for the placing of objects, including sacred artifacts, without needing to take up any actual floor space. Finally, the floor is made out of hard-packed soil covered up by wood and esteras (Programa Cochasquí 1990).

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The actual name of the museum is Yacaura Quilago (Leader or Princess Quilago) after the famed female leader of the site. Quilago is hailed as the key figure in the war against the Inca conquest and is used as a symbol of the local resistance against foreign domination:

> The museum has the name of Yaucara Quilago in honor of this princess which governed this area (Juanito 2/8/97).

> Well, and this culture was governed by a woman named Quilago. Quilago is a name, not a surname, they just recognize this woman because they call her queen, they call her the Quilago; a matriarchal people, a people governed by woman of several areas, that were governed by women, always accompanied by generals, chiefs, that defended their territory, their birth home, that was their ancestor's home (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 11-12).

The first thing you see as you walk into the museum is a small scale model of pyramid 13, flanked by pottery vessels on both sides and by large pondos (large pottery storage vessels) at the far end of the room. There is a large pyramid-shaped shelf halfway down the room on the right-hand side which contains pottery and figurines. Immediately opposite this collection is a three-sided window that permits a full view of the landscape, similar to the one seen from pyramid 10. Next to the window there are two seats made out of the root of the local penco cactus and a drawing of the major mountain tops, with their elevations, visible from the site on clear days.

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The small scale model of pyramid 13 made out of a cangahua block, allows the visitor to get a better idea of the construction, structure, and function of the pyramid:

> And here you can appreciate the forms of the structure, but you had originally been able to see how they have been disfigured. Therefore it is a pile of well-sculpted blocks mixed with another type of clay. What this green represents is the grass, the top part when it just had been excavated, and that is the way they had found these platforms (Juanito, Tour Guide, 2/8).

> It was on top of these pyramids that I was telling you there were burned platforms with canal-shaped holes that do not have entrances or exits. Here they inserted stone cones in the orifices on the sides of the canal, and they used them to measure time; it was used for measuring, for the calendar, right. It was an agricultural calendar (Francisco, Tour Guide, 2/2).

The pottery in the museum is divided into two periods: an initial period of Cochasquí I (950-1250 AD) and a later period of Cochasquí II (1250-1550 AD/or to the moment of Spanish contact). The first period is characterized and described as having a rustic technology of very little artistic value. The most significant element in this ceramic assemblage is that of the vasija zapatiforme. This shoe-type form is of unknown function and presents a wide variety of shapes and form (see Fig. 12-13). This first period is also presented as the initial moment of pyramid construction at the site.

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The second period is the one claimed to be the one of greatest splendor at the site and of heightened pyramid construction. During this period, it is explained, new pottery technology is developed and three-legged cooking vessels (polípodos) of great variety in size and form variety appear. This second period also presents Inca and Panzaleo pottery as a result of conquest and exchange.

The Inca artifacts are represented by small aríbalos (pottery globular jars) in perfect condition, and significantly enough very little was actually said about the Incas during the different tours (over 20) that I observed. Meanwhile the Panzaleo artifacts, i.e., pottery vessels, are used to demonstrate both the exchange networks that Cochasquí had with neighboring polities and possible ritual importance this pottery had throughout the Andes:

> Here we find another type of pottery, this is where you can see the Panzaleo-Píllaro. This Panzaleo-Píllaro is a very thin pottery, it's called egg shell. This is found in the area of Cotopaxi, that's where you find this type. This material, this pottery was utilized as an offering, yes, it was used as an offering (Francisco, Tour Guide, 2/2).

In this same section, hanging from a string above the Inca aríbalos, Panzaleo vessels, and compotera (cups) there is a fragment remain of a shiny black coquero mask (Fig. 14). The mask representing an indigenous coca 'chewer,' said to be

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found at the site was described in the following manner by one of the guides:

> We also have a mask that is a representation of a native chewing coca leaves. This was found in excavations. Therefore our ancestors use to chew coca but not like a drug like in present times but like medicine. In this case to receive energy, to avoid hunger, for the cold, exhaustion, and to this day they still use it in the Amazon, above all in the area of the country of Bolivia. They still use the coca (Juanito, Tour Guides, 2/8).

There are also four large (1-1.5m high) storage pottery vessel embedded in the back wall of the museum. These vessels are described as being used to store water and food, but most importantly to make maize beer (fermentar chicha). There is also a slightly larger pottery vessel not embedded in the wall but rather, resting on a rope base on the right-hand corner of the back wall. This large vessel receives a great amount of attention when the guides explain that it is a funerary urn and that a human skeleton in fetal position was found buried in it at the site. The guides remind the visitors that this was the traditional burial practices of our Indian ancestors, echoed in the traditional song Vasija de Barro, but that unfortunately very few of them remain thanks to looters and unauthorized excavators (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 40-1).

Finally, there is a significant number of lithic artifacts and a set of obsidian blades and refuse. The lithic

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artifacts are mainly made up of manos and metates (mortars) and weapons. The mortars are of different kind and form, i.e., circular, oval, etc., each suited for grinding a different kind of plant or seed, e.g., maize, annato, etc. In terms of the weapons, there are stone axes, boleadoras and huaracas (star shaped stone ax). Some of these have been reconstructed on traditional wood and rope to offer a sense of how these weapons were used. Of the three, the huaracas are the most popular ones since they help explain the origin of why domestic beatings are called huaracazos, as several of the guides joke about to the visitors' amusement. At this point the guides thank the visitors, instruct them to spend as much time as they would like in the museum (although the guide will stay until the last person leaves) and to sign the visitor's book (one person per family/group) on their way out:

> I hope you have not gotten tired and many thanks for your visit (thanks is heard in the background). We will expect you some other time, we are at your disposal and I wish a safe trip to all of you. Hoping you are participants of this site, so important in our country. A signature ... (Juanito 2/8/97).

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A History of Cochasquí, The Program

> The Cochasquí Program is: an organic structure that is concerned with scientific research; the conservation, restoration, the economic development of the region; the diffusion, promotion and carrying out of different agendas, scientific and ecological tourism; with the perspective of defining, motivating and defending our national identity (Mantilla, n.d.).

The maintenance of the site of Cochasquí is strictly controlled and supervised by the "Cochasquí Program" (Programa Cochasquí), which is under the jurisdiction of the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha (Pichincha's Province Council). Since 1986, the Program has been officially an administrative unit of the Consejo Provincial, but until then the Program had been an independent Department of this state entity. The program's funding is automatically included in the annual Consejo Provincial's budget, although extra funds for special events are presented separately to the Consejo and directly approved by the Prefecto Provincial. This request for extra funding seems to receive favorable reception since, during my stay in 1997, the program was awarded over 100 millions sucres ($25,000 dollars) to fund two different cultural events, i.e., an international shaman meeting, and a week- long memorial to commemorate the 30th anniversary of Che Guevara's death.

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The Cochasquí Program staff is typically composed of 15 members: a director, five tour guides (two of them local comuneros), a site resident, an archaeologist, a sociologist, a secretary, two drivers, four local workers (jornaleros), and three local guards. Half of the staff, -- the director, secretary, three of the guides, archaeologist, sociologist, site resident and drivers -- are based in Quito. Most of them make the trip back and forth to the site on a daily basis. The other half of the staff -- i.e., guards, workers and the two other guides -- are actual comuneros and live in the adjacent area to the site. The director himself visits the site an average of two or three times a week but rarely stays for more than a couple of hours at a time. The director of the Program, as well as all other Program positions, is appointed by the Consejero who is also responsible for representing the Program in the Consejo Provincial's bureaucracy. It is ultimately the Consejero who holds the greatest amount of power in the Program.

Since 1979 the Consejo Provincial has been actively involved in the control and maintenance of Cochasquí as a large scale archaeological site. As a staff member told me, Lenín Ortiz is the person responsible for the idea of developing the site of Cochasquí. Lenín Ortiz, as consejero of the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha, decided to rescue the

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site and convert it into a life-size museum. The Program's work started in the late 1970's, when Lenín and some of his students from the Universidad Central carried out the initial cleaning of the site and the planning and organization of the project. Early on, he also counted on the help of other university professors, such as Alfredo and Piedad Costales (the former later became director of the site), ethnohistorian and architect, respectively, who also contributed their support and students to the founding effort of the program.

By 1981 the 83.9 hectares that currently make up the site had been completely expropriated from their last private owner, the Hacienda Pirela, and the site of Cochasquí opened its door to the public. The Consejo Provincial initially obtained fourteen hectares of land from the hacienda, which consisted of a large east-west trench that included just five of the major pyramids. Within the next couple of months the remaining 69.9 hectares were taken from the hacienda. The current 83.9 hectares of the site contains the full monumental area, which includes the 15 pyramids and the smaller mounds that surround it. Nonetheless, there is evidence of archaeological remains well beyond the presently delimited area (Programa Cochasquí 1991). One can observe that the expropriation process has produced a negative impact in the relationship between the Program and hacienda management. The

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strained relationship was inherent in the staff's fear of trespassing the hacienda's limit or, of giving the hacienda owners any reason to legally challenge the expropriation process. These fears are not unfounded since the legal complaints have not been completely resolved, and part of the process is still pending in court.

The Program's initial plan put forward four main objectives for the maintenance of the archaeological site of Cochasquí: a) historical/anthropological; b) conservation/restoration; c) socio-economic (community development); and d) public awareness (Programa Cochasquí 1981). These four initial objectives have been maintained during the Program's existence, with just a minor restructuring of them while A. Costales served as Director of the site in the early 1990's (Programa Cochasquí 1991). The most interesting objective of the Program in its central concern for the historical reconstruction of the site has been its interest in including the comuna in the site's preservation. From the outset it proposed a dynamic concept of culture as the essential element for any possible model of autonomous development of the region (Programa Cochasquí 1981).

The initial structure of the Program was of an interdisciplinary nature because it looked to the development

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of Cochasquí not only as an archaeological site but also as an autochthonous community with many other needs, such as agricultural, socio-economic, medical, etc. (Programa Cochasquí 1981; Paredes and Estrella 1989). It also vied for a future structure wherein the local communities (comuna) would become responsible and capable of managing the archaeological site directly. This initial cultural objective is still prevalent among the tour guides today:

> that is why there is the preoccupation of the Program is not only with restoring or rescuing the pyramids, but with everything that is culture, with all the culture (Virgilio, Tour Guide, 2/2/97).

In the Program's restructuring of the early 1990's there was an explicit understanding of three major areas of social activity at the site: the first was the initial period of cleaning and preparing the site for public display; the second was marked by the presence of foreign and national experts who served as consultants to the program and carried out studies of different aspects at the site, e.g., Lumbreras 1990, Yurevich 1986); and the third was the Program's recognition of the difficulty in implementing many of the initial objectives, mainly due to the instability of the Program's personnel (Programa Cochasquí 1991).

The Program has had over seven directors since 1981, although only four of them have really had a major impact on

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the site, mainly due to their ability to staying on as directors for more than a year. These four are: Licenciado Lenín Ortiz (1981-85), Licenciado Alfredo Costales (1986-93), Sociologist Ramiro Mantilla (1994-96) and Dr. Hugo Vaca, historian, (1996-98).

Lenín Ortiz is a traditional, self-trained archaeologist, who has also been actively involved in politics during the last three decades. For example, in the last two decades he has twice been a consejero for the Province of Pichincha. As Consejero he has been responsible for representing the Cochasquí Program within the Consejo's bureaucracy. Although he was the initial proponent for rescuing the site, many of those who have collaborated with him over the years have mixed feelings about his legacy. Several of the ex- and current staff members I interviewed implied that although the site of Cochasquí has benefited immensely from Lenín Ortiz's labor, he has also used it to further his own social reputation and economic status. They allege that he has done this through the public use of the site for special events and celebrations, such as the international shaman meeting, which received more attention and funding than the regular maintenance of the site.

According to an ex-staff member (who worked at the site from the very beginning), Lenín Ortiz was ousted from control

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of the site in 1985 by the ethnohistorian, Alfredo Costales, who became the director of the site until 1994. It was during Alfredo Costales's period as director that two museums were inaugurated, the site museum (which was constructed in 1991) and the war museum, which was completely dismantled in 1995. Lenín regained his influence over the site when he was reelected as Consejero in 1994 and was influential in appointing sociologist Ramiro Mantilla as director in 1995 and providing for a rhetorical shift to the initial interdisciplinary objectives of the Program.

One of the staff members explained that the present director (Dr. Hugo Vaca) was initially a tour guide at the site, and later became the site resident before being promoted to director of the site. The present director (until 1998) counted on Lenín's full trust and was one of his personal advisors while Lenín was head of the INPC (Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural), since Hugo Vaca had worked for over a decade as head of the Public Relations department at the INPC (the INPC being the institution in charge of regulating all the cultural work in the country). Lenín, as Consejero, demanded Ramiro's resignation and that of all the staff members who had supported the newly ousted director. Dr. Hugo Vaca was then appointed director of the site after Ramiro's forced resignation.

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As a result of this the Program personnel had been completely overhauled since my first contact with the Program three years ago in 1995, with only the local staff, the archaeologist and site resident remaining from the previous administration. This instability of the staff's personnel was signaled by Salcedo (1985) in his ethnography about cultural identity at Cochasquí as a central characteristic of the Program. For him, the labor instability is provoked by a whole array of different reasons and situations:

> The instability of the staff, who are constantly removed; the confusion of personal conflicts with the general and transpersonal objectives of the Program; the problems of communication between different social and cultural backgrounds; the intangible phenomena resulting from power conflicts; the labor tensions from the working conditions of the Provincial Council and of the Program itself; the different ideological tendencies of its members; and the different degrees of interest in the Program itself has made it a heterogeneous composition of varied interests and personal motivations, which is why a uniform collective action can not be implemented (Salcedo 1985: 103).

However, for Salcedo (1985), more importantly this instability is a response to actual structural constraints defined by the country's different ideological currents. The Program's position within the Consejo Provincial, a state institution, makes it prey to economic hardships reflected in low wages, contract problems, transportation deficiency (cars always

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breaking down), etc. and social instability as a result of the constant power play between consejeros and electoral politics.

Not surprisingly, as I was recently informed by one of the staff members, once again the personnel in the program have been changed since my participation in the project in 1997. The director, sociologist and site resident have been removed, while the ex-president of the comuna has been hired as a site guard, Lenín's own nephew was appointed director of the site, and a close friend of his (the nephew/director) has been hired as site resident. The instability of personnel will most probably only increase due to the establishment of a new government in the country in 1998 and the customary political turmoil that this will produce in the Consejo Provincial's bureaucracy.

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> During the last days of the excavation they found, in one of the corners of the passageway, a human skeleton in a position that corresponded to a sacrificial scene. Surrounded by sand, the skeleton was kneeling, its body erect, its arms crossed over the face that was forwardly inclined. A wooden fence, artificially made, imprisoned it (Uhle 1939: 10).

The site of Cochasquí has been the object of two different archaeological research projects, both led by German archaeologists. The first time the site was excavated was in 1932 by the renowned Americanist, Max Uhle. Max Uhle was invited to excavate in the country in the late 1920's by Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, who financed Uhle's expeditions and research in Ecuador (Moreno 1982). Max Uhle limited his excavation in Cochasquí to the biggest pyramid, which is now referred to as Pyramid 9 or as the Uhle Pyramid, named in his honor by the Ecuadorian Group (Grupo Ecuador) (see Uberem and Hartman 1981a). Uhle had no restraints in publicizing the intense looting that the pyramid had suffered at the hands of the owners of the hacienda and the irreparable damage this caused to the history of the site and to the pyramid itself.

Uhle (1939) initially reported on his excavations in 1933, and later published his report in the Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia. Among his findings, Uhle

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reported an internal hallway (9 by 17 meters) that ran along the center of the pyramid, although he could not explain its functions. It is in this central corridor that he also found a skeleton (described in the opening epigraph of this section), which he defined as being in a kneeling and/or supplicating position:

> The observation of these details allows us to construct the scene of a prisoner, imprisoned in an artificial fence so that it did not escape and could not move, would then receive mortal wounds without the possibility of defending itself or seeking refuge (Uhle 1939: 10).

It is interesting to note that all the contemporary guides that I observed referred to this burial as that of a female, even though Uhle never defines the sex/gender of the individual in his article.

Uhle also found two different construction levels or phases, both of them with a ritual skull offering. He found over 570 skulls in the pyramid, which he considered either evidence for ritual sacrifices and/or beheaded war prisoners whom were used as head trophies:

> There is no doubt that these skulls represent part of the vast amount of human skulls inserted during the construction of the building and top passageway, within the mid-soil surface that served as the foundation for the top construction, once the previous one had been abandoned. These types of insertions are known for new buildings in a great number of semi-civilized cultures, that carried out human sacrifices, and sometimes also of

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> animals, to obtain, through these superstitions, the security of these constructions (Uhle 1939: 7).

According to Uhle, the initial pyramid building was superimposed by a later construction which was divided into two equal areas by the central corridor. He uncovered the edges of the pyramids and interpreted them as being stairways leading to the surface of the construction. He also discovered a canal (10m long) which he tentatively interpreted as serving as a blood container for the sacrificial victims (remains of the canal are still visible today, see Fig. 15). Finally, through his excavations he was able to define the material used for the constructions of these pyramids: solid cangahua blocks (2x1m) placed over solid layers of hardened clay (chocoto).

Uhle's descriptions are interesting for many reasons: among them is the fact that his excavations are the only ones that report either internal chambers and human remains in any of the pyramids. His article is also a very rare opportunity to glimpse, through photographs, what the site looked like during the first half of this century. However, the article is also limited by its time constraints: it assumes an Inca origin for the site based on its sheer monumentality with very little independent evidence. Based on this Inca genealogy, Uhle offers us a patriotic history through the figure of

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Atahualpa (last Inca heir of "northern/Ecuadorian" dynasty) and his mother, Quilago, who he recognizes as the same person identified by the different cronistas as being leader of Cochasquí (to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5).

The chronology of the site has benefited not only from the actual excavations by Uhle and Oberem's research (see below), but also by that of others in the northern Andes, including an independent study carried out by the leading Peruvian archaeologist, Luis Lumbreras (1990). Lumbreras was selected by UNESCO to carry out a comprehensive study of the archaeological knowledge of the cultural chronology at Cochasquí up to the present date and to provide recommendations for future research at the site and adjacent area.

Although there is evidence for human occupation near the peak of the Mojanda starting in the Paleo-Indian period (7,000 B.C.), the area where the pyramids were built seems to have been initially occupied around 950 A.D. Lumbrera's findings generally confirm the initial chronology provided for the area by Jijón y Caamaño (1920 and 1952) and by Oberem (1981):

1250-1550	AD	Cochasquí II	Domestic Mounds
950-1250	AD	Cochasquí I	Mounds with pozos
150	AD	Malchinguí	Pozos burials

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Cochasquí II is defined as the period of maximum grandeur of the site, where it has the widest territorial expansion and greatest political clout. It is during this period that the different pyramids and mounds encountered by the Incas, and later by the Spaniards, were constructed, both of whom successfully conquered the site. It is also believed that during this later phase the site was sharply divided along class lines, with a wealthy elite (possibly religiously sanctioned) occupying the pyramids and mounds for domestic and ritual purposes, and the greater part of the population living in the lower southern plain of the site (Zona Pueblo) (Lumbreras 1990; Oberem and Hartman 1981; Wentsher 1989).

Cochasquí I is characterized by the initial occupation of the site area. There is no evidence for either pyramid or mound construction during this time; rather, the people seem to have lived in smaller restricted areas of the site. There is evidence of a Cochasquí I occupation at one of the bigger mounds (Ushpa Tola), although it seems to have pre-dated the mound construction period. Most probably the initial phases of this mound were the result of the inadvertent reuse of the same place as a domestic dwelling.

Lumbreras (1990) also provides a detailed discussion of the three other distinct pottery types at the site: Inca, Panzaleo and Cuasmal/Tuza. However, the remains of these

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three pottery types are quite constrained, since together they only make about 5% of the full ceramic assemblages found at the site (Meyers 1981 and 1989; Schonfelder 1989).

The second archaeological excavation of Cochasquí was carried out in 1964-5 by a group of German archaeologists known as the "Ecuadorian Group" (Grupo Ecuador), under the supervision of Udo Oberem (Oberem 1981; Oberem and Wurster 1989). This research expedition was made possible as a result of the collaboration between the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Ecuadorian Section (IPGH) and the Institute for Cultural Anthropology of the University of Bonn, as well as the explicit consent of Carlos Calisto, owner of the hacienda at that time. The German team excavated: Pyramids 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 13; Mounds a, h, n and x (known as Ushpa Tola); a small section of the southern plain (known as Zona Pueblo); and several smaller sections of the open area north of pyramids 3 and 5 (Oberem and Hartmann 1981; Oberem and Wurster 1989). They also excavated two large mounds at Malchingui, a town located west of the site itself (Meyers et al. 1981).

The research expedition had three major objectives: 1) to determine the construction process, function, and age of the pyramid complexes; 2) to excavate and obtain information about the burial mounds; and 3) to investigate general pre-

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Columbian living areas (Wurster 1989). The excavations overall offered little archaeological evidence for either the function of the site or the actual political structure present before the Inca conquest. The excavations mainly provided chronological and specific information about each of the monuments excavated (Oberem and Wurster 1989).

Of the four mounds excavated, only one of them (Mound a) provided actual evidence of skeletal remains, i.e., one burial and seven skulls. Meanwhile the other ones were interpreted to have been prepared for burial purposes since there was evidence of funerary offerings although no actual remains were found, it was possibly for elite members who died away from home (Wentsher 1989; Oberem 1981). In all, evidence of 20 different individuals were collected, although over half of them were mainly represented by skulls or other small remains. Quite significantly most of them showed cranial deformation and almost no evidence of cavities, even though high levels of dental wear were present (Kunter 1981; 1989).

The excavations also served to confirm several of Uhle's initial findings. Although pyramid 9 had suffered tremendously since initially excavated six decades ago, it still presented evidence of the construction process, canal, stairway and corridor that Uhle had reported. However, new interpretations were offered for many of the same features.

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Both the corridor and stairways were not interpreted as such but rather, as construction devices that fortified the pyramid to withstand the passage of time and the harsh Andean weather.

The canal was also stripped of possible blood ritual characteristics and rather, was likened to the same function as the four found on pyramid 13, as well as in other parts of the site, such as pyramid 3 and 7.

Also the two-phase construction proposed by Uhle was seen as actually one long-term construction process with no evidence found to support Uhle's claim for a final two-room building on its surface. The Inca affiliation of the site was also questioned and deemed inaccurate based on the archaeological evidence obtained. However, Uhle's original contention -- that the pyramids were most probably covered with grass (pasto) because otherwise the blocks could have been easily destroyed by exposure to the extreme cold, rain and wind present at the site -- was validated (Oberem and Wurster 1989).

Pyramid 13 was by far the pyramid most thoroughly excavated, and the one that provided the most interesting and detailed information. The surface of the pyramids shows evidence of two round earthen platforms. Both round platforms are very similar in construction. They are round, burned, earthen platforms with evidence of a central post, two canal-

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like features and several other post molds. The round platforms seem to have been produced by direct surface burning of the clay. The main difference between the two platforms is that the one to the east is a half meter lower down and three times bigger. The function of these platforms is unclear, although the German archaeologists interpreted them as round domestic/ritual enclosures with thatched roofs (Oberem 1981; Wurster 1981 and 1989).

However, the presence of two canal-like features make this interpretation problematic. These "canals" are long, two-stepped rectangular features made of burnt clay (just like the rest of the platform) with no evidence of drainage. They also have a series of three holes arranged in triangular fashion on the upper step, with several small, pestle-like stones found inserted in many of them. The archaeological team interpreted the canal as large hearths with the stone serving as a cooking grill on which the pots were placed. The closeness of the holes to each other, as well as their shapes seem to question this interpretation.

On the other hand, the site guides (as I have discussed above) offer the alternative interpretation that these platforms were moon and sun calendrical systems; that the canal served as an interpretive mechanism functioning with the implementation of the stones and their respective shadow

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alignment. This original interpretation is routinely attributed to the Russian astronomer who carried out work at the site, V. Yurevich. Once again, Yurevich's (1986) manuscript in the site's archive made no explicit mention to the structures as calendrical systems.

The only astronomical observations about the site made by Yurevich (1986) refer to the ramps and mound location. For Yurovich the ramps were not mere mediums to gain access to the pyramids as the earlier archaeologists proposed (Oberem 1981; see also Wurster 1989). He considered the ramps to be lineal devices that pointed to the exact location where the star Betenash appeared each year signaling the beginning of the farming season. Yurevich also proposed that several of the mounds immediately south of pyramid 14 were constructed to resemble the constellation of the Osa Mayor. Yurevich's interpretation demands more good faith than the maps, charts, observation and descriptions warrant.

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History of Cochasquí, The Area

> Atahualpa's mother was, by heritage, queen of Cochasquí; native born, Atahualpa was returned at a tender age to Cochasquí, his nation and of the Caras, having received his education from his father, Huainacapac, that prepared him for his destiny as king of the Caras, he would conserve love towards his country and mother, and most probably wanted to establish his residence, as Ecuadorian king, preferring Cochasquí to Quito (Uhle 1939: 14).

As previously mentioned, Cochasquí is located in the Northern Andes in the territory which many authors define as País Caranqui (the Caranqui Nation) (Salomon 1986; Larraín 1977; See Bray 1991 and Cordero 1998 for detailed descriptions). El País Caranqui:

> occupies a relatively small territory, between the Chota river on the north and the Guayllabamba on the south, having the Intag river as the western frontier and the "divortium aquarium" of these rivers, that belong to the Pacific system, with the oriental river that goes off to the Amazon. Its area is approximately in the order of 60 square kms, N-S and E-W (Lumbreras 1991: 9).

Although contrary to its name, País Caranqui (Caranqui nation), it seems to have not represented a single political unit but rather, a series of autonomous chiefdom-like polities that may have had a common language, trading network and production characteristics (Moreno 1981; Jijón y Caamaño 1952;

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Murra 1989). The site of Cochasquí itself seems to have been, along with Caranque, Caymbe, and Otavalo, among the most important pre-Columbian centers of the area, each serving as the paramount centers for each of the local chiefdoms (Oberem 1989; Espinosa Soriano 1988).

Only under the threat of the Inca invasion did these polities become consolidated as a large federation to make a common front against this state incursion. The Inca conquest seems to have provoked this strategic alliance, described in many of the descriptions found in the colonial accounts and documents (Larraín 1977; Moreno 1981; Espinosa Soriano 1988).

One of the earliest descriptions of Cochasquí given to us is the 16th. century account of Pedro Cieza de León's La Crónica del Perú:

> From the housings of Otavalo you go to the ones of Cochasquí and to get there you pass a snowy point, and a league before you get there the land is cold that it is difficult to live there. From Cochasquí you walk to Guayllabamba and then there is Quito four leagues away ... In the roads that lead to these places there are several rivers, and all of them have their bridges, and the road goes very straight and there are great building and many things to see, that I do not tell about them just to shorten my writing (1945: 127-8).

This descriptions by Cieza of the 'aposentos de Cochasquí' (houses of Cochasquí) are in reference to his journeying through the royal Inca road that connected Otavalo, Cochasquí,

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Guayllabamba to Quito before the road and towns were completely destroyed by the Spanish conquest.

What is striking in many of these colonial accounts is the relative importance of Cochasquí in comparison to Quito. From the ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence of the current Ecuadorian capital, it seems that Quito might have been a regional market place (tianguez), used mainly for trading purposes with only a minor strategic importance and very little urban development (Dominguez 1996). Only during the Spanish conquest did Quito become an important regional center and metropolis. There is very little evidence for major Inca constructions in Quito, unlike other cities such as Tomebamba (contemporary Cuenca) which was an important Inca urban center.

Different from Quito which was easily conquered by the Incas, most probably because of its lesser importance, the conquest of Cochasquí seems to have been a hard won struggle. The Inca conquest of Cochasquí must have occurred around 1515 and it could have been ten years before the Incas consolidated their control over this part of the territory (Moreno 1981; Espinosa Soriano 1988). In almost all the tours I observed, however, the struggle between the Incas and Caranquis at the site was described as having lasted between 17-20 years.

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Cochasquí must have been the southern frontier in the resistance to the Inca incursion in the north, since everything to the south of Cochasquí was previously conquered. Because of the difficulty in conquering the area, the Incas seem to have decided to attack both from the north and the south at the same time, since there is evidence that the northern groups (Pastos, Quillacingas) were conquered during the same time as the southern ones (Caranqui, Otavalos, Cayambes, Cochasquí) (Larraín 1977).

Many of the later Spanish cronistas narrate the difficulty of the Inca's victory over the initial Caranqui defense at Cochasquí. This is evidenced in the fact that not only cronistas that visited the territory of Quito collected this information but even cronistas in Cuzco were told of the intensity of this particular Inca struggle. As Miguel Cabello Valboa describes, the Incas:

> reached a place called "Cochisquí" where they found the native preparing their defense and trusting the steep inclines of their hills in a fort they had built. Once reaching here, Guayna Capac prepared his army for the attack, and thinking it would be easily won did not take the precaution that the battle required. Because of this reason the army from Cuzco was almost completely lost until they responded to the care and courage of the "Cochisquies", and they became alert, attacked with greater precaution and were less conceited. It can be said that lots of blood was lost in their victory over the "Cochisquíes" since equal number of people were killed on both sides, which is why the Inca did not make much of the victory since he had lost as much as the defeated army. Once

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> conquered, he put forts in the area of "Cochisquí" and Guachalá (another fort that surrendered) and took prisoners that were still left, many of them went over the hills, and they joined the enemy forces in the land of the Otavalos (Cabello Valboa 1951: 368).

Both Spanish cronistas, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1947 and 1960) and Murúa (1987) also chronicled the Inca hardship in conquering this territory and the great losses to both armies. More significantly, Murúa mentions how the victorious Inca forces slaughtered many of the members of the defeated army at Cochasquí. According to Oberem (1989) it is possible that the hundreds of skulls found by Uhle in Cochasquí's pyramid number could have belonged to the Inca forces buried ceremoniously at the site. The idea that the skulls belonged to the Inca instead of the Cochasquí forces comes from the fact that Uhle reports no cranial deformation on these skulls, unlike all the other ones found during the 1964-5 excavations (see Kunter 1981; 1989).

Another interesting element in the history of the area and also singularly expressed and highlighted in the guided tours is that the site was controlled by a woman, referred to as Queen or Princess Quilago, who led the defense of the territory against the Inca conquest:

> the resistance was very strong on behalf of a queen Quilago, whom the Inca took as a lover and killed when he was informed of her plot to murder him in

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> his bedroom. Quilago is the queen of the area of Cochasquí (Motesinos 1957: 117).

There are many contradictory interpretations about the life and death of this female chief. What is clear, however, is that "Quilago" is not her actual name but an ethnic title given to all female chiefs of the area, while the male counterpart was "Ango", which explains the number of names with that ending in the area, e.g., Paraquilago and Cabascango.

Some guides describe Quilago's marriage to the Inca as a sign of submission and peace between the Incas and the Cochasquí community, and that after an initial ploy to kill the Inca she was put to death (Jijón y Caamaño 1995). Others mention this Quilago as being the mother of Atahualpa (the disputed last Inca) (Uhle 1939). This belief led to a military search of Cochasquí for the burial place of Atahualpa's (the disputed last Inca) mother in 1930 (El Día 1930). At this point it does not seem possible to determine whether the Quilago who was leader of the site of Cochasquí and the Quilago who was married to the Inca, Huayna Capac, father of Atahualpa were one and the same individual or were two different elite women of the area, even though the 1631 representation of these events seems to support a single identity for both Quilago (Oberem 1989).

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Although the guides state that the site was abandoned during Inca times, this seems highly unlikely based on archaeological (Oberem and Wurster 1989) and ethnohistoric evidence (Moreno 1981; Oberem 1989). What probably occurred is that Cochasquí was abandoned during colonial times by command of the Spaniards so they could create more manageable 'reducciones' (peasant estate/reservations). This process probably resulted in the formation of the current neighboring and much larger towns of Tocachi and Malchinguí (see Fig. 16). The last time Cochasquí is mentioned in colonial documents was in 1574, while the town of Malchinguí is first mentioned in 1582. Meanwhile, Tocachi is not documented until 1623 as part of a description of the local towns in the colonial administration of the area (Oberem 1989). After its relative importance during the initial colonial period, the site then seems to have been abandoned for a long time, becoming one of the biggest haciendas in the northern area of the territory.

The history of the hacienda has been divided into three different periods (Moscoso y Costa 1989). In the first period (1538-1592), the land of Cochasquí is given to Alonso Hernandez by the Spanish King (through the jurisdiction of the Real Audiencia de Quito) for services rendered in the Conquest of the Audiencia's territory. The second period (1593-1830), marks the legal indivisibility of the territory and the

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exclusive inheritance of the land for the eldest male heir (Mayorazgo). The third and last period (1831-present), marks the birth of Ecuador as an independent state from Spanish rule and the shift of the ownership of the hacienda as private property.

The current owners of the hacienda (or what is left of it), are the Calisto family, who bought it in 1891. Since then, the hacienda has been continuously stripped of its large landholdings through the forced selling of small sections of the land to small sharecroppers and a large portion to the Pirela Company (from whom the current archaeological site was expropriated) as a result of the 1962 Agrarian Reform initiative (see Barsky 1984).

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History of Cochasquí, The Comuna

> I did not go to school, we know nothing here to live, it was all work, it was all service in the hacienda, like we are, just what was left of the Incas (Concepción de la Cruz, Comunera of Cochasquí in Moscoso and Costa 1989).

The comuna (town) of Cochasquí is located just to the left of the secondary road that leads to the archaeological site from the main highway. The center of the comuna is located on a hilltop 2km south of the entrance to the site. The comuna itself is made up dispersed farmholdings that are clustered in three different barrios (neigborhoods): San Francisco, El Cholán y El Salado. The community had an estimated 600 inhabitants with a total of 65 families when Salcedo (1985) carried out his study of the area.

Although the population is considered to have an indigenous origin there is very little of an Indian identity represented in the community (Salcedo 1985). This lack of an Indian identity was also apparent in my conversation with a couple of the comuneros who admitted to having lost their ancient traditions, in the fact that they did not speak Quechua (native Indian language), or dress in western clothes. Rather, like many other peasant communities in coastal and highland Ecuador, their identity is more directly linked with a rural-mestizo ethnicity, and with the towns of Malchinguí

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and Tocachi, from where most (90%) of the original population initially came (Salcedo 1985).

Like other Ecuadorian peasant communities (Barsky 1984), Cochasquí suffers from an enormous migration flight marked by the departure of most of the younger population to the neighboring town of Cayambe or the country's capital, Quito. The part of the population that resides in the comuna the whole year round makes up only 52.5% of the total estimated population. The lack of work opportunities and education facilities (there is only one primary school) are influential in the high rate of migration and are the two main reasons given for the exodus to the major urban centers.

The consequences of this high migration level is evident in all the comuna members' lives, including those of the local guides. For example, one of the guides still lives in the comuna with his wife while his two sons and daughter are working and studying in Quito. Meanwhile the other guide's eldest son moved to Cayambe by himself to start high school (7th grade), even though he is only 13 years old. In the last couple of years the influx of flower factories (which are the local version of maquiladoras) in the area has brought new job possibilities. However, these companies prefer female over male workers and still demand that the worker spend the whole week away from home since a daily commute is impossible due to

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the lack of adequate and reliable transportation. In addition, stories about the health hazards due to pesticides were related to me, which coincide with similar concerns about such factories in Colombia and other locales within Ecuador itself.

The comuna is governed by a locally elected ruling body known as the Junta Directiva, which is composed of a president, vice president, secretary and síndico (treasurer). The Junta Directiva is democratically elected by popular vote of the comuneros and has to be officially recognized by the teniente politico (political authority) of the city of Tabacundo. The officials (all of whom have been men) serve for a term of one year and are usually re-elected for another consecutive year, while some are reelected to office several years later (Salcedo 1985).

Interestingly enough, the elected officials recognize this post as an "ungrateful" job (un trabajo ingrato), since they have to worry about the needs of the comuna and are not recognized for their efforts. Even worse they are often questioned and accused of wrongdoing (Salcedo 1985). It is evident that occupying these elected posts, especially the presidency, is marked by an economic loss but a gain of social capital (Bourdieu 1993). The president himself often has to use his own money for transportation and other expenses, which

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never gets refunded. However, this economic loss is translated into social clout and prestige (Salcedo 1985). This would explain how the last comuna president was able to get himself hired by the Consejo Provincial as one of the new guards for the site. This event points to the fact that, as I was informed, a stable job source is highly coveted and a target of great envy by the community members.

The history of the comuna is also very closely associated with the hacienda of Cochasqui itself. Originally, before the selling of the land due to the 1962 Agrarian Reform, the hacienda had very large landholidngs. The comuneros spoke to me about the hacienda property being very vast: initially starting at the Pisque River (a bit farther down form the current Panamerican highway), going all the way to the Fuya Fuya (the top of the Mojanda volcano). In all, it extended for thousands of square km and covered a full 1,000m of fertile land (Moscoso and Costa 1989).

The hacienda exploited several different crops: wheat, corn, oats and potato being the most important ones. It also boasted a large livestock production of cows, bulls, sheep, and pigs as well as mules and horses (Moscoso and Costa 1989).

In the last decade the Calisto family sold a large part of the hacienda to the Pirela Company which specialized in piretro (insecticide crop), which unfortunately had a negative

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effect on the mound and pyramids because of its harsh impact on the soil (Programa Cochasquí n.d.a).

The hacienda was historically maintained by different forms of labor relations, the two most important ones being huasinpungueros and arrendatarios. The huasinpungueros (see Icaza 1993) were workers who were given a small plot of land to live on and harvest with their family in repayment for the whole family's service to the hacienda (Moscoso and Costa 1989). Not surprisingly this form of labor extraction in terms of indentured servitude, inherited from colonial times, was a subtle form of slavery since the huasipunguero never had a chance of improving his socio-economic situation.

As one of member of the Cochasquí comuna, Virgilio Pullas de la Cruz (1997: 53) elaborates in his description huasipungueros were:

> workers that live and work on a piece of land around their homes, which generally provides them with the necessary basic resources for their survival, without there being enough for their reproduction.

Arrendatarios also lived on the hacienda land but paid for the land which freed the rest of the family from serving the hacienda household. In words of another comuna member:

> So you see some people had land from way before. Like my father-in-law, several years back when this hacienda belonged to the Calistos. They had people on as huasipungueros and arrieros. So that the

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> arrieros had to take the produce and grain to Quito. While the huasipungueros had to work for the hacienda for free one day a month. They had to go to the hacienda give one day of their labor" (Guard, 3/26/97).

As some, but not all of the accounts express, the relationship of the comuneros with the hacienda was unfortunately one of exploitation and servitude (see Rodriguez 1980 for a more positive interpretation of life at the Hacienda; also see Stoler 1996 for similar theoretical discussion). Hortencia Sotamín describes past times in a very similar way: "In times of my father, there were schools but only for white people, for us naturals there was nothing" (in Moscoso and Costa 1991). Meanwhile, Pullas de la Cruz (1997: 53) narrates how:

> the owner of the hacienda made people work on Saturdays and Sundays in his benefit. To this obligation both fathers and older boys went, while the daughters worked as house servants for the hacienda. If they refused to work, the owner of the hacienda would imprison them and would tie them up. Because of this the natives of Cochasquí left.

Most of the workers brought in were from the neighboring towns of Malchinguí and Tocachi, especially during the big harvest periods. However, during the 1960's there was a major selling of plots of land to the huasipungueros, in association with the agrarian reform that looked to dismantle the latifundios (large landholdings) in the country. As one of

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the comuneros explained to me: "instead of giving them compensation in terms of money, they were given land. I am not too sure if 6 or 8 hectares" (3/26/97). Since the owner decided which lands would be sold (Moscoso and Costa 1989: 31), the worst and most arid ones were the ones distributed: "the worst lands were given to us"; "He would tell us that so we can be together and form a town he would give us the land in the Salado (which was the most arid ones; the name itself means salty)" (Salcedo 1985: 88). It is at this point that the comuna of Cochasquí as such begins to function, with the presence of a bigger community and elected local comuna officials who got the official approval from the regional authorities in Tabacundo.

In terms of the comuna's relationship with the Cochasquí Program, the present conditions have diverged from the original objectives which were:

> that the peasants that lived in the surrounding area had the social right to participate, not only as workers, but as administrators, since ultimately they are the direct descendants of what constitutes Cochasquí (Paredes and Estrella 1989: 11).

Based on my observations and conversations with both staff members and local comuneros it appears that the relationship between the comuna and Program has been and is one of contention. Most of the comuneros I spoke to agreed that

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there was a much closer working relationship between both at the beginning of the Program's existence and that it has deteriorated over the years. As a local comunero explained:

> That is, that before when the Program just began here in the community there were good relations. That is there was understanding. Both the community offered its service, such as mingas (communal labor). Any work that needed to be done, the community would go out and do it. But all with one objective; the people would offer their work. When it was the secretary's, treasurer's or the president's turn from here [of the comuna]; the people would offer their service so that the Program would help the secretary, treasurer, and/or president, giving them transportation so that they could carry out the paperwork to benefit the community. That is, there was an even exchange... But now it's not like that. I am not too sure. But since Costales was in charge. And he said that the Program was on one side and the community was on the other. Since then the people decided to part ways, both the community and the Program. And ever since then there really hasn't been any reconciliation. Although now it seems to be better. It also depends on the leaders of the community. It depends on the leaders of the community to establish communication with whomever is in charge here (at the site) and in the community (3/26/97).

On the other hand the current and two ex-directors of the site I interviewed argued that the relationship is still very close and that the Program is as concerned with the community's well-being, as it is with the archaeological remains.

However, based on my observations it appears that the Program tends to use the idea of communal development as a vehicle through which to carry out its own agenda. In this

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manner the comuneros are encouraged to do what the Program wants but always under the rhetoric that it is in the comuna's own interest. This characteristic was particularly explicit at a community meeting where the Program director asked for a communal minga (group labor activity) on a weekend to clean the pyramids for the upcoming shaman meeting. The director felt within his right to ask this help from the community even though the Program had been given independent funds for this event. Furthermore the event completely excluded the community from participation, and the site does not really offer any direct service to the community's existence.

At the same time the comuneros are aware of this uneven exchange and offer their help with their own agendas in mind. At one level, there is individual maneuvering from the elected government within the comuna itself to ingratiate themselves with the program, socially and politically benefiting from this clout, e.g., the ex-president being hired as site guard. At another level, the program is instrumental in providing transportation, influence in bureaucratic affairs and economic contributions to the local community, such as asking staff members for contributions for building the new local church. Overall the comuneros gain an enormous amount of prestige, which at some point can be translated into economic gain, in being associated in any way with the site

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and/or with its urban, white-mestizo, middle-class staff and sometimes foreign visitors.

For Salcedo (1985: 103-5) the difficulties between the comuna and the program have two specific roots. The first is the social differences between the mestizo urban staff and the rural-mestizo peasant community that express two contrasting mentalities, socio-cultural and economic forms. This is especially true since all the decision- making power is maintained by the white-mestizo staff located in Quito. The second is the Program's portrayal of social development as an abstraction, while for the comuneros there is a tangible need for better economic and social conditions.

Finally, there is a mystical/mythical feeling in the comuna about the pyramids at Cochasquí. The stories about unexplained events in the area around the site are quite numerous, many of which I was told first hand from the staff and comuneros themselves. Most of these stories deal with one of the following elements: la yumba (white blonde woman), sirena (mermaid), balls of fire, hidden treasures, el cuiche, volcano lakes, UFO's, etc. The area itself was always referred to as that of the pyramids or that of the crosses by the local people:

> What we know of these mounds is that they were made by the Incas and the Caras, before they were called the "crosses", I could not tell you why, but that

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> what they were called. Now everybody just calls them tolas (mounds) (J. E. Chicaiza in Salcedo 1985: 68).

Although it is unclear why they would use this name (the crosses) it might be because of the "T"-shape of the pyramids or due to the construction of the crosses in the area to protect against the visions and unexplained events associated with the pyramids. This practice of setting up crosses in natural haunted areas is fairly widespread in Ecuador, e.g., Peninsula of Santa Elena.

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CHAPTER 3
NOSTALGIA OF HISTORY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN OFFICIAL COCHASQUI

> One had to be convinced that there was merit in recording history since that was the purpose of writing, after all. It might be history that everyone agreed with or history that got you hanged for writing it but for which your name was revered in the future and then read to revise history. But it was all history and it was all myth, since history is myth. Starting with one's own story. More specifically, her story, which was a myth which she resisted to make into **his**tory.
>
> Ana Castillo, *Loverboys* (my emphasis)

MAKING HISTORY, POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS

The archaeological site of Cochasquí is imbued with implicit and explicit notions of Ecuadorianess and an authoritative history of Ecuador's pre-hispanic past. As such, Cochasquí is readily a site of contradictions and subtle mechanisms of representation which makes its analysis useful for understanding the complex political hermeneutics of historical production. The main objective of this chapter is to assess the process of an official historical production that makes the site nationally significant in contemporary terms.

The process of historical production is one plagued with questions of representation, authority, authenticity, truth and political commitment (Bond and Gilliam 1994; Handler 1988; Handler and Gable 1997; Foucault 1991; Jackson 1989). In

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light of recent historiographical research of archaeological knowledge (Patterson and Schmidt 1995a and 1995b; Kohl and Fawcett 1995) researchers have acknowledged how the pressing social and other discursive constraints are inherent in the production of historical narratives (e.g., Trouillot 1995; Sider and Smith 1997). The reappraisal of history and historic truth is a fruitful locus for understanding the internal logic of power and its form of domination, since "history is the fruit of power" (Trouillot 1995: xix). Historical production is an eminently politically charged social activity that can offer us an insight into the discourses of power, including that of the state:

> Political domination involves historical definition. History - in particular popular memory - is a stake in the constant struggle for hegemony. The relation between history and politics, like the relation between past and present, is, therefore an internal one: it is about the politics of history and the historical dimension of politics (Popular Memory Group 1982: 213).

Cochasquí is no stranger to these controversial social processes. As one of the most important and visited archaeological sites in the country (Fig. 1), it is seen by many, including the Program staff responsible for its care, as well as those who visit and study it, as a site of national importance (Mantilla n.d). This is also apparent in the words of many of the Ecuadorian tourist visiting the site: Cochasquí

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is "marvelous" and it forces us to want to "defend our treasures" (V. de L., March 8, 1997); The site ratified "our value as a millenary culture and makes us love our land" (E. 4/15/97); it gave us a greater conscience for protecting what's ours; our roots; our ancestors and culture (E. 4/25/97). The guides also emphasize the national importance of Cochasquí:

> I would implore as a peasant that has feelings, that primary and high schools, colleges throughout the country, and why not say it, even at a world level should get to know this site, so important as Cochasquí is, that they get to know the roots to which we belong to as Ecuadorians (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 26).

The patriotic rhetoric in the guide's history belies the nation-state's vested stake in the elaboration of an official Cochasquí, which alternately and dynamically suppresses/silences and highlights different historical elements.

The production of an official Cochasquí, the site's official story which is disseminated to the school children, media and tourists who visit the site is similar to historical narratives of other Latin American communities that are implemented within dynamic forms of state subjection and inventions of subjectivity (Alonso 1995). This hegemonic narrative tends to have three distinct elements: an initial

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primordial period with a cohesive and congruent social order, a second disruptive period or "the fall" which marks the shift from a society of non-dominators to be transformed into the dominated, and finally a third period of conflict in which as a result of this transformation new social relations have emerged and are now grounded into place and contemporary life (Alonso 1995).

The official oral and written guides and pamphlets at the site produce a primordial narrative that is intertwined with the nation-state's interest in reifying a story about a primordial pristine past free of domination and/or subjugation. As Alonso (1995: 232) suggests:

> The primordial society is located in the time of community origins, the frontier past. Although situated in historical time, however, this past is epic and remote, simultaneously remembered and beyond memory. The outlines of the primordial society are nebulous, eluding sharp delineation precisely because they are the contours of an idealized past, a past from which the effects of power and traces of pain have been effaced so as to conjure up a memory of time in which oppression was not preordained.

Specifically in Cochasquí this is expressed in the following historical descriptions: The site is presented as being inhabited by the initial pristine society of Quitus-Caras, which remarkably for a state society did not exhibit any signs of political domination. The original inhabitants

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are depicted in an almost socialist light, echoing Baudin's (1961) benevolent portrayal of the Incas as an overprotective and caring state:

> Good, let's remember our culture, which was a communal people (pueblo), united, they didn't work individually, nobody was richer, nobody was poorer, instead they all worked together, so that everybody had something to eat, so that everybody had something to wear (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 27).

The second period of destruction or "fall" of this original/ primordial society (see Foucault 1993: 143) is contained in the narrative of the foreign invasion and conquest of the site, first by the Incas, and secondly, by the Spaniards. As a result of these foreign invasions the indigenous inhabitants of the site lose their autonomy and sovereignty, having to pay homage to each of the new ruling monarchs. However, it is clear that the inhabitants and "Queen" (Quilago) of Cochasquí did not give up their freedom lightly, fighting till their death:

> And therefore she is betrayed by her close aides and they "gossip" the information to Huayna Capac (the conquering Inca leader) so that she falls in the trap of the Incas and then come the white people, the savages that are the Spaniards with which these people are destroyed and this area gets abandoned. We know, as some accounts tell us, they talk about many surnames that left because Huayna Capac was furious with the Quitus (original inhabitants of the site in the narrative) wants to pass them all through the knife, burn them all, so the people of this area go to other places. ... Finally, a whole bunch of surnames leave here and

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> this area is totally abandoned and the Spaniards take it as the hacienda Cochasquí, all this area gets organized as the hacienda Cochasquí (Pullas De la Cruz 1998: 12-3).

Both the Inca and Spanish conquest in themselves have a series of singular elements that relate it to notions of Ecuadorianness (which together with the national discourse in general will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter). Once the Spanish conquer both Cochasquí and the Incas, they are able to claim domain over the land expressed in their renaming of the territory as an hacienda which signifies a whole new shift of social and economic relations (Quintero and Silva 1991). These new conditions are associated with dramatic shifts in the racial/ethnic structure of the conquered territory, which is why it is very much in these terms of racial reasoning that the contemporary description of Cochasquí's inheritance and meaning is discussed:

> The word Haira pamushca means that we represent the three honorable bloods of the Quitu-Cara to which we belong as Ecuadorians, Incas, coastal and Spanish; And returning to the word Quitu-Cara, why should we be ashamed? We must feel proud, feel with our heads held high, with our minds clean and not be embarrassed in any part of the country, in any part of the world to say that we belong to the Quitus; and not be ashamed of this because it was a group of wise people in everything, we give value to other cultures: Mayas, the Aztec culture and ours, nothing, not even in the history books it is mentioned, or they say very little and that would

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> be very interesting, the knowledge about our people (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 26).

This initial synthesis of Cochasquí's official history as narrated by the tour guides highlights the hermeneutics involved in any form of historical production. It is precisely to this complex power of historical representation and the role of the state in officializing this process that I would like to turn in the following pages in order to understand the production of an official Cochasquí. Following this, I will describe some of the specific techniques used by the Cochasquí Program to put forward its own vital version of the past at the site.

Historical production is inextricably tied to issues of political and territorial legitimatization (Kuklick 1991; Silberman 1995). These underpinnings of historical production in themselves are enough make us wary of any particular narrative, official or not, being presented as an objective rendering of the past (Wylie 1995; Vargas 1995), especially since history's authority relies on being presented as the real thing, as objective truth, even though by definition historical narratives are merely that, narrative approximations to the past that is being described (Handler and Gable 1997; Wylie 1995).

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However, this is just the first level of complexity in the process of historical production. As Nietzsche initially expressed, there are no facts as such. One must always begin by introducing a meaning in order for there to be a fact. This initial distinction is essential in understanding that historical renderings are not simply a question of individual or social honesty, truthfulness and/or accuracy but rather that all these elements are caught up in the production of the historical discourse. That is, that history's imperative need to recreate the past, to describe and/or interpret past reality, is above all an exercise in creating and sustaining a sense of reality. It is this exercise that "is the major ideological task of the discourse of history, and it involves a mode of representation which denies the act of representing" (Taussig 1989: 11).

Alonso (1988: 37) has also tackled this problematic in her work of a Mexican community's past:

> The paradox is that historical discourses hide their hermeneutics so as to construct their 'credibility' and 'authoritativeness' vis-à-vis their audiences. History is rhetorical in that it aims to convince and in order to do so, it is drawn into misrepresenting its project. Like realistic art, historical narrative pretends to be a copy of an actuality which is 'naturalized', presented as 'raw data', as 'hard fact'.

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For Alonso (1988), as for many other scholars concerned with historiography (Guha and Spivak 1985, Spivak 1988; Taussig 1992; Foucault 1993) this naturalizing technique is essential in understanding history's powerful role in giving sense or actually constructing political subjects, i.e, the state, nation, citizens, etc. History's hermeneutics, based on its hidden misrepresentation, takes "unusual pain to erase the elements in (the historians') work which reveal their grounding in a particular time and place" (Foucault 1993: 156) It is this misrepresentation which allows us to give an order and sense that was not present or could have never been achieved in the initial moment of the original events being interpreted.

History is able to order and explain because it introduces a secular teleology that looks to meaningfully orient the actions at hand, even though there never was an initial plot other than the events themselves (see Hesse 1994 and opening epigraph of following section). According to Foucault (1993: 152-3), traditional history is able to offer meaning because it relies on a series of characteristics associated with a metanarrative that: looks to reconcile the past with the present; is outside of time searching for ultimate truths; relies on apocalyptic objectivity; and seeks a continuous and organic development of events.

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At another level, history is inextricably linked with power beyond the initial notions of explicit coercive domination. Rather, history's credibility relies on its potential authority as truth. Since the ability and power (or will) to know are inseparable (interestingly enough ability and power are expressed by the same word in Spanish: poder) the resulting truth of knowledge is also a resulting truth of power (Alonso 1988: 39). In other words, the social production behind "what really happened" is hidden to offer the authority needed by the historical narrative. In this manner, "the effects of truth are also effects of power" (Alonso 1988: 50; See Foucault 1991 for detailed analysis). The will to knowledge is one characterized by powerful violence and injustice, because it destroys the illusions we have constructed to protect ourselves in the pursuit of happiness: "it sides against those who are happy in their ignorance" (Foucault 1993; 162). Contrary to our perceptions of knowledge as a quest for truth, the will to know:

> ceaselessly multiplies the risks, creates dangers in every area; it breaks down illusory defenses; it dissolves the unity of the subject; it releases those elements of itself that are devoted to its subversion and destruction (Foucault 1993: 163).

The power which both produces and is produced by historical accounts is nowhere more evident than in the

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national histories elaborated within the social boundaries of large scale communities, such as the nation-state. As Anderson (1983) and many others (Hobsbawm 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Fox 1990; Williams 1990) have discussed the nation as an imagined community is privy to a history that will make sense and legitimize its claims. This community is essentially woven through an imagined kin genealogy in which history is both a defining characteristic and holds a privileged positioning. The power of this historical genealogy is nowhere more palpable than in the million of lives decimated, many of them willingly, in the defense of the nation, the purity of one's blood and/or the dignity of one's particular identity (Williams 1990 and 1991). The ultimate sacrifice of life, demanded and expected by every nation in the world once again brings home the pivotal role of history as a medium "through which nations are imagined and sovereignty is constructed" (Alonso 1988: 41).

However, contrary to what one would expect, no historical narrative, in particular official ones, are able to fully eradicate the diffusion of counter-hegemonic accounts. Rather, non-official and hegemonic narratives live side by side with each other, as is the case of the multiple historical discourses at Cochasquí. The official history merely appropriates accordingly those essential

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characteristics within its own evidential constraints and formulation of truth. Official and alternative narratives exist in relation to each other, need each other, in a non-fixed relationship that changes as the social terrain that produce them is being negotiated and redefined (Alonso 1988: 49; see also Joseph and Nugent 1994).

It is precisely because of this process that counter-hegemonic narratives can never maintain their status as such:

> The successes of history belong to those who are capable of seizing these rules, to replace those who had used them, to disguise themselves so as to pervert them, invert their meaning, and redirect them against those who had initially imposed them; controlling this complex mechanism, they will make it function so as to overcome the rulers through their own rules (Foucault 1993: 151).

Therefore, once afforded a greater level of normative acceptance they themselves become hegemonic, no matter how progressive or alternative their claims might have been or even still be (see Wylie 1995 for discussion). It is also due to this that hegemony presents itself as an elusive category of deconstruction but rather as one of dynamic transformation.

As many authors (Joseph and Nugent 1994; Sayer 1994; Roseberry 1994; Scott 1994; Silverblatt 1988) strive to illustrate, hegemony is a constant state project in the making, "an ongoing process in which official and popular

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discourses struggle to advance and to defend social interests and values" (Alonso 1988: 48).

However, in the nation's imagined existence through time it is the state that seems to be actively interested in appropriating and officializing histories for the nation (Alonso 1988). At this point I would like to turn to the state itself to understand its role in the construction of particular subjectivities, such as that of Cochasquí as an Indian site with a heritage that informs notions of Ecuadorianness.

Abrams's (1988) article "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State", surprisingly enough, was published eleven years after it was written and seven years after his own death, and stands out as one of the most impressive modern contributions to understanding the mechanisms of the state apparatus. In a succinct manner, he revisits Engels and Marx to qualify our contemporary analysis of the state's role and function in society. For Abrams we should pay heed to the fact that "the state presents itself to us as the first ideological power over man" (Engels in Abrams 1988: 64) "and that the most important single characteristic of the state is that it constitutes the '**illusory** common interest of society'" (Marx and Engels in Abrams 1988:64; my emphasis).

In this vein, Abrams proposes that:

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> The state is not the mask that stands behind political practice. It is itself the mask which prevents our seeing political practice as it is. ... The state starts its life as an implicit construct; it is then reified - as res publica, the public reification, no less - and acquires an overt symbolic identity progressively divorced from practice as an illusory account of practice (Abrams 1988:58).

The state's mask or supposed absence is really the state itself or rather, its mask does not imply that there is a face hiding under it or that it is not really there (see Wilde's discussion on identity in Browning 1991). This is also Radcliffe-Brown's (1940), traditionally ignored, argument in the preface to African Political Systems, where he elaborates that the state in this sense does not exist in the phenomenal world; it is a fiction of the philosophers.

However, neither Abrams (1988) nor Radcliffe-Brown (1950) deny the enormous and real power held by the state but quite the contrary. Both authors point to the source of this power as being not in the state itself but rather in our own fictive construction of it, in our own fetishizing of the state as a boundless entity. It is exactly through this play of images, or this constant looking for further and deeper proof when the state (both as a system and idea) is right in front of our eyes, the manner by which state "ideology displaces power from its real to its apparent center" (Abrams 1988: 78). The understanding of an enormous state fetishizing

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in the working, far from denying the presence of state oppression and coercive domination, "directs us to precisely the existence and reality of the political power of this fiction, its powerful insubstantiality" (Taussig 1992: 113).

It is precisely the repressive institutions at the state's service, i.e., armies, prisons, national security, etc., coupled "with the idea of the state and the invocation of that idea that silences protest, excuses force and convinces almost all of us that the fate of the victims is just and necessary" (Abrams 1988: 77). The state always appears claiming rightful domination; very rarely, if at all, does it appear as the practitioner of terrorist and violent techniques of oppression in which it routinely engages in and is actually based upon. The state allies itself with reason and offers "purposes in a purposeless condition"; it offers "a mind in a mindless world", and therefore becomes yet another "opium of the citizen" (Abrams 1988: 82).

Taussig (1992: 115) outlines the intricate relationship between reason and violence, or the violence of reason, as a form of stately cultural practice. He argues that our own fear of the anomie and chaos that surround us makes us grapple for a reason, any reason, that will deter it. And in that instance we are if not grateful, at least willing to overlook the violence instituted in reason because we fear even more

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the plausible void in a world without reason (Baldwin 1984:20). Our fear, at many times sheer terror (Taussig 1992) of the randomness of events that make up life, makes us want to deny with violence "a historical sense (that) confirms our existence among countless lost events, without a landmark or a point of reference" (Foucault 1993: 155); especially when we find that "at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity" (Foucault 1993: 142). In a way, the fear of violence makes us accept violence regulated by the state apparatus as a matter of life, and death (see Sider 1991 for similar debate).

As outlined, the state not unlike historical production is also invested in a project of concealment:

> it conceals the real history and relations of subjection behind an a-historical mask of legitimating illusions; contrives to deny the existence of contentions and conflicts which would if recognized be incompatible with the claimed autonomy (Abrams 1988: 77).

That is why the task of the social scientist is exactly to attend to that demystification, to actually determine the forms in which the state does not exist rather than those in which it does (Abrams 1988: 77).

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That is also why, the ultimate secret of the state, its hidden agenda if you will, is that there is no secret, no hidden agenda at all (Abrams 1988: 133). If we listen to history, we find:

> that there is something altogether different behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms (Foucault 1993: 142).

This non-existent hidden reality takes us back to the core of what state hegemony is all about. This hegemonic construction is what Sayer (1994: 374-5) refers to as both the strongest and most vulnerable element of the state:

> Individuals live in the lie that is "the state," and it lives through their performances. Their beliefs are neither here nor there. What is demanded of them is only - but precisely - performances. Like actors they merely have to behave as if they were the characters they are impersonating. (In this manner, the state's like God's) omnipotence is daily celebrated, even if his existence is, for many members of the congregation personally, a matter of doubt.

It is this fragility of the truth, artifice, of people performing in their daily life practices that reify an entity in which they do not necessarily believe, which makes hegemony the intellectual equivalent of the emperor's new clothes (Sayer 1994: 377). It is in this process that individuals and institutions are constituted as historical subjects and are by

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this subjection obligated to support the deception which is the state and its hegemonic construction (Taussig 1992: 132).

This inquiry is closely related to Foucault's (1991: 164) interest in analyzing:

> the question of power by grasping it where it is exercised and manifested, without trying to find fundamental or general formulations; without considering, for example, the presence of a state which would be the holder of power, which would exercise its sovereignty upon a civil society which itself would not be the depository of analogous processes of power.

The state holds power as a result of its reification and does it through its own citizens and institutions. The process of "subjection" (Foucault 1991) by which the state is able to constitute historical subjects is inherent in the official portrayal of Cochasquí as a Indian/Prehispanic site with an essential Ecuadorian heritage. At the site of Cochasquí, the state is non-existent except though the Program's official practices and belief (or performances of a lie) that there is a state figure they can rely on, beyond that (and partly expressed through) of the financial support made available to them through the state apparatus (i.e, state as system, see Abrams 1988: 58).

In this sense one of the main characters in the historical drama of Cochasquí has always been, and still is, undoubtedly the Ecuadorian state. And it should not surprise

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us if the state, brilla por su ausencia, shines due to its absence. The state is nowhere to be seen, and yet in many ways it is the main beneficiary of the discourse expounded at Cochasquí. The entity of the state is constantly reified in the daily, if not hourly elaboration of tour guides in which Cochasquí is hailed as a treasure chest of Ecuadorianness. Cochasquí openly legitimizes the reason for being and the existence of the Ecuadorian nation-state, through the oral and written guides at the site, which allow the visitors to pay allegiance to this higher ruling authority, not unlike that of a secular God embedded with sacred power (Abrams 1988; Taussig 1992).

It is the Program employees as part of the Consejo Provincial de Pichincha (Provincial Council of Pichincha), who vary from a popularly elected Consejero, to a hand-appointed director, to local guides, who are the most visible representative of the state. These employees can function as state representatives because of their subtle reification of the Ecuadorian state through the representation of Cochasquí as a prehispanic archaeological site of grand national importance.

In the next section I want to specifically discuss the techniques implemented at the site to understand how Cochasquí becomes an important archaeological site and its history was

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produced -- a history that when constituted as official has enormous hegemonic implications. My purpose therefore is to provide an analysis of historical production at Cochasquí.

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THE PRODUCTION OF AN OFFICIAL COCHASQUI

> I imagine that every historian is similarly affected when he begins to record the events of some period and wishes to portray them sincerely. Where is the center of events, the common standpoint around which they revolve and which gives them cohesion? In order that something like cohesion, something like causality, that some kind of meaning might ensue and that it can in some way be narrated, the historian must invent units, a hero, a nation, an idea, and he must allow to happen to this invented unit what has in reality happened to the nameless.
>
> Herman Hesse, *The Journey to the East*

The Program's voice is the privileged one when it comes to determining what is socially and currently significant in historic terms at Cochasquí. It is the Program and its staff who have the final word in what is expressed to the public. However the Program is not the only voice; there are at least three other major groups vying for representation and recognition, that is power, at the site. These groups are the local comuneros, the anthropologists and archaeologists, and the tourists and/or visitors. It is also true that none of these four different groups invested in the historical production of the site are univocal or monolingual.

Each of these groups are composed, maintain and express a larger, heterogeneous and dynamic series of voices than what is initially apprehended. Just like the different

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archaeological publications do not agree on the nature or findings at Cochasquí, neither do the local comuneros agree in my conversations with them on what Cochasquí is or means to them, e.g., for some of them the site is very important while for others it holds no value whatsoever.

The challenge then becomes how to understand the nature and production of history from such a myriad of voices and the different, and at times contradictory, descriptions and interpretations of a large number of actions and events at the site. What makes the understanding of this phenomenon more challenging is the fact that although different versions are present and expounded, only one of them is hailed as the right one, or more precisely, as the official one. This is the privilege that the Program has taken for itself at Cochasquí.

The Program stands alone and unquestioned in its right to determine what is historically accurate for the site, even when its version is obtained through the same sources as the other ones. That is, the Program's version, expounded by the guides is unquestionably valid, even when it really has no greater claim to objectivity than the other versions expressed at the site and outlined in the previous chapter. But then how does the Program accomplish this, or what are mechanisms that allow it to proclaim itself as the holder of historical truth? In the following pages, I will describe three of the

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main techniques used by the Program to impose its historic authority through the elaboration of a "history that always encourages subjective recognitions and attributes a from of reconciliation to all the displacements of the past" (Foucault 1993: 152).

1) The Program as Synthesizer

First of all, the Program claims to incorporate the different archaeological versions of Cochasquí, and in that regard, offers itself as a synthesizer of historic truth. For this endeavor, it uses archaeology, and its aura of truth and objectivity, to obtain an even greater form of legitimization, in this instance a scientific one. The program therefore presents itself as an objective synthesizer with no "real" interest in manipulating the truth. Its only interest is in "obtaining the truth" (as if this exists independent of anything else) to further the heritage of the site. What hidden agenda could such a noble purpose hide?

However, not surprisingly, the Program does not merely synthesize the information or obtain the truth about Cochasquí but rather, creates or constructs it, just as any of the other historical versions do, picking and choosing what it fancies as truthful elements. It supposedly does not select only what it wants to hear, but rather, what it assumes to be truth

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based on its own rigorous demands of what the truth is. This form of historical production, under the guise of synthesis, is evident in the dismissal of different historical elements that are potentially disruptive and coincidentally do not obtain the status of historical truth in the Program's agenda.

This is present in the minimum exploration given to possible human sacrifices occurring at the site. The over 600 skulls found by Max Uhle in his excavation of pyramid 9 tends to be explained "away" in terms of them being simply executed war prisoners whose skulls were used as war trophies. As we can see in the following descriptions:

> When all that research is done they conclude that it is a result of the massacre, the war that they had with the Incas. They (the Incas) put them here, as you have heard it is from the sacrifices from the description of our ancestors. Most importantly this culture did not sacrifice people, but it was the Incas, there is a theory that it was the Incas, yes, the Incas most probably sacrificed the local people, But not our culture, they sacrificed animals, but since they only found skulls and not the rest of the bodies, and that is why I refer to the war brought about with the Inca invasion. And that is why this place is defined as a ceremonial center. Yes. (Tour Guide, Juanito, 2/8/97).

> And inside those corridors they found skulls, that is during the times of the owners of the hacienda Cochasquí, they found 560 skulls. The age of the skulls (at the time of their death) is around 25-30 years old, they were young. There are hypothesis, theories that say those skulls could be war trophies put in the pyramid during their religious ceremonies. ... There are several investigations, many whom say that they were human sacrifices.

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> Others say that they didn't sacrifice, because we believe more that these were peaceful cultures, that they didn't carry out human sacrifices, right. There are some canals where supposedly flowed the blood of the virgins (sacrificed) in the religious ceremonies. And precisely those skulls they took to a museum in Quito. That museum burns down completely and that is the end of the skulls. (Tour Guide, Virgilio, 2/2/97).

This explanation overlooks the disturbing possibility that "our ancestors" (these were the constant words used to refer to the original inhabitants of the site) practiced human sacrifices, either on foreign individuals or members of their own community. By claiming these skulls as war enemies it justifies their beheading and cleanses the past of any "savage" or "primitive" behavior, which would prove unintelligible, unjustifiable and almost unexplainable in contemporary terms to the visitors at the site. Since the tour seeks to make us proud of our ancestors, human sacrifices are an element that the program can easily do without.

However, the glossing over the skull offerings also makes this aspect much more attractive; by making it mysterious and forbidding the tours are able to arouse a greater amount of hidden and unstated interest in them. By censoring any discussion of ritual violence, we have "installed rather an apparatus for producing an ever greater quantity of discourse about (it)" (Foucault 1990: 23). This form of treating such a delicate subject ensures that no one

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is alienated from Cochasquí's history by a distasteful interpretation and assures a positive and morbid fascination with a mysterious and exciting past. Ultimately, this treatment demonstrates the most economical form of benefiting from a possibly disruptive historical element.

Another example of the Program's selective construction of Cochasquí's history is the description offered by the guides of the Inca conquest (for a more thorough description of the national undertones of the Inca presence at the site see next chapter). The Incas are not simply presented as another conquering Indian community, but rather, as a foreign one, equating the Incas with contemporary Peru, and the pre-Columbian struggle to the contemporary one between Ecuador and Peru (Gallardo 1995).

According to one of the guides, Peruvian tourists once abandoned the tour offended by his remarks. Yet for him there was nothing he could do about it, "it was not my fault, that is just how history is." The Incas in this instance, unlike in other moments when they are seen in a more positive light, are interpreted as nothing other than Ecuador's national mortal enemies. Therefore, not coincidentally the visitor's pride in the Ecuadorian nation is boosted by the description of Cochasquí's valiant defense of what becomes the "national territory":

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> We have narratives that state that this culture was governed by a woman, by a princess called **Quilago,** but this woman was "matriarchized" (matriarcada), that she fought against the Inca invasion. Therefore this culture has had a formidable struggle, right. But after the struggle with the Caranquis, pardon me, with the Cañaris, comes Huayna Capac and conquers this culture. But this culture had a formidable struggle for 17 or 20 years. But not where we are visiting but rather on the shores of the Pisque River. That is where this culture had constructed its fort to stop this invasion. However, since the Incas came with a very big army, history confirms us that this culture was conquered. That they (the Incas) passed on to the north, conquered the Province of Imbabura, the Caranquis, and where we are confirmed fought in the lake of Yaguarcocha, that is why Yaguarcocha means lake of blood, because that is where the massacre occurred. (Tour Guide, Juanito, 2/8/97).

An alternative understanding, of Cochasquí and the Incas as being pre-national (in contemporary terms) entities, and existing three centuries before the modern nation-states of Ecuador and Peru, is never presented nor argued.

It is through this process of idealization "through which the past is cleaned up, rendered palatable and made the embodiment of nationalist values" (Alonso 1988: 45). Unsettling elements such as ritual killing and conquest are tidied up and serve either to increase the mystery of the site as another intriguing curiosity or to foster support for the harboring of a xenophobic national/ethnic pride.

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2) The Program's Historical Range

The Program's (or official) version has more liberty to incorporate changes and adapt to different sources of historical facts. In this regard Cochasquí's official history is much more accommodating than the other versions, precisely because it attempts to present itself as more democratic and historically accurate and/or truthful. Cochasquí's official history is able to incorporate these differences because it is being produced and expresses itself at both an individual and communal level.

At an individual level, the guides are free to adapt the history to the particular audiences that they are addressing, which ranges from 5-year-old kindergarten children to full-fledged shaman healers. Cochasquí is fascinating because it has something for everybody, the guides can individually adapt to the needs of each tour group, making it a little bit like a historical Great Adventure: fun and entertaining.

Therefore it is no surprise that Cochasquí's official history can accommodate stories about UFO encounters, energy flows and shaman rituals. Accounts that includes some members of the staff (including the director) seeing and talking about unexplainable lights, strong energetic sensations, visions of Indians' ghosts, strange sounds and fearful encounters that have made them run from the site. All of these esoteric

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stories add to their authority through the mystery and first-hand knowledge that the accounts express:

> The mermaid (sirena) was suppose to be a woman-devil, that supposedly knew how to play the guitar. Supposedly she was always were there were few people. In hidden places and where you don't hear anything. With the music she supposedly attracted people and then she'd disappear (Cadena in Salcedo 1985: 117).

> One day I got close to the pyramids, because there was a lot of noise and I thought there were people. And there I saw that there were some naked men and there were some women with long hair. They were the yumbas. I got scared. And then when they saw me they let me go and they were very mad (Salcedo 1985: 117).

> In the pyramids which were called the crosses, they say that there used to see a shiny ball come down from the highest point to the flatter area and then would disappear, meanwhile they would try to find it but they wouldn't find anything. Other times they would say that the ball would illuminate the air when it would be coming down, they also would see it in the morning when the sun would be emerging with its radiant rays while the mounds (tolas) of Cochasquí would become orange and yellow (Pullas De la Cruz 1998: 66).

These accounts are accepted because they rely on the individual authority of the different official guides and staff of the program. Anything they say is immediately taken as truth and incorporated into the site's history, although with different constraints. The most important is that what is expounded must not be in direct opposition to the already

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official history of the site; inconsequential matters are tolerated, not oppositional ones. Another condition is that explanations must also be believable in practical terms. That is, it is believable not necessarily in everyday terms but in the context of the rapport that has been created with the audience listening to the guide.

Therefore, the individuals of the Program are endowed with an enormous amount of leverage in the production of the site's historic truth. But this individual authority works, on the one hand because, it can be easily incorporated to the Program's implicit agenda, and on the other because, it can be easily denied and attributed to being simply an individual's opinion. This is similar to the manner in which repressive institutions can blame individuals for their violent behavior and still defend the honor and dignity of their institutions, e.g., "dirty war" against "subversive" leftists groups in Argentina and Chile. The Program's staff have authority and participate in the wielding of power, but just like all the other players in the historical drama, their wielding is not unlimited.

However, even the general truths, representative of the Program communally, expressed in either written materials (site pamphlets) or museum exhibitions, are not any more rigid than the other individual elements of this official version.

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An example of this is the fact that the site housed a War Museum, which during many years in the 1980s was incorporated into the Program's official tour of Cochasquí. The War Museum (as it was called, Museo de Guerra), built under the initiative of the second director of the site, Dr. Alfredo Costales, housed different weapons and war artifacts, not only limited to Cochasquí or even Ecuadorian cultures (it even had medieval European swords). A couple of years later this museum was dismantled because the new director (in this instance, Ramiro Mantilla) did not feel it was appropriate any longer. Along with the museum, a sign containing a prayer to an Andean deity at the entrance to the site and the Apachita (pre-Columbian crossroads deity) were also removed. The removal of these elements might be contested by the staff or tourists but ultimately, the disappearance of these elements do not question the authority of the official history. The usage (or not) of these cultural artifacts says nothing (or possibly says all) about what sustains the official discourse.

The official discourse operates as if it has a life of its own, independent of its content. It needs a content to exist and officiate, but what the nature of this content actually is only of secondary importance. In this manner, the War Museum might have been an integral part of the Program's history at one moment, but its removal is not essential to its

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existence. When this part is taken out some other element either replaces it. For example, the hut-like construction that used to house the War Museum is now a small round auditorium that houses shaman meetings and accommodates over-night visitors that participate in rituals at the site.

The Program's history relies on a greater authority that is only and merely informed by historical facts, which makes the facts minor in the history's claim to authority. This is also why the shifting or changing of these "facts" does not have a major impact on the authoritative claim of the official discourse. This greater authority is given by the implicit state and national support of its discourse.

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3) The Program's Relationship with the State

The official history at Cochasquí relies on more than the contents or historical elements that make it up. The official version is able to muster on its behalf a series of social elements, such as that of state support and a national aura, to legitimize the Program's historical truth. Ultimately, these descriptions allow the Program to appropriate the actual empirical evidence it is trying to interpret and hail them as proof of their own historical validity.

Unlike the other voices at the site, the Program is capable of legitimizing itself not only with greater economic resources, but with a social status not accessible to the other groups. This status is obtained instantaneously by the backing of a government/ state institution, in this case el Consejo Provincial de Pichincha. Its claim to historical objectivity (via state backing) is enough to put it in a realm way above that of the other historical version competing for the same value and legitimization status.

In this regard it is the state, or its absence, which as Abrams (1988: 58) has discussed is the same device that helps to legitimize the Program's version of the site's history, Cochasquí's official history. The absence of the state only assures that every person involved in the Program becomes the

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state, or its spokesperson, and that their individual opinion becomes one with the Program and ultimately with the state itself. This scenario brings us back to the question of the Program working under the guise of not having a hidden agenda, when theirs is the most subtle and essential one, that of the maintenance and legitimization of the Ecuadorian nation-state.

Cochasquí's official history vies to support the notion of an Ecuadorian nationhood, and ultimately, it is this intent of supporting the nation that becomes its system of truth (as will be discussed further in the following chapter). Accordingly, the state exercises its power to legitimize and maintain the Program's existence and official history. However, this state support is only given for its own reproduction; at any moment that the Program fails to comply with the nation's agenda, the support will be removed or will more specifically no longer be made operative. That is, no overarching figure of the state will give meaning to the stories told by the guides at Cochasquí, in fact Cochasquí's history will have no national meanings. That is why the legitimization of the nation-state, or the trumpeting of the nation, becomes or is, the Program's system of truth upon which all facts are tested. This is the Program's most rigorous demand of truth which serves to regulate the official

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discourse, making the propping up of the nation the Program's subtle and implicit plank of survival.

The relationship between historical production and nation-state formation is an essential one, and in many ways, much more intimate than has been traditionally understood (e.g., Williams 1991; Chaterjee 1986; Patterson and Schmidt 1995b). Actually neither of these two phenomena can exist without the other, and the presence of one necessarily implies the presence of the other. Because of this, the state must claim a history, in this instance the Program's version, and once it has done so, all the other contesting versions are defeated, and any competing one (including this analysis) can only look forward to a victory by resigning itself to replace it and become the new hegemonic/state/official version of history, that is "to overcome the rulers through their own rules" (Foucault 1993: 151).

We must also take into account that the nation-state, like all hegemonic discourses, including Cochasqui's official history, does not enjoy opposition, and vies to lethally meet it. But out of this outcome, it is not the contesting versions that significantly affect the hegemonic discourse, even if they win, as much as, the latter neutralizing the contesting version's most decentering demands, and appropriating them into its own production of truth. This is

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facilitated because the factual elements are not a real empirical constraint to the appropriation process. Cochasquí's official history, as we have seen, can have a War Museum as an integral part or not, but it must always have some (whichever) element that fills or "makes up" its history. As some have outlined this is part of the process by which hegemonic constructions constantly usurp, appropriate and integrate what were initially counter-hegemonic discourses. (Foucault 1991 and 1993; Chaterjee 1986; Patterson and Schmidt 1995a; Vargas 1995; Wylie 1995; Silverblatt 1988; Williams 1991).

This guarantees, as I was able to observe repeated times in the guided tours, that very few people go away unhappy with what they have seen at the site, no matter what their national, cultural, ethnic, racial, class, gender, generation and sexual backgrounds. They leave happier because "they have found out about their roots and origin and now more than ever they believe that we are descendants of fabulous people" (E. 4/12/97). Or they believe that the visit was "excellent" and the guide was "very impressive" (E. 3/29/97). Everybody is offered an individualized history of sorts produced by the rapport between the guides and the visiting group itself; a history which implicitly legitimizes and is integrated into the Ecuadorian nation-state's discourse.

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Finally, the techniques of historical production discussed here are the main ones, but not the only ones, used to produce the official history of Cochasquí -- that is, to actually produce the site as an important contemporary archaeological site. And it is also how the site becomes a symbol of itself; how its empirical elements are used to represent the program's own regiment of truth. More specifically, on the ground at Cochasquí this reality is further symbolized through the representation of the empirical evidence, in this case the pyramids themselves.

At times the llamas and shoe-type pots, along with the pyramids, also serve this purpose, as seen in the logos and T-shirts sold at the site. However, the pyramids, of all three elements, are the ones most imbued with the meaning that the Program projects, which allows you to see, touch and feel them as their history is being described:

> The bigger the material mass, the more easily it entraps us: **mass graves** and **pyramids** bring history closer while they make us feel small... [T]hey embody the ambiguities of history. They give us the power to touch it, but not that to hold it firmly in our hands - hence the mystery of their battered walls. We suspect that their concreteness hides secrets so deep that no revelation may fully dissipate their silences. We imagine the lives under the mortar, but how do we recognize the end of a bottomless silence? (Trouillot 1995: 29-30; my emphasis).

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Once the tour is over, the pyramids have been imbued with the Program's specific meaning and they can be referred to as evidence that everything that was said is true. Therefore, the pyramids themselves become the evidence of what they stand for, which could be the burial place of the Inca Atahualpa's mother or the center of energetic flow and UFO activity, proving that what they stand for changes not only every decade, but every single day, in every single tour, right in front of our eyes.

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CHAPTER 4
THE ECUADORIANIZATION OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE: NATIONAL, GENDER AND RACIAL IDENTITY AT COCHASQUI

> As a result of the (archaeological) research carried out by Jijón y Caamaño, Uhle, Estrada, Bell, Meggers y Evans, Mayer, Lathrap, Oberem, Porras, Holm, Zevallos and many more, it is now possible, warranting some important voids, to project ourselves (as Ecuadorians) ten thousand years back, to start history, at the beginning.
>
> Plutarco Naranjo, *Las Raíces de Nuestra Historia*

ECUADORIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: AN OUTLINE

It is this phenomenon, the appropriation of the archeological past by the Ecuadorian nation, stated explicitly by Naranjo (1985) in the opening epigraph, which permeates the majority, if not all, of the texts of Ecuadorian history (e.g., Efrén Reyes 1950; Ayala Mora 1993; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990; Villacrés Moscoso 1967), and which is at the center of this chapter. Initially I would like to highlight some of the major points of Ecuadorian history. My purpose is not to present them as truthful (although that might be impossible not to do) but rather, to familiarize the reader with some of the key points in Ecuadorian history to better understand the national debate engaged at Cochasquí.

The Republic of Ecuador came into existence on May 13, 1830 when a group of elite criollos (Americans of Spanish ancestry), representative of the recent independence struggle

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from Spain, published an official proclamation to that effect. The territory of the newly named nation of Ecuador had actually been free of Spanish rule since May 24, 1822, when the capital, Quito, was liberated in the famous 'Battle of Pichincha.' However, during eight years, the ex-territory of the Real Audiencia de Quito (its colonial name) had been renamed as the Southern District and formed part of a single nation called the Gran Colombia (which consisted of the current national territories of Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela). It was only when this initial republican experiment failed due to both structural and personal conflicts between Simón Bolivar and Santander, that the nation of Ecuador came into existence (Efrén Reyes 1950; Ayala Mora 1993).

The history of the republic of Ecuador is presented in two different types of narratives. The most popular and traditional form is purely descriptive and highlights the names of presidents, dictators and major events that have characterized the last century and a half of the nation's existence (Efrén Reyes 1950; LNS n.d.). In this narrative, General Juan José Flores, García Moreno and General Eloy Alfaro are the main figures during the first century of the nation's existence. Juan José Flores, Venezuelan by birth, was the first president and as such is responsible for the

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initial administration of the country. In 1860 García Moreno ascended into power and reinforced a catholic tradition and a French turn of the intellectual and academic climate of the country for the next two decades. At the turn of the century General Eloy Alfaro led the liberal revolution into power, secularized the state administration and education, legalized divorce and led the way for a series of liberal reforms, including the women's vote in the early 20s (Efrén Reyes 1950; Ayala Mora 1983b).

The 20th century is harder to define in terms of single leaders, with the sole exception of Jose María Velasco Ibarra who was elected into presidential office five times between 1933-68. The two most salient events during this century were: the ongoing conflict with the Republic of Peru, which as a result of a treaty in 1941 gained rights over most of the country's Amazon rain forest, representing almost half of Ecuador's 1830 original territory; and the oil boom which in the late 1960's produced an economic expansion marked by great state spending and a military dictatorship from 1972-9. Since 1979, the country has had uninterrupted "democratic" governments until 1997, when Abdalá Bucaram was ousted and new elections were held. In 1998 the Christian Democrat Jamil Mahuad became the newly elected president of the country for the next four years.

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This same republican existence spanning over a century and a half (1830-1998) has also been the source of analysis of historians, economists, sociologists and other researchers. This second type of historical narratives have a more structural undertone and are associated with a Marxist interpretation of history (Tinajero 1986; Quintero and Silva 1991). Although having an initial tradition in the early socialist movement, this particular form of historical narrative has been instituted in the most recent attempt at producing a complete edited history of Ecuador, (Nueva Historia del Ecuador, Ayala Mora 1983) which was put together with the collaboration of over 30 authors (e.g., Kennedy and Ortiz 1983; Nuñez 1983; Ortiz Crespo 1983a and 1983b; Landázuri 1983; Quintero 1983; Benitez and Costa 1983; Salomon 1983, etc.).

In these historic narratives, the last century and a half are divided into several different periods. Ultimately each of these periods is understood as one marked by a series of structural conditions that determines the socio-economic context upon which the different social groups vied for political power and representation (Ayala Mora 1983a). For example, the Independence and Latifundio period (1822-1845), are marked by great hacienda holdings and traditional colonial social relationships between the white/mestizo elite and the

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Indian peasantry (Mills 1983; Paladines 1983; Nuñez 1983; Chiriboga 1983); meanwhile the period of Commercial Development and Banking Capital (1830-1890) is characterized by successive mercantile expansion and the regulation of a banking system, as well as the country's entrenchment into the capitalist market (Ayala Mora 1983b; Ortiz Crespo 1983a and 1983b; Paz and Cepeda 1983); finally, the liberal Oligarch Regime (1895-1914), is defined by the solidification of new client-owner relationships and the re-working of racial/ethnic relations through the loss of Indian ethnicity and the foundation of a working class proletariat (Ortiz Crespo 1983a and 1983b; Ayala Mora 1983b).

On top of its recent republican history, the Ecuadorian nation-state is embued with a prehispanic and colonial past. The prehispanic period is divided into four major periods: the Preceramic (7,000 B.C.-3,500 B.C.); Formative 3,500 B.C.-500 B.C.; Regional Development (500 B.C.-500 A.D.) and Integration (500 A.D.-1550 A.D.) (Porras 1980). The major occupations of the Preceramic Period are Las Vegas, on the Peninsula of Santa Elena (Stothert 1974), and El Inga, just north of Quito (Bell 1965; Salazar 1988). These occupations are thought to be the cultural remains of small nomadic groups of foragers, marked by the initial experimental domestication of plants and

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animals, and a great amount of lithic debris (Porras 1980; Sanders and Merino 1973).

The Formative Period is characterized by three archaeological cultures: Valdivia, Machalilla and Chorrera. The Formative in Ecuador is by far the most studied period. This is largely due to the intense scholarly attention that Valdivia has received since its initial description by Emilio Estrada (1956) and the Smithsonian's archaeologists' interest in this coastal occupation (Meggers and Evans 1958; 1962 and 1965). Since then Valdivia society has been object of innumerable research projects, e.g., (Marcos 1978; 1988; Pearsall 1978; 1979 and 1980; Damp 1979 and 1988; Zeidler 1984 and 1991; Muse 1991; Kreid 1985).

The Regional Development period is marked by a flourishing of larger regional level polities, many of which are assumed to have either tribal organizations or incipient chiefdom forms (Porras 1980). Among the coast some of the most salient groups are Bahía, Tolita, Jama Coaque, Jambelí, while the main groups in the highland are Capulí, Carchi, Tuncahuán, Cerro Narrío, and in the Amazon, Cosanga-Píllaro, Upano, Suno and Yasuní (Porras 1980). These cultures are described in terms of their agricultural development, urban settlements, pottery technology (especially figurines and

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surface finish), long distance trade networks and ceremonial complexes (Porras 1980).

The Integration Period sees the emergence of much larger regional or more centralized polities. The main ones are Milagro-Quevedo and Manteño-Huancavilca along the coast and Caranqui, Cañaris, Cayambes, Cochasquí, etc. along the highland. These groups have been target of recent research focus, mainly in terms of defining their complex social and political organization (Muse 1991; Cordero 1998; Stemper 1987). Although some have proposed an indigenous state organization for these polities, most scholars argue that they were complex chiefdoms that never actually achieved an independent level of state formation (Cordero 1998; Stemper 1987).

This period was also marked by the conquest of many of these groups by the Incas and later on by the Spaniards (Salvat 1982). The Incas (Tahuantinsuyu) conquered all the highland groups from south to north between 1455-1532. The Inca presence was a complex military, political and social form of domination that was brought into place by a series of institutional devices, e.g., mitimaes (forced resettlement), acllaconas, etc. (Murra 1989; Todorov 1989).

Inca domination was characterized by a greater respect and understanding of the Andean social formations than would

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be enacted by the Spanish in the decades to come. The Incas allowed many of the traditional beliefs and social institutions of the conquered groups to remain in place, as long as these beliefs and institutions were superseded by supreme loyalty to the Inca deities, i.e. Inti (the sun), and ruler, the Inca himself. The Incas also instituted different social mechanisms such as mitimaes, to secure greater loyalty and security in the empire (Patterson 1991; Murra 1989).

They also imposed household, as opposed to individual, taxes, and mitas, which were forced labor obligations, i.e, military, agricultural, textile, as reciprocal and redistributary Andean forms of taxation.

As Silverblatt (1987) has documented, the most beautiful and elite women were taken away from their host communities and converted into acllaconas. These royal attendants were either married off to the Inca, or military and political leaders, and/or worked in the ceremonial centers weaving and/or involved in the worship of the Inca state's deities (Patterson 1991; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990). Through this mechanism the Incas seem to have been able to control not only the sexual reproduction of their conquered communities, but more importantly the social reproduction of labor and laborers (Gailey 1987; Leacock 1972). However, these are only some of the major forms of labor extraction and maintenance of

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political hegemony. Other elaborate forms of social control included Yanaconas, Cumbi Camayoc, male defined textile workers, etc. (See Murra 1984 and Patterson 1992 for analyses of the Inca empire and their oppressive mechanisms of state reproduction).

The colonial state became a political reality in 1563 when the territory was proclaimed by the Spanish Crown as the Real Audiencia de Quito (Pareja Diezcanseco 1990; Efrén Reyes 1950). The Spanish colonial period is a period of profound change and genocidal/ethnocidal practices. Through the introduction of Spanish institutions, such as the Catholic church, feudalism, monarchy, Spanish language, etc., and the reformulating of Andean ones, like the mitas, reducciones, encomiendas, etc., the Spanish crown was able to solidify its economic and political power over the Indian population. Through these different mechanisms, the colonial state was able to control populations, extract labor, maintain a hegemonic ideology and institute radically new forms of belief, cultural traditions and government (Ayala Mora 1993; Quintero 1983; Benitez and Costa 1983; Salomon 1983).

However, even though the Spanish conquest was framed by a violent decimation and impoverishment of the Andean population, it was also met with a great amount of resistance (Salomon 1986; Spalding 1982 and 1984). The continuous Indian

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uprisings throughout the colonial period exemplify the inevitable level of conflict and contradiction experienced throughout this period. This symbiotic processes of transculturations are somewhat hidden under the representation of the Spaniards holding all forms of political, social and economic power. Other historical accounts question this monolithic description of colonial domination and elaborate on the constant negotiation, most of the time within a frame of cultural violence, sexual domination, and physical annihilation, that the different Indian groups faced (Spalding 1970).

Out of this picture of contestations and both explicit and subtle discourses of domination emerges a more dynamic representation of a colonial heritage which progressed toward its own elimination. The colonial state saw its downfall through the mediations of its own European bred criollo elite. This broader understanding of colonial politics also explains an independence movement that left most of the population within the newly liberated territory, now known as Ecuador, in similar relations of cultural/racial/ethnic oppression and social-economic exploitation. Not without a great level of cynicism and irony, one of the chants after independence expressed: El último día del despotismo, Y el primero del mismo (The last day of despotism and shame, And the first day

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of the same). It was this colonial structure that was intimately implicated in the creation of the Ecuadorian republic of 1830 (Benitez Vinueza 1986; Velasco 1975; Quintero 1983 and 1997; Vaquero Dávila 1941; Villacrés Moscoso 1967).

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COCHASQUI IN THE NATIONAL IMAGERY

> On February 27th, the Indians represented scenes of the history of the country and of the life of Huayna Capac: "The armies of the last **Queen of Quito** and the Incas' walked into the plaza ... they represented the combat ...the scene ended with the death of the **Queen of Cochasquí** and an imitation of the manner in which the Indians sung the victory." These few elements allow us to identify the depth of the representation, with the history described by Montesinos, of the love affair between Huaina Capac with the **Queen Quilago**, whose realm was located in the north side of the Quisque (Pisque) river, that is, **Cochasquí** (Jijón y Caamaño 1997: 36; My emphasis).

This particular event, narrated by Don Diego Urban de la Vega, and commented on by Jijón y Caamaño, took place in Quito, in 1613, as part of the official Audiencia's festivities celebrating the birth of the Prince of Asturias, Baltasar Carlos Felipe of Austria. The ritualized enactment of the armed struggle against the Inca, which implicitly includes the love affair between the Queen of Cochasquí (who is also suggested to be the Queen of Quito) and the ruling Inca, Huaina Capac, synthesizes two of the essential elements that relate Cochasquí to the national imagination. To this day, Cochasquí's resistance to the Incas and Quilago's love affair with the ruling Inca, Huaina Capac, are highlighted in the guided tours of the site.

This narrative of an enactment that took place over 350 years ago impresses upon us the pivotal place of Cochasquí in

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the larger historical discourse of what was initially the Real Audiencia de Quito and was later to become the Ecuadorian nation. What seems most relevant about Cochasquí and its female ruler, is not necessarily the element of historical truth, as much as the fact that these histories are worthy of being continuously narrated. Especially since they are not simply written down but rather, are played out in a ritualized drama in the polity's capital or continuously repeated to this day in the actual settings of Cochasquí's pyramids, the locations where these events are said to have taken place.

Both of the major events contain a series of elements that allow for the subtle representation of the site and its prehispanic inhabitants in a national light. Within the description of Quilago's amorous involvement with Huaina Capac, and her ultimate downfall when her plan to murder the Inca (prepararle una celada) is betrayed by her subjects, is engraved a whole narrative of origin and legitimization for the emerging Ecuadorian nation:

> ...where the Incas wanted to conquer them, they wanted to gain control of the great forts, but they could not, there were great battles and with Quilago in front they were able to stop the Incas. They are stopped by their defeat and the Inca is embarrassed by this strong woman, this forceful woman who made herself be obeyed. Leaving myths aside, and speaking like a "ethnohistorian" (cronista) they say that she, that she prepares in her room a trap, but she is betrayed by her subjects and they tell Huayna Capac and she falls

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> in the trap herself and the Incas gain absolute control (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 12).

In this description Quilago and Huaina Capac are portrayed as the *continuing* founders of an ancestral Ecuadorian heritage (see discussion of Quilago below). This is possible even though, and probably because of, Huaina Capac's ambiguous role as leader of the enemy Inca army and father of the soon-to-be-last ruling Inca, the Ecuadorian hailed Atahualpa (Pareja Diezcanseco 1990; LNS n.d.). This ancestral Ecuadorian heritage is inherently associated in the tours with Cochasquí, and its inhabitants, pyramid, museum, festivals, etc. This association is never questioned or deemed to be lacking in actual demonstration or empirical evidence but rather, the linkage between the site and an ancestral Ecuadorianness is actively represented as congruent, and essentialized as a natural one.

The second element, the site's communal resistance to the onslaught of the Inca conquest is also subject to a national representation:

> It was a matriarchy, we call it a matriarchy when there is a kingdom of women, and in Cochasquí we have the Quilago, the princess Quilago, in the area of Malchinguí, the general Marango, who would have thought that these people, or that this culture, that this Quilago was going to unite forces with the Marangos, with the people of Cayambe ... The Incas scale the northern part of the Pisque river, from the Pisque on there is a great flow of blood, with people falling from both sides, where both

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> Inca and Quito forces die, where the weapons are found, like the stones, ... (Virgilio, Tour Guide, 2/2/97).

The resistance to the Inca empire is narrated as a preamble of the nation's fierce struggle against foreign domination, represented in this instance by the Incas, but later on by Spanish domination and most recently by the ongoing territorial struggle with Peru. In this light, the Inca invasion allows Cochasquí to be represented as the national community defending itself heroically against a larger, ruthless military enemy. It is also this narrative that excuses the nation's continuing defeat at the hand of its foreign aggressors (not the least problematic in the national consciousness being the 1941 military loss that gave Peru almost half of the national territory) because of the unequal power structures that renders Cochasquí (and the nation) ultimately helpless against the aggressors, even though a heroic struggle has been engaged (see Silva 1995). The displacement that the Incas themselves suffer in the narrative, first hailed as the natural enemies of Cochasquí, and later on as our natural ancestors express the ambiguity of a historical discourse that is ultimately concerned with national appropriations more than historical congruency (e.g., Pullas De la Cruz 1997; see Salomon 1990 for similar process among the Cañaris). It is also important to state that this

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historical ambiguity, far from being an anomaly is an essential element of any historical discourse (Alonso 1988; Foucault 1991).

It is safe to state that the meanings, implications and motivation for the ritualized enactment in 1613 were probably very different from the ones presently enacted at the site. Yet there is something about Cochasquí and many of these particular histories that are essentially and continuously useful to the nation's portrayal of itself. There are many elements present in the program's recounting of Cochasquí's history, a history that, strategically, the nation attributes to and about itself. In the following sections I would like to elaborate on three areas of debate engaged at Cochasquí: 1) the idea of an ancestral and naturalized Ecuador; 2) the site's ambiguous relationship with the Incas and territorial sovereignty; and 3) the dynamics of gender and racial identities. In the last section I will discuss the specific techniques used in this history's national appropriation, assessing the process by which an Ecuadorian nationality is able to be stretched back for several millennia.

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Cochasquí as Ecuador's Hidden History

> We are proud of being Ecuadorians. (L.B., 18/16/95, tourist comment after visiting the site).

The following themes emerged in the tourists' responses to questions about what they thought of Cochasquí after they visited the site (see Fig. 17, for annual visits to the site). For most Ecuadorian and foreign visitors, Cochasquí is hailed as a site of national importance. For the foreigners, Cochasquí is a place where: "(Ecuadorian) people can find out about their own history and appreciate the patrimony they have" (C. 4/8/97). The site seems to represent another Ecuador that is hidden under the country's contemporary characteristics of government corruption and underdevelopment. In the foreign visitor's mind and expression, it is hailed as a place of dignity, that, unlike other contemporary elements of the country should make the inhabitants in the country proud of who they are. Because at Cochasquí you can "feel the things that existed, there is a living testimony of history" (S. 5/2/97).

When visiting the site foreigners are able to create an image of the Ecuador that they would like to see. After

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visiting Cochasquí, many of the foreigners can go off with a positive image of Ecuador that is more in tune with what they want Ecuador to be, allowing the tourist to leave, "reaffirmed in my ideas about the (Ecuadorian) nationality" (C. 3/29/97). This desire or need is not unmet in the program's guided tours that I observed, where the guides themselves strive to provide a picture of what Ecuador "is really like", had it not been negatively hampered by all the ancient and modern forms of conquest and domination.

In a similar vein, for Ecuadorians, Cochasquí is a place where they can find an element in which to express their national pride: "Because it is necessary to give our existence and nationality the value it deserves" (A. 20/7/95). Cochasquí represents a part of history that was taken away from them, that was hidden from view and literally buried: "it teaches us to return to what is ours" (E. 3/27/97). Cochasquí "informs us about our culture and keeps alive our traditions" (E. 4/9/97).

This site is a living symbol of the tragedy of the Spanish conquest, the rape and rewriting of Ecuadorian history. The "development of our people (pueblo) was very prosperous until it was terminated by the Spanish conquest" (E. 4/9/97), especially when "everybody knows that the development of our culture was excellent before the (Spanish)

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conquest" E. 4/9/97). To them, it is emblematic of another Ecuador, an Ecuador hidden under years of colonial exploitation and genocide. To them the site is a triumph of indigenous effort and resistance, and therefore is undoubtedly and literally a site not only of Indian, but of "Ecuadorian" pride.

For the Ecuadorian visitors, Cochasquí is a place where they can find out about a history that they do not know about, their "own history", since: "(our) history is important and a lot of us don't know it" (I. 14/8/97). The roots of what Ecuador is are there: the site is a place where you can go and feel our roots (H. 20/7/95). But these roots have to be discovered. They are hidden from view almost everywhere else in the country, and to some degree even at Cochasquí. That is why the site should keep displaying the true Ecuador, its roots: "(the site) must continue forward for an authentic Ecuador" (B.J. 28/12/95).

The unfulfilled promise of a future discovery, of a future authenticity is essential to Cochasquí's allure, is one of the reasons why many visitors said they returned to the site and bring more people each time they come back. The site is continuously revisited even though there have been no new excavations or research in the area since 1962. The feeling of renewal and promise is so strong that it ultimately becomes

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a privilege to live in this land which is Ecuador: "today I prayed to the ancient Gods (Apachita) that they allow me to live in this land" (S.B. 27/7/95).

These reactions by visitors to the site establish a tie between the pyramids and mound constructions at Cochasquí of over a thousand years ago and the modern Ecuadorian nation-state which has a little less than 180 years of existence. The contemporary nation-state becomes the inheritor of this old, mythical Ecuador. For many of the visitors the site seems to represent the hidden history of Ecuador: a site that displays the roots of what we are today and that needs to be discovered and displayed with pride, just as the Program is doing, because "this is the history of our country which need to be made known" (N.H., n.d.). In this sense, Ecuador, the real Ecuador is truly expressed at Cochasquí.

In these reactions, and others to be analyzed in the following sections, we can sense a process through which the past is rendered as a factual essence. Alonso (1988: 44-5) has defined this process as one of naturalization, in which dynamic actors, discourses and practices are rendered as natural essences or things. This naturalization is accomplished by:

> the transformations effected on subordinated histories by turning re-presentations into "raw facts" which cannot be contested (Alonso 1988: 45).

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In this manner, different mechanisms, such as narrative structure, content, voice, etc., are utilized to naturalize the work (and power) of re-interpretation and re-presentation (Alonso 1988). In these different instances the particular historical discourses present at Cochasquí (see Chapter 2) are subsumed under the narrative appropriation of the nation-state and its inherent legitimization.

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Pristine Authenticity: An Ecuador Before Ecuador Existed

In the guided tours, the pre-Columbian occupants of the sites are referred to as "our ancestors", making claim to a mestizo heritage by which every Ecuadorian is a descendant of an Indian past:

> (Cochasquí) as an astronomic observatory, where **our ancestors,** in these pyramids, especially the ones that are exposed, used them to carry out calendrical calculations or to observe the constellations, or, let's say, seasons of the year. Therefore **our ancestors** had already determined here the zero point. The true zero point is here. That **our ancestors** already knew it, they already knew that the earth was round. And they already knew that this is where the way of the sun went by and according to that they could have their astronomy. Therefore Cochasquí, for **our culture** was meaning middle of the lake, "cochas" means water and "qui", half. And this is precisely the center of the equinox, the pyramids (Tour Guide, Juanito 2/8/97; my emphasis).

All Ecuadorians, more so the visitors, are thrust into a genealogical tie with "our" Indian past. This claim of an Indian heritage goes unquestioned, and as such the pyramids are the remains of what **"our ancestors"** had constructed before the multiple conquests of the territory. In this manner, the site at Cochasquí is seen as representing an authentic Ecuador, one that has been brought out of focus by our recurring struggles, and above all, by our constant loss of territory.

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The different Indian and/or local traditions that are celebrated at the site also vie for an interpretation of the site as the holder of some autochtonous cultural tradition. The biggest festivities of the site, such as the Inti Raymi (Festival of the Sun), are moments where many different Indian communities come to the site to perform traditional dances and rituals. The Inti Raymi is a specific Inca festivity that traditionally falls on the summer solstice (around June 21st) and commemorates the longest day of natural sunlight in the year. The Inti Raymi, as the highest religious celebration of the Inca empire, was very much a sign of cultural domination over the conquered Andean ayllus. However, this initial cultural (and political) signification is no longer the only (or even the most important) one expressed in the contemporary Andean celebrations of the Inti Raymi (Whitten 1981).

The celebration of the Inti Raymi has taken on a pan-Andean existence, being celebrated in many Andean communities with specific local characteristics. One of the most interesting modern characteristics of this celebration is the mixture of the Inti Raymi with the Catholic feast of Saint Peter (San Pedro, which falls within the same week). This Inca and Catholic symbiosis most probably was used by Indians during colonial times to continue celebrating Andean tradition under the guise of Catholic hegemony (Silverblatt 1987; Isbell

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1985; Weismantel 1992) very similar to the process enacted by other followers of non-normative religious practices such as Santería, Candomblé, and Voodoo.

At Cochasquí the festivities usually vary from year to year. Unfortunately, even though there was lots of planning and talk about having a major Inti Raymi celebration at the site organized by the Program, this did not actually occur in 1997. Instead there were smaller celebrations carried out by independent groups of shamans and tourists. Based on interviews with staff members about previous celebrations the following picture emerged. Previous Inti Raymi celebrations traditionally included speeches by high-ranking politicians and officials of the Consejo Provincial. This usually gave way to different performances and dances in honor of the Sun by invited Indian communities. There also tends to be an enormous amount of chicha and other types of liquor readily available, which tends to contribute to an overall feeling of belonging and excitement (See Fig. 18, pictures of ex-president Fabián Alarcón drinking from communal liquor bottle).

It appears that at this moment the Indians hold center stage and are portrayed as the true inheritors of the site, meanwhile the rest of the tourists, foreign and Ecuadorian are spectators and celebrate the survival of their Indian

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cultures. I would suggest that at this moment their presence is co-opted by the nation-state and their ancestral claim is undeniable proof of the Ecuadorianness of the site. This is based on the fact that if the site is truly Indian, proven by the Indian claims in their dances and rituals, and we are all descendant of an Indian heritage, so then the site itself is our heritage. The site becomes representative of a pristine Ecuadorianness lost in the millennia which directly, and not surprisingly, justifies and legitimates the present-day Ecuadorian nation-state.

The other festivities (Fig. 19), such as the World Championship of Cabes (giant tops), shaman meetings, and the wedding ceremony celebrated at the site also produce a very similar impact. At all these events there is a nostalgic desire to reach a primordial source of identity. In the first wedding ceremony ever held at the site, celebrated on the summer solstice of 1997 on pyramid 14, there was an incantation to the indigenous genealogy of the Ecuadorian bride through a fictitious mother line that gave her the right to marry her foreign (Russian) husband in this land, rightfully hers. This native appeal is more telling when you take into consideration that the bride had no direct ties with any contemporary Indian community and had not even lived in the country for over a decade. Both she and her husband had

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flown in for a week long vacation from Miami where they live to get married at Cochasquí. Cochasquí seemed to have been the chosen place to justify her (Indian genealogy) Ecuadorianess questioned by her living outside of the country and marrying outside of the national fold.

As I participated as a guest at the wedding I sensed the inherent quality of the ritual activities held at Cochasquí, that is, an urgency to establish and connect to a national sense of belonging. The bride came back to reclaim her Ecuadorianness, to "invent" it, and her getting married at Cochasquí accomplished that. The wedding service was full of symbolic appeals to the Caras, Incas, Cañaris and natural deities like the wind, sun, moon and earth, without any actual concern for historical or geographical truths. There is no archaeological or historical evidence for the Caras and the sites were repeatedly pointed to in the wrong direction, i.e., Quito to the north when you can actually see it to the southeast.

Rather, the celebration expressed a constant need to reaffirm a symbolic truth that wove all of these indigenous elements into a common fabric, and allowed the people present to claim the site as Ecuadorian. This symbolic commonality allowed us all to participate as Ecuadorians and permitted us to see ourselves as the natural inheritors of the site.

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Echoing Foucault (in Miller 1993: 250), the symbolic truth at Cochasquí is not and does not necessarily have to be true, but that does not make it in the least less real or having less actual implications on performers and spectators alike.

In many ways, in the national appropriation of traditional festivities or symbols, there is an ongoing process of departicularization. Historical symbols and practices are severed from their initial localities and concrete meanings and represented in a more generalized fashion, making it the property of all and no one at the same time (Alonso 1988: 45). It is through this process of departicularization that national (ethnic/racial) differences are smoothed out and the "other" appropriated, making it possible for the past to be:

> invested with new meanings which reproduce a hegemonic national ideology and the relations of domination it configures and legitimates (Alonso 1988: 45).

A similar effect resulted from the recent international shaman celebrations held at the site (July 1997). The indigenous affiliation of many of the shamans, evidenced in their traditional healing knowledge and external characteristics (dress, language, etc.), appealed enormously to the tourists. The tourist cars to the site extended all the way from the site itself to the Pan-American highway, a

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full 8 km, providing for a record number of visitors to the site. There was such an enormous number of people (in the thousands), that the staff gave up supervision, allowing the tourist to wander unaccompanied throughout the site. Shamans set up small structures (kioskos) towards the lower part of the site and people visited as many of the shamans as they wished. Most of the shaman rituals were related to divination or "reading" of the person's health and overall well being, including economic prospects. And if needed, the shaman performed baths and cleansing of their patients/tourists. People participated in different forms of ritual activities, even ones that demanded partial nudity, such as bathing in water and other organic elements in the cold outdoors.

In many ways this appeal to a mysterious element at the site, is also part of and expressed in the tours:

> And we have [pyramid] number 14, the one with the longest ramp, that has, is 280 meters long. On top of this, we are told that this place is full of energy, it is a magnetic place, because in this place they would get together, right, to perform their rituals, their ceremonies, right. Therefore it is a very important place. But for all of this taking in of energy, they would take advantage of the equinoxes, in the solstices, to carry out this activity of taking in energy. (Tour Guide, Juanito, 2/8/97).

> You are visiting a site of peace, of happiness, you are receiving positive energy. (Tour Guide, Virgilio 2/2/97).

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The explicit engagement and presence of indigenous shaman healers, readers, and spiritual counselors at the site (see Fig. 20) organized by the Program itself provides an element which readily entices the national population:

> One feels the presence of the prehistoric spirits, as if they were here (S.E., 1/04/97, tourist).

This esoteric truth involving the site does not seem to be independent of the mystery in which most of the Ecuadorian nationals hold the indigenous past. It is related to the mystery with which a primordial Ecuadorian entity supports itself. This is why at Cochasquí, one "can feel all the energy of our ancestors" (T. 17/7/95). They see Cochasquí as a "mysterious site, (where) we can feel our roots" (T. 20/7/95). "Roots" that in this case means evidence of an ancient Ecuadorian identity of which now we only have remnants in these indigenous celebrations and their products. The Indian rituals are appropriated through our bodies and ultimately, unbeknownst to us relate us to the body of the Ecuadorian nation-state.

What is both interesting and telling is that this cooption or claiming of Indian celebrations and traditions so far has gone uncontested at the site. The powerful Indian movement, represented in its most national forum by the CONAIE, has not had any impact upon the celebrations at the

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site. Up to now all the indigenous communities have claimed their own Indian heritage at the site, but not the ownership of the site itself. The absence of a specific cultural ownership therefore does not challenge the Ecuadorian spectators' interpretation of their own heritage claim. One of the main reasons for this is the absence of any politically organized or culturally recognized indigenous group in the area that is directly linked to the site. I would argue that the absence of a strong singular Indian affiliation at the site permits Cochasquí's national appropriation to go uncontested and makes the process that much easier and viable.

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The Incas and Their/Our Heritage

One of the main elements of the guided tours is the need of establishing Cochasquí as a pre-Inca site:

> The urban center of Cochasquí is one of the most important pieces of evidence of a pre-Incaic civilization in the Province of Pichincha, its settlement pattern different from the ones in Mesoamerica and others in the Andes; it is being deteriorated for many reasons, which is why its conservation and preservation requires immediate attention (Cochasquí Program 1991: 8).

The fact that these pyramids are pre-Inca is constantly emphasized, and that the Incas, like the Spaniards consequently, were invaders in the territory, and that as such, subjugated and enslaved the local population:

> Well, this people or this culture to which we legally belong as Ecuadorians, corresponds to the Quitu-Cara culture, which we know to be pre-Inca, that is, before the conquest of the Incas, a people that supported a harsh struggle against the Incas. They have calculated that this struggle lasted 17-20 years, that they did not allow themselves to be easily dominated. Even though we know they were passive people (Pullas De la Cruz 1997: 11).

Great emphasis is also placed on the long resistance that the entire area presented against the southern invaders, which united its forces under the leadership of a female leader, la Princesa/Reina Quilago, who kept the Inca forces at bay for

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almost two decades. It was only through her marriage with their ruler, Huaina Capac, that the Incas were able to conquer and submit her people:

> It is said that the Inca conquest was precisely possible because of treason, with the matrimony of Tupac Yupanqui [read Huaina Capac] with a female chief of the area. It was through this that the conquest of the Inca became possible, since in all the previous time they couldn't conquer the area (Tour Guide, Wacho, 2/15/97).

In this particular version the Incas are not part of the Ecuadorian heritage but rather, just the opposite is true. The Incas are representative of the foreign invaders that throughout history have taken over the territory and left it reduced to one third of what it originally was in 1829 (Efrén Reyes 1950; Villacrés Moscoso 1967). In this sense it is no coincidence that the Incas had their homeland in the present-day territory of Peru, Ecuador's constant neighboring enemy, with which it has had been at war since its emerging as a nation in 1829. The worst episode occurred in 1941 where Ecuador lost over half of its Amazonian territory, and the most recent one in 1995, which gave way to the recent diplomatic peace talks with Peru (Espinosa 1995).

In this manner, the Incas' comparison (or equation) with Peru makes it possible to see Cochasquí as Ecuador, as "our own culture." At Cochasquí, the local communities, our

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ancestors, defended themselves against the Inca (read Peruvian) invasion, which makes it clear that the contemporary Peruvian incursions into Ecuadorian territory are by no means new but rather have occurred since ancient times.

This is also clear in the following incident volunteered by one of the guides. According to him a group of Peruvian tourists abandoned the tour because they were angered by the guide's explanation of the site's resistance to the Inca conquest. For him, their reaction expressed their difficulty and inability to accept their historical legacy of conquest and oppression toward Ecuadorians. For him, they were unwilling to accept the truth, in this case his or the site's truth. But although saddened, he had no remorse; "it was not my fault, that is just how history is" (Juanito, personal communication).

But the Incas are not only portrayed as the enemy. In many instances they are Ecuadorian or rather, Ecuadorians are their descendants. This is an ongoing theme within the nation's discourse of claiming Inca sites such as Inga Pirca and Tomebamba (the Inca name for what is currently the Ecuadorian city of Cuenca) or Inca figures like Atahualpa and Rumiñahui, as ours, as eminently Ecuadorian:

> With the victory in Quipaipán, Atahualpa not only maintained control of the Kingdom of Quito, but also became the only ruler of the Inca Kingdom because of this reason he took command over the

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> Inca imperial capital (in Perú) of Cuzco, where he officially proclaimed himself the emperor of the Tahuantinsuyo. In this manner, the two fractions in which the Inca kingdom had been divided with Huayna Capac's death, became whole again, under the sovereign government of the **Quiteño** Atahualpa (García González 1997: 177).

This favorable presentation of the Incas is also present at Cochasquí, which makes it possible for Ecuadorians to be equated with the Incas, and make their history an Ecuadorian history.

The main instance when this reversal occurs at Cochasquí is when the Spanish conquest comes into play. At this moment, it is the Spaniards that become Ecuador's enemies, and the Incas which saw their end at the hands of the Spaniards are equated to Ecuador and its destruction. It might be true that the Incas are the enemies, but ultimately they are our own, almost family, with the Spanish being the ultimate foes in this history:

> ...because this was a very advanced culture, very intelligent, that unfortunately, tragically was destroyed because of this problem of the Spanish conquest and (religious) conversion in the area. (Tour Guide, Juanito, 2/8/97).

Another way that the Incas are subtly identified with Ecuador is through the celebration of the Inti Raymi. In the display of autochtonous elements, such as costumes, language, music, food and chicha, there is an implicit acceptance of the

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celebration of the Inti Raymi, an Inca festivity, as a celebration of Cochasquí's heritage, and therefore, Ecuador's.

The Incas are also implicitly equated to the original constructors of the mound in two other instances.

The first is in the official site museum, where Inca pottery, specifically aríbalos (traditional Inca jars) are displayed. This is not done either with Preceramic or Colonial artifacts, which are also present in the area. Although no direct attention is placed on the aríbalos per se, they are presented as belonging to "other" cultures, and appear at the site as a product of regional trade. It is quite telling that with rare exceptions (one or two guides), in all the tours I observed the Inca origin of the aríbalos was not mentioned:

> This ceramic is only for the caciques and the people... That is, this ceramic is very different. It's another culture, for example it's the Panzaleo culture, a culture in the Tungurahua and Cotopaxi Province, different province. But the people found this ceramic in the site because they changed [a tourist says: traded]; exchanged. The coca stayed in the jungle, (ex)changed the products (Marcia, Tour Guide, 2/12/97).

The second instance is when the royal Inca road, which connected Otavalo to Quito and passed by Cochasquí, is referred to. In this instance the Incas are no longer the conquering enemy but another of the ancestral communities of

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the site. In the narrative, Incas' accomplishments are intertwined with those of the local inhabitants of Cochasquí. Since this road figures prominently in the Spanish cronista's description of the site, once again in the shadow of the Spaniards' conquest, the Incas are more easily integrated into Cochasquí's own history:

> And then on the left you can see the historic road where you came up through, but you can no longer appreciate the road. Only in the higher mountains, on the banks of the Pisque river, you are going to see in the south, there is still a lot left of **the roadway of our ancestors**, the road. But in this area since they have already done highways for the cars it has been erased. There are no remnants left. **In times of our culture** the straight road was called el chaquiñan, because of the enacachila, where the chaqui [Inca relay road messengers] used to go by, taking the mail, the message (Juanito, Tour Guide 2/08/97; my emphasis).

From my observations of the guides and my own experience as a tour guide at Cochasquí, one can sense an urgency to tell the truth about Cochasquí's ("our", "Ecuador's") history. The visit to the site is supposed to right Ecuador's historical wrongs or inadequacies. This is effective as long as the tourist themselves are willing to go through this "ordeal of truth", which is evident in Juanito's appreciation of the Peruvian tourists. But the truth is far from straightforward or self-evident. What initially starts out as a quest to put the Incas in their rightful place as enemies of the nation is

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upturned within the narrative itself, and they end up being us, or we become them, their descendants. The historical discourse at Cochasquí has an internal logic of its own, at least one independent of the guides initial logical intentions. But the historical truth is told, no matter how hard it may be for Peruvians and Ecuadorians alike. The sentiment with which one is left is that nobody is spared the historical truth at Cochasquí.

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The National Logic of Territoriality

Territoriality is also an essential element in the Ecuadorianization of Cochasquí. As the Incas are equated with Peru because they both have occupied the same geographical space, Cochasquí is similarly equated with Ecuador:

> ...because our people have always been attacked by the Cuzqueños, by Perú, yes, even from the time of the Incas, that is why up to now we are always screwed up, that is the reason why..., oh well. (Tour Guide, Virgilio 2/2/97).

The fact that Cochasquí is located in the heartland of the northern frontier of present-day Ecuador is enough evidence to promulgate the cultural and national continuity of the heritage of the site:

> If we go a couple of kilometers east of Quito till we reach the zone of the Inga site, we are already in the place where they discovered the material evidence of the oldest Ecuadorian inhabitants, that lived around 30,000 years ago; And if **we go towards the north** visiting the forts of Rumicucho, Quito Loma, Cangahua, Pambamarca, Cayambe, Ayora and the pyramids of the archaeological complex of Cochasquí, **we can recognize a great part of what was the Reino de Quito (Kingdom of Quito), origin of the Ecuadorian nationality,** integrated by a great confederacy of peoples (Province Prefect Landázuri Romo in Programa Cochasquí 1991: 5; my emphasis).

Cochasquí's overall discourse of territoriality also provides another way of tying the site to the nation. The history of the site, as told to the visitors, is a story of

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struggle and subjugation, resistance and conquest, of survival. Here, "the ancestors", authentic Ecuadorians, met the onslaught of foreign invaders. First, there was that of the Incas and then, that of the Spaniards. But no matter what, Ecuadorians (and therefore they) have survived to tell the story. Cochasquí represents the resilience of the nation that survives no matter what the adverse conditions. But the question to ask is whether it really does survive, especially within the historical discourse itself?

The story produced at Cochasquí has strong parallels to what Silva (1995) proposes as one of the nation's central myths, that of territorial ungovernability. No matter how grand the resistance shown at Cochasquí, what comes across is an essential inability on behalf of the local inhabitants to control their own territory. Rather, it is the foreign groups, Incas and Spaniards, that are able to conquer, dominate and take total control of the region. The inhabitants at Cochasquí are never able to successfully defend themselves from foreign conquest in the historical narratives, and therefore never really achieve total control of the territory.

In a subtle manner, the territorial discourse at Cochasquí has a way of enriching the nation's sense of self in two ways. The first, as we already have seen, is by taking pride in Cochasquí's resistance. In this sense, the outcome

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of the struggle does not matter; what matters is the courage and will by both men and women in the northern region to struggle against foreign domination:

> As we must know, the Inca conquest in this part of the country was characterized by a war that lasted 15 to 17 years, approximately. The end result was the Incas conquering the territory with the most bloody part of the struggle in the north, in the lake of Yaguarcocha, or the lake of blood (Wacho, Tour Guide, 2/08/97).

Once again the parallels between this description and the general sentiment over Ecuador's continuous defeats against our stronger southern neighbor Peru are quite striking. Ecuador has always been defeated by Peru, but somehow this is overlooked and rather what is emphasized is the courage and resilience of the nation's spirit in its men and troops:

> The institutions in which the current chiefs of the armed forces were trained, were taught by ex-veterans of the year 1941. From them they learned the bitter experience of having to fight an enemy ten times stronger and more modernly equipped, as well as the lesson that war is won initially at times of peace by preparing and maintaining the armed forces (Gallardo 1995: 8).

> That unity and solidarity were symbolized in one name: Tiwintsa, the humble military dispatch that resisted the Peruvian attacks throughout the conflict and enraged the Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori (Espinosa 1995: 59).

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The second manner in which the nation's ideal is embedded in the territorial discourse is in the outcome of the story itself. It is the Spaniards who ultimately succeed in claiming control over the territory and gain a regional control that even surpassed the Incas'. The narration of the Spanish conquest reifies the current racial (white/mestizo) control of the nation-state, since this was the racial composition attributed to the Spaniards:

> Therefore after that (civil war between Inca siblings, Atahualpa and Huascar) it was much easier for the Spanish conquest. Unfortunately from that moment on we have lost our origin, our roots, everybody says it has given us a white color, but no, it's not because ... or they say we now have beards, or, I am Spanish, right. They insult the Indians, Indians so and so (Juanito, tour guide, 2/08/97).

It is only the white population that ultimately gains autonomous control of the site of Cochasquí and the whole region, just like in contemporary Ecuador (see Silva 1995). The racial undertone of the conquest story at Cochasquí implicitly justifies the current racial hierarchy of the Ecuadorian nation-state and legitimizes the white/mestizo socio-political control of the country. In this manner, the racial/ethnic composition of the nation subtly benefits doubly from a territorial discourse that is supposedly exclusively about Cochasquí and its history.

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Quilago, Queen of Cochasquí

One of the most provocative gendered elements of Cochasquí's official history is the pervasive narrative of the last leader of the pre-Columbian polity, the Queen or Princess Quilago. Her importance is recognized in several instances, including the facts that the local museum is named after her (Museo Quilago) and that the image of Quilago is brought up in association with the site's resistance against the Incas:

> Before I had mentioned that this area was populated by the Quitos-Caras. They in the military aspect were governed by the **Princess Quilago** who resisted the Inca invasion for 17 years. It is after this period that the Incas are able to reach these territories, since they did not used to live in this area (Tour Guide, Marcia 3/26/98).

> We have narratives that say that this culture was governed by a woman, by a princess called **Quilago**, but this woman was "matriarchized" (matriarcada). She fought against the Inca invasion. Therefore this culture has had a formidable struggle, right. But after the struggle with the Caranquis, pardon me, with the Cañaris, comes Huayna Capac and conquers this culture. But this culture had a formidable struggle for 17 or 20 years (Tour Guide, Juanito 2/8/97).

Quilago is not only described as the political leader of the Cochasquí polity, but more surprisingly also as the military leader who led the resistance, successful for over a decade, against the Inca invaders. This female leadership is

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startling because in modern-day Ecuador women are, traditionally and significantly, relegated to domestic roles and not considered fit for political or military office. Only recently have a significant amount of women been allowed to join the police force, mainly as transit cops, and to do part-time military service. This inherent sexism was also probably one of the main unspoken reasons why the first female vice president in the country (already an anomaly) was not allowed to succeed the president Abdalá Bucaram when he was ousted of power in February of 1997. So how is it that an image of an all powerful woman, who valiantly defended our territory against foreign (read Peruvian) invasion is presented to the public and is made believable under the present-day sexist hierarchy that permeates the country?

The origin of the history of Quilago is unclear and there are very few written sources. Spanish cronistas (Montesinos 1957: 107; Cieza 1967: 212) mention this female leader in the depiction of the region's resistance to the onslaught of Inca expansion. This initial remark is ultimately confused by the fact that in Quechua all elite and high ranking women were entitled Quilagos, as males were Angos, setting the stage for a confusion of different persons that are taken to be a single one (Oberem 1989). However, Uhle (1933) still proposes that the Quilago of Cochasquí is

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also the Quilago, Queen of Quito, and therefore Atahualpa's mother. This belief of Quilago as mother to one of the recognized Inca heirs led to a state-sponsored search for her remains at the site in the 1930s (El Día 1930).

This initial search for Quilago's body was an attempt to tie this female leader with the ancestral Ecuadorian nation, since Atahualpa is traditionally hailed as the Ecuadorian heir to both the Kingdom of the Quitos and Incas. Atahualpa's Ecuadorianness is established by his birth in the ancient territory of what today is Ecuador and by descent, through his Quito lineage (LNS n.d.; Navas Jimenez 1994). There is a vested interest at the site in making Quilago an icon of the nation and representative of the motherland, (La Madre Patria), as has been the case for different national movements around the world (Gaitskell and Unterhalter 1989; Mosse 1985; Parker et al. 1992).

It was this national ideal that reckoned a direct state intervention and the presence of the national military force in the excavation of Quilago's remains at Cochasquí (El Día 1930). The state's interest in this enterprise is explicit when you take into account that the issue of multiple Quilagos was never brought up. Even Velasco's notion of the existence of an indigenous Quito nation (Reino de Quito) had no empirical bearings and was fraught with historical

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inconsistencies by the turn of the century (Jijón y Caamaño 1918c; Salazar 1995). Quilago presents an instance of the Ecuadorian nation-state's search for a primordial Ecuadorian identity -- a national identity which would only benefit from its ties with a heroic and indigenous mother figure for the nation.

The necessity of having a mother figure for the nation also seems to be implicit in the narrative of the love affair between Quilago and the conquering Inca, in this case Huayna Capac. This tale of love and vengeance is quite ambiguous, as we can see in its description by the guides:

> When the Incas had conquered the area there are several hypothesis that are formulated, right, for example, they say Huayna Capac came here for lovings [love-making] with the **Quilago**, some say this. Others say that the Incas were not even here, but ultimately the Incas conquered them (Tour Guide, Virgilio 2/2/97).

> And therefore she is betrayed by her close aides and they "gossip" the information to Huayna Capac [the conquering Inca leader] so that she falls in the trap of the Incas and then come the white people, the savages that are the Spaniards by whom these people are destroyed and this area gets abandoned (Pullas De la Cruz 1998: 12-3).

Traditional Inca imperial policies demanded the complete submission and/or death of the military leaders, which is probably what sealed Cochasquí's Quilago's death (Murra 1989).

What seems to be constructed at Cochasquí is a symbiotic

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origin myth that provides for an initial founding couple to give birth to the Ecuadorian nation. This is symbiotic because even though it maintains some typical Andean origin myth structure (see Urton 1990; Isbell 1985), its forced marriage and genealogical reasoning follows more European or Western notions of ascension rules than Andean ones (Silverblatt 1987).

The conquering Incas may provide the father figure in this origin myth, but it is Cochasquí who provides in Quilago the pivotal mother figure. A mother figure who is at once as forceful as it is nurturing. It is Quilago who resists the Incas' military and personal advances and only through force becomes his partner, and even then, rather dies in her attempt to kill the Inca than to live as his wife. This is the imagery from which Ecuatorianidad is founded at Cochasquí, from a raping of the nation by foreign invaders. The forceful figure of the resistant Indian mother is what gives Ecuadorians the dignity and resolve to carry on.

The Indian characteristic of Quilago is essential in providing the nation with the primordial aura of authenticity. It is in the Indian past, 'Ecuador's' Indian past, that Ecuadorians can start to make sense of the embattled present existence of territorial loss and political corruption (Silva 1995). The Quilago history narrated by the guides at

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Cochasquí and included in the site's official history is very much the opposite one of the Malinche metaphor elaborated in Mexico and juxtaposed all over the Americas (Cypess 1991; Mallon 1996). This is not the cunning woman who sells out to the foreign invaders but rather, a woman who resists the aggressor (military and sexually) to her death, and is forced into a social/sexual reproductive relationship. One could argue that this symbolism intensifies after her death and through the retelling of "**her**-story" in Cochasquí's official "**his**-story." Quilago, like the Malinche, takes on certain traditionally male characteristics, but it is the mixture of these with her mothering abilities that endows her with the assumed nurturing quality needed to provide for the Ecuadorian nation.

In appreciating Quilago's history partly as an origin myth we can understand why such a dominant female figure is not only presented, but so vividly accepted by all, including and especially Ecuadorian men and women who live with a sexist hierarchy of female subordination. This is not any woman we are talking about, this is Quilago, the symbol of the nation (La Patria) which is being described. Quilago is not a symbol of woman's potential or a call to women's liberation, and therefore a disrupter of contemporary gender relationships, as much as she is a marker of the nation's motherhood and

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primordial origins. And therefore she is a mechanism, contradictory at times, but ultimately useful in reifying the oppressive gender status quo.

But even though Quilago is packaged to be more about the nation or woman's role in the nation than about womanhood per se; one notices the excited looks on many of the women's faces as this story is being told. The demanding glare of wives at their husbands and the explicit appeal of some female tourists to "know more about Quilago, Queen of Cochasquí, to imagine that there was here a special woman" (L.R., 4/16/97). Therefore, even though Cochasquí's history of Quilago cannot extricate itself from a national gender discourse in which it is produced, it still provides both hegemonic and alternative readings of gender relations. However, we must remember that alternative versions are essential opposites of any successful hegemonizing discourse (Mallon 1988; Foucault 1980 and 1991).

Therefore, even though there is an official gendered version in Cochasquí's Quilago, one that strongly involves the nation and La Patria, as is always the case with historical reconstructions at the site, more than one interpretation is perceived and actively deployed by the tourists and staff alike.

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Of Indians and White/Mestizos: Cochasquí's Healing History of the Racial Self

> Afterwards came the problem of the conflict between the two Incas, the two brothers, right, Huayna Capac and Yupanqui, because of the problem of the Tahuantinsuyu. [the characters are confused with those of Atahualpa and Huascar]. Therefore after that was why it was so easy for the Spanish to conquer us. Unfortunately after that moment, ever since the Spanish conquest, we have lost our origin, our roots. Everybody says they have given us a white color, right, but it is not because ... [he laughs] or a beard, right. Or some say I am Spaniard. They insult the Indians, Indians so and so, but they [the Indians] say at least we carry our roots. Because you [the tourists] no longer have no roots, right, have no origins. Those that have no origins are called Huayrapamushcas, that is what the Indians call them. Huayrapamushcas, which means sons of nothing, sons of the wind. Good, if you have any questions, if not we can continue. (Tour Guide, Juanito 2/8/97).

The racial/ethnic discourse at Cochasquí is multi-layered, and as with all the other elements, it is dynamic and ever-changing. But behind all of the shifting shadows there seems to be a complex discourse of racial healing. The site is a place where one can make amends with history and with the Indian legacy of the nation.

The hour-long guide is a painstaking tour of the Indian community that lived at Cochasquí, but also of the indigenous communities in general that populated the space of what now is Ecuador, before the Spanish conquest. The site "reminds us" of the past about which we never knew or that we have supposedly erased, of the Indian population that lived

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millennia ago and that inform the Ecuadorian nation. At Cochasquí one returns to the past to revisit what we have chosen to ignore. The guide's voice serves as small notes pasted on things that have been forgotten by the inhabitants of Macondo (García Marquez 1971). But the things we learn are not only of the Indian past, it is also about us, since the Indian past informs who we are. Through the guide's tour we start recognizing and remembering more and more things about ourselves. The acknowledgment of the past is therefore about recognition of repressed memories and a change of heart.

There is a transformative urgency in the guide's description of ourselves, of our divided identities. There has to be a reaction to the guide's words, a change, an effect of the historical truth being offered. We no longer should be capable of seeing ourselves as better than our Indian ancestors, superior to our Indian siblings. This is especially so since we have learned that we are their descendants, that they were capable of great things and suffered at the hand of the Spaniards, (the non-Indians).

Through this initial contradiction a resolution is hinted at. Our initial self, disparaged and wounded in the genocide of Andean history, is bandaged by the recognition of our other self, the Indian past, which we have neglected and forgotten for so long. But things are, or at least could be,

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different now. The visit to Cochasquí has allowed us to reconcile ourselves with our own past, a part of our own historical selves we have long neglected. The hour-long trek is a sign of our redemptive intentions, it is a peregrination of archaeological and historical healing and understanding (See Silberman 1995). We learn about the Indian past, which is part of our own past and about ourselves.

In this manner, the biggest racial/ethnic differences of the nation between Indians, mestizos and whites are obliterated at Cochasquí. The racial, ethnic and class differences so apparent in every aspect of the visit to the site, i.e., vehicles used to get to the site, clothes people wear, accents used, cultural mannerisms, etc., are resolved, hidden from view, readily denied, allowing for a peaceful departure. The tour guide represents a holistic national history which actively incorporates the Indian past. The visitors' new understanding of Ecuadorian history renews their sense of self and allows them to live more at ease in a setting of racial, ethnic and class oppression and contradictions.

In an interesting way, Cochasquí's story of a search for the past, literally digging for the truth and lost memory is in itself one of covering up and forgetting. Just like any of the national histories (discussed in Chapters 5-8), the

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racial/ethnic discourse at Cochasquí strategically selects those elements that are congruent in its promulgation of the nation. The narrative at Cochasquí ultimately allows for a subtle erasure of the blatant racial contradictions of Indian and Afro-Ecuadorian oppression in which all Ecuadorians are immersed, and from which whites and white/mestizo benefit the most. It is also not surprising that the two latter racial categories are the ones that make up most of the visitors at the site.

The tour as part of Cochasquí's official history, is not a lie as much as it is a history of itself, that is, a story constructed for the site about itself for its own existence and survival. This history is itself readily appropriated by the nation- state's racial discourse, which after all is (or tries to impress upon us as being) at the origin of history itself.

In this sense, at Cochasquí we can see at least two major sexual/racial discourses being represented and acted upon. One, which is the one most visibly expressed to the public, is a politically correct narrative of gender/racial equality represented in the image of the Queen Quilago and in recognizing the historical worth of our Indian ancestors. It is this same discourse that is essential for Cochasquí to continue getting the public support that will allow them to

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get the financial support from the Consejo Provincial to ensure their survival. However, there also seems to be another discourse subsumed under all these elements. A discourse of an unequivocal gender and racial hierarchy, which is expressed in the form of a white/mestizo male domination enacted upon women and weaker males to express the power relations inherent at the site, relations which are representative of the nation-state. It is this patriarchal structure of the male Ecuadorian state (El Estado) which is keenly and appropriately hidden under the nurturing guise and feminine image of La Patria (motherland) and the nation (La Nación).

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MECHANISMS OF APPROPRIATION: PARTICIPATING IN AND GAZING AT THE NATIONAL PAST

Cochasquí, as we have seen, represents many things for the nation: Ecuador's hidden history; a seed of resistance to foreign intervention; a pristine place of authentic traditions; a place of racial healing, etc. But how is it that the nation is capable of producing itself in the narrative of this ancient site?

Neither discourse, that of Cochasquí or the nation-state, are singular in their meanings, or completely independent of each other and of other grand discourses. These discourses benefit from a complexity of meanings and representation that makes their deconstruction utopic. Only their transformation is possible. As multiple and complex organisms, their resilience is demonstrated in their enormous capacity to integrate what seems to be contradictory elements into a coherent structure. This transformative capacity only elevates their layering of meaning and their capacity to integrate even more contradictory elements, and to produce new hegemonic discourses.

It is this complex layering of meaning that allows Cochasquí to be readily incorporated into the national narrative. Single elements, such as the Incas, have multiple layers of signification, all of which can, and are, arranged

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as multiple twines around the discourse of the nation. As it is vividly described in the 1613 ritualized enactment, the Incas are hailed both as foreign invaders (killing the Queen of Cochasquí/Quito) and as the founders of the nation. The multiple meanings produced by the different constitutive elements of Cochasquí are not an obstacle, but rather seem to facilitate their appropriation into a similarly complex discourse, that of the Ecuadorian nation-state.

At Cochasquí there seems to be at least two specific mechanisms through which the nation-state makes Cochasquí's story its own: gazing and physical/bodily participation. These two mechanisms relate the elements of Cochasquí to our own sense or care of the self (Miller 1993). In doing so the historical elements are integrated into our own bodies before they are incorporated into the larger social body of the nation-state.

The two techniques of appropriation that I outline in this section are closely linked to the research done into understanding the forms of internalized domination (e.g., Memmi 1991; Freire 1992; Ribeiro 1988). This particular concern has led to not only understanding power in a much more pervasive and totalizing manner (Foucault 1980) but even more importantly in understanding its centrality enacted upon the body (e.g., Taussig 1992).

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Merleau-Ponty (1963 and 1964) significantly theorized on the complexity of the internalized domination of our existence through the specificity of our body. This is a concern that was further elaborated by De Certeau's (1984) problematization of 'everyday practices' and their subtle associations with the structures of state domination (Joseph and Nugent 1995). Forms of domination that for Foucault (1993) resulted from the shift of a regime of power coming from above the social body (e.g., monarchies) to one inscribing itself within the body per se (e.g., social democracies). This represents an individualization of power that makes it harder to struggle against because:

> What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault 1980: 119).

This concern of internalized domination expressed and articulated in our bodies is not foreign to Andean historicity. For example, Classen (1993: 145) is specifically concerned with how the different Inca rituals "sought to internalize the Inca social order in the bodies of individuals" in such a manner that:

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> the bodies of the Incas and their subjects were thus not only inserted within the structure of the Inca state, they manifested that structure within themselves (Classen 1993: 145).

I argue that this process can also be observed at Cochasquí, concretely in the manner in which looking/gazing and participating in the different rituals (such as visiting the site), actively contributes to the nationalization of the site and further serves to legitimize the Ecuadorian nation-state's explicit forms of oppression (i.e., class, racial, ethnic, sexual, etc.).

The first mechanism of appropriation is the act of gazing. To look at the other is a powerful act which allows the onlooker to appropriate what is being observed and incorporate it into one's own sense of logic (Pratt 1992; Min-Ha 1991; Gomez-Peña 1996; Bronfen 1996; Zizek 1996; Saleci and Zizek 1996). The gaze of the other at Cochasquí, in all its constitutive elements, is actively and readily translated into the nation's own multiple meanings and regiment of truth, with the translation actually occurring in our own bodies and mind. This active gazing is particularly relevant in moments such as the celebration of the Inti Raymi, when the "other," in this instance modern Indian communities, take center stage and personify the site.

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The gaze of the tourist and visitors immediately bring that ritual enactment or act into their own realm of experience. A realm of experience which is none other than the one constructed within the nation-state's discourse of what Ecuador is. It is the experience of being an Ecuadorian, and the multiple meanings that it of this has, that contributes to the interpretation of the spectacle they are being offered. As one tourist remarked, visiting the site "allows me to love my country and my nationality even more" (T. 1/24/97). In this manner the 'other's' act is actively incorporated, through the onlooker, an actual individual, into an Ecuadorian and therefore national way of seeing and being.

The actual gazing is not only relevant during special ritual enactments or celebration, but also throughout the visit to the site. As tourists, we are constantly looking at the site, at the pyramids, artifacts, llamas, museum, etc. and actively encouraged by the miniature models and guides to imagine what the site was like in other times:

> [The guide] has informed me about the period and encourages me to imagine the life of the inhabitants of this period (T., 18/1/98).

That imagining provides us with a representation that is readily translatable to our own experience and allows us not only to conceptualize the site as it operated in other

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historical moments but more importantly to make sense of Cochasquí in the national discourse within ourselves. This gaze is particularly powerful because the site itself is constructed in such a way as to be looked and stared at. The site itself is a real-size display of "the past" and as such we are encouraged to actively consume it through our eyes and imagination.

The Program relies on the tourists' gaze and imagination to justify its managing of the site:

> Yeah, because it is one thing when they tell you about it or when you read about it, and its a completely different thing when you are present at the actual place where the events took place (T. 2/04/98).
>
> Because the books are different from the actual **natural** and **original** place (T.2/14/98; my bold).
>
> (The visit) has made me more sensitive (to history) (T.2/22/98).

That is why it encourages the site to be gazed at, appropriated, and therefore understood in its own terms. This gazing is crucial for the understanding of the site, but more importantly, and unknowingly, for the appropriation of its history and the invention of a national past.

The second means of appropriation is our actual participation in the displaying of what Cochasquí is. It is through our own participation, specifically our bodily motions

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enacted upon the site, that we make its history ours, and therefore, the nation's. This is also clearly expressed in the initial ritual enactment of the site's history in 1613 and is still very much present in the current tour of the site. The physical exertion spent in visiting the site, going up and down the pyramids, leaving you breathless many times, is essential in allowing us to feel the site, what Silberman (1995) describes as the pilgrimage to national sites. The pilgrimage allows us to obtain an idea of what the site was like, which is only accomplished through our own experience of Cochasquí, through our own actual sweat and exhaustion. The site is made ours through our own bodily experience of it, and it is this experience that becomes representative of the site, one of its symbols. As the tourists themselves express:

> Theory is not the same than to take in these cultures with one's senses (T. 2/21/98).
>
> To actually be present at the same site that the Caranquis lived at (T. 2/2/98).

This is also present in the shamanistic and other rituals carried out at the site on different occasions. The enthusiastic support of these activities by both the Program and the tourists (one of the ex-directors viewed them as living remnants of the past, personal communication), points to the importance of active participation in being able to

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truly understand Cochasquí and what it was really like. It is through the participation in these rituals, either through baths, prayer, incantations, walks and meditations, that one can imagine what Cochasquí was like. It is also in this understanding that the multiple meanings of the site become incorporated into one's own sense of being, literally into one's own bodily experience, which serves as a living metaphor for the body of the nation-state. As some of the tourists express it:

> To transmit and live our past in some form (T., 1/24/98).
>
> To be an actual exponent of our ancestors (T., n.d.).

It does not matter if you participate in a wedding ceremony or are simply trekking along the site's trail, either way your body is helping you make sense of the site and appropriate its meanings. This participation is what allows the site's meanings to be translated into that of the nation-state, but only because the connection has been performed through our bodies. The meanings are engaged with those already structured in oneself by one's own previous experience of the Ecuadorian nation-state and of its imagined national past: "it is so different to live our own (national) reality than just to hear about it" (Tourist, n.d.).

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For both modes of appropriation, that is the gaze and bodily participation, we are actually the nation-state's instrument of translations. It is in our gaze, in our own bodies, and our own sense of self that the translation is performed, that the historic truth is inscribed (see Butler 1993 and 1997). Just as certain plants, such as maize, have "figured out" a way of making us responsible for its own sexual/social reproduction, and can no longer survive without our help, the nation also seems to rely entirely on us for its reproduction. An interesting solution, since ultimately it is for us that the nation needs this history; it is for our own conversion that the nation-state is eager to appropriate Cochasquí's history.

In this sense, we are both the instruments of domination and the dominated self at the same time. It is almost as if we bring upon ourselves the domination. But this is not entirely accurate because we are not ever outside of the domination process, we are in it, we are at the integral center of domination. As Foucault has highlighted, power is not only or even mainly strategically placed outside of us but rather is wired up in our center, which makes it for the forms of domination to be even more subtle and pervasive:

> In thinking of the mechanism of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts

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> itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives (Foucault 1980:39).

In our own care of ourselves, in our logical structuring of our own self's experience we are unknowingly, unwittingly, and relentlessly activating mechanisms of appropriation and domination not only unto ourselves but ones that contribute and connect to explicit, violent forms of coercive domination.

This is why the appropriation of Cochasquí's history into a wider web of meanings in the national sphere can be performed through the individual (Butler 1997). The gaze and bodily participation which stems from an individual care of one's self, from the need to make sense of one's own experience, ultimately leads or activates the nation's construction and appropriation of historical truths within us.

The nation survives in our daily activities and thoughts about our existence, and through our own action appropriates and rewrites other narratives about itself in our experience (De Certeau 1984; Sayer 1995; Taussig 1992). These two mechanisms enable the official history to become the nation's narrative of itself and to be incorporated into our own experience of the site. These mechanisms, therefore, not only make it seem as if Cochasquí is exclusively related to Ecuador's national past, but more significantly, that it always has and always will be.

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SECTION III
NATIONAL HISTORIES

> ...where the official [and other] voice[s] can so strikingly contradict reality, and by means of such contradiction create fear...
>
> Michael Taussig, *The Nervous System*

INTRODUCTION

This third section of the dissertation is concerned with assessing the production of national histories in Ecuador. It assesses how archaeological knowledge is not only produced but more specifically narrated, integrated and integrated into national histories.

Chapters 5-8 describe, analyze and compare three national histories and discuss the context of the prehispanic past's contribution in their constitution. The selection of these three historical accounts has been deliberate from the outset of my research. I was particularly interested in collecting data and analyzing three separate national historical discourses, these being an official, alternative and a more multi-vocal version (see Description of Chapters in Chapter 1).

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CHAPTER 5
AN OFFICIAL HISTORY:
FATHER JUAN DE VELASCO'S ANCIENT KINGDOM OF QUITO

> When one examines the History of the Kingdom of Quito, one must proceed without love or hatred, nor with false patriotism, nor with the objective of supporting the Institute (the Church) to which the author belonged, nor his native city, but rather, with the noble aspiration of the truth, only licit undertaking of the investigator, the only one; pure in those dedicated tirelessly to understand the past.
>
> Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, *Examen Crítico de la Veracidad de la Historia del Reino de Quito*

THE CONTEXT FOR AN OFFICIALIZING DISCIPLINE: THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATION OF ECUADORIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The institutionalization of archaeology as a discipline in Ecuador has been addressed only rarely (Salazar 1993/94 and 1995b; Echeverría 1995; see first chapter). Unlike the path followed by other American archaeologies, Ecuadorian archaeology did not emerge either in close relationship with natural history as was the case in the United States (Patterson 1995b) and Argentina or Anthropology, which seems to have been the case in Mexico and Peru (Patterson 1995a). Rather, the emergence of an archaeological discourse was embedded in the production of a history that justified a

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criollo (Mestizo) heritage as opposed to a mutually exclusive Indian or Spanish one.

Archaeological investigations in Ecuador may be in many ways particularly pressured by the questionable historical origins of the national territory within the colonial structure preceding the formation of the modern republic. In this manner, Ecuadorian archaeology would be more similar to the historical expression of colonial nations like Puerto Rico or recently founded republics like Panama. In this venture a continental typology of forms of archaeologies might emerge, similar to Trigger's (1984) division of colonial, national and imperial archaeologies. However, recent typological attempts (Oyuela-Caycedo 1994) seem to warrant more thorough comparative studies as well as theoretical analyses that would incorporate different political systems, modes of production and not only nation and nation-states. The objective of a more detailed comparative approach is to avoid the formulation of simplistic functional categorization of national archaeologies, e.g., Oyuela-Caycedo 1994.

The assumed forefathers of Ecuadorian archeology (and of course it is not a mere accident that they are fathers and not mothers) would only be those historians/scholars that actually were born in what was either later to be or had just become the country of Ecuador. These scholars are indisputably seen

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as part of the Ecuadorian nation and/or as Ecuadorians. The four seminal (literally) figures in this respect are Father Juan de Velasco y Petroche (1727-92) and Francisco Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo (1747-95) during the colonial period, and, Archbishop Francisco Gonzáles Suárez (1844-1917), and Jacinto Jijón Y Caamaño (1890-1950) in the Republican era.

To provide the context for assessing Juan de Velasco's account, I would like to discuss the two first pivotal figures that have been traditionally hailed as the precursors or founders of archaeological/historical research in the country. The focus on these two figures is not exclusively based on their intellectual attributes but rather, on how these figures express the greater social forces which they were embedded in and the power of representation that works upon them. It also must be stated that Juan de Velasco and Eugenio Espejo were not the only ones to be hailed as precursors of an Ecuadorian identity during the colonial period. They are not the only figures that contemporary historiography builds upon to construct present day Ecuadorianess, since this list would include figures like Jose Mejía Lequerica, José Joaquín de Olmedo, and Manuela Cañizares. But they are the ones with the greatest national appeal as expressed in their continued national representation in newspapers, magazines and educational texts (Vistazo 1997).

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Velasco's account of an ancient Kingdom of Quito is one of the most influential narratives that helped to consolidate the Real Audiencia de Quito's territorial stronghold. It is a territorial stronghold that needed to be justified internally and externally in the Spanish crown's eyes because of the fame and allure of the rivaling Inca dynasty exposed in a series of ethnothistoric accounts that sustained and symbolically legitimized the Virreynato de Lima's existence (Jijón y Caamaño 1919; Garcilaso de la Vega 1974).

Meanwhile, Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo never actually wrote a historical treatise or even directly about the prehispanic past but rather wrote sociological and medical essays focusing on the inhuman conditions that prevailed during the colonial period. However, in many ways his own Indian ancestry made him a living testament to the prehispanic past that would slowly start to pervade the colonial's government historical discourse. It is Espejo's Indian heritage and social achievement that make him essential in understanding a national history that is solidly based on a 'mestizo' past. It is a mestizo past which has been partly constructed on the representation of Espejo's historical legacy.

These two figures were part of a greater group of organic intellectuals in the Gramscian sense (Gramsci 1971)

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that gave voice to a general sentiment emanating from the polity in general and that in many ways expressed an emerging class fraction that had not yet been able to consolidate itself in the swampy social structure that the colonial relations had constructed (see Patterson 1991: 243). Both Juan de Velasco and Eugenio Espejo were born in the Real Audiencia de Quito under Spanish Crown rule, and in that sense saw themselves as being completely Americanos. They formed part of an emerging local (criollista) elite that was not content with what they considered to be a form of foreign domination at the hands of the Spanish. As a result, they put forward a historical claim justifying the criollo's initial contestation for self-rule and autonomy. However, even though both Velasco and Espejo were members of a criollo elite, they were by no means of equal standing, having many class, professional and racial differences between them that impacted on the way they theorized and wrote about their own homeland, and on the way they are represented in the national imagery.

Juan de Velasco was born in Riobamba (1727) into a wealthy household (that is, white, culturally speaking) directly linked to very prestigious European family lines. He entered the Jesuit congregation in 1747, and was a parish priest in Ibarra by 1761. By 1763 he had obtained a doctorate from the San Gregorio Magno University in Quito, and in 1767,

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became a physics instructor in Popayan's High School (then part of the Real Audiencia de Quito). After this, Velasco, along with all the other members of the Jesuit order were expelled from the Audiencia's territory as a result of colonial politics, and ended up living in Italy until his death in 1792. It is here in Faenza, Italy, in 1789, where he wrote his Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional (1841).

Velasco's history of the Reino de Quito has been completely debunked by modern archaeological research and is thought to be devoid of any critical value within academic circles (Salazar 1988, 1995a, 1993-4; Moreno 1992). However, this is far from the case in the national historiography. Velasco's account of a fictitious Reino de Quito is vividly present in most Ecuadorians' mind and is still taught as historical fact in grade and high-school textbooks (García González 1997; Navas 1994). It is this official support of Velasco's history by the Ministry of Education's curriculum that makes it a pillar of their nation's legitimacy for many Ecuadorians.

The resilience of Velasco's Reino de Quito, even in face of overwhelming empirical evidence to the contrary, is not that surprising when you take into account the enormous ideological value of his work. Velasco wrote his history of

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Quito with the objective of reclaiming the human worth of the American people, which had been questioned by almost three centuries of conquest, colonization and theoretical elaborations of race. In Moreno's words (1992: 23; quotes in the original), as a member of an emerging criollo class, Velasco:

> ... attempts to apologetically formulate an emerging national ideology, and offer his compatriots their "own" history to justify their roots and hopes for autonomy.

It is this ideological value that gives the Historia del Reino de Quito an enormous mythical power for the foundation of the nation, far beyond the possible empirical validity of its claims or any limited discussion of it being true or not.

Eugenio Espejo's writings, especially his newspaper enterprise Primicias de la Cultura de Quito, are hailed as the foundation of the mestizo essence of the Ecuadorian nation. Espejo was born in Cajamarca in 1747, (which also has the symbolic significance of being the death site of the last Inca, Atahualpa), of an Indian father and mulatto (African and Spanish heritage) mother (Moreno 1992). However, the reigning system of colonial caste and racial subordination which would have doomed his intellectual pursuits did not impede his obtaining a formal education, and he was able get degrees in both Medicine and Law from the University in Quito. However,

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his racial distance from the other intellectual criollos of his period was constantly present in his writing, and as he himself put it, in his expertise in the figurative art of hiding (in Moreno 1992: 24).

Espejo's racial tension is present throughout the modern representations of his journalistic, medical and social essays. In them there is a constant need to defend the Indian from the unjust structure in which the Spanish domination had placed them. At the same time his writings filled the need of the criollos elite to undermine the oppressive Spanish colonial system which they argued was morally unacceptable, but most importantly, also thwarted their aspiration of autonomous self-rule. Espejo's sociological descriptions of corrupt religious orders, inhuman sanitary conditions, and personally experienced racial oppression were filled with an implicit national spirit that seemed offended and enraged by Spain's denial of the emerging polities' historical reason of being, and that ultimately vied for an independent existence of the Audiencia.

Once again, it is this implicit political and ideological content, and not its empirical value, that makes Espejo's narrative central in the contemporary discourse of Ecuador's official national history. As we can observe in the multiple official mediums incorporating Espejo in the national

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historical canon (Efrén Reyes 1950). What is taken from Espejo's contribution is the fact that he made it, even in spite of his Indian ancestry, not the tortuous conditions that he faced and describes in his writing. Instead of Espejo being a testament of reigning oppressive racial conditions he becomes evidence of the contrary, of how it is possible to overcome them. And if there is an explicit oppressive condition, the nation's voice is not so much identified with that social context of oppression as it is with Espejo's own voice of condemnation.

By identifying closely with Espejo's figure the nation sidesteps the disquieting ethnic/racial/class inequalities (just like at Cochasquí) and rather, identifies with Espejo's plea for more equal and democratic social relationships. Espejo and Ecuador are one, and the unjust racial conditions are to be understood as unpatriotic elements not as what they are, the nation's founding relationships. The use of Espejo's account as history or more specifically of Espejo's figure as historical, serves to inflate a national sense of Ecuadorian self and identity, and, hide the founding and current oppressive racial relationships of the nation.

Although both Velasco and Espejo lived two full centuries before contemporary Ecuador came into existence, their work has been incorporated in such a way that it is

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central to the current official maintenance of the nation. Their work is interpreted by the official discourse to represent Ecuador's existence to have been mythically present from the beginning of times. Both Velasco's account of the Kingdom of Quito and Espejo's early journalistic writings provide an insight in the styles of invention utilized in the production of the Ecuadorian nation-state (Anderson 1983).

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THE OFFICIAL VERSION OF THE KINGDOM OF QUITO

This official national history was specifically provided by the academic (high school) textbooks description of the ancient Kingdom of Quito. Since the contents of these textbooks are strictly controlled by the Ministry of Education, which decides what is or is not appropriate to be taught as Ecuadorian history, these textbooks represent the nation-state's official version of a national prehispanic past.

The initial and only original description known of the ancient Kingdom of Quito (Antiguo Reino de Quito) was written by the Jesuit Priest, Juan de Velasco in 1789, while living in exile with the rest of his religious community in Faenza, Italy. Since then this narrative has become a source of national pride and identity even though the existence of this kingdom has never been confirmed either by archaeological evidence or independent ethnohistoric accounts (Vinueza 1986). However, the historical inconsistencies in Velasco's account has never prevented Ecuador's Ministry of Education from supporting the idea of an ancient 'Quitu' (1) nation and encouraging the Kingdom's history to be taught in grade and high schools:

UNIT #7 THE QUITO NATION

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> - The tradition of the Quito nation and their Shyris leaders. Personality of Juan de Velasco and commentary of his work.
> - Characteristics of their economic, political and social organization. Religion: cult and funerary rites: music, dance. Cultural aspects: science and art. Critical judgment.
> - The Quito nation as the basis of our nationality. The Inca invasion and the Quito resistance. Consequences (Programa Anual 1996/7).

Up to the present the fictitious Kingdom of Quito is part of the state's official 7th and 10th grades history curriculum and is hailed as "the foundation of the Ecuadorian nation" (Programa Anual 1996).

The main objective of this chapter is to describe the Ministry of Education's version of the kingdom of Quito. I will do this by describing the history of the Quito nation as it is narrated in the different high school textbooks that are used to teach Ecuador's prehispanic past. In total I have analyzed six different history textbooks, all of which reproduce Velasco's account and are among the limited selection of textbooks to be used by Ecuadorian educational institutions. The discussion of the Quito nation is divided into the three sections that the textbooks themselves recognize: 1) the characteristics of the Quito nation per se; 2) the Quito resistance to the Inca invasion; and, 3) the discussion of the historical validity of F. Juan de Velasco's work. I have limited the description exclusively to that of

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the textbooks to gain a fuller understanding of the content of the state's official discourse. I will incorporate other works and critiques in the following analysis and final comparison of all three national histories (see Chapter 8).

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THE QUITO NATION

Surprisingly, the history of the Kingdom of Quito begins with the description of the Caras. The Caras are said to be an ancient group that landed on the Ecuadorian Pacific coast, near the Chone river, hundred of years ago and founded the city of Carán (where the current city of Manta now stands). Their leader was called Schyri, which in their language meant: Lord of all Men and Warriors, and wore a headband with a central emerald as his crown. The Caras continued their migratory tendency and made their way up to the 'Kitua valley,' that is the current Guayllabamba basin. Here they conquered the Quitu polity in 980 A.D. who were far more primitive and less advanced than the Caras themselves (Navas Jimenez 1994; García González 1997).

The Caras maintained the name of Schyri for their leader but took on the name of Quito for their own polity. In all, there were 11 Schyris that reigned for 320 years, from 980-1300 A.D. All 11 leaders continued their conquering strategies and incorporated into their Quito kingdom many groups, such as the Imbayas of Imbabura, the Llactacungas y Pantzleos of Cotopaxi, and the Puruguayes of the Central Ecuadorian Andes. The Puruguayes were not overpowered militarily but rather, were diplomatically incorporated into the kingdom (Navas Jimenez 1994; García González 1997).

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Echoing Navas Jimenez's (1994: 32) words to set the stage, "let's see dear students this romantic episode enveloped in the mythic fog": It happened that the 11th Schyri had no son and therefore there was no heir to the throne. Because of this the Schyri and the other leaders met to come up with a solution to the crisis. The solution was facilitated by the fact that the Schyri's daughter, Toa, had been secretly in love with the son of the Puruguayes's leader, Duchicela. Taking advantage of this love, the two were married and the kingdoms of Quito and Puruguayes (although still maintains the name of Quito) were united into one, with Duchicela being crowned as the 12th Schyri. It is interesting to note that although Duchicela's father, Condorazo, had accepted this arrangement he refused to live under any other man's rule, including that of this son. After the wedding he went on a walk to die by himself at the skirts of the snow capped volcano that since then carries his name, Condorazo (Navas Jimenez 1994; García González 1997).

Duchicela, 12th Schyri, reigned with "justice, love and wisdom both Quiteños and Puruguayes for 70 years" (Navas Jimenez 1994: 48). Upon his death in 1379 A.D. he was succeeded by his son Autachi Duchicela who governed as the 13th Schyri till 1430 A.D. Autachi's second born son, Hualcopo Duchicela, 14th Schyri, governed till 1463 and was

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the first Schyri to resist the Inca invasion. And finally, Hualcopo's son, Cacha, was to be the last and 15th Schyri, whom actually died in the war against the Incas (Navas Jimenez 1994; García González 1997).

The description of the cultural, social and religious characteristics of the Quito nation are numerous and cannot be fully developed here. But among the most salient features was the fact that they were organized along family lines and in ayllus (2) and were organized in a type of primitive communism (Pareja Diezcanseco 1997: 26-7) These ayllus later were grouped together to become tribes, confederations and ultimately nations. The polity also had three social classes, the highest one being the leader and his family, a middle one composed of administrative and communal leaders and the third and lowest class made up of the commoners (Pareja Diezcanseco 1990; García González 1997; Martinez Estrada n.d.).

The Quitus believed in the sun and moon as their maximum deities, although they also worshipped local gods, such as mountains, lakes, rivers, etc. They constructed a temple to the sun in the hill of the Panecillo (3), which was later reconstructed by the Incas. However, they also believed in a supreme God which they called Kon-Ticci-Viracocha, similar to the Peruvian polities (García González 1997; Martinez Estrada n.d.; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990).

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The Quitos buried their dead in deep holes within earthen mounds (tolas), of which there were thousands of them in their territory. They also had developed an ideographic form of writing far superior to the 'Peruvian Quipus' which consisted of a grammar of drawings, pieces of wood and stones. Depending on the sizes and colors of the stone and their location within the board they were able to describe the most important events. Finally, women were subservient to male authority, and they were expected to farm, prepare the food, rear the kids, clean the clothes and clean the hut (house) (García González 1997; Martinez Estrada n.d.). A situation that is interestingly enough described to be very different from the present role of women in Ecuadorian society (Navas Jimenez 1994: 57).

Although all the authors acknowledge the multiple contestations of the existence of the Kingdom of Quito, they all agree and "concretely say, (it) existed, (that) it was a historical geographical and sociological reality" (Navas Jimenez 1994: 50-1). But more important it is also readily apparent that the reality of an ancient Kingdom of Quito supports the territorial claims of the Ecuadorian nation since "in consequence, Ecuador must reclaim all the territory that was ours during the prehistoric state of the Kingdom of Quito" (Navas Jimenez 1994: 50-1).

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THE QUITO RESISTANCE TO THE INCAS

The textbook's descriptions of the Inca invasion of the Quiteño territory is transfixed with national imagery:

> And it is exactly this imperialist invasion of the sons of the Inti (sun in Quechua), commanded by the Inca Tupac-Yupanqui and later by his own son Huayna-Capac, that did not manage to undermine the national unity but rather on the contrary, this invasion was the most powerful stimulus to consolidate the sociological link of the Quito nation (Navas Jimenez 1994: 50).

Tupac Yupanqui is the first Inca to penetrate the realm of the Kingdom of Quito. His first enemies, the Huancabambas and Paltas offered very little opposition to the Inca's army of 200,000 men, and they were easily overpowered, with many of the Palta sent as mitimaes (4) to other areas of the Inca empire. The next group in the Inca's line of conquest of the Kingdom of Quito were the Cañaris. In their initial confrontation, the Cañaris provided the first defeat to the Inca army, which forced the Inca to regroup to attack the Cañaris a second time. In this instance the Inca army is so overwhelming that the Cañaris did not even attempt to battle against them and instead they surrendered to the Inca forces (García González 1997; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990).

Tupac Yupanqui immediately colonized the region and constructed the Inca city of Tomebamba (current city of Cuenca) which is to have rivaled the Inca capital of Cuzco in

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its splendor. It is also in Tomebamba where supposedly the next Inca, Tupac Yupanqui's son, Huayna Capac is born. Tupac Yupanqui's next battle is against the Schyri leader himself, Hualcopo Duchicela and his chief general, Eplicachima. The battle at Tiocajas proves to be in favor of the Incas once again with the death of the general Eplicachima. This makes the Quiteño forces regroup in the fortress of Mocha, with Eplicachima's son, Calicuchima now being named supreme general of the Quito army.

The presence of generals within the Quiteño force is central. To the names of the two previous leaders mentioned many others such as, Nazacota Puento, Pintag and Quisquis should be added. All of these generals symbolize the enormous valor and courage in defending the national territory against the foreign invaders. It is a courage that is even recognized by the Inca himself who asked for drums to be made of the skin of a couple of these generals to honor their valiant spirit (García González 1997; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990).

At this point, the Inca once again offers the possibility of surrender to the Schyri leader, who again vehemently denied the offer stating "with a profound sentiment and love for the territory of his ancestors that only death would make him lose his Kingdom and freedom" (García González 1997: 169). Tupac Yupanqui makes his final offensive and

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captures the Schyri capital of Quito, while Hualcopo and what is left of his army flees to the region of Atuntaqui. Afterwards there is a general respite since Tupac Yupaqui returned to Cuzco to take care of other empire affairs. When the Inca conquest of the Kingdom of Quito resumes there will be two different characters present in the historical stage. Cacha has inherited what is left of the Quito nation from his father, Hualcopo, while Huayna Capac, and is now the supreme leader of the Tahuantinsuyu (Quechua name for Inca empire), after the mourned death of his father, Tupac Yupanqui (García González 1997; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990).

Huayna Capac has to reconquer many of the groups and territories that his father had already gained control over. He does this fairly easily using his birth city of Tomebamba as his imperial center. His punishments of many of these groups are quite exemplary of the Inca's power, especially as compared to the coastal groups of the Punaes and Huancavilcas and the blood bath of the Caranqui forces in the northern highlands. The massacred Caranquis were thrown into the local lake of Yaguarcocha, meaning lake of blood in Quechua (5). He also finally ends with the last Quiteño resistance to the Inca empire by killing the Schyri leader Cacha in the battle of Atuntaqui and marrying his daughter Princess Pacha who had been proclaimed as the new Schyri leader (6). Out of this

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marriage is born Atahualpa, who is claimed to be the last ruling Inca, born both of Inca and Schyri blood in the capital of Quito (García González 1997; Pareja Diezcanseco 1990).

At his death Huayna Capac divided the Tahuantinsuyu into two equal parts, the south or Collasuyu was left to Huascar, Huayna Capac's first born, while the north, the ancient Kingdom of Quito or Chichasuyu was left to Atahualpa, the Inca's son with the Ñusta Pacha. However, after an initial attack from the "effeminate" Huascar (Navas Jimenez 1994: 85), Atahualpa and his generals Quisquis and Calicuchima kill Huascar and all the members of his lineage and ransack the capital of Cuzco. This enables Atahualpa to proclaim himself sole ruler of the Tahuantinsuyu and the Kingdom of Quito. As García González (1997: 177) explains:

> With the triumph obtained in Quipaipán, Atahualpa not only maintained his control of the Kingdom of Quito, but also became the only ruling head of the Inca empire, because of this reason he took possession of the imperial capital, Cuzco, where in an official manner he proclaimed himself emperor of the Tahuantinsuyu. ... The government of Atahualpa lasted few months, because he was soon captured by the Spaniards who had just arrived in his territory, and later was to be killed by them.

Ironically enough, fratricide is one of the reasons, along with adultery and promiscuity that will be used by the Spaniards to condemn Atahualpa to death in Cajamarca (García

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González 1997; Andrade Reimers 1995; and Pareja Diezcanseco 1990).

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THE HISTORICAL VALIDITY OF VELASCO'S ACCOUNT

> We are far from believing that Father Velasco made no errors, especially in the chapters that are dedicated to the history of the Indians before the Inca conquest; but we have the firm belief that he proceeded in good faith, that he did not invent anything and that he knew how to consider with critical intelligence the relative value of the traditions which he had collected, and tried to coordinate and present as plausible. Without his work, the majority of the tradition, that is supplementary to written sources in groups without writing, would have been lost forever (Carlos Manuel Larrea in LNS n.d.: 67).

The enormous inconsistencies of F. Juan de Velasco's account of the ancient Kingdom of Quito are so readily apparent that not even the textbooks can ignore the enormous controversy that this history has produced in the last two centuries. Most of the critics of Velasco's history question its empirical validity because of the fact that there is no independent evidence to support it. In the wake of the emergence of an archaeological discipline in the country (in the late 1800's) it became clear that there were no archaeological remains to prove the validity of an ancient Quito nation. Not only did most of the protagonist appear to be made up or non-existent but the polity itself seemed to have been "invented" since there were no material cultural remains to support its existence (Jijón y Caamaño 1918c; see also Salazar 1993/4).

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At the same time claims by Velasco's supporters that the Inca and Spanish invasion had ravished the Kingdom of Quito's material remains seemed unreasonable in the light of the enormous amount of pre-Columbian evidence of other groups being uncovered by these early archaeologists. All of this led this first generation of archaeologist in the late 1800's and early 1900's to feel that Velasco's history was:

> A conspiracy inspired by giving the much loved country, from which he was exiled, a grand aura in its past history that the nostalgic Jesuit did not want to be any less than the one of the empire of the Incas (LNS n.d.: 66-7).

The history of the Kingdom of Quito was also questioned on many other counts. Not only was (or is) there no archaeological evidence to support it but any other ethnohistoric or linguistic evidence to empirically ground Velasco's narrative was also lacking. It seemed to have been purely based on oral traditions recounted to Velasco while living in the colonial Real Audiencia de Quito. Furthermore, he actually wrote this history decades later while in exile and without any aid other than his memory. Finally, many of the structural elements within Velasco's narrative closely resembled the ethnohistoric description of the Inca empire itself, i.e., worship of the sun, etc., and of the Spanish monarchy system of the period. These are similar reasons

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which the textbooks themselves give for some scholar's questioning the veracity of Velasco's history (Navas Jimenez 1994: 54).

But, perhaps not surprisingly, there have been many Ecuadorian scholars who have come to the rescue of Velasco's narrative of a Quito nation in the last two centuries. Among them are many renowned historians, politicians and writers such as Juan León Mera, Pedro Fermín Cevallos, Jorge Salvador Lara, Gabriel Cevallos García, Isaac Barrera and Julio Tobar Donoso. All of them were willing to accept the possibility of some minor historical inconstancies due to the scientific period in which Velasco lived and wrote, but the overall validity and truth of the narrative. Some argued that Velasco had not written the history from memory and that he actually had documents to help elucidate his narrative. Most agreed that the interest of the "Peruvianphile" critics in decentering the importance of the history of the ancient Kingdom of Quito was responsible for shedding doubt on Velasco's history (LNS n.d.).

All the textbooks embrace this last position, agreeing with the above mentioned scholars that support Velasco's narrative, hailing Velasco as "a pride to the country" (Jorge Salvador Lara in LNS n.d.: 68). They also argue that modern archaeological evidence now supports the existence of a Quito

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nation (LNS n.d.: 67) and that many other Spanish cronistas validate the existence of the Kingdom of Quito: "they categorically express that the Kingdom of Quito existed and the Schyris lived in our territory" (Navas Jimenez 1994: 55).

For the textbooks and Ecuador's official history there is no doubt that: "we can never do without -not to historicize Ecuador or get to know America- his (Velasco's) "History of the Kingdom of Quito" (Jorge Salvador Lara in LNS n.d.: 68). Every Ecuadorian student should read Velasco's history, and know that in it they will find pleasure, inspiration and patriotic pride, because beyond question Juan de Velasco is one of the spiritual founders of the country (Espinosa in Vistazo 1997). It is clear then that if the Quito nation resisted and outwitted the onset of the Inca conquest, it can also survive the treacherous attack of modern historiography.

In Velasco's account and in the state's official backing of his history, archaeology occupies an important space in the maintenance of the Ecuadorian nation. Archaeological knowledge, as instituted in sites such as Cochasquí or narrated in official textbooks, inform a national past in ways that are congruent with the modern representation of the nation-state. Therefore, subtly articulated and seldom acknowledged in public forums, archaeological reconsructions

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are always implicated in the process of nation building and state formation.

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(NOTES) :

1) The word "Quito" is either written with an "o" or "u" ending. The "u" ending however, seems to imply an older form and therefore carries a much greater historical authority.

2) Ayllus are Andean communal kin lineages, which express belonging to a specific territorial and social community. They are extremely central to the Andean way of life since both political and territorial organization followed this kin mode of organization. For a more detailed discussion see Murra 1989; Bruhns 1994 and Salomon 1986.

3) There have been many stories and tales about the construction of the Panecillo and its ritual use by the Incas and other pre-Columbian groups. However, based on recent excavations funded by the capital's municipal there is very little evidence to either support it as a man- made mound or for there to have had elaborate ritual structures on its surface. However, it must be stated that a big part of its surface is under concrete and a massive monument of the Virgin Mary (Victoria Dominguez 1996).

4) Mitimaes was one of the social institutions utilized by the Incas to both mobilize labor and maintain imperial order in the Tanhuantinsuyu. It consisted in removing large populations and families of the newly conquered groups and sending them closer to Cuzco, the imperial's center and vice versa, sending loyal groups to the outskirts of the empire. In this manner they fragmented hostile populations, controlled their labor and were culturally assimilated by populations faithful to the Inca rule (See Patterson 1991; Murra 1989).

5) Since Yagauarcocha literally means water of blood in Quechua, general believe has it that the amount of people massacred and thrown into the lake tinted the whole lake red, hence its name.

6) There is a great gender implication in the fact that there is a female leader presented as head of the Quito nation, which tends to be overlooked by all of the textbooks. In itself this is not that unorthodox, since at the site of Cochasquí itself we have a female military leader of an ancient polity but, what is significant is the total lack of discussion of it.

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CHAPTER 6
AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY: THE INDIAN MOVEMENT'S CLAIM OF THE PREHISPANIC PAST

> The political priority is therefore to decolonize history.
>
> Luis Maldonado, *El Movimiento Indígena y La Propuesta Multinacional*

THE CONTEXT FOR ALTERNATIVE GLOBALIZATIONS: THE INDIAN MOVEMENT AND THEIR IMPACT ON NATIONAL HISTORY

Since the 1970's the indigenous peoples of many Latin American countries reached a new level of discourse that demanded a shift in the conceptualization of traditional Indian identity, offering a more auto-critical definition of themselves (Varese and Kearney 1995). This movement has been referred to as Indianista to separate it from the Indigenismo ideology of previous decades. This trend is related to the globalization processes affecting the world in general, particularly what Escobar (1995) has called the post-developmental phase of history. Post-development economies are based on flexible manufacturing and service industries organized on a global scale to take advantage of the most competitive source of supplies labor and market. Not surprisingly, workers in these economies receive low wages, no benefits, and no job security; all factors which contribute to an increasing informal economy.

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One of the key components of these economies are transnational corporations that make of the international arena their economic playground. They expand the multinational corporation's role to retrieve raw materials and labor from third world nations, reaching into the least unexplored regions of the world. It was precisely these marginalized regions to which the indigenous populations had been pushed into during the initial development period of the 1950's and 1960's. This new transnational influx into regions, like the Amazon, have made many indigenous groups into a type of "development refugees." Faced with no alternative areas into which to retreat, indigenous group have been more willing than ever to go on the offensive and assert their rights. This lack of escape is one of the reasons why the Federación Shuar in the Ecuadorian Amazon was one of the first locally organized groups, in the country, and in the continent on a whole (Maiguashca 1992; Becker 1992; Selverston 1994).

Transnational corporations are highly influential in the modern economies of Latin America, but they are not the only transnational characteristics present. For instance, many indigenous populations do not live in a single nation-state, but rather, occupy regions that crosscut two or more countries. The globalization process and the new forms of

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post-modern capitalism have also produced a long term migration of Indians into urban centers of both their native countries, or major industrialized nations like the U.S. Even in the United States more Native Americans live in cities than in their traditional reservations.

The fact that today Indians' main antagonist are transnational forces, outside of the control of national governments, has forced many indigenous groups to work with transnational sectors from the first world. These sectors are also responding to similar economic conditions in their own country and also benefit from a transnational alliance with similar groups from around the world. The two most important groups here are environmentalists and human rights organizations which have contributed to strengthen the Indian movement abroad and empowered it to face off their national governments. It is clear that these two international sectors have greatly contributed to strengthen the continental ties of the indigenous movements (Maiguashca 1992).

All of these globalization processes, such as, flexible capital, increase of informal economy, transnational corporations, and the internationalization of social movements have contributed to the reworking of indigenous identities that go beyond any previous traditional or strictly modern

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categorization. As Varese and Kearney (199: 219) point out, that Indian organizations like the CONAIE:

> who were formerly marginalized are now actively engaged in establishing a transnational civil society in an effort to bypass state mediation and to situate themselves in a global civil society while maintaining strong ethnic, cultural, and local loyalties that contest their own nation-state authority and hegemony.

In Ecuador, the June 1990 Indian uprising played a great role in redefining the new position of the Indian as being in direct conflict with the Ecuadorian state. It brought to the forefront strong demands in many areas such as, land, education, productive strategies, and ultimately questioned the authority of the state to decide over the future of the Indian communities. It also questioned the uneven distribution of wealth in Ecuadorian society and proposed actual alternatives to construct a more democratic and pluralistic society (CONAIE 1989 and 1997).

The two most important claims by the CONAIE that constitute a counter hegemonic discourse to the official history are its demand for territorial self-determination for each Indian nationality and a multi-national state. The demand for territorial self-determination relates to both differing understanding of the land, nationalism and economic development. As Karakras (1990: 5 and 20) explains:

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> We are peoples, we are nationalities, we have our own national processes. ... The Indian peoples are interested in making the proclamation of autodetermination a reality and in taking their historical destiny into our own hands.

The land is seen as an integral part of Indian culture and essential for constructing an independent livelihood, just as a mother is essential for the nurturing of her children:

> I had previously expressed how the earth is like our mother. Why is there so many misfortunes nowadays? Let's think ... let's put the example of a mother. Without her the son won't live, if you take the mother away he will be sad. Who will feed it? Who will take care of it? It is a gigantic sorrow (Cachimuel 1992: 34).

The regaining of the land itself, is essential to: "maintain our culture and develop it, the land is essential, the land is a vital necessity" (Cachimuel 1992: 34). This is why the CONAIE presents its claim for the land as an integral part of their demands, reaffirming that the land:

> is the indispensable condition for life, for the existence of a people and its development. Without this basic element it is impossible to have the conditions to educate a child, to be in good health and reproduce our culture (Macas 1991: 10-1).

In contrast, the present Ecuadorian state strives to continue its century long project of constructing a single homogenous Ecuadorian nationality and to locate all the nation's natural and commercial resources under a central

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state authority that will oversee its development. The Indian proposal presents opposite demands -- it wants to preserve native lands, customs and environment from any outside exploitation, including from that of the central state. It in no way shares the dominant view of capitalist production as the way to prosperity but rather, sees it as further contributing to the destruction of their lands and cultures. For the CONAIE only a communal and autonomous self-government would contribute to the improvement of each national group, and therefore, of the central state (CONAIE 1989).

The second demand of the CONAIE for a multi-national state would entail a reform of Ecuador's constitution, and define the state as plurinational in character. According to the CONAIE this is necessary because each Indian community is a nationality in its own right, with its own culture, heritage, traditions and language. This constitutional reform would not only benefit the Indian nationalities but also other oppressed groups like Afro-Ecuadorians, that would gain from the restructuring of a more pluricultural and democratic state apparatus (CONAIE 1989 and 1997; CEDHU 1996).

This proposal is a reformed position from previous Indian stances because it recognizes the reality of the Indian nationalities caught within the Ecuadorian nation-state. It also recognizes the complex make-up of the country and the

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presence of other ethnic and racial groups. In contrast to earlier positions it appropriates western concepts to serve Indian interests (Ramón Valarezo 1992). A multi-national state also inherently speaks to the right of each nationality to autonomous self-determination (CONAIE 1989 and 1997). This self-determination is understood as permitting legal control over their own societies within the structure of a single more representative and democratic state: "that is, you can be of a different nationality but belong to the same state" (Karakras 1990: 23).

Both of the CONAIE's main demands are potentially counter hegemonic, yet it is clear that the state is striving to neutralize each of these radical changes. Evidence for this is given by the recent willingness of the new Asamblea Nacional to reform the constitution's wording to present Ecuador as a multi-national state. However, never addressed in this reform is the enormous reticence in giving up the economic and political power to each nationality that such a wording could imply, i.e., Asamblea Nacional.

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THE INDIAN'S MOVEMENT ALTERNATIVE HISTORY

The Absence of a Kingdom of Quito

This "alternative" national history is provided by the single most powerful social movement in Ecuador today, that is the Indian movement, largely represented by CONAIE (Confederación Nacional de Indígenas del Ecuador). The CONAIE has been able to bring together the majority (although not all) of the Indian community in their collective grievances and struggle against the Ecuadorian state. These grievances range from land claims to controversial constitutional amendments. This discussion is mainly interested in the CONAIE's own reading of the prehispanic past which legitimizes its struggle and has visibly contributed to it becoming a viable political force in the country.

The CONAIE's (1989:19) rendering of a national past is continuously narrated in the first person:

> A diverse group of our communities have lived in the American continent since thousands of years ago, with different forms of economic, social, political, religious and cultural organizations. Some of us have integrated in this historical process until we got to form complex socio-political systems such as the state. Such is the case of the Mayas, Aztecs and Incas.

The family and reciprocal relations are seen as the most essential form of social organization. And even though there

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was a level of social differentiation, this distinction never was pronounced enough to become that of a social class. The conosolidation of the Inca empire in the territory lasted for about a century (1400's) and was interrupted by the Spanish conquest. The Inca's presence was most strongly defined in the southern and central Andean regions with some sporadic presence on the coast and none in the Amazon region (CONAIE 1989: 20).

For the CONAIE The Incas did not represent a break from the traditional Andean way of life since their very organization was based on an agrarian form of production. The Incas also contributed to the introduction of greater agricultural technologies for the harvesting of maize:

> The great range of productivity reached by the Inca state was a direct result of knowledge of the region and environment, level of technological development and the ability to organize the work force for production (CONAIE 1989: 20).

They also respected the local gods and huacas, while at the same time generalizing the existing worship of the sun to a state level. The Incas also introduced the forced resettlement of population (Mitimaes) which contributed enormously to the configuration of the Indian communities (CONAIE 1989: 21).

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The Inca presence in the national territory was brutally interrupted by the Spanish conquest, which is narrated in the following manner:

> The Spanish invasion started in 1492 with the presence of adventurers and colonizers who dedicated themselves to the looting and robbery of the land from the very beginning. In this way the economic and political domination of our peoples started with the most inhumane forms of exploitation and repression in the name of the Spanish Crown and church (CONAIE 1989: 21).

In comparison to the official history narrated by Ecuadorian textbooks, the CONAIE's alternative history is striking both for its benevolent portrayal of the Inca occupation and the understanding of Velasco's kingdom of Quito as an outright fallacy (Pakari 1994).

Post-Colonial Indian History

The following discussion focuses on the historical elements that support the CONAIE's claim against the Ecuadorian nation-state. The Indian has been one of the pervasive themes in all forums of national debates (Malo González 1988), i.e. literature (León Mera 1989; Cuadra 1973), social sciences (Jaramillo Alvarado 1983; Santiana 1966), policy discussion (Garcés 1933; also see Guerrero 1991), missionary work, etc. The "Indian problem," or rather, the Indian as a problem has a tradition as long as the Ecuadorian

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imagination has been present, and even before in the social entities, i.e. Real Audiencia de Quito, Gran Colombia, etc., that have informed this imagination.

The Indians have been traditionally portrayed as a national problem for the country's development by politicians (Ayala Mora et al. 1992), social scientists (Santiana 1966) and writers (Mera 1989; Icaza 1936, 1981, 1983 and 1993). This is evident from the very beginning in the initial constitution proposed by Simón Bolívar for the emerging republic of the Gran Colombia (the first republic experiment of Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia as a single country which lasted only a couple of years). Significantly in this constitution the Indians were still portrayed as a limitation for the modernization of the nation, while mechanisms for their 'unindianization' were proposed. Later social research only refined this ethnocentric position by proposing benevolent ways of incorporating the Indian into the national community, giving way to an Indigenismo ideology.

Indigenismo was a continental movement by white/mestizos who blamed the state for the Indian's plight but still saw no other solution than their incorporation into the national ideal (Icaza 1993). It is only as a result of direct Indian involvement in their political future, Indianismo, that a new alternative solution has been offered to the 'Indian problem.'

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This new 'indigenous' solution problematizes the nation and the state rather than the Indian communities per se, as has been traditionally the case (CONAIE 1989). The 1990 Indian uprising in Ecuador and national organizations such as the OPIP (Organización de Pueblos de Indígenas de Pastaza), CONFENIA (Confederación Nacional de Indígenas del Amazonas), CONAIE and Pachakutik Nuevo País, crystallized a new period of the Indian legacy. This indigenous political organizing finally made it evident to the rest of the white/mestizo nation that a different and more active Indian understanding of their own existence is already present.

It is this understanding of the Indian reality, existence and historic legacy in their own terms that I will discuss as an alternative national history. It is an alternative history which questions what has traditionally been assumed to be exclusively "Ecuadorian" history. The wealth of this alternative history is so rich that I will limit its description to the presentation of the basic structure of this alternative reading and its relationship with the prehispanic past that is provided for and by the Ecuadorian nation-state.

From the very beginning the Indian debates (known as Indianismo) were aware of the essential place of history in supporting the oppressive power dynamics inherent in any

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discussion of issues in the Indian community (Macas 1992; Karakras 1990). These uneven power dynamic are still explicitly apparent in the racist and socio-economically exploitative social relationships between the state, grand landholders (latifundistas) and the Indian communities (CEDIS 1992), (1). For Maldonado (1992: 152) this means that:

> In conclusion, the manipulation and utilization of history started with the European invasion to our continent, that is why the history that we know is the written history, thought and conceived to protect the interests of the conquerors and the contemporary dominant classes. The history of the Indian peoples, of the oppressed peoples has been hidden, denied or presented as vandal acts or violent.

Because of this the 'decolonization of history', that is, a more authentic reading of the past is considered as being of utmost urgency to sustain the new Indian debates and to support the different territorial and multinationalistic claims of the Indian communities against the powerful nation-state. Because the nation-state is understood as a racially oppressive entity constituted by an elite minority of white/mestizo that serves the interest of the white/mestizo population in detriment of the Indian groups and other minorities that make up the Ecuadorian nation (CONAIE 1997 and 1998).

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This new reading of an officialized Ecuadorian history that portrays a nation of racial equality (as we have seen at Cochasquí and in the previous chapter) has two major elements. A first element is a totally new understanding of the concept of history itself, which demands the questioning, and ultimately the denouncing of history only as a written reality. Rather, like many other post-colonial critiques (Mamani Condori 1989), this alternative history sustains that the primacy of the written word more than possessing any inherent historical validity is an oppressive tool used first by the European colonizers and later by the white/mestizo rulers of the Ecuadorian nation-state to conquer, repress and undermine the Indian and all other minority, i.e., black, poor, women, etc., communities (Allauca 1993).

This understanding of the colonial underpinning of the historical enterprise provides a new way of seeing or relating to what had traditionally been out of the Indian reach, history itself. This new post-colonial understanding of history, also made it viable for the Indian communities to be incorporated into their own debates not as passive policy and research objects but rather as full historical subjects (Macas 1991; CONAIE 1989). All of this opened a route to incorporating a millennial oral heritage which had been traditionally denied any historical authority in Ecuador's

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republican existence, and still is in the contemporary production of historical narratives (e.g., Ayala Mora 1983a). It is a new social reality which allows the newly founded Academia de Lenguas Quichua-Castellano Bilingue to express:

> We know about the history of the Indian culture through conversation between parents and kids, from our elders, of our ancestors and by the life of the Indian himself, in relationship with Mother Nature (cosmos). ... The Indian, without needing letters or writing, knew how to read the elements of mother nature and knew that the sun, earth, moon, stars, clouds, water, rain, animals, plants are useful to the life of the Indian (Academia de las Lenguas Quichua-Castellano Bilingue 1993: 11 and 18).

It is this particular reality that is emphasized in the many testimonios (testimonies) that have appeared in the last two decades as a result of social struggles and nation-wide promoted contests by the different Indian organizations (CONAIE 1988a and b; CEDIS 1992; Federación Indígena de Pichincha 1993). This is what José María Allauca (1993: 42) refers to when he writes in his testimonio: "The Indian people do know how to face any problem, there is a history, it just isn't written." And even more so when he goes on to argue:

> For example, in what book are you studying in what year the lands that belonged to the Indians passed to the hands of the rich. They memorize the heroes of Ecuador's independence and the kids happy remembering those foreign heroes. The Indian in what is he found independence (Allauca 1993: 59).

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It is at this juncture that the distinction between the official state's history and an alternative one is made. The alternative one, unlike the official concern with the dates and names of national heroes, is interested in the actual process of understanding reality:

> Those phrases permit us to glimpse at the conscience of the people, that their history is different from the official "history", that history that privileges dates, places, names, instead of trying to understand society's situation in its totality, the most profound cause of the historic facts (Allauca 1993: 5).

It is in this sense that no "true" Indian history has been written. Most of the written accounts up to date come from an outside perspective to talk 'about' and not 'of' the Indian experience: "the native population's (Indian) history has not been written; if somebody has written something, it is not complete, it is not exact" (Academia de las Lenguas Quichua-Castellano Bilingue 1993: 11). Therefore all claims of there already existing a written Indian history could only be a white/mestizo lie that looks to appropriate the Indian experience and legitimizes their oppression. What is presented as Indian history is:

> Many times the history of our own enemies. They just never say the truth (Allauca 1993: 59).

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The second major element in this alternative history is the actual dynamics present in the invention of this alternative history. If history is not the simple repetition of homogenous elements and entities then its elaboration must also be dramatically different. History no longer entails only an academic pursuit but rather is an essential enterprise in the liberation struggle in which the movement is engaged in (Bulnes 1994; CONAIE 1989). History is the struggle itself, a struggle which has been constantly going on, untiring and unending for the last 500 years, since the presence of the Spanish conquistadores in the American continent. A struggle which is based on history itself:

> This is the way it was. Since 1492, for over 500 years they have massacred as many Indians as they could until the present day, we are mistreated, oppressed and considered as beasts of burden. The Indians, we have always lived in misery, treated in subhuman conditions... we have lived marginalized (Cachimuel 1992: 34).

> The historical continuity of the Indian communities is based on the permanence of their economic, political, cultural and social organization. These forms of social organization have survived during these five centuries of oppression though varied forms of resistance, struggle and adaptation to the different historic processes that have contributed to make the original inhabitants of this continent into contemporary historical and political entities (Maldonado 1992: 152).

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It is a social struggle which includes every form of resistance, uprising, territorial dispute that the Indians have experienced

in the five centuries of their domination, to the present massive uprisings (1990), marches (1994), and national organizations, including their own political party Pachakutik Nuevo País. History is done in the making, not passively experienced. And it is this very understanding of the wide implications of what the Indian struggle entails both in the past and present which demands a re-interpretation, re-reading of accepted and assumed prehispanic Indian figures like Atahualpa and a sort of discovery of negated, hidden, forgotten and/or erased figures like that of Dolores Cuacuango (Mullo 1993).

In the following sections I would like to elaborate on these two specific forms of alternative historical construction in a very succinct manner. In the first section I would like to detail the organizational history which has led to the present national Indian movement and the pivotal national uprising of June 1990. By no means are these particular struggles the only or best representative of an Indian alternative history in the making, but I have selected them because they are without doubt the best publicized and

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those which have had the most affect on the national community.

The second section will look at the Indian's re-interpretation of the traditional Ecuadorian national canon and the remembering and celebrating of a new canon of excluded prehispanic elements and figures through books, pamphlets and speeches. Both of these sections will serve to explore the dynamics involved in this alternative history as proposed by the Indian movement, dynamics which will be analyzed, discussed and compared with the other two historical versions (see Chapter 8).

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HISTORY AS STRUGGLE: INDIAN ORGANIZING AND THE 1990 UPRISING

> The conquest has not ended. It continues till our days (Macas 1991:5).

> The Indian uprising of June, 1990 was a demonstration of that awakening and of saying enough! to the abuse, to the ethnocide, to the lies, to the discrimination (Mullo 1993: 31).

At the wake of the conquest, the Andean region represented a vast amount of ethnic diversity adapted to three major ecological environments: coast, highlands and Amazon. These different groups expressed a high degree of socio-political complexity, ranging from nomadic foragers to complex agricultural communities affiliated to a centralized Inca state (Bruhns 1994; Patterson 1991).

The rapid transculturation process among the coastal groups made it difficult for these communities to align themselves with any type of ethnic struggle. There are very few self-identified Indian coastal groups and therefore the coast is the least influential region in the CONAIE as a whole (CONAIE 1989). The Amazon escaped both direct colonization from the Incas and Europeans for several centuries, although the indirect impact of European epidemics and goods contributed to a rapid depopulation of the area. It is only in the last century, and mainly because of oil and land exploitation that the future of the Amazonian groups has been

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directly challenged (Maiguashca 1992). The process in the highland was slightly different, on the one hand you had a direct transculturation process present, but on the other one you had a co-existence of complex power relations between Spaniards, criollos, and Indians. It was mainly through the institutionalization of forced labor that daily conditions and identities were transformed, within the setting of the large landholding or haciendas (Almeida et al. 1992; Ayala et al. 1992; Ayala Mora 1991). Both during colonial and republican times, Indian uprisings occurred as a direct response to the uneven distribution and exploitation of the land. And it is in this same context that the modern land struggles were consolidated (Nacionalidades Indias 1994).

During the 1930's these land struggles were further exacerbated by social movements supported by both the communist and socialist parties, bringing into play issues of class, worker's rights, union organizing, proletarians and cooperatives. It is in this context that organizations such as the Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios (FEI) was born, which however, glossed over the ethnic component of their struggle (Tamba 1993; Mullo 1993). Although important Indian leaders like Dolores Cuacuango was the first Secretary General of the organization, and along with Luisa Gomez de la Torre,

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Floresmilo Tamba organized the first Indian schools to be taught in Quechua and by an Indian professor (Tamba 1993: 29).

In 1964 the Agrarian Reform was put into place as a direct result of the modernization process of the Ecuadorian state, which worked towards facilitating a more democratic distribution of the land. During this time, the leftist influence in the Indian movement had decreased, as well as the role of the FEI (CONAIE 1989; Hurtado 1981; Ayala Mora 1985). The Catholic Church now became a central player in providing support for the Indian struggle through the creation of the Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (FENOC), although as before, the ethnic dimension of the land struggle is overlooked. The FENOC is closely associated to the agrarian reform, and when the latter fails to satisfy its initial goals, the influence of the organization rapidly dwindles (CONAIE 1989).

By 1972, months before a second agrarian reform was instituted a new Indian organization appeared, ECUARUNARI o 'the awakening of the Ecuadorian Indian.' This group is still influenced by the Church's most "progressive" members, which permits it greater freedom to incorporate ethnic dimensions to the struggle, slowly evolving from strictly economic demands to broader political and cultural critiques of both Ecuadorian society and the state (CONAIE 1989).

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In 1980 the CONFENIAE (Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana) already existed in the Amazon, pulling resources from both missionary sectors of the Catholic church and the ecological movement. The problematic of the Amazonian groups is totally different from the ones encountered in the highlands. Due to the increasing oil exploitation of the area and the redistribution of land as a result of the agrarian reforms and colonizing projects, these groups have had to flee further into the jungle. This marginalization, pollution and the ecological destruction of their lands as a result of the aggressive agricultural and oil production being pursued contributed to a rapid politicization of the Amazonian groups (Maiguashca 1992). In the 1980's both ECUARUNARI and CONFENIAE come together to create the CONACNIE (Coordinación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador) which six years later (in 1986) would become the CONAIE (Confederación De Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador) (CONAIE 1989).

The 1990 uprising was a strategic use of force approved by the CONAIE in April of that same year to protest the slow pace of the talks proposing a new Agrarian Law and a recognition of the different Indian nationalities, especially concerning the provinces of the central highlands and the

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Amazon, which would be the strongest supporters of the uprising.

On May 28, the colonial church of Santo Domingo in Quito was taken by the Coordinadora Popular demanding direct talks with the government to force the redistribution of land. The government refused to negotiate and the 80 people in the church started a hunger strike. On June 4, Indian communities from all over the country started a week long strike, blocking main roads and blocking the distribution of agricultural products. The country was stunned by the magnitude of the protest and the assertive role that Indians assumed in it. During this week not only were roads blocked, but haciendas were occupied, military, hacienda owners and policemen were taken hostages, water services were cut and many local authorities were submitted to popular trials (several landowners were ritually bathed naked in public to symbolically cleanse them of their social sin). By mid week Rodrigo Borja's Social Democrat government was willing to negotiate (KIPU 1991 and 1995; Punto de Vista 1990; Nacionalidades Indias 1993, 1994, and 1996; Comisión por la Defensa por los Derechos Humanos 1996; Moreno and Figueroa 1992).

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RECLAIMING THE PAST: WRITING AN INDIAN HISTORY

> Our art, our science, our wisdom are the weapons, the flowers, the fruit that is still rested in the thoughts of our Yayas. In spite of the West's barbarism and now the neocolonialism of the imperialism they have not been able to destroy us completely. They will not be able to destroy us because we are the product of a millenary culture, because before our ancestors there were our Yayas, our Jatucus, our Taytas, our Mamas. **We were first. We were always** (Nina Pakari in Malo González 1988: 87-8).

The new phase of the Indian struggle has allowed the Indian to gain a new understanding of the prehispanic past that the Ecuadorian nation-state claims as its own. The Indians no longer see themselves outside of history but rather as full historical figures which although silenced have been able to regain their full conscious participation in history (Macas 1991; Comisión por la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos 1996). This knowledge is what allows the CONAIE to write and narrate the prehispanic past from a first hand position. It is no longer "them", or even their ancestors, but "we", "ourselves", "our" communities that participated in the indigenous social process of the Americas and that have been decimated by the Spanish and colonial encounter:

> In the territory that corresponds to the current Ecuador, **we were** living as multiple societies that had different degrees of socio-economic and political complexity (behetrías, chiefdoms, etc.). **We were** not isolated communities, **we were** related in terms of commercial, cultural, and kin exchange,

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> etc. **We maintained** contact between the highland, coast and Amazon and in other cases with others so far away like communities in Mexico, to the north and Chile, to the south (CONAIE 1989: 19, my bold).

But this is far from an easy task. This Indian history has been silenced for over five centuries (CEDEP 1986). It has been erased, changed, and mutilated in every way possible to alter the elements of the discourse and present the Indian in the negative light. This mutilating task was first carried out by the white Spaniards and later by the white/mestizo Ecuadorians:

> However, the false historiography of our country has hidden all these historical facts because to recognize them would be threatening to society's interest that oppresses and marginalizes us (Yupanki 1992: 163).

History has been so distorted that even important Indian figures, i.e., Rumiñahui and Atahualpa, have been turned around to support and represent the oppressive Ecuadorian nation:

> the dominant classes have even appropriated or expropriated the history of our peoples, like is the case of Rumiñahui, recognized by the state and its ideology as the father of the Ecuadorian nation (Maldonado 1992: 153).

This ransacking of history not only takes away from the Indian past but has the audacity to use these same stolen Indian

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elements to legitimize the racist and repressive ideology of the nation-state.

This historical genocide is what has forced Indians' reformulation of the past in their own terms; to "straighten" history's distortions by proposing an alternative and therefore more realistic historical picture (Pakari 1994). This new reformulation has two essential parts. Its first element is to reclaim all those Indian elements that have been usurped by the Ecuadorian nation-state and reinterpret them within the new native, Indian discourse (Bulnes 1994; Macas 1991). The second part demands the unearthing of the Indian past that has been buried by European and Ecuadorian elite to justify their political domination. This demands the learning about events and revolts that have been traditionally silenced and recognizing unknown figures' historical contributions, i.e. Dolores Cuacuango (Tamba 1993).

These historical tasks are carried out by both individuals and organizations, although it is the CONAIE which has taken upon itself the task of representing the alternative history at the widest possible audience (CONAIE 1989). At the local level there are conscious efforts to retell history in the most simplest way possible for those (Indian and none) who have been stripped away of their past. In this sense there are small educational pamphlets which through cartoon-like

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drawings present an alternative picture of the past. In these simple narratives the Spaniards and the dominant white/mestizo society are unequivocally presented as the evil elements of our society bringing torture, pain, havoc and ultimately death to the Indians. The pamphlets also make it clear that the Indians have not only suffered physical injury but a cultural one, that the dominant groups have not only victimized them but then told the story in their own terms and blamed the Indian for their own wrongdoing, shortcomings and cruelty. The pamphlet's task is not only to narrate history truthfully according to the Indian representatives but also to rescue or regain that sense of self that has been stripped away through the robbery of history (Perugachi 1994; Campaña Continental 1990; CEDIME 1987).

Another way that the alternative Indian narratives reconstruct the past is by presenting it in a poetic way:

> The ayllus increased and formed the Tahuantinsuyu. The Tahuantinsuyo gave the royal strength that created and maintains us. Our father Inti is the sun and our mother Allpa Mama is the earth. We consider ourselves a solar race because our Inti, both made us fertile and pushed us to building our towns and homes. The Allpa Mama gives us life, nutrients, cloth and abode (CONAIE 1988a: 6).
>
> ...
>
> The Laws of the Tahuantinsuyu were AMA LLULLA, AMA QUILLA, AMA SHUA and respect was given to the beautiful women (CONAIE 1988a: 6).

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The Indians, through these narratives, are able to present a different vision of themselves that is more benevolent, caring and understanding of their own situation and plight. At the same time it not only allows them to see themselves in a different light but also to understand the exploitative and oppressive condition in which they have been immersed most of their lives:

> In that manner they took away from us the Inca Atahualpa, the Quipuc, the wise ones, the warriors, all whom goverened with the Inca. All that we had was taken away by the ones of nice eyes but of a black heart like the devil. They still have not tired of killing us, abusing us, but even like that, we still continue to live, we still exist (Chela 1992: 49).

It is the CONAIE and their national leaders who are actually the most instrumental in putting forward a new Indian history. They are the most concerned about dispelling ancient myths and replacing it with an authentic history: "It hurts in the community, they don't know history... that the Caras, the Quitus, but the people don't know, it is painful" (Pakari in Bulnes 1994: 58).

The CONAIE's history of the Indian organizations presents a generalized first person account of the Indian communities and Inca presence in the ancient territory that now is recognized as Ecuador. This history is mainly transmitted to the Indian community in terms of educational

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pamphlets and magazines, as well as to the large national community in scholarly and political papers in journals and conferences. The main characteristics for the ancient Indian polities is that their organizations were based on the family, that there were no social differentiation or classes and that reciprocal relations were the most essential organizing element for these societies.

In the same vein, the Incas' presence in our territory is seen in a very positive light. The Incas established a redistributary system that made sure that all the members (including poor, widows and orphans) were fed and taken care of. And even though the Incas used physical coercion to establish their own socio-economic organizations upon the existing polities, these are not seen as being completely foreign to the Indian Andean reality. Reality that did change drastically with the Spanish conquest and the exploitative relations established during the colonial period in Ecuador (CONAIE 1989: 20-2).

Finally, it is this renewed Indian consciousness of their struggle, their national political participation and the narrating of the past in their own words that offers an alternative understanding of Ecuadorian history. It is an alternative history that allows the Indian leaders to proclaim that:

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> The Indian people have retaken their cultural historic past, whom throughout history have suffered all types of exploitation and marginalization (Churuchumbi 1993: 55).

The CONAIE has presented the most radical critique of the Ecuadorian nation-state to date. Essential to its contesting practice is a retelling of the national history in its own terms. These are terms which incorporate an Indian past which has been traditionally integrated into national readings (e.g., Velasco's account of the Kingdom of Quito) that have serve to nullify its revolutionary potential. However, the CONAIE itself seems to be incapable of releasing itself from the hegemonic tendencies that are slowly erasing and homogenizing important Indian differences and identities. In other words, it is in great danger of promoting an alternative version, not to, but of a national hegemonic discourse (Muratorio 1998: 411). It is also interesting to note that Cochasquí, as well as many other archaeological sites, have so far not been actively included in this new Indian reclaiming of the ancient past, even though this has been a reoccurring theme in many of the movement's agendas, i.e., Cayambe's historical recovery of the pyramids of Puntiachil (La Hora, April 3/1993).

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NOTES:

1) There is still very little understanding of the exploitative racial and exploitative categories created and utilized to dominate both the Indian population, indigenous to the continent, and the African population, brought into the continent during the end of the colonial and early republican period. The inhuman conditions in which both populations were forced to live in, has been most explicitly described in fiction (Icaza 1993; Gallegos Lara 1962) but, only rarely in ethnographic and social analysis. An extraordinary exception in this regard are Guerrero's (1991) and Muratorio's (1996) work in the complex production of imagined ethnic and racial categories. There is a pressing need to better understand the colonial social relationships which marked the manner in which the nation was to develop in the years to come.

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CHAPTER 7
A MULTI-VOCAL HISTORY:
THE STRUGGLE OVER A PREHISPANIC DEITY

> How can you be here lying in this position, abandoned, when we have an altar for you, to adore and treat you like you deserve (Local Comunero, El Expreso, August 4, 1993).

THE CONTEXT FOR AN OBJECTIVE REPORTING OF THE PAST: THE PRINTED MEDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL HISTORY

The written media has a great influence in the constitution of a national ethos. Particularly revealing in this respect has been Anderson's (1983) discussion of the written media, along with education, as one of the central motors in creating a sense of cohesion and togetherness for many of the emerging western European nations in the 18th and 19th century, i.e. France and Italy. Although Anderson's model is quite insightful in understanding the development of the modern nation there are still quite significant differences to be addressed by studying specifically third world and post-colonial contexts (Fox 1990 and Foster 1990).

The role played by education and the written media in nation-building immediately brings up the hidden class and racial elements inherent in literacy campaigns and other state sponsored activities. Literacy in Ecuador at present is quite

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high; the highest rate the nation has reported in all of its Republican history. There are two main reasons for this: the first is the ambitious literacy campaign (Plan de Alfabetización) put forward at the return of democratic rule in the country in the 1980's after a decade of military dictatorship. This intensive literacy campaign strived to eradicate illiteracy, especially in rural and urban shanty town settings, was one of the many ambitious plans of the newly elected President Jaime Roldós Aguilera (1980-1981). Even after his untimely and suspicious death in an airplane accident in the Ecuadorian Amazon, the literacy campaign was continued under his vice-president and successor, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea (1981-1984).

Although highly unpopular during his government, Osvaldo Hurtado stayed in office through a shrewd maneuvering of the political, military and economic forces in the country and therefore was able to follow through many of his young predecessor's proposals. The literacy campaign offered high school students an alternative to their obligatory senior monograph, allowing them instead to teach other adults to read and write for a year. This free labor recruit was the driving force in upturning years of high illiteracy rates in the country.

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The second factor affecting literacy rates was the recognition of Quechua along with Spanish as Ecuador's national languages. This decision was made by the acting president, Osvaldo Hurtado, and ratified by the Ecuadorian congress during his term. This decision to incorporate Quechua into the national fold impacted on the racial heritage and representation of the Ecuadorian nation. A Quechua literacy campaign was also put into effect in the central and southern Andean provinces which have a higher concentration of Indian population. All of which permitted Indian Quechua speakers to no longer be officially treated as illiterates.

In terms of the print media, national newspapers in Ecuador are easily divided either into coastal (costeños) or highland (serranos) newspapers, without there being a single national newspaper that can boast having the largest following in both regions. Although Ecuador is made of four large regions in total, including the Amazon rain forest and Galapagos Archipelago, it has been really the battle between the two largest regions, the coast and the highlands, (regionalismo) which has consistently fueled the country's political history (Palomeque 1990 and 1994; Maiguashca 1994; Taylor 1994 and Deler 1994). This political history has continuously oscillated, for example, from a highland conservative land holding economy in the 1860's to a booming

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coastal liberal export model in the 1890's to continuing neo-liberal model of agro-exports from the coastal elite to more centralized and socialist plans from highland groups.

El Universo and El Comercio are by far the two largest and most important newspapers in the country, as well as the two longest running newspapers presently still in print. El Universo is the most popular newspaper in the coastal region of Ecuador, and it also advertises itself as the most popular newspaper in the country. It was originally founded in September 16, 1921 by the late Ismael Perez Pazmiño, one of the pillars of early journalism in the country and a renowned essay writer in his own right. It is based in the port city of Guayaquil, the largest city of the country, and counts a daily production of around 300,000 editions (Luis Cañarte, personal communication).

El Universo's two closest rival in the coast are: El Telégrafo and El Expreso, both of which are fairly young in comparison, being around for two decades at the most. Although the El Telégrafo was founded almost a century ago, it was defunct until the late 1980's when a renewed staff of young urban professionals once again made it a viable enterprise. However, the three coastal newspapers represent the most conservative economic forces in the country which they espouse in their editorials. The writers they select as

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their editorialists are also active supporters of the neo-liberal tendencies of the right wing political parties, i.e. PSC (Partido Social Cristiano), PRE (Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano), etc. Of the three, El Universo definitely counts with the support of the most traditional and elite members of the coastal oligarchy. Meanwhile, El Telégrafo is supported by the youngest members of the coastal elite, mainly young professionals of traditional families that have been educated in the U.S. or Europe and have returned to work and live in the country.

The scene in the highland is a bit different. El Comercio rivals El Universo in terms of national importance and without a doubt is the largest selling newspaper in the highlands, particularly Quito, where it is published. Its closest rival is actually a very young newspaper, Hoy, which was founded in the early 1980's after the end of the military dictatorship. Both El Comercio and Hoy are significantly to the left of the spectrum in comparison to the coastal newspapers. El Comercio represents the traditional elite highland families while Hoy is a production of these groups' younger generation of professionals. In many ways these two highland newspapers recreate the tension of the two leading coastal newspaper, El Universo and El Telégrafo.

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However, Hoy is not only a younger newspaper but is also run by a very young staff of urban professionals, writers and social scientists that have significantly broken political ties with the right wing elite and propose a more radical and alternative reporting of the national condition. Many of the writers of Hoy, are significantly allied with many of the Center Left political forces in the country, i.e. Izquierda Democrática, Democracia Popular, Pachakutic Nuevo País. Most of these leftist inspired political parties came out as a result of the restructuring of the now conservative Liberal party in the late 1970's (Ayala Mora 1985b and 1986). Not surprisingly, many of the members of the Hoy staff were high ranking official during the government of the socialist democratic party Izquierda Democrática under the presidency of Rodrigo Borja (1990-1994). Hoy is also the most popular left leaning newspaper in the country and counts on a significant following among the left leaning educated elite in the coast. It also has a greater following in the highland, particularly Quito, mainly due to the traditionally more leftist politics in the capital and in the highlands in general.

There are several 'afternoon' (verspertino) papers, Ultimas Noticias (Last News) being the most popular one. Ultimas Noticias is published in Quito and actually is run by El Comercio itself, having a more regional, local and gossipy

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atmosphere to it. It also tends to have more local neighborhood reports. Meanwhile its coastal counterpart, El Extra (The Extra) is as regionally and city (Guayaquil) oriented as Ultimas Noticias. However, El Extra has the added variety of being an excessively morbid type of journalism, highlighting pictures and stories about violent deaths and physical violations, as well as making constant use of the coastal slang known as coba (characteristics that make it worthy of being an object of ethnographic study in its own right).

Newspapers in Ecuador sporadically report on archaeological findings and subjects that relate to the ancient archaeological past. The reports and articles range from a series of descriptive plan weekend visits to archeological sites such as Cochasquí (El Comercio 1997) to months long supplement series highlighting a different archaeological culture each week (El Universo 1992: September 23, 30; October 7, 14, 21 and 28; November 4, 11, 18 and 25). There are also reports and articles on ongoing archaeological projects and salvage excavations, interviews with anthropologists and archaeologists (El Comercio, June 4, 1997) and editorials that discuss the country's national identity and its relationship with history and the prehispanic past.

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In general, the reports could be classified into nine different thematic categories: integrating archaeology and Ecuadorian history; describing archaeological findings and cultures; covering salvage archaeology projects or publicizing the need to protects specific sites; museum reports; interviews with archaeologists; issues of national identity; Pre-Hispanic festivities and dates; Pre-Hispanic rituals and shaman description; and, stories that relate the ancient past with contemporary indigenous communities such as description of the Inti Raymi celebration. Descriptive reports on current archaeological findings and of sites in need of immediate state protection are by far the two most common type of printed articles.

The articles emphasize the importance of the archeological past in contemporary terms, contrary to what Salazar (1995b) has argued. The accounts narrate a past that is neither dead nor without importance but rather, relevant to the foundation of the nation. Therefore I suggest that newspapers in Ecuador are important in the shaping/styling of the nation and in offering the nation a mirrored representation of itself. This is apparent either in terms of local-level politics, as is the case of the articles on San Biritute to be discussed, or in the need to reaffirm one's identity inherent in all the tourist reports of archaeological

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sites (El Comercio, March 16, 1997). Although as I will discuss in the next chapter the blurriness of the image reflected is itself always conveniently erased from the picture. In the following section I will describe a series of exchanges that appeared in the main Ecuadorian newspapers during 1993 concerning the property rights of an ancient Manteño-Huancavilca monolith known as San Biritute (see Fig. 21). As I collected newspaper articles I became intrigued by this story because it presented a good vantage point for understanding the way that the print media represents the Ecuadorian archaeological past. This multi-vocal historical version offers a whole set of different vested national interests which are neither directly controlled by the state (or its representative government), nor fueled by a permanent contesting position against it. In this sense, the coverage of this story permits a whole array of opinions, absent from other forums, to be expressed through the printed media. Because of these characteristics I decided to use this story to assess the historical discourse elaborated through, and engaged by, the major newspapers in the countries.

As with the two previous sections, i.e., official and alternative histories, I will limit the description of the narrative to the newspapers reports, leaving the analysis for

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the following chapter, which will also include more discussion on newspaper reports to broaden the line of evidence.

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THE CONTEXT OF THE DEBATE

Ancient monoliths are very common in the cultural complexes of the varied prehispanic communities of the equatorial Andes (Marcos 1986c; Meggers 1966). They are more common during the later period defined as the Período de Integración (Integration Period), especially among the coastal group knows as the Manteño-Huancavilca (1). The ancient polity of the Manteño-Huancavilca occupied the southern coastal region of contemporary Ecuador, roughly equated but surpassing the current Guayas Province (see Fig. 22). The intimate relationship afforded between the Manteño-Huancavilca and the contemporary occupants of the city of Guayaquil is strongly present at many levels. Politicians from all political tendencies pay homage to a courageous essence inherited from this prehispanic polity who not only fiercely resisted the Inca conquest but also fought against the Spanish colonization process.

This particular relationship between Guayaquil and the ancient Manteño-Huancavilcas is also mediated through the use of the monoliths (and less frequent remaining totems) themselves. During the recent 1993 re-inauguration of the Municipal Museum of Guayaquil, a large totem, over 8.55 meters tall and 1.47 meters in circumference was selected as the central piece of the new archaeological exhibition hall of the

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museum (El Universo 1). This central monolith consisted of 32 (other report 39 figures) sculpted figures, male and female, vertically ordered with two caymans located at the top of the totem, both of which are also in vertical position and at opposite directions from each other (Expreso, Oct. 9/94; see Fig. 2).

The totem was initially excavated or found by Carlos Zevallos Menendez (2) in 1936 (other reports mention 1934 as the excavation date, El Telégrafo, July 4/93). The totem is made out of Guasango wood (Loxopterigium huasango), which is currently in danger of extinction in Ecuador's rapidly disappearing coastal tropical forest. The explicit naked human figures and overt sexual organs had been initially interpreted as a vital element in a complex water, fertility and life reproduction ritual of this ancient polity. However, during the inauguration this interpretation was challenged and instead the totem was officially declared by the Museum curators a "territorial emblem of the Manteño-Huancavilca nation" because of its likeness to the ancient Manteño-Huancavilca monoliths which served this function (Expreso, Oct. 9/94; El Telégrafo, July 24/94). In the words of the Argentinean archaeologist Rita Alvarez, one of the curators of the exhibition (3):

> This territorial emblem forms part of the history of Ecuador. We have to incorporate it to its

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> cultural identity and the citizens must feel proud of what their ancestors accomplished, because history does not begin with the coming of the Spaniards, but rather goes much farther back (El Telégrafo, July 24/93).

This monolith provoked the greatest expectation, including a special international long distance report done by the BBC of London (El Universo 1). The main reason for the controversy surrounding this particular monolith was centered upon the request by the comuna of Sacachún to the Municipal Museum to have "its San Biritute" returned to their town (El Telégrafo Sep. 21/1993; Meridiano Aug. 5/1993).

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SACACHUN'S HISTORICAL CLAIM OF SAN BIRITUTE

Sacachún is located 15km inland from the larger town of Buenos Aires, which is located on Guayaquil's coastal highway (via a la costa). It is described by several of the newspaper reports as a small town, "living in the past":

> It is located in one of the many hills that are present in the areas, with a total of 30 houses in the surrounding area, some of them abandoned. There is a small church that is closed most of the time, a school with 12 students and approximately 80 inhabitants; there are more, almost a 1000 according to the people in the area that live in other towns in the Peninsula (of Santa Elena) and Guayaquil. Sacachún is not even a town, it is a village, completely abandoned ... (El Universo, August 23/93).

> Sacachún, the population that is reclaiming it (San Biritute), is located on a hill top, just as was practiced by the Manteño-Huancavilca. It is a very poor comuna that is dedicated to agriculture, pastoralism and lives off its land. It is both socially and productively incorporated to contemporary society, but spiritually still maintains religious aspect of the prehispanic period ... (El Telégrafo August 11/93).

The conflict itself began in 1952 when the monolith, San Biritute, was taken by force from the small comuna of Sacachún. This was done by the municipal police under the direct orders of the then Socialist Mayor of Guayaquil, Carlos Guevara Moreno. San Biritute had remained in Sacachún since 1869 when the monolith had been found in the nearby hill of Las Negras and was then brought to the center of town (4).

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After San Biritute was taken from Sacachún it remained for almost 40 years in public display on the sidewalk across from Guayaquil's city hall, along with other monoliths in what was known as the Avenue of the pre-Columbian Gods. It remained in this public setting till 1991 when it was removed and given to the Municipal Museum, which is when the comuneros presented an official request for its return to Sacachún (El Universo Agosto 29/93).

According to the comuneros they have been struggling to get San Biritute back for the last half a century, from the very moment it was removed from its rightful home. According to one of the comuneros, Galo Tigrero, there were several attempts before San Biritute was successfully taken from them:

> First, some gringos came, they put up some contraptions but the ancestors didn't let them take him, afterwards came some priests, I remember so much that they said they were going to adorn the church, but they also couldn't take him until two weeks later came some trucks full of police (Comunero in El Universo August 29/93).

On the night that the police took San Biritute away they placed the monolith on the back of a truck between two mattresses. Because of the town's insistence, the police took two men so they could see where the monolith was to be taken. However these men were abandoned a couple of kilometers away from the town, as is described in the following excerpts:

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> They put San Biritute between two mattresses and they took him no matter how much we protested. They took me and another comrade so that we could accompany them and see that the idol was going to be all right, but they left us stranded. After two weeks we made it to Guayaquil and nobody would tell us where he was (Excerpt from Cristolino Lino, in El Universo August 29/93).

What is also apparent in the different narratives of the initial removal of San Biritute is the role played in this endeavor by the prominent Guayaquilean archaeologist Francisco Huerta Rendón. As recounted by Huerta himself, he had visited Sacachún several times, with the objective of first observing the famous monolith which he had heard so much about, and afterwards, with the idea of obtaining it for the city of Guayaquil. He had made the initial attempt by using Monseñor Silvio Luis Haro's authority and a couple of Catholic saint statues as gifts to get San Biritute from the comuna but the visitors were stoned out of town. Some of the comuneros still remember this incident to this day as San Biritute's miracle, which consisted in provoking a shower of rock to fall on their enemies (El Universo Agosto 29/93).

However, this initial failure did not deter Huerta's interest but on the contrary made him request help from the municipal authorities. After narrating the incident to the City Council, the councilmen responded favorably to Huerta's recommendation to bring the idol to Guayaquil and to

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Monsenor's plea to end pagan rituals, and the municipal police were sent to bring the idol from Sacachún. According to Huerta:

> We did not go on that expedition but we got the formal promise from the head of the police that no harm would be done to the Sacachuneños. Fortunately nothing happened, some of them - we were told - cried uncontrollably like when you remove a corpse from the house {Ecuadorian funerals are traditionally held in the deceased's person home} (El Universo, August 29/93).

According to Huerta Rendón's description, San Biritute, was the biggest prehispanic anthropomorphic sculpture of marine stone in Ecuador. It was described as having:

> a helmet-like head, like many other monuments in the region, the nose seems to be the only detail on the face that has been sculpted ... the right arm rests on its stomach while the left hand is signaling its massive masculine genital member (El Comercio August 22/93).

San Biritute is 2.5 meters tall, but no longer displays the impressive phallus and nose once described by Huerta Rendón. Although it is unclear when or how the nose was mutilated and removed, the phallus itself was castrated back in 1952 (other newspapers mention 1949, maybe because that is the first year that Huerta visited the town) so that he could be exhibited between the Mayor's and Governor's offices in the so called

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"Avenue of the Gods" (Avenida 10 de Agosto) (El Telégrafo August 11/93).

The struggle over San Biritute is quite complex. The main concern for the comuneros is the ritual power that the monolith played in the well being of the community's existence. According to the people of Sacachún, San Biritute was responsible for producing rain in the area and they point out to the fact that since it was taken away the whole region has suffered protracted drought:

> They would finish asking and he would put the things down, he gave us the water so we could eat the fruits, because at that time we did not cut down the trees to make coal, because before we lived off maize and yuca and we made (Panama) hats out of reed but when the saint left even the wells dried up (El Universo August 29/93).

In those instances when the idol did not give the comuneros what they requested a different ritual scene was enacted. One of the strongest comuneros was chosen as the henchman to whip San Biritute for not giving Sacachún the much needed water, while all the women would stand by and weep for the tortured idol and beg for the punishment to stop (El Comercio August 22/93; El Universo 1). The last henchmen selected for this role was Eulogio Tomalá, who provided such a beating to San Biritute that it provoked torrential rains in the region, but also provoked the idol's anger and within a

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couple of weeks Eulogio had died of an inexplicable fever. After that incident nobody ever dared hit San Biritute again and he was only venerated through prayers and petitions and was offered copious amounts of food on his holiday, November 2 (Día de los Difuntos). The food consisted of smoked fish (lisa ahumada), green plantains and a couple of glasses of alcohol (aguardiente) (El Comercio August 22/93).

It is interesting to note that there are other claims to the healing power of San Biritute, such as its use to bring back the menstrual cycle for women or to help sterile women have children. But these are typically made by non-local residents such as Francisco Huerta Rendón himself or Xavier Véliz, ex-curator of the Museum of the ESPOL (Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral) (El Universo August 29/93). According to Xavier Véliz, his father, the deceased historian Angel Véliz Mendoza had seen:

> various cholitos [pejorative term used for people of the coast] of the Peninsula around the monument when this was on the streets of Diez de Agosto and Pedro Carbo, he especially saw a cholita that rubbed her sex with that of the idol (El Universo August 29/93).

This description is consonant with Huerta Rendón's narrative of how sterile women needed to rub their naked bodies and sex against the idol's in order to be cured (El Universo 1). However, contemporary Sacachuneños argue that these practices

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are not authentic, women especially reject these descriptions and say that they have never heard of such ritual practices involving San Biritute. At the most they admit to having asked for help from San Biritute to support the stress and hardship of having too many children and a large family, but not to increase the number of the family or to cure sterility (El Universo August 29/93).

For Edmundo Aguilar, an anthropologist who has worked in Sacachún, the point is not to argue about the exotic ritual practices of the community concerning San Biritute but rather, about the enormous oral history that it embodies. According to him, San Biritute is the material object of a rich history that is thought to have been lost and have disappeared, which is why:

> a lot of people say we are devoid of culture, I could demonstrate to them, with a thousand of live examples, that not only do we have one but that it is just around the corner (Quote in El Comercio 22/93).

For Aguilar this culture is just a couple of kilometers away, in Sacachún itself.

For Aguilar, the importance of San Biritute for Sacachún is not an issue of pagan ideology or idolatry but of a community's relationship to its past:

> what the people of Sacachún are interested in is their relationship with their past. San Biritute

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has a special signification for them, because that material artifact is a referent of their oral history and that constitutes an identification with their ancestors (Quote in El Universo August 29/93).

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THE OPINIONS OF THE MANY AND THE POWER OF THE FEW

One of the most interesting elements of the dialogue and struggle over the final resting place for San Biritute is the overwhelming support presented for returning the idol to the comuna of Sacachún. Different individuals and institutions such as the Director of the Municipal Museum himself, the Archeology Department of the ESPOL, writers and the reporters of the different newspapers themselves, overwhelmingly agreed that the comuna of Sacachún is the rightful owner of the idol. They also agreed that it was illegally stolen almost a half a century ago and therefore should be restored.

For both the then Director of the Municipal Museum of Guayaquil, Paco Cuesta Caputti and the curator of the archaeological exhibition, Rita Alvarez Litben, San Biritute does not belong in the museum but in Sacachún. For Alvarez, the monolith is completely out of historical context in the city of Guayaquil, and only with its return to its original community could it regain the enormous value it has:

> We are making a whole series of investigations not only at an individual level of San Biritute but what is behind him both at a social and ideological level. This is a very particular case since through an oral memory a prehispanic belief has been kept alive. It is very important that the collective memory be kept alive and with the presence of San Biritute that could be done (Quote in El Telégrafo, August 11/93).

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The then Director of the Museum, Paco Cuesta, also argues that if there is religious freedom in the country, then there is nothing wrong with returning this prehispanic idol to their cultural-historical descendants. He also points out that their religious belief should be respected, at the most studied but definitely not repressed (Carta a El Universo, August 1/93). After all:

> They never actually donated it, its was taken from them so therefore it is logical that he should return to his rightful owners (El Telégrafo August 11/93) ...
>
> The comuna of Sacachún was deprived of this deity in a clear act of intolerance, disrespect and ignorant evangelical inquisition. They made use of deceit and of false archaeological arguments that ended with the complete abandonment of the monolith for over 20 years, in a sidewalk!; from where some charitable hands rescued it to deliver it to the Municipal Museum, in whose files it has not been yet registered and can not be registered because it is a "living testimony" (Letter to El Universo August 11/93).

The San Biritute controversy was also considered important enough for the professor and students associated with the Center of Archaeological and Anthropological studies of the ESPOL to write an editorial supporting the return of the idol to Sacachún. For them this incident was another case of an ethnocentric and imperialist ideology implying that there is only one truth or manner of understanding reality. It reflects the imposition of only one correct and civilized

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form of cultural tradition and the belief that all others are savages and uncivilized. Therefore, the controversy indicates that the ravages of the conquest are still present in contemporary Ecuador and that there is an incredible bias in understanding the essential place of archaeology as the "prime source of knowledge of the prehispanic communities and as such, offering an historic identity for the current nation-states" (El Universo 2).

For the ex-director of the CEAA, Jorge Marcos it is easy to understand why San Biritute was taken away from Sacachún. As a traditional archeologist, Jorge Marcos participated along with self-trained archaeologists like Francisco Huerta Rendón and Carlos Zevallos Menendez in striving to provide the city of Guayaquil with some level of historical legitimization. It is clear for him that this initial group of archaeologists:

> from their differing functions wanted to give the city (Guayaquil) the symbols of the archaeological findings they found, and to conserve and spread among the new generations of Guayaquileans the "Huancavilca heritage" of the urban center (Expreso, August 24/93).

But for Marcos the historical conditions which provided the context for these monoliths to be brought to the economic capital of the country, Guayaquil, have changed. The historical reasoning that justified the removal of archaeological artifacts from their descendant communities are

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no longer valid or acceptable. He ends his piece on indigenous and criollo ethnicity by inverting the traditional "Huancavilca" values that the city of Guayaquil tries to uphold in its political ideology:

> Let's demonstrate once again that Guayaquileans are free, are generous, that is, "huancavilcas" if we want, and let's return San Biritute to those that have had it for generations as a symbol of their relationship with nature. Let's return Saint Biritute to the comuna of Sacachún (Expreso, August 24/93).

Even the newspapers reporters themselves side with the request of the comuneros of Sacachún. This is accomplished in several different ways. One of the most subtle is by providing extremely sympathetic pictures and narratives about the comuneros' relationship with the idol. In one of these reports we hear several of the comuneros relate how they feel about the idol and how it was taken away, stolen from their community:

> A pathetic scene, that enacted the beliefs of our ancestors and their naiveté, was carried out yesterday in the of the halls of the Municipal Museum, the descendants of the comuna of Sacachún, just to the east of Cerecita, whom when they saw "San Biritute", a giant monolith, God of Fertility and Rain of their ancestors, after 40 years of separation threw themselves before him and crying and caressing it with veneration said: "How can you be here lying in this position, abandoned, when we have an altar for you, to adore and treat you like you deserve" (Expreso, August 4/93).

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For the reporter the enormous emotion expressed by the comuneros of Sacachún when they were allowed to see "San Biritute": "was the object of an enormous respect, since it faithfully expressed part of our culture, our past, our history, from where we have come" (Expreso Agosto 4/93).

This latter type of article is very different from the more explicit approach taken by Alex Riva Toledo for the Saturday edition of Hoy (Oct. 16/93). In this page long article, Toledo presents the case of the San Biritute controversy in a very factual manner but then goes on to argue for the comuneros side in a strikingly unapologetic way. In this piece the religious practice of this rural community is not to be respected or defended but merely accepted for what it is, another type of religious practice. Throughout the piece there is no question that the urban authorities are in the wrong, that the taking of San Biritute away from Sacachún was a literal "castration of the community" and that it should be returned to its rightful owners:

> To recognize that this stone idol belongs to its people would be an act that would go beyond mere justice, it would be to recognize that there are differences among human beings and that the peace which we all desire has to be constructed every single day (Hoy October 16/93).

However, even though the majority of opinions were in favor of returning San Biritute to the comuna of Sacachún, the

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Catholic Church, through its representatives was strongly opposed. Surprisingly, the Church's highest authority, Pablo Cardinal Muñoz Vega, was the most willing to negotiate the return of the idol only if the community promised to see it as a "historical memory", but not if they were looking forward to venerate it as a deity (El Universo, August 29/93). This position was much more lenient than the one maintained by the archbishop of Guayaquil.

For Guayaquil's archbishop, Juan Larrea Holguín, this artifact belonged in a museum, not in a community where it can contribute to some form of cult/religious following. Even the name of San Biritute is preposterous for Larrea Holguín, since it is giving the category of a saint to a mere idol (Expreso Agosto 23/93). He continues that it is true that a Catholic must respect other religious belief but that does not mean one must encourage erroneous practices, especially since:

> He considers that a society that owes it all to Christianity, must collaborate so that the people do not return to a period of primitivism and paganism through error or confusion. To respect the culture and work of the people (el pueblo) does not mean to wish or favor a return to an ancient time (Expreso August 23/93).

Significantly, Guayaquil's conservative mayor and ex-president of the country, León Febres Cordero, sided with the Archbishop and after weeks of articles arguing for the

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contrary decided that San Biritute should stay in the city's museum, where he can be visited, but not worshipped (Expreso August 23/93). The monument remains there to this day.

The central place of newspapers in the national imagination has been highlighted in the debates of nationalism (Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm 1990). However, as the narratives of San Biritute express, newspaper coverage is far from being singularly directed and is capable of presenting a number of differing opinions and rival interpretations. Rather than seeing them as blindly responding to the desires of their bourgeoisie owners, it seems that newspapers reflect the contradictory nature of the social discourse that are competing for national attention. In this regard, archaeological knowledge, i.e., San Biritute's resting place, constitutes a location of struggle within the national framework of the different social actors striving to represent their own version of historical continuity and national heritage. In some ways this location struggle is similar to the one we have seen at Cochasquí and its multiple interpretations and officializing history. However in this multi-vocal version the contrasting voices are more consistently publicized and disseminated by the print media, probably because their contrasts are what constitute the historical narrative (see discussion in next chapter).

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NOTES:

1) The Manteño-Huancavilca culture was initially studied by Estrada (1957), as well as by a whole other group of emerging academic archaeologists (Holm 1960; Marcos 1986c and Norton and Marcos 1982). However, there is still much to be defined in terms of the political and social structure of this polity, including the answer to the essential question if they functioned as two separate groups or actually formed a single cohesive federation. Recent studies on the neighboring prehispanic group Milagro-Quevedo seem to indicate that these polities might have actually not been integrated state-like entities but rather independent chiefdoms. And that they formed federation for military and/or economic reasons. Although their political structure is far from being well defined their geographical use of the same area where the present city of Guayaquil is located makes them privy to being constantly used by Guayaquileans to provide for an indigenous and ethnic ethos.

2) Carlos Zevallos Menendez (1909-1981) was a self-trained archaeologist that served as a pivotal figure for the development of coastal archaeology in Ecuador. He took over as the central figure in Ecuadorian archaeology after the tragic and early death of Emilio Estrada Icaza in 1965. Among his many accomplishments, other than as a researcher (1963; 1967) and cultural administrator (he was head of the Casa de la Cultura - Núcleo del Guayas) he trained several Ecuadorian archaeologist which later became the founders of the first independent academic archeology program in the country at the ESPOL (Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral) in Guayaquil.

3) It is important to note that not everybody agreed with the explanation and background given by the Museum curators. There was one particular editorial which systematically disagreed with all the information provided by the Museum and actually accused the Museum of taking away credit from Carlos Zevallos Menendez in their analysis (El Universo 2).

4) There are two interesting points here: 1) that some sources mention the name of the hill as being that of Los Santos (El Universo 1) located on the skirts of the Chongón-Colonche coastal mountain range, approximately 65 kilometers west of Guayaquil (El Comercio, Oct. 10/94); and 2) that this controversy over the actual resting place of the monolith parallels the discussion over the Virgin of El Quinche. The Virgin of El Quinche is an important colonial

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icon which most probably expresses many of the pre-hispanic spatial relationships and ethnic conflicts of the region.

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CHAPTER 8
REPRESENTING ECUADOR'S NATIONAL HISTORY(IES)

> It was omitted. Forgotten. It never was detached or removed from all the rest. And it's to this, this failure to have been created, that the image owes its virtue: the virtue of representing, of being the creator of, an absolute.
>
> Marguerite Duras, *The Lover*

CONSTITUTING NATIONAL HISTORIES

The following chapter proposes that there is not a single monolithic national history but rather, that it is constituted by multiple versions. The construction of national histories is yet another play in the theatrical production of Ecuador's past, and as in the archaeological drama of Cochasquí, there are a varied number of players, actors and interest implicated in its production. Ecuador's national histories, as Ecuador's prehispanic past, is not only actively contested but is very much based on this contestation. Ecuador itself does not exist outside of this constant and dynamic historical contestation. That is why the objective of this chapter is to outline and describe some of the actors and themes implicated in this national drama and analyze how they are articulated and constituted under the

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guise of a non-existent and yet hegemonic image of a singular national history.

The previous three chapters have provided the evidence for the multiplicity of national histories within the Ecuadorian nation-state. Each of the three historical discourses, in their contradictory and contested nature construct a national prehispanic past which provides for the many different communities that form what is Ecuador today. The fourth and final objective of my research and main purpose of this chapter is to explore how the contrasting or contradictory versions of the national histories serve to consolidate the different interests of the nation-state. The analysis of how state sponsored textbooks, the Indian movement (and the CONAIE), and the main print news media deal with these contradictions determines why, how and for what groups, the national histories are constituted as such. Therefore by comparing these three national versions we will understand who has the power to represent the past nationally and what effect it has on the heterogeneous national communities. In doing so the two following questions will also be addressed: How is this contested national representation staged and enacted? And, ultimately in what style are national histories constituted and what elements of power do they demonstrate?

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COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF ECUADOR'S NATIONAL HISTORIES

First Level of Analysis: Narrative Content

The first level of comparison that I set out on my research is the narrative content of each of these histories, that is, the actual stories and "facts" (names, dates, relationship, etc.) that these histories relate.

The official story of the Quito kingdom has a whole set of characters and players. The story is composed of imperial rulers, generals, feisty women and heirs. The men are presented as brave, valiant, warring and proud, while the women have similar characteristics but are also docile and beautiful.

In the state's official account of the Kingdom of Quito the central narrative is in many ways a simple war story, that is, a tale of a smaller polity resisting the onslaught of an invading imperial enemy. It is also a story of re-conquest and vengeance, as the defeated Kingdom of Quito reconquers the conquerors, the Incas, at the end. In the textbooks the Incas are first hailed as enemies of the Quito nation (read Ecuador), but interestingly enough they are themselves conquered by the region's geography (in the cities of Tomebamba and Quito) and by the beauty of their women (Princess Pacha). The Incas themselves are seduced, giving

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way to the Inca heir Atahualpa, born in Ecuadorian soil. Atahualpa not only rightfully reigns over the Quito polity but usurps the Peruvian throne of the Tahuantinsuyu, once the enemy and plunderer of the Quito state. Through Atahualpa and Pacha, the Inca conquerors themselves are conquered.

In the state's reproduction of Velasco's account there is little factual evidence in comparison to pervasive mythical elements. It is unimportant for the state's agencies to prove that the mentioned characters and sites actually existed. The fact that they were brought to life by Velasco himself is accepted as proof of their reality. In this manner you have historical figures, i.e. Atahualpa, next to a whole series of Schyri leaders, i.e. Hualcopo Duchicela, Cacha, Pacha, etc. and generals, i.e. Calicuchima, Quisquís, etc. for whom there is no independent evidence of their existence. At the same time these elements create a perfect mythical realm in which the story develops.

It is precisely because all the characters point to an ancient past impossible to disprove that it becomes mythical. The mythical figures do not hinder the factual one, quite the opposite, the whole narrative is enveloped in a mythical quality that secures its founding elements. The known factual characters secure its validity even more, and secures the knowledge of such minute details as the crown the shyris wore

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or the moods that the characters felt at particular moments in the story, i.e., Condorazo's anger and sadness of having to give up his crown to his son Duchicela.

The textbook's pervasive mythical qualities also allow it to be hailed as a founding history for the nation-state, an official national history. However, this mythical quality has not gone unquestioned through the centuries (Jijón y Caamaño 1918c; Salazar 1995a; Moreno 1992). It is as a result of the historical incongruity that Velasco himself becomes a character in his narrative and the textbooks consider it necessary to provide an exegesis for this martyred historian.

Through this mode Velasco himself joins the factual characters and adds credence to his mythical story. He is hailed as a victim assaulted by unpatriotic historical discourses, just as the Kingdom of Quito was treacherously assaulted by its southern neighbors.

Although some of Velasco's shortcomings are accepted as a result of the historical limitations of his time, these limitations ultimately reinforce the validity of his account. In this instance Velasco's own conditional validity is used as independent proof for the veracity of the account. Ultimately, the mythical quality of the narrative content helps prove (or rather, makes it impossible to disprove) the

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account's validity and therefore, the existence of the Kingdom of Quito.

The narrative content of the alternative national history presented by the CONAIE and the Indian movement is quite different. The narrative no longer takes place in a long lost past but rather in the present itself, a mythical present constructed from the prehispanic past. The characters are not ancient Indian communities but the contemporary Indian community which becomes the central character in this alternative national history.

One of the main elements in this alternative narrative is the Indian struggle. The struggle takes central place and inherits mythical qualities because it has been going on for over 500 years. In this manner the struggle has not ended. It needs to continue until the exploitation stops or as the movement's official 1992 slogan had it: Ni Una Hacienda Más (Until there is not a single hacienda left). In this sense, the construction of an alternative history is part of this struggle. It is a necessary historic step for the groups' own liberation. The struggle itself is both a liberating mechanism and the content of the narrative.

Other narrative elements are the testimonios themselves, testimonios that project and support the historic struggle that the movement is taking on. Although each of the

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testimonios tackle different aspects of the struggle they all represent part of the larger struggle to be fought: Rafael Perugachi addresses racial exploitation (1994); Mi Comuna deals with labor organizing (CEDEP 1986); and Entrevista a los Ancestros tackles the issue of religious freedom (CEDIS 1992). The main characters in all of these testimonios are to some degree the authors themselves who speak in a individual voice for the silent majority. A silent Indian majority which have been oppressed and killed for centuries. In this manner, the author as a character slowly fades against the backdrop of millenary voices that now speak about an ancient past. But this is not the official mythical past but rather, a past that is engulfed and resurrected within the oppressed bodies of the surviving Indian communities, in their testimonios and struggle (CEDEP 1986).

At this point the past reappears as a central element in the narrative content of this alternative history. And now the CONAIE takes the officializing role of validating the alternative history, and in doing so, single-handedly seek to represent the multiple voices and testimonios that are expressed as part of this national narrative. An alternative national history that is now being told from the Indian's point of view and forced to be heard for the first time since the inception of the Ecuadorian nation-state.

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It is also at this point that the authority of the main figures of the CONAIE take center stage. The leaders of the CONAIE themselves become central characters of this alternative history. They are the representatives of the millenary struggle that seeks to reconstruct the past as it actually happened, and not as it has been distorted and narrated by the people that have killed history's Indian protagonists. It is this political objective and their ethnic authenticity that allows them to take on a first person approach to the prehispanic past and make it theirs (CONAIE 1988), since the Indian communities and the CONAIE leaders have learned the hard way that the past is never about the past. Rather, the past is about the present in which you are caught and must strive to construct differently for your own survival.

The print media is also concerned with history and providing an objective rendering of it. The main plot in the story I selected from the national newspapers was that of a struggle between a local rural community and the city of Guayaquil over a monolith traditionally known as San Biritute. The central characters in this saga were the members of the comuna themselves, many of whom were singled out because of particular characteristics, such as elected leaders, their gender, age, and possession of ritual knowledge, etc. Some of

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the other characters were the museum curator and staff who had physical possession of the monolith; intellectuals of different persuasion who considered it their duty to give their opinion on the matter; the newspapers and reporters who offered their reporting and deemed the story worthy of being covered; the Catholic Church; and the mayor of Guayaquil himself, the ex-president León Febres Cordero.

All of the characters presented contrasting views but could easily be placed into two contesting sides. On one side was the Church and the mayor who sided against the comuna's claim to San Biritute and on the other, was everybody else who, through different arguments and for varied reasons, supported Sacachún's claim to have the monolith returned to their community.

Another interesting aspect is the manner in which the story could be interpreted as being a simple one. Once again it is an instance of a small community fighting for something that is historically theirs, and even the newspapers through their 'objective' reporting support this claim. But once again the official agencies, in this instance represented by the religious and political authorities discard any historical reasoning and based on their own superior motives disregard the communities' claím to ownership of a tangible piece of the past. Based on religious and political authority, the mayor

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can arbitrate ownership of the past, considering it more appropriate to have the monolith exhibited at the city's municipal museum than for it to return to the community. The decision was counter to everybody else's opinion (an important contradiction), including the experts of the past, the anthropologist and archaeologist themselves.

The narrative itself also exposes an interesting insight into a finer understanding about the ownership of the past. The newspapers are faithful to their objective in their removed approach to the historic truth and once the decision is made their is very little objection to the decision. This is true even though their pages had been filled articles arguing for the contrary position. In this regard, what comes across is the community's right to its own past, in which San Biritute is accepted as tangibly representing and even being a part of. But what is also expressed is that ownership of the past has very little to do with historical reasoning and much more with political authority and power. It also appears that the newspaper are unwilling to get involved in the struggle, to side completely with a single cause because ultimately that would result in questions about its own objective discourse -- an objectivity that is the basis sine qua non for their abilities to be able to present a valid and acceptable neutral history of the nation. At the same time it is this 'neutral'

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discussion of issues, at a distance, which becomes a much more effective measure of producing historical truth.

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Second Level of Analysis: Structure

The second level of analysis that I am concerned with is structural or stylistic: the order in which the narrative is related, the manner in which the facts are interwoven and the relationship between the narrative structure and the story itself. All of these characteristics will help, us to determine how the national histories are expressed or represented.

As Velasco's critics point out the account's structure is evocative of European narratives, with actually very few elements of an Andean or even American reality. Some of these European elements are central to the nature of the story which is very similar to aristocratic histories with royal protagonists. The story of the political and military struggle between two state polities is told in a great epic manner. On the one side, there is a smaller, less aggressive and more vulnerable state polity, the Quiteños and on the other, there is an imperialistic organization, the Incas, overpowering with force their more pacific neighbor.

However, it is not only a war story but also one of love. A type of love that is inconsistent with the manner in which amorous relationships were developed by Andean polities, especially the Incas (Silverblatt 1987; Murra 1984; Guamán

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Poma de Ayala 1977). Twice in the narrative there are instances in which love struck couples are essential for the restructuring of political relationships, i.e., Hualcopo and Toa, and later, Pacha and Huayna Capac. It is through this last couple that the ultimate vengeance is achieved, and love rights that which military aggression had wronged. Ultimately, the Quiteño polity gains with its feminine counterpart what had been militaristically lost through its men.

There is no surprise that Velasco would use a European structure for his account since writing in the late 1700's would have offered him very few alternative American models to follow. Velasco was living in Faenza, Italy at the moment of writing the Quito history and due to the hardships of exile had few written sources with him (Moreno 1992). Under these conditions it was natural for Velasco to fall back on the previous models he read while living in the Americas or during those years in exile in Europe.

There are, however, a few singular narrative points that are particularly striking because of their 'colonized' construction. An example of this is the similarity in structure between Velasco's account and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's ethnohistoric document. Garcilaso's document, similar to Velascos', had been written with the intention of legitimizing an Andean polity, the Incas, who not only had

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been conquered and decimated by the Spaniard but who also had been negatively portrayed in most, if not all, Europeans documents (Murra 1976). Paralleling the Inca Garcilaso, Velasco built his story with a pantheon of imperial rulers (the shyris) and dynastic struggles, and used these elements to legitimize American values in contrast to European notions of civilization and history. In many ways both Garcilaso and Velasco used an Andean setting with American characters and centered it around a completely European narrative structure.

Meanwhile, the Indian movement's understanding of Ecuadorian history is alternative from the very inception of its structural or stylistic quality. Many of the Indian writers are very clear about their need to debunk the authoritative official history presented and recognized by the Ecuadorian state, especially the one that is enforced in textbooks and schools. Unlike the official regimented history which is concerned with names and dates, the Indian's alternative history is concerned with processes and hidden meaning. The alternative history is interested in understanding, and defining the logic and moments of oppression that have placed the Indian and many other oppressed national communities in the subservient position in which they now exist (CEDEP 1986).

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Because of this inherent alternative logic within their own historical objectives, it is not surprising that this subaltern discourse would also choose an alternative structure to express its narrative in contrast to the official history. In this manner, the Indian's portrayal of history is not narrated in a linear fashion following set names, characters and plots, but rather has a more dynamic structure. Not only are the elements (which we have discussed) and interpretations less determined by western models (see Wylie 1995) but its very structure is being invented as the content of this alternative history is constructed.

There is no set path to follow for the Indian's alternative history but rather, any elements that could contribute to decolonizing history itself are immediately made part of this symbiotic discourse. Actual political struggles, which can range from actual national uprisings (June 1990) to labor disputes, testimonios, as well as, re-writings of known prehispanic histories are seen as essential and indistinctive elements of the narrative structure. Unlike Velasco's rigid structure, the alternative Indian's account of the past is presented in a freer style. The style is more casual and less pre-determined, permitting the incorporation of a varied number of details such as community and oral histories that otherwise would be lost, and, that have been traditionally

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excluded from the official history. This exclusion has served to oppress the Indian communities, which they are ultimately trying to correct through these narratives.

However, the less rigid structure and symbiotic nature of the alternative discourse does not preclude actual constraints and limitations to the narrative. The fluidity of the alternative discourse in comparison with the textbook's account does not imply that anything goes but rather, that the constraints are not the same. These evidential constraints are merely different from those of the official history. Since there is still an initial level of empirical constraints and the alternative narrative is by no means designed to create a 'fantastic' history as much as it does not want to reify the official one, especially since such a history could also be easily dismissed and not taken seriously. Instead, they desire to use empirical facts and re-structure them in light of the new findings and truth found in the Indian struggle itself. That is why Velasco's kingdom of Quito is easily dismissed (Pakari in Bulnes 1984), while the Inca polity is a rich source of interpretation and meaning (CONAIE 1989).

In a second instance the commitment to the struggle itself is another constraining element. This is due to the fact that the Indian struggle is a defining element in the

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structural framework. The alternative version, just like the official history, also has clear political objectives. However, this does not mean that their version is tainted as much as that, in all histories (including the officially normalized one) there are evidential and political constraints/objectives in its construction (Wylie 1995). It also does not mean that elements will be solely rejected because they are against the movement's interest as much as that all elements, negative ones included, will be interpreted in light of gaining a better understanding of the power dynamics that have contributed to the Indians' historic demise and oppression.

A final element that serves as a structural constraint to the Indian's alternative history is that only Indian, or other oppressed groups could actually contribute to its production. Because of the nature of the struggle and the intimate relationship between the political battles and the Indian communities, only an Indian, or somebody who racially, ethnically or/and culturally identifies themselves and is recognized as such, can actively affect the alternative discourse. This is why the work of sympathetic scholars such as Ramón Valarezo (1990 and 1992) are seen as supports for the alternative discourse but are not considered essential elements in its configuration. And this is why important

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ideologues of the movement, such as Nina Pakari herself, have decided to change their mestizo names and with it their identity to actively engage in the movement (Pakari in Bulnes 1984).

The alternative structure of this Indian history is an essential part of reclaiming the forgotten past, especially since this past has not been voluntarily forgotten but rather, brutally conquered and erased. The Indian movement through an alternative and non-academic style is proposing a complete different version and understanding of history, hopefully one that will discover "their own history, a history that has been hidden and taken away from them" (popular song from V. Heredia's Taki Ongoy).

The structure utilized by the newspapers in their reporting of historical accounts is quite different from the one used by the two previous discourses. The structure used by the newspapers, especially in terms of the coverage of the struggle over San Biritute, is much more dialogic than the other two. In the media one gets a sense of discussion or difference of opinion. The structure itself reflects that the historical truth is something that is not readily apparent but something that is very much contested. According to the newspaper only a dialogic structure which conveniently allows

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for a multiplicity of voices is the best method for understanding historical reality.

The written media's dialogic structure understands history as a hidden truth that needs to be discovered (or uncovered) by the reporters themselves. This also expresses the understanding that there is an inherent historical truth, a truth that no matter how hidden and erased can objectively be put back together and ultimately known. The reporters' job is not to overemphasize or interpret particular voices as it is to allow different viewpoints to emerge and contribute their own understanding to the historical puzzle at hand. In this structure, objectivity is claimed as the maximum, and possibly only, medium through which the historical truth can be obtained. In this manner, this objectivity as a regulating device is far more explicit and pervasive than the one present in the two previous discourses. In this instance objectivity itself becomes the ultimate system of truth upon which the historical facts will be measured.

This objectivity is expressed in the multiple single page articles that strive to present the contrasting voices of the historical debate by interviewing different protagonists, by using small cut out sections to separate the different opinions and by providing the context of the larger picture at hand. This is even evident in the editorial pieces by

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specific individuals and institutions, which recreate the context upon which they can make their own opinion visibly stand out. This is also the case in other articles, such as in the description of pre-Columbian cultures, archaeological excavations or discussion of historical heritage (El Universo 1993-1997; El Comercio 1993-1997), which evidence a recognition that history is not static, that there always will be a varied number of sources which need to be incorporated into the picture, and which provide for a more objective and authentic rendering of the historical reality.

The newspaper's structure is related to journalism's objective stance in their reporting of news. But more importantly it also highlights the print media's close association with academic politics for its own support and legitimization. Its pervasive interest in objectivity is more closely related to academic concerns with truth than the one that the official or alternative versions espouse. This is not so much in the sense that the other two historical discourse do not espouse some notion of objectivity as much as the fact that the written media, like academics, utilize objectivity as an integral aspect of their methodology, which inherently defines and legitimizes their endeavor by making it scientific. This structure therefore allows the written media to borrow historians' said objectivity, which reifies and

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legitimizes the obtention of historical truth (Ayala Mora 1983a).

The written media also borrows from other social sciences, including anthropology. It is through an ethnographic approach that it is possible to get close to the historic truth, or at least to hear the other side, the local side of the story. It is also this ethnographic approach that exemplifies the printed media's understanding that there is always another side to any story, even more so when history is being actively contested. It is precisely in this contestation that the news is created, or in this specific instance where history becomes news. The acknowledgment of the contestatory nature of historical issues is not a self evident reality in as much as it is the essential characteristic that allows history to be sold as news, for history to become a daily commodity as written word.

Different notions of power also become apparent in the discussion of the structures of these three national histories, with each discourse having a different relationship within the power relations that sustain it. In the official version the powerful entity represented by the nation is reified. Every element in this history serves to elevate the patriotic feelings and contribute to a national heritage that takes on mythical proportions. In this version the power

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relations are not questioned or even made apparent and rather, are actively, although somewhat simplistically, reified to seem natural.

In the alternative account proposed by the Indian movement there is a contestatory stance. The objective of this history is to expose the fallacy of the official account of the Ecuadorian past, and debunk it by proposing a new alternative version. In other words, there is a need for an alternative version because the official account of history is so callously wrong. However, the interesting point is that in the Indian's contestation of power there is a hidden hegemonic project similar to the one being contested. In this alternative version there is an embryonic element, by necessity, that seeks to reify its own version as a hegemonic history in similar terms but with a different context to the official version being contested (Wylie 1995; Chaterjee 1986).

Although the written media has the most dialogic structure it is still far from placing demands on the power structure itself. As is clearly visible in the case of San Biritute the printed media can go a long way in exposing a particular case and exploring the uneven power relations that permeates the struggle, but there was no challenge to the authorities either before or after the decision was made. The newspapers have no qualms about exposing the decision-making

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power that the municipal authority holds, especially when the city's maximum authority goes against the general consensus that is being presented. Yet at the same time the print media has no interest in pursuing the uneven power structure and are content to leave it as is. For this reason once the decision over San Biritute was made there is no more need for articles to be written and it is on to other histories to be commidified and converted into news.

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Third Level of Analysis: The Different Forums

The third level of comparison is the forums in which these national histories are represented. My interest is to explore how the forums used to express these national histories impact the narratives themselves. It also my objective to determine how the forums used affect the efficacy and range of influence of these national histories on the different communities that make up the Ecuadorian nation-state.

Velasco's official account of the Kingdom of Quito is described in both grade and high school textbooks, and is an obligatory part of the history curriculum (Annual History Plan). Through this forum every Ecuadorian who attends primary and/or secondary schooling in the country is exposed in an authoritative fashion to Velasco's narrative.

This authoritative exposure is so successful that most Ecuadorians consider the Kingdom of Quito to have existed even in the light of such wide and varied empirical evidence to the contrary. The widespread notion of an ancient Kingdom of Quito is clearly appreciated in different arenas, such as the tour guides at Cochasquí where the site is explained as being inhabited by the Caras and Quitus, although the site presents archaeological evidence for neither. The belief in an ancient

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polity of Quito rulers is widespread in the population itself and the polity's non-existence is seldom discussed in a public setting. Rather, the debunking of Velasco's account only takes place in academic or elite intellectual circles, as made apparent by the recent publication of a series of layouts on national historic figures by the most popular magazine in the country, Vistazo (1997), with Velasco being one of the first characters represented as the 'father of the nation.'

There is no doubt that the use of official textbooks by both public and private institution heavily influences the pervasiveness of an historic account that already was initially debated and questioned at the turn of the century (González Suárez 1892; Jijón y Caamaño 1921, 1914, and 1952). The official medium used by the state to expound Velasco's account for the maintenance of Ecuador betrays the nation's essential need to historically legitimize itself.

Meanwhile, the forums used by the Indian movement are more varied and unorthodox than the one used by the official version. Again the utilization of different vehicles reflect the difference represented and expressed by the Indian movement in its contestatory historical discourse. There is really no limit or consensus on the mediums to construct a counter hegemonic discourse against the one developed by the nation-state. The forum can vary from written materials to

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actual political activities at the different local, regional and national organizational levels.

However, the movement is also keenly aware of the role and impact that the media has in thwarting or supporting their alternative vision. As a result of this the movement has assessed the task of collecting every single bit of printed news that deals with Indian reality, in their present or past conditions. Four times a year the CONAIE publishes this collection entitled Kipu, with a copy of every newspaper article published in the country for those three months. The articles range from special segments on the different political marches that the movement has undertaken, to ecological reports on autochthonous plants and resources. It also publishes special editions when the number of articles is too great, as was the case with the uprising of 1990 or the march of 1994 (Kipu 1991 and 1995).

In addition to using the media as a mechanism to represent its story, the Indian movement also relies on different political activities to express its oppositional state vision. This is visible in the ambitious goals that many of these political activities take on, such as the national marches which always cut across large parts of the country, securing great media attention but also viewed firsthand by a large national audience. This large scale

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political organizing involves mega logistical maneuvering, such as turning city parks into large campsites for the marchers, which always draws greater attention to their plight, including the presence of foreign celebrities who publicly proclaim their support (Kipu 1995).

There are also other less grand political activities such as land struggles, labor strikes and conflicts about environmental concerns. This includes participating in many of the national arenas of political contestation. Since its creation, Pachakutic Nuevo País, the political party representing the Indian movement's social struggle, has been able to muster a great deal of national support. With the support of the CONAIE's leadership the party has captured disillusioned voters of the traditionally leftist political parties (Frente Amplio De Izquierda and Movimiento Popular Democrático) which failed to bring about the dramatic changes that they promised in addition to being negatively affected by the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the last five years Pachakutic Nuevo País has been able to become the third leading political party in the national congress, back the runner-up to the presidential election (a significant feat in a two round presidential election model) and occupy the fifth largest group in the newly popular elected Asamblea Nacional Constituyente which was constituted to reform the constitution

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and deal with the aftermath of the ex-president Abdalá Bucaram's ousting in February of 1997 (Macas y Ramiro 1997).

The written word is another powerful tool in the Indian movement's enterprise of putting forward its own version of the national past. There is an enormous amount of written material: by individuals, communities, regional and/or organizational representatives, as well as oral history work and political projects. All of these are concerned with expressing different aspects of the alternative historical discourse, ranging from detailed and local elements to national political debates.

However, it is the CONAIE that assumes the responsibility of representing in written form the whole of the Indian movement. Through its written accounts and documents the CONAIE elaborates a re-interpretation of the national history (CONAIE 1989), a history of the Indian struggle and organizing (CONAIE 1988a and 1988b) and a political project that sustains the movement as a whole (CONAIE 1997). Through these writings the CONAIE not only speaks for the movement itself but also reifies and provides a stable framework upon which the Indian discourses can be elaborated. Just like the official history expounded in textbooks, the alternative discourse makes use of a similar medium, the written word, to legitimize its contestatory

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content. Once in writing, the alternative history achieves a hegemonic authority more difficult to challenge or discredit.

The multi-vocal history that I have been discussing is interestingly enough expressed in its own medium, or rather, the medium is what helps to establish its reputation as an objective, neutral history. In this sense, being a newspaper with a national audience secures a level of neutrality that offers a particular aura in which the contents of this historical discourse can be discussed and is to be understood. However, even though each of the newspapers claims a national audience all of them have very clear regional and political inclinations which color the events and actions that they strive to objectively describe.

For example, the coastal newspapers (i.e., El Universo) never sided as openly with the comuna as the reports from Hoy did, which traditionally has a more progressive political stance. This particular political outlook also reflects the traditionally less supportive understanding of ethnic history and property in the coastal region, where there are only four surviving coastal Indian groups (in comparison to three times as many communities in the highlands). This political element, as well as many other regional ones greatly influences who reads the different newspaper, and accordingly

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who is exposed to the different strands of this non-contestatory and non-official historical narrative.

We also must take into account the actual literacy rate of the population, especially in the major cities of Guayaquil and Quito. Although literacy has increased in the last couple of decades clearly not everybody has access to this information. On top of this the economic constraints of buying the newspaper every day is evident in the low number of copies sold by each newspaper during the week. More copies (around 60,000 more) are sold on weekends than on a daily basis, since the weekend editions tend to synthesize the week's news and provide more leisure articles or in depth coverage of contemporary issues (as we can appreciate in the more detailed weekend pieces on San Biritute).

All of these factors contribute to the fact that few persons are exposed to all the information in the different articles. This is due to the improbability that people read or even bought all the papers that included articles on San Biritute. This lack of knowledge of the full story also explains why the articles recapitulated the entire debate to make their own story intelligible within the larger structure. But even within the general articles one can appreciate an inherent necessity of elaborating the full story and incorporating all the different sides, making each article

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whole within itself and making its reference to other articles not as essential.

In essence, the written form in which newspapers are expressed have the potential to reach a significant national audience. However, due to constraining issues, such as literacy, financial limitations, regionalism and political inclinations, the most likely audience is the educated and economic elite. At the same time not surprisingly it is also these two groups: academics and traditional family lineages, that are most typically represented and are actively engaged in the production of newspapers.

Academics are the ones most likely to be interviewed or to offer their advice. This intellectual spotlight is present in the articles on San Biritute, where academics had an enormous interest in the end result of this rural-urban struggle this historical artifact. Traditional families also have their say in the initiation and management of newspapers. All the major newspapers were founded by one of the leading traditionally elite families of each urban center, i.e., Febres-Cordero in Guayaquil, Cordero's in Cuenca, Ortiz in Quito, etc. Furthermore most academics are themselves part of this close network of traditional families, giving credence to Ayala Mora's notion that to understand Ecuadorian history one

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must above all be knowledgeable of Ecuadorian elite genealogy (Ayala Mora, personal communication).

Yet though the elite circles are the ones most invested in producing and consuming the independent historic narratives elaborated in the national newspapers, the fact that they are not the only key target population provides another interesting insight. For example, grade and high school students are encouraged to buy and read newspapers for educational purposes, television and radio news is based on reports from the print media, and the emerging Ecuadorian middle class also makes use of the print media to express its concern about public safety and livelihood in the two major cities of the country. All of these instance point to interesting ways in which the independent historical narratives get disseminated and the influence that it has on a wider range of non-elite national communities.

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THE CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL HISTORIES: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In 1937, Antonio Muñoz Vernaza'a Orígenes de la Nacionalidad Ecuatoriana (Origins of the Ecuadorian Nationality) was published for the first time. In this work, Vernaza explored the historical underpinnings and emergence of the social formation called Ecuador that to that day was barely over a hundred years old. What is most striking about Vernaza's work is, firstly, that it was one of the earliest works dealing with the historical foundations of Ecuador and secondly, its unapologetic tone in defending the nation. Even from its foreword, paraphrasing a foreign scholar, there is an inherent patriotic fervor that voices many of the implicit discourses surrounding the appearance and maintenance of the nation-state, and most importantly the role of history in the national enterprise:

> The professor of the Normal School of Cartebourg, in his "Treatise on Methodology", has synthesized the importance of said studies, in these exacting and truthful words: "history well understood, he says, is by excellence the school of patriotism. She is the one that allows us to know and admire the Nation (la Patria) in the past; whom makes us love and serve it in the present and the one that guarantees her future. In effect, it defends the integrity of the national character, whose disappearing or weakened qualities in future generations would strongly threaten the country's

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> independence, suppressing its reason of being as an individual political entity" (1984: 60).

What is both apparent in this quote and throughout Vernaza's book is the dynamics of historical production as an essential element in nation building and its occupation of a vital place in the nation-state's discourse. Ecuadorian history has had at times an explicit, at other implicit, nationalist vein. The national characteristics of historical production have been there from the colonial days of the struggle for independence from Spain (Velasco 1789), through the early Republican period (Gonzáles Suárez 1890; Fermín Cevallos 1870) to its present existence (Ayala Mora 1987; Efrén Reyes 1950).

Vernaza's explicit linking of history and a national ethos is not new but rather, points to the centrality of this relationship even before the Republic of Ecuador's inception in the nation-state's appearance in 1830. This centrality is even present in critical contemporary historiography such as the edited Ecuadorian histories of Salvat and the Marxist inspired Nueva Historia del Ecuador (Ayala Mora 1983a, The New History of Ecuador). These two edited histories are by far the most ambitious historical projects in assessing Ecuador's past, and as historical works both are by definition invested in the reproduction of the nation. In both works the

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authenticity of Ecuador is never questioned; and rather its empirical essence is projected back millennia as a coherent social whole. This imagining backwards which allows historians to talk about a prehispanic past as an integral unit of analysis is essential because it shows that questioning the Ecuadorian nation would in itself disrupt the historical analysis. In other words, no historical texts can afford not to be seduced by the nation, privy their own survival or that of the content of their analysis.

This linkage between historical production and nation invention is easier to understand when one takes into account Anderson's (1983) notion of imagining the nation. Understanding the nation as an imagined or invented entity in no way denies its existence but rather exposes its complex and multiple realities. Following Anderson's (1983) lead then it is necessary to understand the style in which nations are imagined or invented rather than imagining their deconstruction. If the nation does not have an empirical existence as much as an imagined one, then the importance of reifying the nation in historical works is of utmost importance for the nation's survival.

At the same time, if the state can be most insightfully seen as a political project in itself rather than a static entity that carries out political projects, the nation itself

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has a vested necessity in claiming its existence as loudly and as much as possible, since it is in this claim of authenticity that it is most readily present (Anderson 1983; Abrams 1988; and Sayer 1994). The nation's claim as a coherent whole is vital to its survival and it is this, the nation's unquestioned imagined existence that supports the historical works that look to understand its historic evolution. Historians take the nation as a given, since otherwise they would run the risk of having nothing to study.

In Ecuador, as in many other post-colonial nation-states, the national characteristics of historical production is one of the distinct styles of imagining the nation. This "national history" is above all national in its objective in reaching the widest possible audience -- the nation-state itself -- and in attributing to itself a general representation of the social formation which is claimed to be the nation. But what is this national history, and how is it really formed?

There is no doubt that this national history has changed over the centuries to adapt to the changing conditions of the nation. That this national history has changed is not surprising, what is surprising is that its transformation has gone unnoticed. That is, that the national history has been able to constantly metamorphasize itself while maintaining an

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impression of being static, unchanged, natural and therefore, relentlessly hegemonic. So that over the centuries the Ecuadorian nation-state has been able to benefit from maintaining a sense of historic unity even when this history has never been unified in any other way than in its hegemonic objective.

Yet, the multiple contradictions within Ecuador's national history have never been pondered or become an object of study, and this invisibility of the histories present within the national history has ultimately facilitated smoothing over any plausible and/or dramatic historic conflict. This denial of historical pluralism is not unrelated to the fact that questioning the national history or any of its constitutive parts would also question the basis of the Ecuadorian nation-state itself. Therefore to question a national history would be a task as daunting as it would be life-threatening for the nation at different instances and for a varied amount of reasons.

As a result of my observations and findings I have not, and it is quite impossible to do so, equated the official history with a singular national history. It is simply one more element, and in that sense, as any of the other histories, vital, in the far more dynamic hegemonic project which Ecuador's imagined national history constitutes.

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Ecuador's official history as expressed in its academic textbooks is far too static to single-handedly constitute the hegemonic discourse but it contributes enormously, as do the other historical discourses, i.e., alternative, neutral, multi-vocal, in the production of an imagined national and hegemonic history that seeks to (and so far has done so successfully) legitimize the Ecuadorian nation-state. And in this legitimization, the hegemonic national history not only secures the operationalization of the Ecuadorian state, the maintenance of the Ecuadorian nation but the inherent oppression and exploitation of the majority of the Ecuadorian population.

The national history, as the nation itself, is also an imagined reality that is in constant flux and change, a fragmented reality, even though it gives an impression of the contrary. Most importantly it appears monolithic and whole when it is neither, and it presents itself in singular form as a national history when it really represents a multiplicity of histories.

This is evident in the three national histories that have been reviewed. Not only do they present contrasting versions among themselves, but there is a great level of contradiction within their own constructions. The official history of an ancient kingdom of Quito for example is plagued

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with inconsistencies, the most powerful being the absence of any independent empirical evidence to support its actual existence. Meanwhile, the alternative history proposed by the Indian movement which seeks to present a counter-hegemonic discourse makes use of many of the official version's similar hegemonic devices to reify its narrative, vying to make itself the central one in the national discourse.

Both of these histories show that neither is the state a discrete and polished consent manufacturing machine nor is popular culture the repository of an authentic and egalitarian traditional ethos (Rowe and Schelling 1991). Rather, they are both caught in a wider contradicting field of force that is both shaping and linking their production (Roseberry 1994: 366). It is in this field of force that the newspapers explicitly construct their own historical narrative. The controversy over San Biritute clearly brings up issues of legitimacy and ownership between local and national forces that are caught in a wider hegemonic discursive framework than the characters themselves. These three histories demonstrate that there is no singular national history other than in its constant (self) representation as such and in its singular quest to silence its own historical multiplicity and fragmented reality.

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In this nationalizing venture we must also not underestimate the power of the repressive mechanisms available for the state's political ventures. Force, as pointed out by both Weber and Marx (see Sayer 1994; Scott 1985), highlights the most explicit mode for producing adherence to the state's claim of its rightful existence and use of power. However, this force is even made more productive in the terror and fear that it breeds, as Taussig (1992) has described. This terror allows a continuous image of a national history to be produced under the vigilant masculine guise of the state and the seductive feminine care of the nation.

The constant reappropriation of themes and reworking of similar social subjects allows for a smoother transition and veil of permanence. Ecuador's national history has been forged on many reoccurring themes apparent in the three national histories discussed, such as an ancient kingdom of Quito, the constant threat of southern (Peruvian) conquest, the narrative of a victorious victim who has been wronged, the struggle for social justice, etc. All these themes have provided for an almost endless production of historic versions that have been able to be imagined as a single national history.

As many (Corrigan and Sayer 1985; Abrams 1988; Joseph and Nugent 1994) have pointed out, the state lives in and

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through its subjects, not merely at an ideological level, but rather in the materiality of state formative discourses: in buying and reading the official textbooks, in struggling for political power through marches, in running for office, and in printing one's opinion about the final resting place of a prehispanic artifact. In each of these practical and theoretical ventures there is an implicit adherence to the figure of the state, even though many of the activities may actually strive to upset the current uneven power relationships. But it is this ambiguity or multiplicity of elements within a single venture that secures not only the continued imagination that permits the state's existence but above all its dynamic transformation to the changing needs of the nation.

In each of these national historical versions we have seen how the past can be reconstituted by different groups to project different meanings. But the essence of the problem is how these meanings have been historically configured to be understood as **either/or** instances, as reflected within their own names of official, alternative, multi-vocal, etc., when rather as a result of their internal and external contradictions they constitute instances of **both/and.** Therefore, it is the hegemony of the state that is the most fragile since it is based on a series of essential

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contradictions, on people living what most of the time they know to be a lie. A lie to which they are adhered to by force or by the ambiguity of all the social acts that inherently contain oppressive and subversive elements at the same time (Sayer 1994).

Clearly, Muñoz Vernaza's (1984: 61) fear of Ecuador losing its historical legitimacy:

> Because Ecuador is a nation of great traditions that must be conserved, at any cost, since through them she (la nacion) affirms her nationality, whose social and legal embodiment can not be exposed to the whims of any immigrant that wishes to change it or injure it, of which there are a series of examples in history.

is not near the historical horizon, and yet a wonderful recourse for producing the Ecuadorian nation.

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SECTION IV
CONCLUSION

> A work is never completed except by some accident such as weariness, satisfaction, **the need to deliver,** or death: for, in relation to who or what is making it, it can only be one stage in a series of inner transformations.
>
> Rabih Alameddine, *KoolAids: The Art of War*

CHAPTER 9
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF NATIONALISM

Being a nation implies getting your history wrong (Renan 1990 [1882]), and in this respect Ecuador is no exception. Historical invention or "making history" (Patterson and Schmidt 1995) inherently implies the rewriting, changing and transformation of the social events being described. This transformation takes place as a result of both the attitudes and preferences of the people constructing, describing, and participating in the historical narrative (Castañeda 1995 and 1996; Trouillot 1995; Sider and Smith 1998) and the level of support offered by an array of social institutions, such as the state, to the historical versions being created (Abrams 1988; Alonso 1988; Handler and Gable 1997; Gable et al. 1992; Nadia 1995).

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Both are equally present and effective at Cochasquí and in the construction of Ecuador's national histories. As I have discussed, the institutional characteristics of Cochasquí, i.e., the state funding and support of the site, provides a hegemonic structure that reifies a particular version of Cochasquí's past. This history, the Program's (or official) version is legitimized almost as soon as it is being produced. This structure serves as a dialectical support system in which the official version is legitimated by the state while the nation-state and its history are legitimated by the Program's version of history at Cochasquí.

Another element which escapes the immediate objective of this dissertation is the power of narrative itself in determining how we think about and define the past. Landau's (1984) work in assessing the mythical structure of the paleoanthropological narratives of human origins suggests the importance of the power of narrative in defining the manner in which the past is represented (see Lewin 1987 for detailed discussion). It would be useful to explore and compare different narratives about the past and determine if their content is ultimately defined by the inherent quality of the narrative itself. However, I would argue that the

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political formation in which these narratives are structured are essential in their constitution as such.

In terms of Cochasquí, the national appropriation of the archaeological site is part of a greater narrative by which the Ecuadorian nation-state is able to represent a historical continuity that transcends time by being embedded in a communal ethos of homogeneity and essentializing naturalness (Foucault 1991; Alonso 1988). As discussed, the analysis of the national appropriation process of the archaeological past at Cochasquí and the discussion of the different official, multi-vocal and alternative national histories enable us to understand how Ecuador's history is afforded agency and obtains a hegemonic stance (Mallon 1995).

Ecuador as all nation-states strives to represent itself within a singular national history. However, as I have argued no such singular national history exists, either at any particular moment nor in terms of the historical elements being represented. Multiple versions of the past are "nationalized" according to the different social, economic and political agendas that are essential to the maintenance of the nation and its differing constitutive communities. Therefore, there is no singular archaeological past in Ecuador but rather,

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multiple ones that are integrated into diverse national narratives which are then presented as a unique national history in particular arenas and settings.

However, exploring this process is complicated since the incorporation of the archaeological past to Ecuador's history is not simply an issue of historical objectivity per se but rather, is related to a larger web of social relations that condition and are conditioned by the nationalizing process itself. An example of this is the progressive stance taken by many Ecuadorian (Ayala Mora 1983b; Marcos 1986a; Benitez Vinueza 1986) and foreign historians (Meggers 1966) who envision the nation's history beginning with the indigenous occupation of the territory and not the Spanish colonization of these same indigenous communities. The potential of this interpretation to disrupt the historical legitimization and essentialized racial and class oppression of the majority of Ecuadorians by a small white/mestizo governing elite is quite tangible (Ayala Mora 1985). However, an Indian origin for the nation is not inherently disruptive and in some ways continues to reify the oppressive figure of the nation-state.

In contrast to this stance held by many progressive historians, the traditional historic establishment

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(Vargas 1953, 1964, and 1982; Andrade Reimers 1995) has adopted the idea of the indigenous origin of Ecuadorian history, but it is an origin devoid of actual (and therefore contemporaneous) Indian historical subjects. In this sense, they have constructed a narrative that lacks an actual and authentic genealogy (Muratorio 1994a and 1998), presenting a narrative of continuity between a static glorious Indian past and the sacred ideals of the contemporary nation-state. In contrast, many Indian communities, activists, historians and social researchers have presented a reinterpretation of this same process (Pakari 1994). This new reinterpretation has received a wider national audience through its dissemination by the CONAIE (1989 and 1997). In this alternative narrative, the Indians reconstruct their own historical continuity between indigenous communities, past and present. In this version it is the white/mestizo groups that are devoid of historical legitimization, and are simply represented as the oppressors and usurpers of history.

As we can gather from this example, historical interpretations are singularly constructed and have direct political implications for the contemporary make-up of the nation. This active contestation of the multiple hegemonic readings at Cochasquí and Ecuador's

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national histories displays the eminently political nature of any actual reconstruction of the past. Both at Cochasquí and in the national histories the political dimensions and implications represented by different interest groups are essential to determining the structure of the narrative and its ultimate meaning. The political and socio-economic contexts in which Ecuador's national histories are produced and narrated are essential in understanding how each of these histories are articulated to a national audience within particular settings (Silva 1995; Quintero 1997; Ayala Mora 1985; Agoglia 1985).

As many have argued (Bond and Gilliam 1994; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Patterson and Schmidt 1995; Kuklick 1991), the reconstruction of the past is not a neutral enterprise but is, quite the contrary charged with implicit and explicit notions of cultural authority and authenticity, as well as national and territorial legitimacy. In this process, the past will always offer certain groups natural rights and power over others, and legitimize, or delegitimize, territorial conquest (Silberman 1995: 256).

It is this same factor that has contributed to many nations' explicit interest in archeology as a means or tool to construct a "modern" history that would

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legitimize their national and state objectives. Clearly, archaeology is one of the most effective ways of inventing a modern nation's history (Foster 1990). Within contemporary western discourse, systematic surveys, radio-carbon dating, and archaeological excavations have become synonymous with scientific truth. This fact in itself transforms any archaeologist into a potential nationalizing agent whose scientific analysis enables the modern nation-state to construct a history that is accepted as valid both at a local and international level (Silberman 1995 and 1975; Silberman and Small 1997; Elon 1997).

It is this political context that makes the historical reconstruction of Ecuador's archaeological past a highly relevant enterprise. As one of the largest archaeological sites in the northern Andean highlands Cochasquí is a locus of subtle mechanisms of representation which are important to the regional and national maintenance of the Ecuadorian nation-state. The analysis of Ecuador's multiple histories also enables us to understand the intricacies involved in the politics of the past and in the production of history (Wylie 1995; Trouillot 1997).

The unequal socio-economic and racial conditions, as well as the hierarchical gender structure that

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currently characterize the Ecuadorian nation-state also form part of the subtle mechanisms of identity involved in this historical production. Ecuador has suffered under persistent systems of domination, including indigenous ranking systems and the Spanish conquest (Cueva 1987 and 1988). These systems have contributed mechanisms of oppression which have evolved and been naturalized as a normal mode of existence for the contemporary Ecuadorian population. This process is clearly visible at Cochasquí, where after the Inca conquest and violent decimation of the population, the Spaniards resettled the local populations of the area into two nearby towns. The towns of Malchinguí and Tocachi were founded by the Spaniards in the early part of the 17th century to expand their control over an Indian population that was living in an urban center which reflected its own cosmology and traditions (Larrain 1977; Salcedo 1985). This forced resettlement of the population to the neighboring towns of Malchinguí and Tocachi explains several different phenomena: the non-existent ties of the site of Cochasquí with any current Indigenous community; the foundation of one of the largest colonial haciendas (named Cochasquí) in the area; and interestingly enough, the survival of the

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pyramids and mounds in the area which were spared from further Spanish urban transformations.

In terms of contemporary dynamics, Ecuador could be adequately described as a highly stratified society with a large accumulation of social power and economic control in the hands of a small group of elites, most of whom not surprisingly, are socially defined and perceived as white or white/mestizo. This is evident in the high levels of infant mortality and pauperization, low wages, low levels of education and health conditions, and the fact that majority of the population lives below the poverty line in rudimentary shantytowns around the major urban centers and in abandoned rural communities. It is these highly uneven socio-economic conditions which allow the ex-president Osvaldo Hurtado to state:

> It can well be said, then, that economic growth in Ecuador has worked to enable the rich (who have grown in number) to become richer and the poor to become poorer. The great fortunes of yesteryear in no way resemble the consolidated wealth of today's entrenched economic interest groups, which have emerged with a degree of power never before imagined. Seldom have so few, in such a short time, gained so much (Hurtado 1981: 293).

Meanwhile, the concern with race, or biological differences, made its initial appearance in the area

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with the Spanish conquest. As several scholars (Sanjek and Gregory 1994; Amin 1997; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991) have pointed out, contemporary discourse of race can be traced back to the moment of the colonial encounter between a European population represented as white and the multi-continental African, American and Asian populations being defined as black or of color. In the northern Andes this colonial preoccupation with race provided an immediate structure of racial privilege that along with Christianity served to legitimize the domination of the different populations at the hands of the "white" Spaniard population (González 1986; Puga and Jurado 1992). The contemporary racial make-up of the Ecuadorian nation corresponds to this initial colonial concern, according to the main racial categories: white (Spanish), white/mestizo, Indian, black (Afro-Ecudorian), cholo, montubio, Turco/ Libaneses, and Chino.

All of these groups, however, are implicated in a larger racial ideology of mestizaje and blanqueamiento which establishes a racial hierarchy of whiteness as the highest ideal and symbol of civilization, and presents white images as reflective of the moral civilizing norm (Stutzman 1981; Muratorio 1984b and 1984c). This is reflected in varied venues, such as job occupations

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(Roura and Nuñez 1991), commercial images (Vistazo 1997), public offices, and beauty pageants (Nuñez 1998). The racial conditions and oppression of non-white populations are so harsh in terms of wealth distribution, income, assets, education and general life opportunities, that escaping racial definition (by being white) is a desired commodity for most Ecuadorians (Nuñez 1998; Ibarra 1992). As in other settings, whiteness in Ecuador is perceived as an innocent, naive, unnoticed and markedly un-colored identity (Baldwin 1984). Whiteness is not exclusively distinguished as a race per se but, more as a social class or status marker (Babb 1998; Hill 1997; Roediger 1991 and 1994; Saxton 1990; Dyer 1997; Lipsitz 1995).

Immediately associated with lower class status, undoubtedly, Indians and blacks suffer the brunt of Ecuador's racial hierarchy. By far, these two groups are the ones which are most significantly barred from influential economic and political spheres. This exclusion is based on the way they are physically perceived and on the meanings that are attributed to their cultural traditions, i.e., dress, music, language, hair styles, language, etc. However, both groups have significantly contested these unjust racial structures throughout the nations-state's existence (Icaza 1936,

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1981, 1983, 1993; Jaramillo Alvarado 1983; Lucena Salmoral 1994; de la Torre Espinosa 1996; Girardi 1994; Savoia 1988). Interesting and contradictory in this regard, is the election of two Afro-Ecuadorian women as representatives to the Miss Universe pageant in recent national beauty contests (Muteba Rahier 1998).

Within this class and racial system of inequality, homosexuals, women in general, and Indian and black women in particular (beauty pageants not withstanding) have traditionally been the most disadvantaged (Muratorio 1994b and 1994c, and 1998). This is the case though the image used to portray the Ecuadorian nation (la nación) is that of a caring mother, as observed at Cochasquí. There has been an emerging scholarship on the impact of gender inequality and sexism in general on Ecuadorian society (Weismantel 1988; Muratorio 1995; 1997 and 1998), but gender articulations have yet to be given the analytical attention they deserve.

Gender and racial issues are not foreign to Cochasquí's existence and its multi-layered interpretations of the past. Gender/racial jokes and stories, as well as complex and subtler negotiations, are present on a daily basis at the site. As essential elements of human life, gender and race could not be, and indeed are not, very far from people's

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consideration, and are constantly thought and talked about at the site. As a national archaeological site, Cochasquí is also a place where gender/racial practices and norms are made explicit in their public exhibition and in their contrast with the different opinions espoused by the many tourists that visit the site. Far from simply being monolithic or instituted from above, gendered and racialized discourses are active loci of contention, negotiation and contradictions (Kinsman 1987; Birken 1988; Mort 1987).

The representation of Quilago as the last leader of the site expresses the ambivalence of gender categories at Cochasquí. At one level, Quilago cannot help but be a symbol of female subversion and rebellion, however, this meaning is co-opted by the larger narrative which makes her a national icon and which needs her to represent the contemporary sexist ideals of the nation-state. This is also evident in the main racial discourse expounded at Cochasquí.

The site itself initially represents a redemption of the indigenous past which provides it with an historic agency that has been traditionally denied to the Indian communities since the Spanish conquest. At the same time, this concern is incorporated into a narrative that emphasizes a national Ecuadorian ethos in

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which the Indian past is subsumed, and in a very real sense, stripped of any real agency. The Indian past has been incorporated into a national narrative where any discussion of contemporary racial exploitation and discrimination is eclipsed in light of this new acquired historic truth of the Indian/Ecuadorian past. By recognizing an Indian heritage, complaints of Ecuador's racial inequality are neutralized since now everybody is recognized as equal, no matter what their racial/ethnic origin. However, even within these larger nationalizing gender/racial discourses at Cochasquí there is a continuous ambivalence that makes static definition of the discourses impossible and serves to implement the nation-state's dynamic hegemonic processes.

Ecuador's different national histories are also implicated and produced within the nation-state's ambivalent gender/racial discourse. For example, Velasco's Kingdom of Quito is very much a patriarchal story of the nation that utilizes feminine nurturing figures to provide roots for the national spirit. At the same time, this narrative of exclusive indigenous protagonists has for over two centuries served to legitimize the white/mestizo control over the rest of the population. Just as in Cochasquí, Ecuador's national histories utilize counter hegemonic racial and

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gender elements to further their own historic agendas, and through it reifies, willingly or not, the ideals and status quo of the oppressive conditions of the nation-state.

In a practical sense, the political malleability of all archaeological discourse is a direct result of the impossibility of ever fully knowing exactly what the past was really like (Shanks and Tilley 1987a and 1987b; Hodder 1982; 1986). The interpretations of the past, that is, history, is always a contemporary project of understanding the past as precise and objectively as possible. However, no matter how objective the reconstructions might be, history is not and should never be confused with the "real thing." History is never the past itself, but is instead a present day narrative and understanding of it (Handler and Gable 1997: 223).

It is precisely this contemporary characteristic of historical production, the relationship of the study of the past with the present, which allows for a dynamic production of multiple set of histories (Benavides 1994 and 1995). Therefore, it is these multiple histories that question the very notion of "real historical facts", of historical reality, and of a quest for "real" history (Wylie 1995: 269; quotes in original). This

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questioning is not necessarily in the sense of there ever having been a "real" past. Rather, it is in the sense that what is offered as the history of that "real" past is not only invariably colored, but above all also sanctioned, by contemporary elements of our own making, independent of the past we are describing and striving to represent (e.g., Handler 1988; Kuklick 1991; Handler and Gable 1997; also see Wylie 1995). As Alonso (1988: 37) suggests:

> Historical description, 'what really happened', is not the result of self-evidences which we gather and string together but instead, the product of a complex interpretive process which, like any practice, is inflected by broader social projects, by relations of domination which seep into the private sphere of even the most 'civil' of societies.

This is very much the case in the discussion of Ecuador's national histories, where "national" is used and signifies different, and even contradictory, elements and meanings of the country's past.

The relationship between history and nationalism has been the object of dutiful research (e.g., Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Anderson 1983; Bhabha 1990), which has focused especially on the emergence, development and legitimating power of national histories (e.g., Karakasidou 1997; Herzfeld 1987 and 1989; Alonso 1995; Mallon 1995; Joseph and Nugent 1995). This has led many

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scholars to agree with Hobsbawm (1990) that historians in many ways are what poppy seed growers are for heroin addicts: the providers of the raw material needed for the active construction of their national goals (see also Foster 1990). This is not a minor concern when you take into consideration the power of nationalism in shaping the political contours of the contemporary world, e.g., Eastern Europe, Chiapas, Kosovo, among others. This political reality and conflict has most likely contributed to the increase of research on the workings of nationalism within the last two decades (e.g., Anderson 1983; Cole and Wolf 1974; Gellner 1983; Smith 1983, 1988 and 1995; and Hobsbawm 1990).

It is within this particular vein that the archaeological underpinnings of nationalism and national identity have begun to become the focus of research. For Silberman (1997: 18) this interest in the national politics of archaeology has provided for:

> a sociology of knowledge that seeks to understand the social and political strategies underlying archaeological research and the subsequent utilization of archaeological data, that is, how archaeology is used by modern institutions and nations to create a socially meaningful understanding of the past (Silberman 1997: 18).

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This sociology of knowledge has been made possible by an influx of different intellectual traditions, such as neo-marxism, critical theory, post-structuralism, literary criticism, and cultural studies. These intellectual currents have encouraged the analysis of archaeology as a modern discourse constituted by contemporary contentions and conflicts over cultural heritage and authenticity (Trigger 1995), a debate which is essential in terms of the modern representation of the nation-state (Kohl and Fawcett 1995). This archaeological discourse incorporates more than individual concerns, including those of archaeology as a discipline but also those of archaeology as part of much larger social processes implicated by nationalism itself (Silberman 1997).

In many ways the epistemological crisis of the last decade, brought about by the post-processual movement in archaeology (Hodder 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1987a and 1987b), and highlighted by the World Archaeological Congresses (Layton 1989a and b; Ucko 1989) has also made it easier to focus on archaeology's discursive constraints. However, the subtle relationship between the nation-state, different forms of nationalism and archaeology, which is the focus of this dissertation, needs further attention. One of the reasons for this

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lack of analysis might be that the scholars who carry it out, such as philosophers of science (Saitta 1988; Wylie 1992 and 1995) and archaeologist (e.g., Patterson 1995; Silberman 1997; Vidal 1993; Gero 1990) are shunned by the archaeological establishment for having abandoned the fieldwork base of the discipline.

The analysis of archaeological research as a discourse has led several scholars (Arnold 1990 and 1992; Kohl and Fawcett 1995) to assess the state's manipulation of archaeological research as a powerful potential tool for ideological legitimization in advancing its own agenda of domination and oppression. This view, however, has fortunately given way to a more dynamic understanding of archaeology's relationship with nationalism, and the recognition that archaeology is not only instituted by fascist or dictatorial states but rather that it is a characteristic of any modern nation-state or national movement vying for political survival (Silberman 1997; Patterson and Schmidt 1995; Scham 1998).

In this regard the study of specific archaeological sites within the nation-state agenda, such as Cochasquí, points to a broader understanding of archaeology's nationalistic implications and constraints (Bender 1997; Peterson 1995; Kucklick 1991). The invention of a

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national past in Ecuador expresses the routine manipulation (or collaboration) of archaeological knowledge with the representation of a homogenous community and an authentic past - a representation that is essential for the political maintenance of the nation.

The analysis of Ecuador's national past also provides evidence against the portrayal of archaeology as a neutral free enterprise, solely concerned with the past, that is that archaeology is not a purely objective scientific approach, merely influenced by contemporary hermeneutic concerns (Wylie 1989; Moore and Keene 1983; Spriggs 1984). As Blakey (1995) states, the myth of being engaged in "real history" is in itself another form of domination, inherent in all postcolonial populations and nation-states that are struggling to free themselves from a colonial heritage. In many ways, this dissertation suggests that the past is continuously under construction because of the nature of historical research and hermeneutics in general (Foucault 1991; Alonso 1988). The past changes, both the nation's and our own, and is never the same as one originally saw and thought of it (see Kincaid 1998; Hellman 1980). This analysis suggests that different variations of an

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archaeological discourse at a site develop within specific historical, social and territorial contexts.

Bender's (1998) analysis of Stonehenge exemplifies the context specificity of archaeological sites. Bender delineates Stonehenge's growing role as a status and class marker within the British nation and its ability to represent the nation's past. She explores how this past has become sacralized through the investment of the nation in the importance and meaning of Stonehenge. Only the nation's aura explains the religious undertone of Stonehenge inherent, in both the state's official and the alternative groups' claims of the site's importance.

There is a fetishizing of the signifier (the archaeological site), which allows it to be more important than what it signifies (the nation-state's past) (Barthes 1972, 1982 and 1992; Taussig 1992). With the site now off limits to everyone, its representation of the past is no longer only an emblem of the past, it has become more important than the past itself. Stonehenge has been constituted as "the past" itself, even though this reification itself is produced by the reification of a set of contemporary contentions (Bender 1998).

It is this religious aspect of archaeological heritage that has made Silberman (1997) interpret the

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visiting of national sites as a secular form of the traditional practice of religious pilgrimages, which we can appreciate at Cochasquí. Within the modern day representation of the nation-state, visiting sites that are expressed as essential bearers of the national spirit is a form of spiritual pilgrimage where one's faith and belief in the national ideal is rekindled.

These secular pilgrimages to archaeological sites are expressed in three different aspects: 1) the pilgrimage implies a form of physical effort in which the visitors make an explicit physical action (penance) for an abstract, intangible (spiritual) goal, in this case national archaeological/historical knowledge; 2) in visiting these sites one participates in something more cohesive than one's own singular existence, -- an imagined community if you will (Anderson 1992); and 3) after the visit one is afforded the ideological weapons with which to fight the traitors who question the nation's historical reasons for being and existence (Silberman 1995). As I have discussed, these elements are inherent in the tourist's visit at Cochasquí, and are part of how the site's history is appropriated through our own physical/bodily action to cohere to the contemporary representation of the nation-state.

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Silberman (1995 and 1997) also points to the fact that a commercial push for large national sites may make archaeological sites into a historical commodity thrown ruthlessly into the logic of the global market. It is not a coincidence that at sites like Cochasqui, small cabins for weekend tourists have already been developed (Buri, personal communication). This is also the case at sites such as Pompeii, Italy, and Williamsburg, Virginia, which seem to be the archaeological version of what Dávila (1997) has called sponsored identities in her study of commercial backing of Puerto Rican national cultural festivals.

Unlike Bender's (1998) analysis of a European site, Kucklik's (1991) analysis of an African site, Zimbabwe, documents the importance of both the site and its multiple interpretations for the country which chose to take its name from the site. At Zimbabwe, Kucklick examines the large signification value placed on archaeological sites in constructing a national ethos against colonial symbolisms, e.g., the name of Rhodesia. As Kucklick elaborates, the use of the site to justify colonial rule is evident in the denial for decades of any evidence that might point to the construction of the site by one of the known indigenous inhabitants of southern Africa, the Bantu. The denial of this

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interpretation, even as a possibility, was so strong that when Rhodesian archaeologists elaborated an indigenous theory for the emergence of the site, they were fired from their posts and their theory was attacked as evidence of a political infiltration of the archaeological enterprise:

> The constant theme of the pamphlets, now, reflects totally unproven assumptions substantiating Pan-African claims that for centuries Rhodesia was the centre of a sophisticated Negroid 'civilization'. The political implications are clear; if the claims are justified, their should be no legitimate opposition to a Black take-over of the country. It is no accident that the banned nationalist groups refer to Rhodesia as 'Zimbabwe' ..... Fortunately, the National Monuments Commissions and the museums (and their associated archaeologists, whether professional or amateur) fall under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and if that Ministry can ensure that the new Guide to Zimbabwe **is a wholly factual presentation** of the country's ancient history ... it will at least remove yet another pretext for hostile political propaganda (unsigned 1971/October article from the Rhodesian paper Property and Finance, in Antiquity 1977: 1; my bold).

What the writer of this article, and the Rhodesian government did not understand, is that archaeology, as part of history itself, is always a political venture (Patterson and Schmidt 1995; Blakey 1995; Wylie 1995; Vargas 1995; Zimmerman 1989; McGuire 1992; McGuire and Paynter 1991). That is, that it was not the presentation

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of a new interpretation of old evidence which supported a Bantu occupation of the site which was political but rather, that the archaeological interpretations that had helped the white government stay in power had been a politically involved venture all along (Kucklick 1991). This is similar to the situation in Ecuador, where a minority of white/mestizos benefit from the continuous retelling of the archaeological past in a myriad of forms, all of which serve to reify the nation-state's agenda.

This dissertation argues for the recognition that we have no evidence to believe in an ultimate archaeological truth or that the truth will ultimately win in some teleological sense but rather, that the archaeological truth, as any truth (see Foucault 1991), is a product of contestation, negotiation and contradiction and as such is implicated in constant change. Even though each time an archaeological interpretation reaches a hegemonic stance (see Mallon 1995) it will present itself as the truth and hide the hermeneutics of its own production and representation (Taussig 1992; Foucault 1991). Only in this manner are archaeological truths able to be presented as historically self-evident and natural, and legitimate

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the national ideals being actively produced and contested.

The analyses of archaeological discourses demand the withdrawal of reifying objective truths and awareness of the devices which have allowed these truths to flourish and claim their authoritative positions. In this regard, what is needed is to assess not only the truth itself, but also the production of knowledge that enables archaeological/historical truth to be presented as such. This was also the conclusion of the School of American Research seminar on alternative histories-archaeologies (Patterson and Schmidt 1995). Ultimately they preferred to use the concept of "making history" because it more accurately portrayed the reflexive stance inherent in any political positioning needed to fruitfully assess the master narratives, their analytical categories and their knowledge claims from a variety of standpoints. It is a reflexive strategy that is needed if we are interested in unmasking the conditions under which historical knowledge is produced and serves to legitimize political domination. This strategy is a reflexive one because it must incorporate the shifting political underpinning inherent in the reconstruction of the past (Patterson and Schmidt 1995: 12-13).

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As I have discussed, history is never linear nor does it inherently express causality by itself but rather, it is our own renderings of it, as defined by the hermeneutics of historical production, that structure historical accounts (Foucault 1991). In this sense, archaeological interpretations without exception are incorporated into master narratives that reinterpret and meaningfully connect the nation's present with the past. In so doing, the narratives overlook the breaks and discontinuities that make smooth transition lines impossible and would therefore deligitimize the whole national historic enterprise.

The need for historical continuity is particularly explicit in colonial settings, where the new leaders are keen to present themselves as the natural inheritors of the dominated group and territory (Kucklick 1991: 165). Colonialism always implies an artificial and violent break from the immediate past and a necessary legitimization of the new order as natural and ever-constant. In this enterprise, archaeological interpretations are used to obliterate the break and present a new unproblematic extension of the archaeological past to the political present.

As I have argued in this regard, Cochasquí is no exception. Cochasquí elaborates a complex discourse of

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colonial conquest: first, by the Incas over a thousand years ago; second, by the Spaniards less than five centuries ago; and most recently, a current white/mestizo elite that is continuously reinforced in its position of political and social privilege.

In this manner national histories homogenize cultural diversity by:

> permanently removing generations of (local) history from the landscape and create a national historic rootlessness under official state sponsorship (Patterson and Schmidt 1995: 20).

However, even though legitimated national renderings of the archaeological past, such as Velasco's Kingdom of Quito, might be much easier and perhaps more gratifying to deconstruct, alternative versions, such as the CONAIE's historical claims of Indian authenticity, are also produced within similar constraints. All historical versions, in their own fashion and for their own gain, strive to overlook the discontinuities in their own archeological rendering of the past. National archaeological narratives, official or not, are always about presenting: a smooth history where there are only accidents; a continuous subject where there is only discontinuity; a homogenous nationality where there is a

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heterogeneity of communities; and historical truth where there is only subjugated knowledge.

To conclude, I wish to emphasize what I believe is the broadest theoretical finding of the research: the peril that any form of historical and cultural representation offers by inducing us to accept constrictive forms of self-domination (Baldwin 1984; Duras 1986; Foucault 1990). The perils of striving to represent in a unique and singular fashion a historical absolute that cannot be represented, is a dangerous game of delusion and self-domination. It is to this game of representation (and delusion) that Duras (1986: 10) points in her autobiographical novel, The Lover:

> It was omitted. Forgotten. It never was detached or removed from all the rest. And it's to this, this failure to have been created, that the image owes its virtue: the virtue of representing, of being the creator of, an absolute.

Our unwillingness to assess historical reality in its multiple inventions, and in its limited meaning, creates absolutes which are non-existent and which are in many ways a lie: the state (Abrams 1988; Sayer 1994; Radcliffe-Browne 1950), the nation (Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and our identities (Butler 1997; Minh-Ha 1997; Appiah 1997). The denial of historical variation, ambiguity, discontinuity and

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accident in order to invent a unique and singular past, either at Cochasquí, for the nation, or for ourselves, is ultimately a game of self-deception in which quite logically "the duped then becomes the duper, obligated to support the deception" (Taussig 1992: 132).

It is to this endless contradiction that historical representation and invention speaks: the need to define what is real and yet undefinable; the need for a way out of the chaos we inhabit and away from the constitution of prisons/categories we unwillingly choose and ultimately prefer (see Lessing 1987 and her suggestively entitled essay, Prisons we Choose to Live Inside).

This dissertation has involved both personal soul-searching as well as dutiful research. Most of the issues put forward (and elaborated in the preface) have been faithful companions not only during the fieldwork part but also through the actual writing of this work. My new understanding of the subtle construction of the past allows me to see how the categories we create for its representation are cultural devices. In turn, these devices are essential elements of our daily lives and of any social/political formation, including the nation-state. In this sense, my interest in a Latino identity or a "foreign home" are also related to the urgency in

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assessing the past and constructing one that is congruent with one's (my own) cultural necessity. It is in this direction that I look to for my future research and experience.

In conclusion I offer a passage from James Baldwin's (1984: 20-21) searing 1955 essay, "Everybody's Protest Novel," which poignantly, and perhaps prophetically, highlights this elusive historical and cultural contradiction of categorization:

> Now as then, we find ourselves bound, first without, then within, by the nature of our categorization. And escape is not effected through a bitter railing against this trap; it is as though this very striving were the only motion needed to spring the trap upon us. We take our shape, it is true, within and against that cage of reality bequeathed us at our birth; and yet it is precisely through our dependence on this reality that we are most endlessly betrayed. Society is held together by our need; we bind it together with legend, myth, coercion, fearing that without it we will be hurled into that void, within which, like the earth before the Word was spoken, the foundations of society are hidden. From this void -- ourselves -- it is the function of society to protect us; but it is only this void, our unknown selves, demanding, forever, a new act of creation, which can save us -- "from the evil that is in the world." With the same motion, at the same time, it is this toward which we endlessly struggle and from which, endlessly we struggle to escape.

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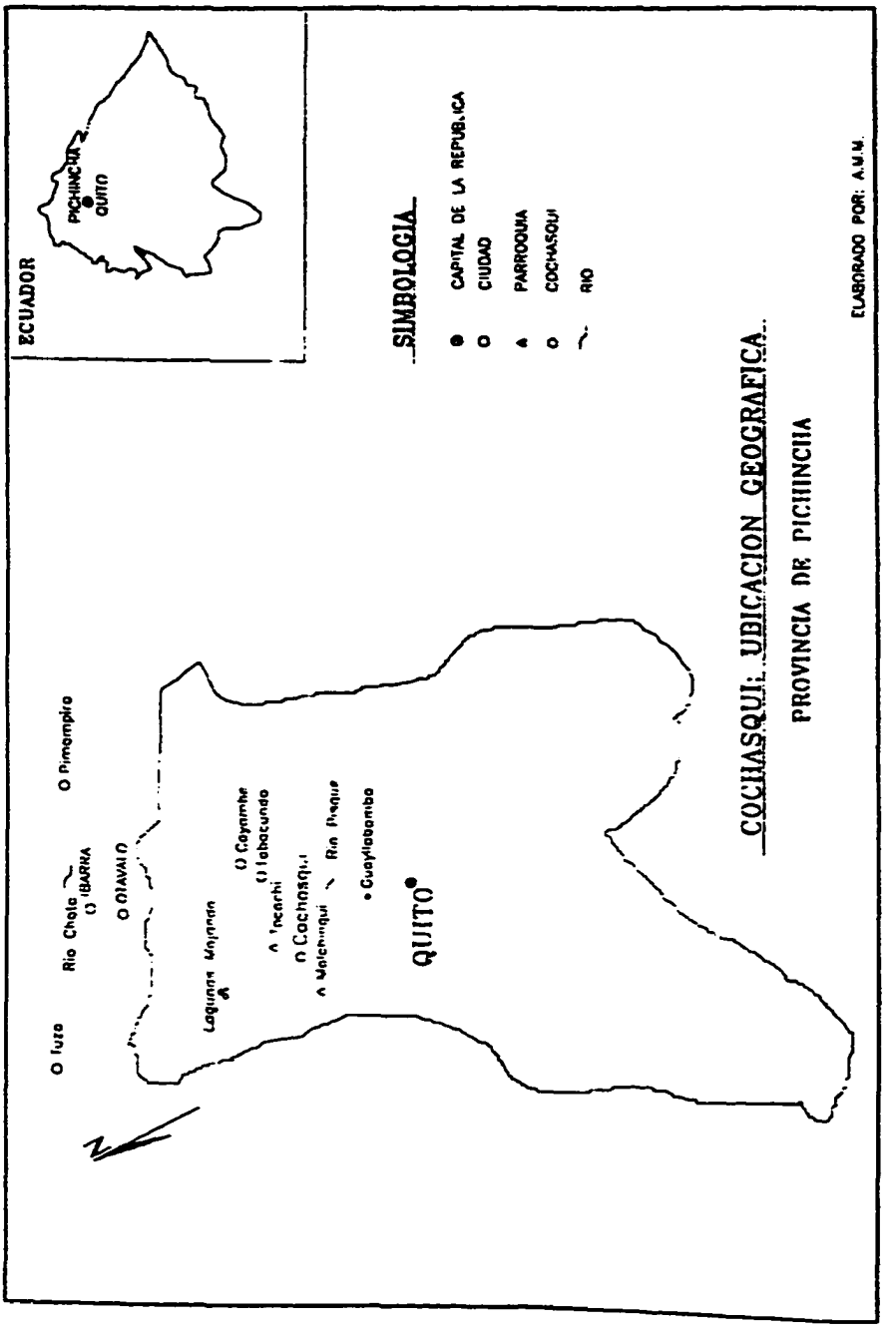

Figure 1: Map of Ecuador and Province of Pichincha

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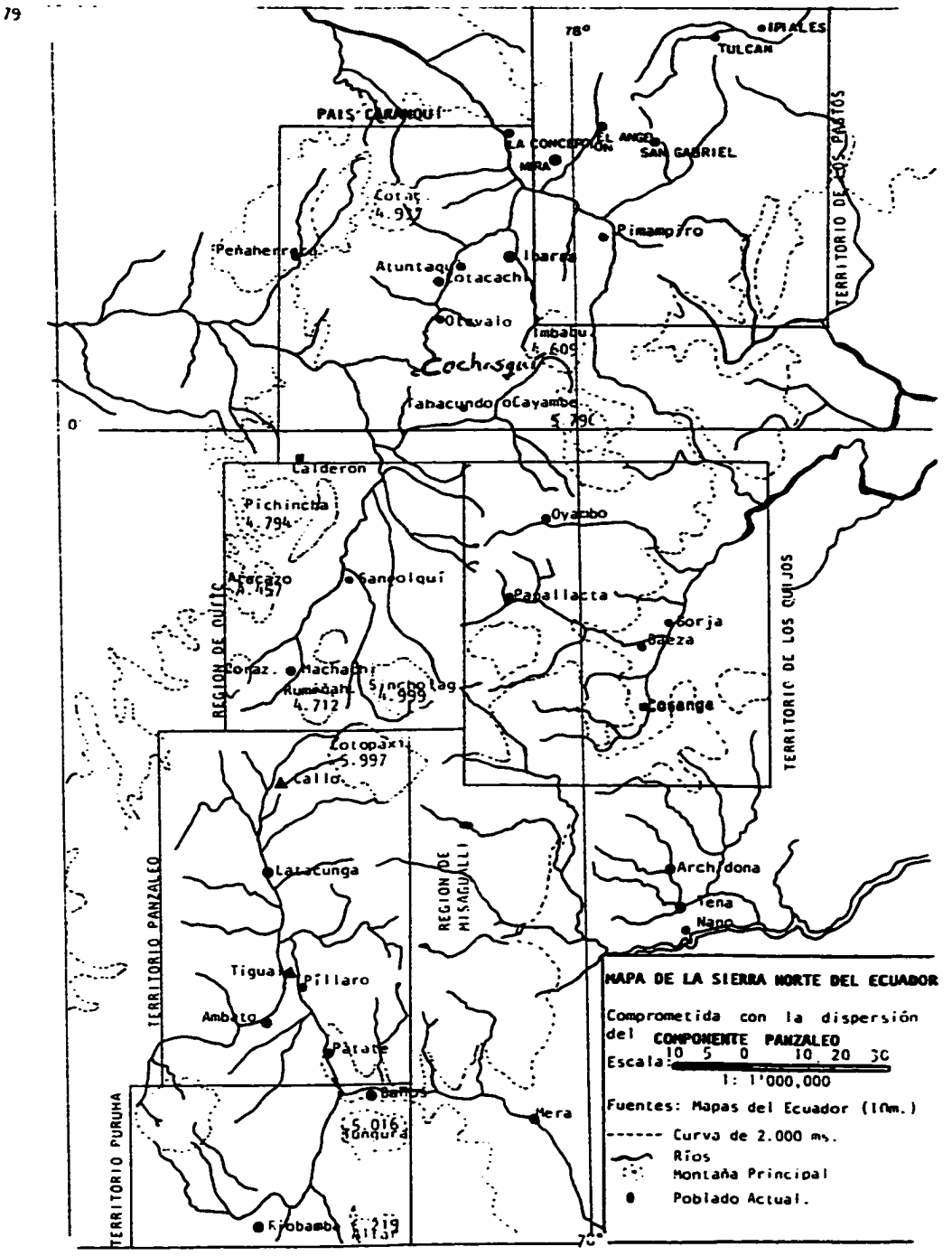

Figure 2: Location of Area of Cochasquí

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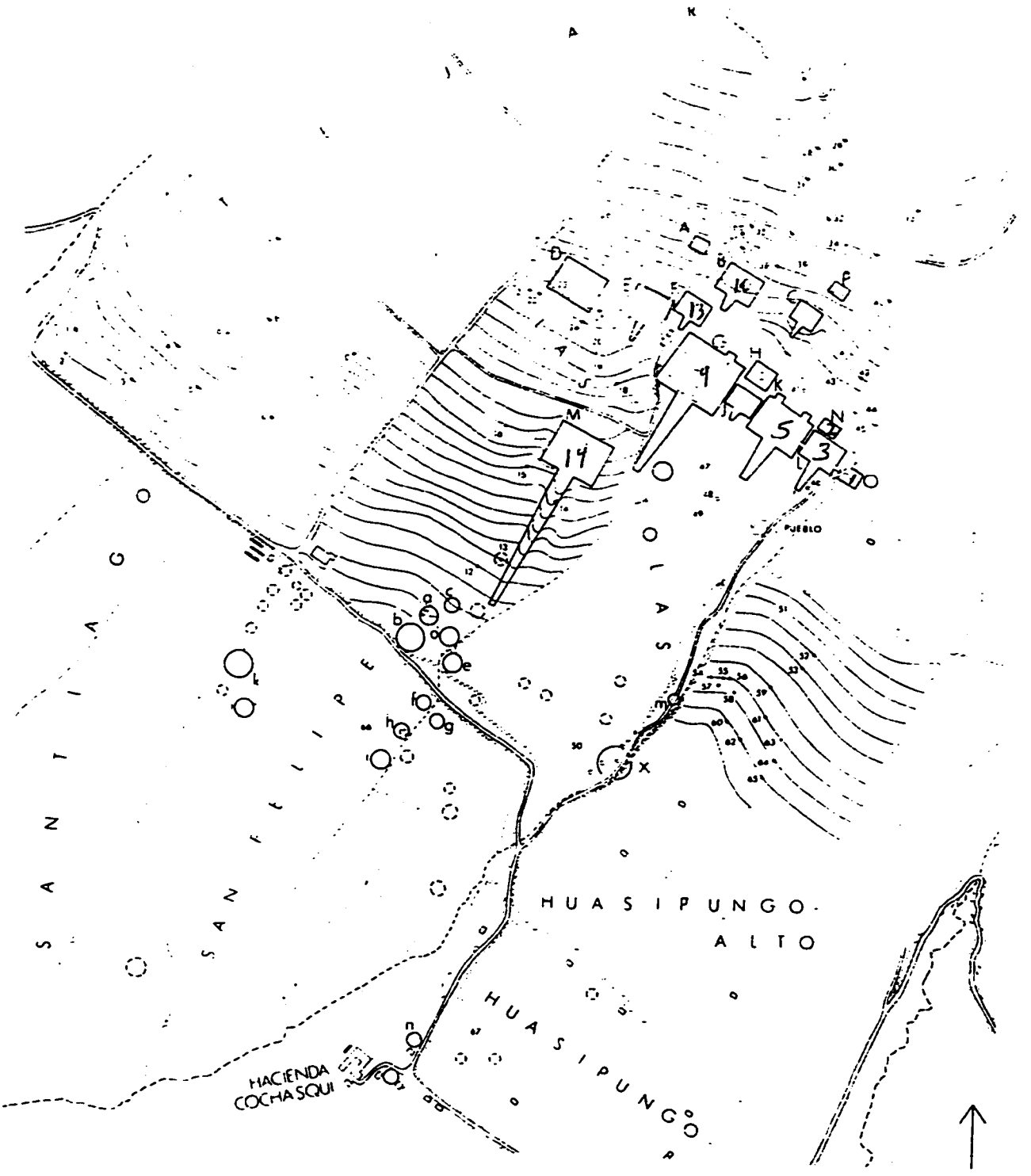

Figure 3: Map of Archaeological Site

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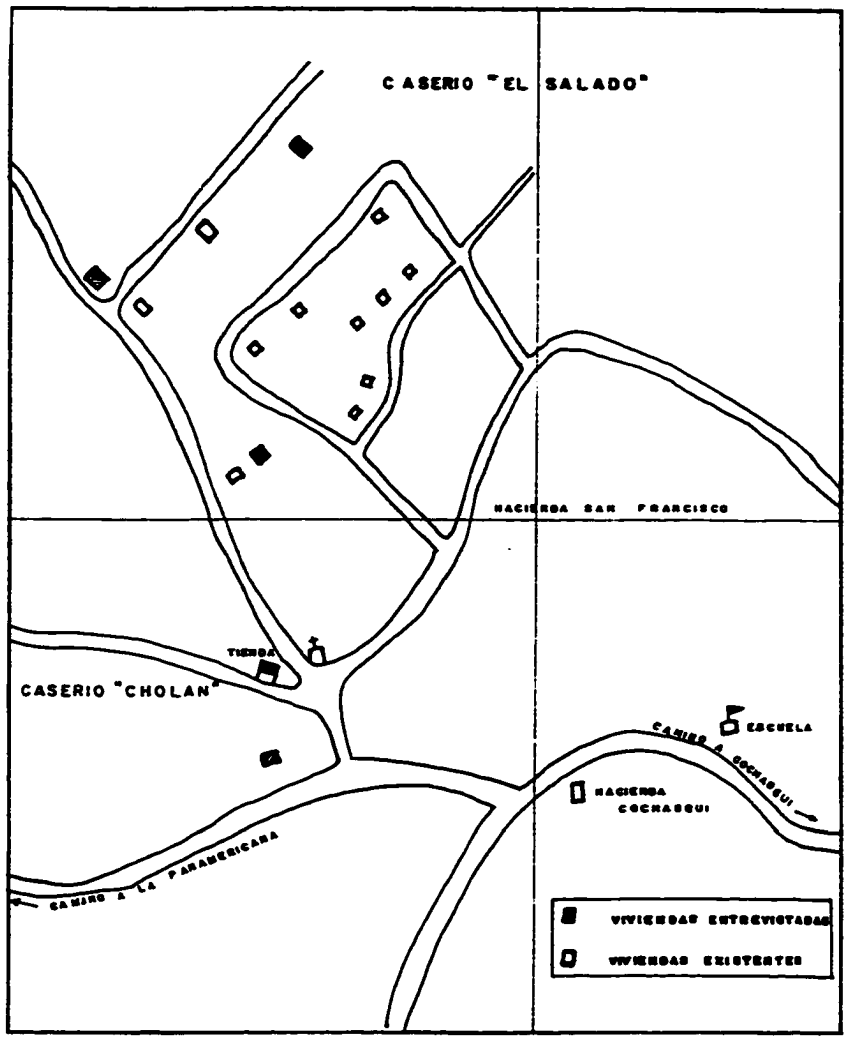

COMUNA DE COCHASQUI: POBLACION DISPERSA

Figure 4: Comuna of Cochasquí

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COMUNA DE COCHASQUI: POBLACION CONCENTRADA

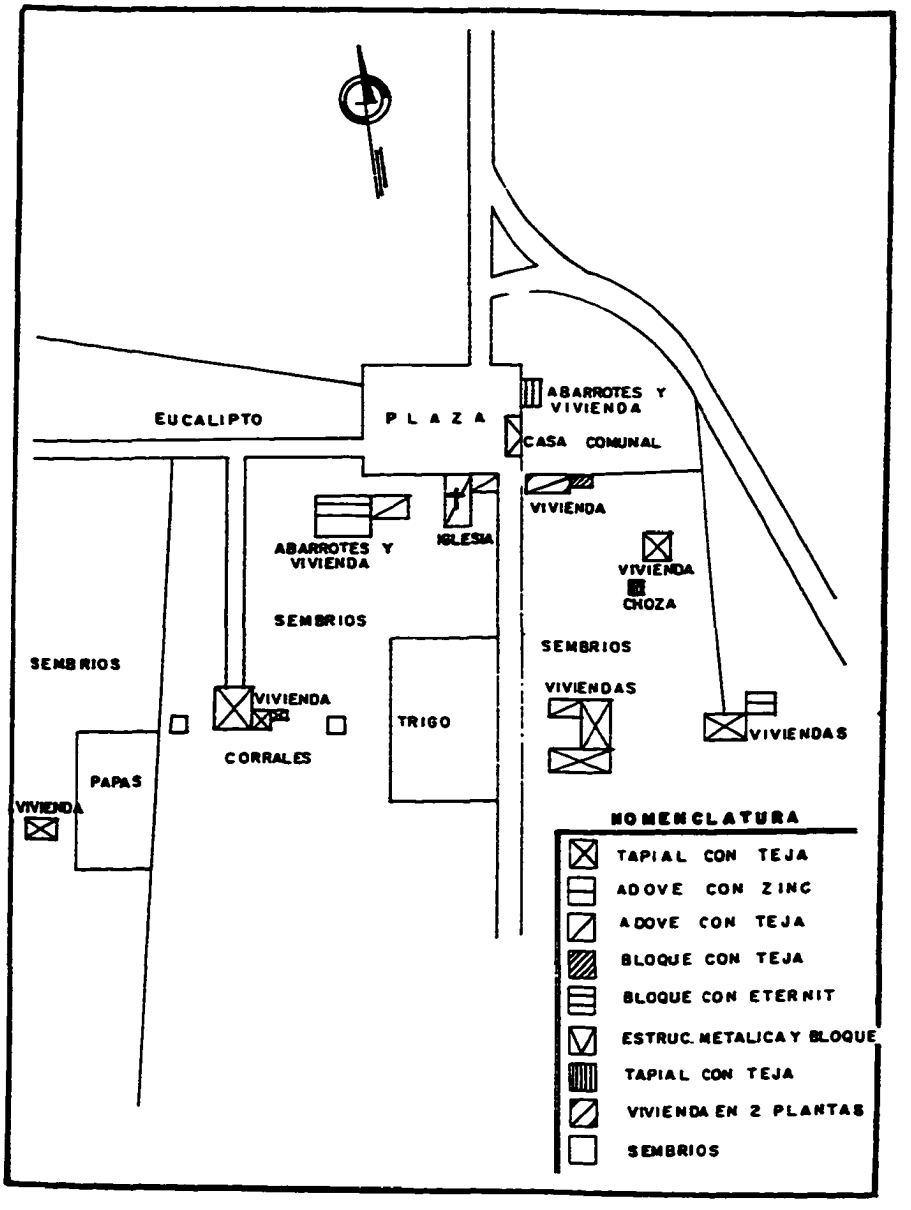

Figure 5: Comuna of Cochasquí (central area)

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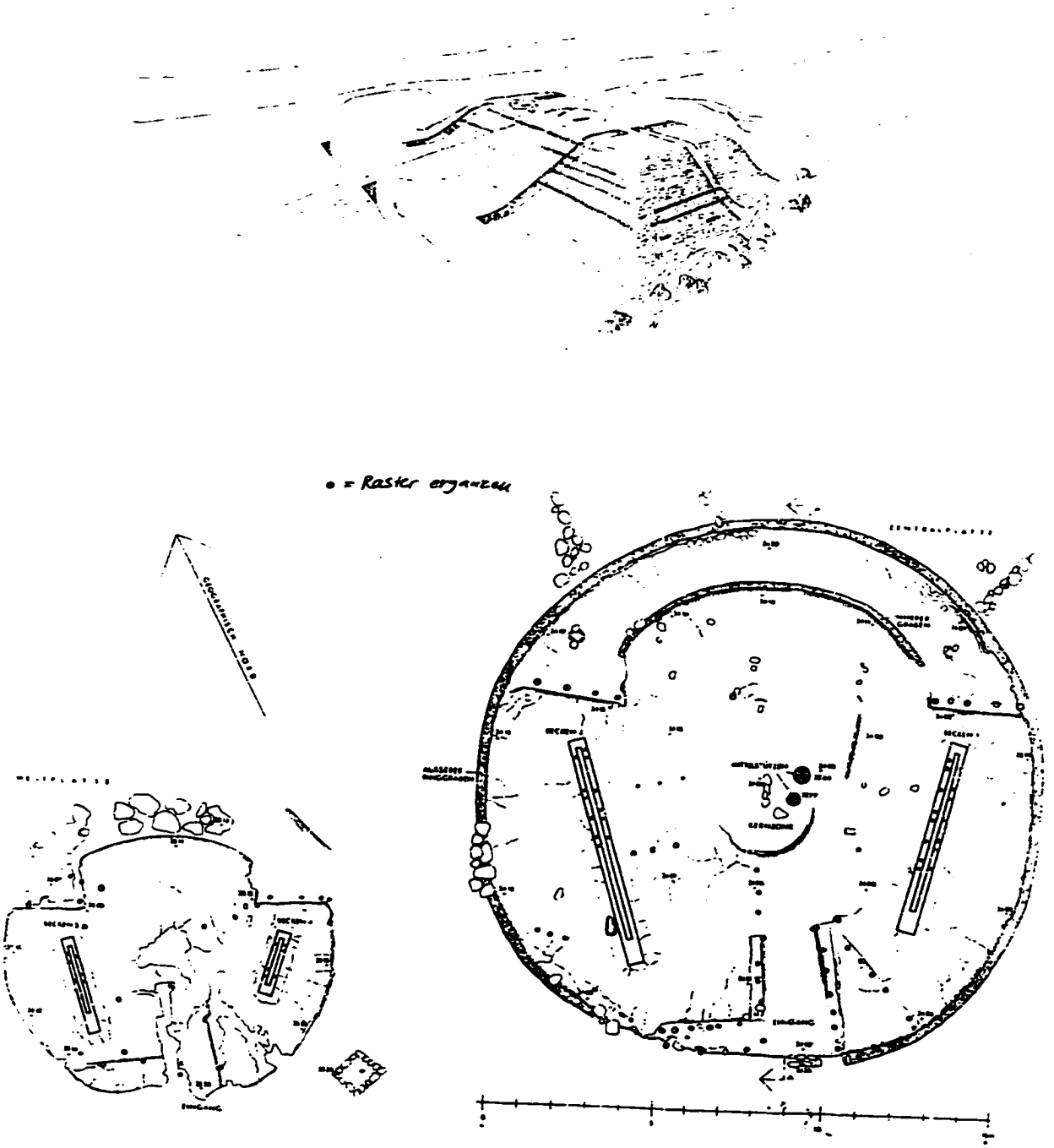

Figure 6: Platform of Pyramid 13

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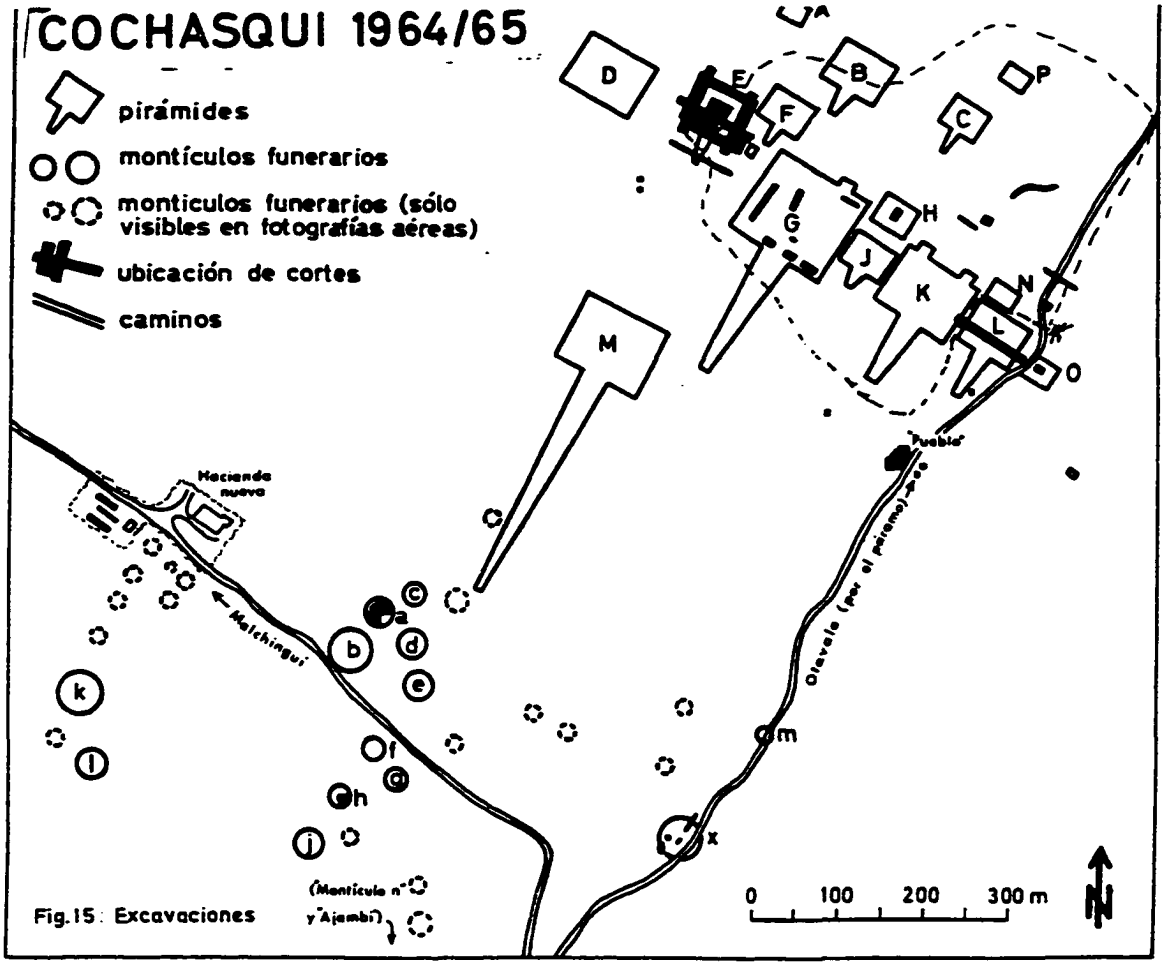

Figure 7: Map of Tour Rounds

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Figure 8: Pyramid 9

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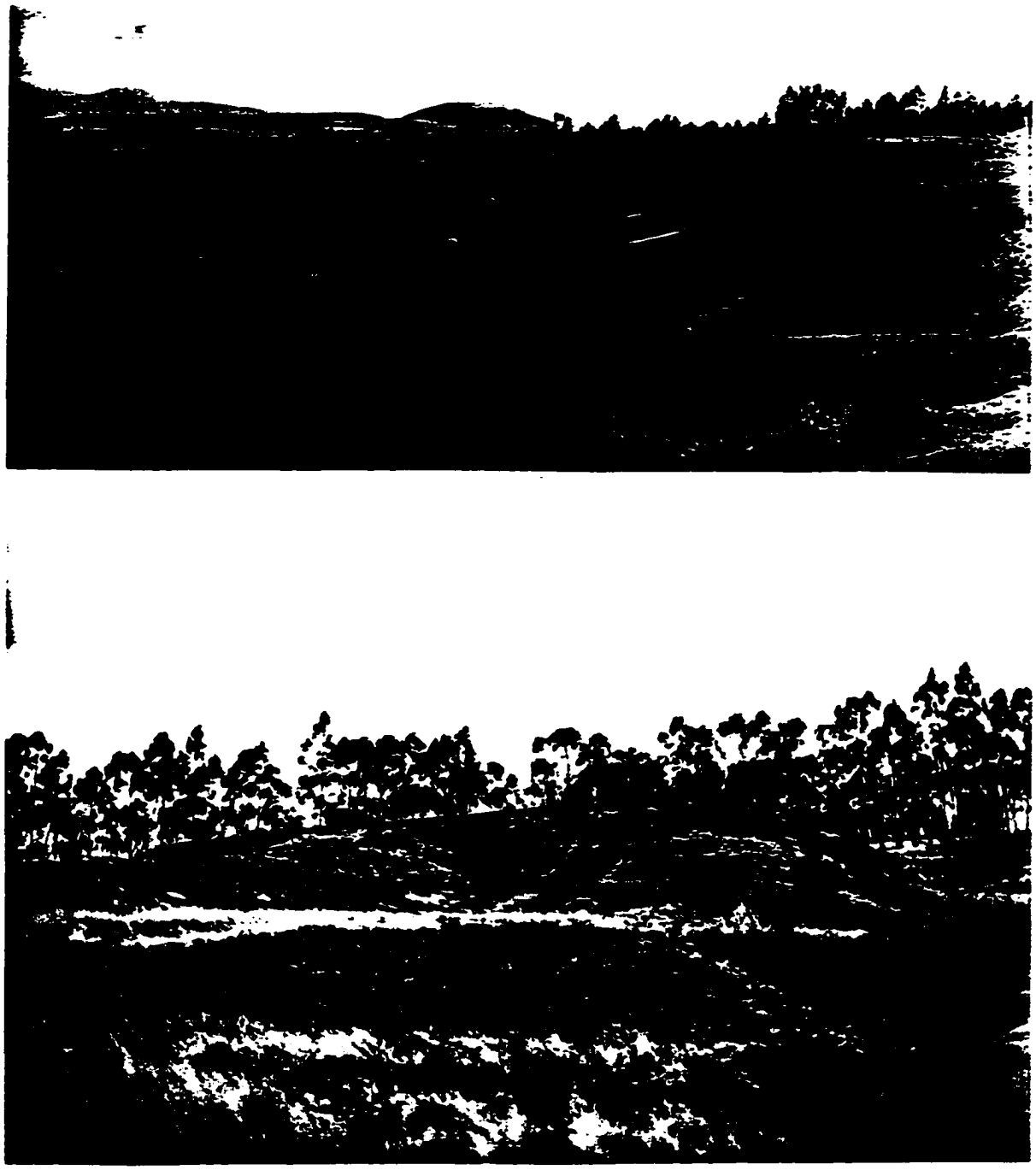

Figure 9: Pyramid 13

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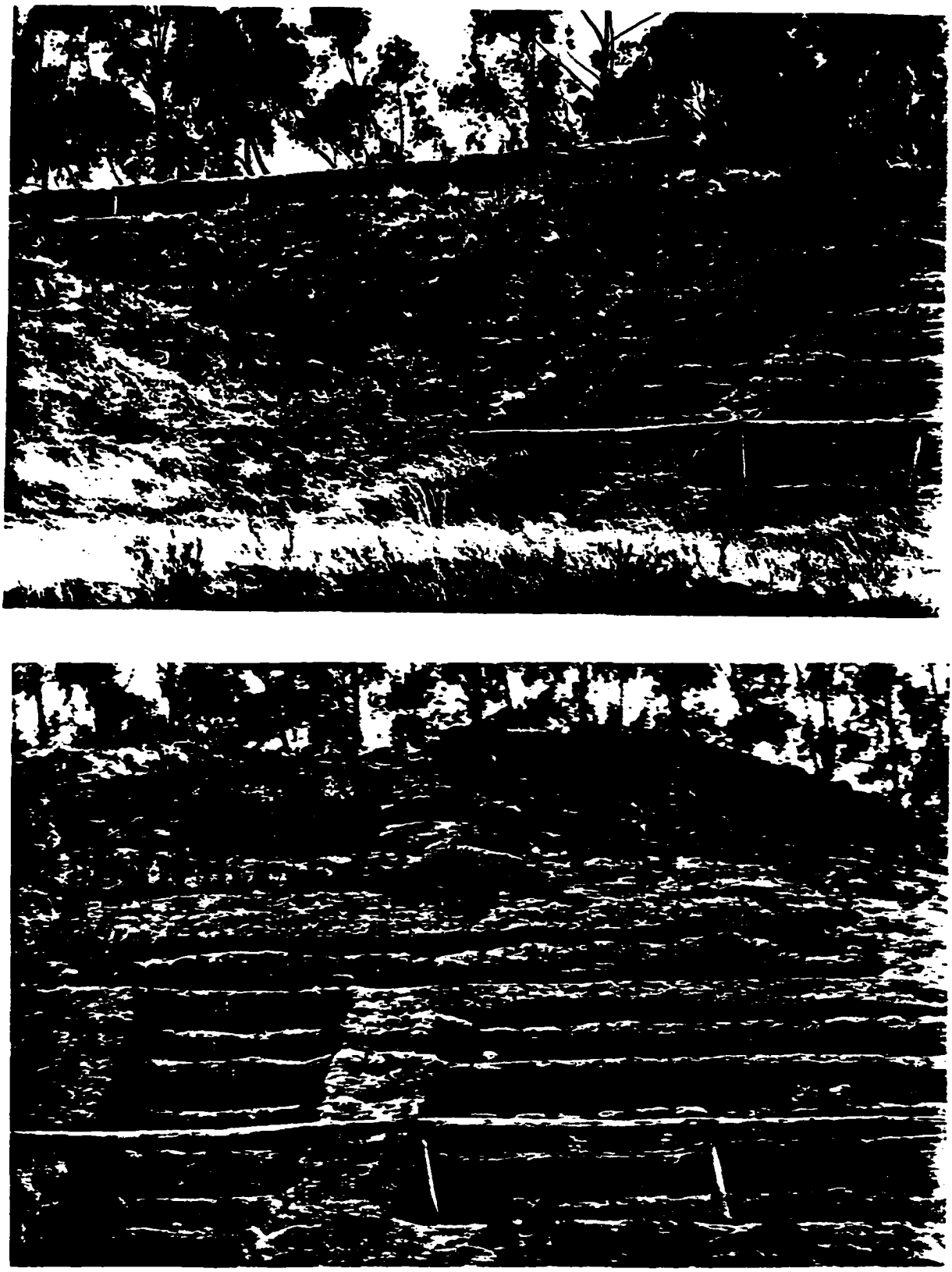

Figure 10: Pyramid 13 (emphasis on construction)

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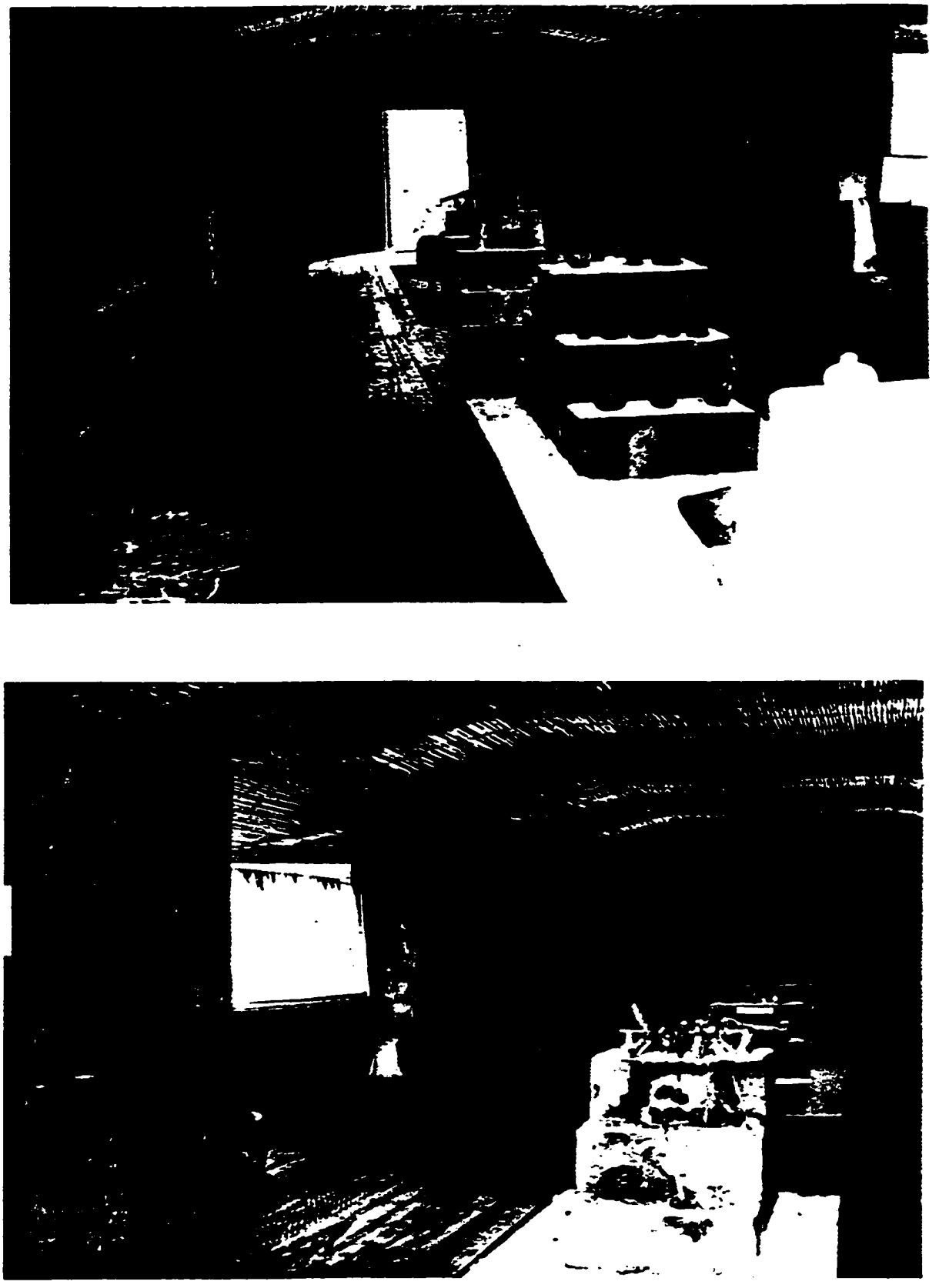

Figure 11: Picture of Museum

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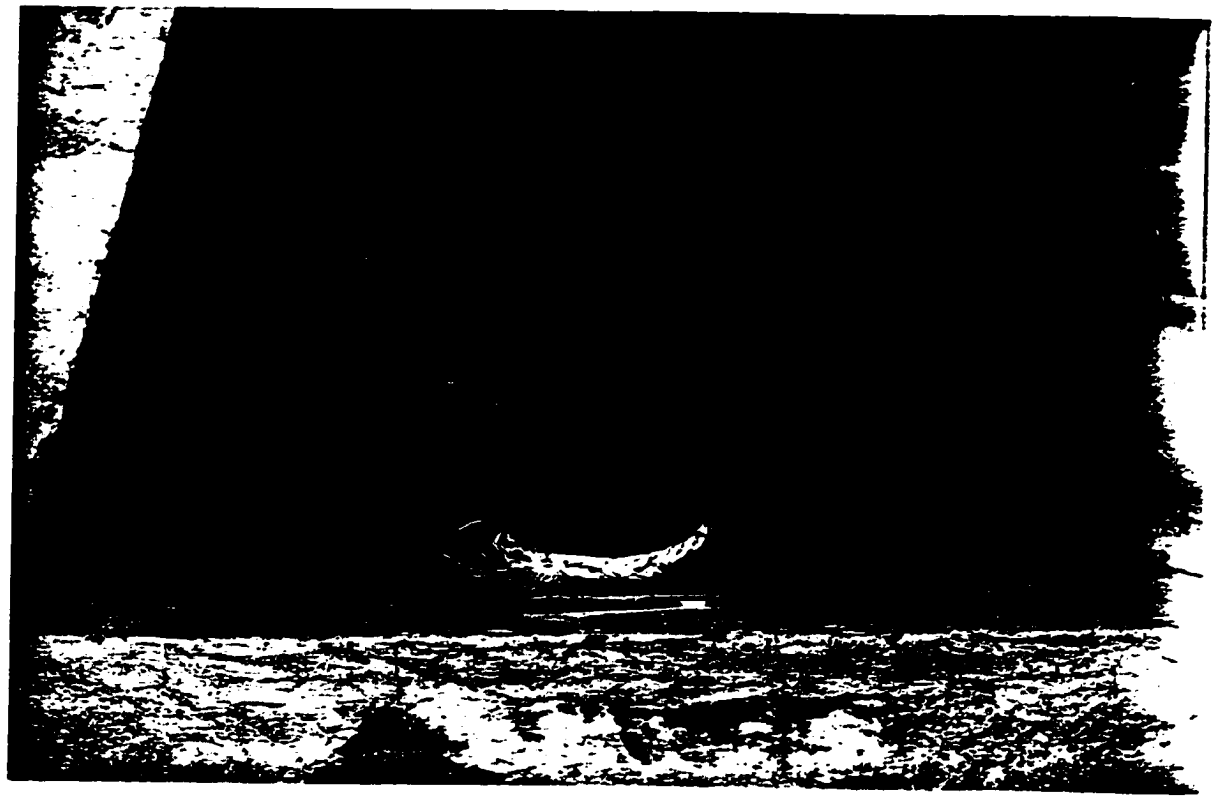

Figure 12: Picture of Shoe-Type Vessel

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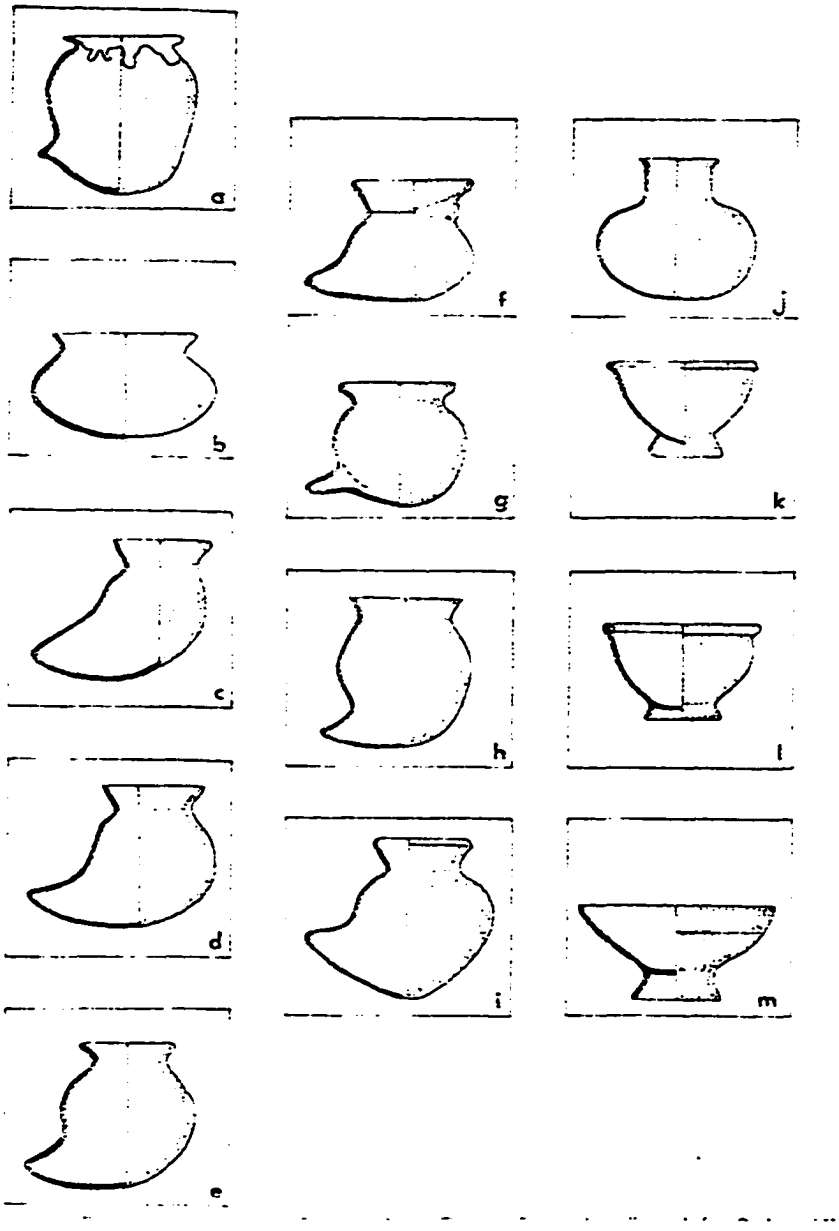

Figure 13: Drawings of Shoe-Type Vessel

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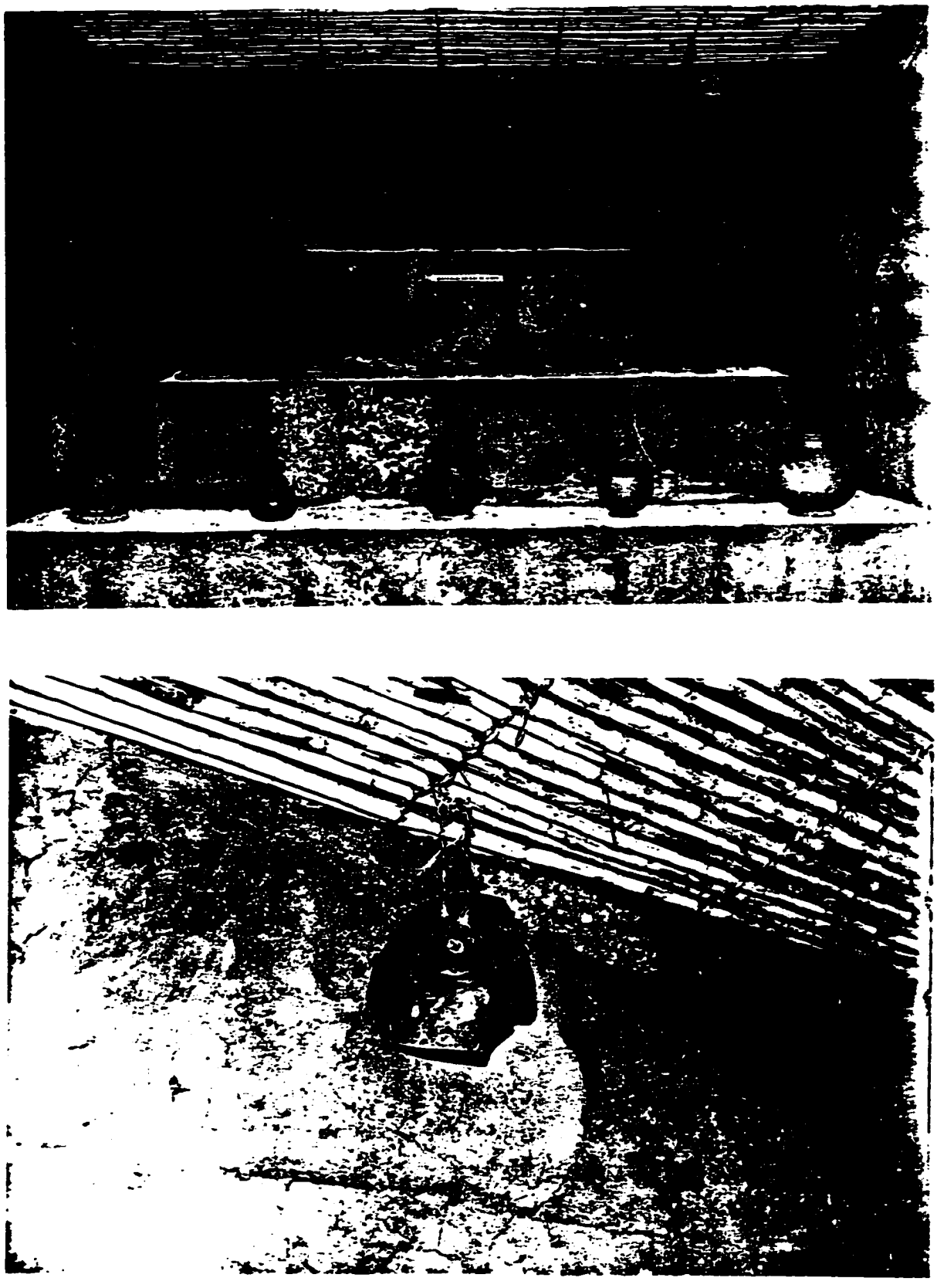

Figure 14: Picture of Mask

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Figure 15: Picture of Canal Remain (Pyramid 9)

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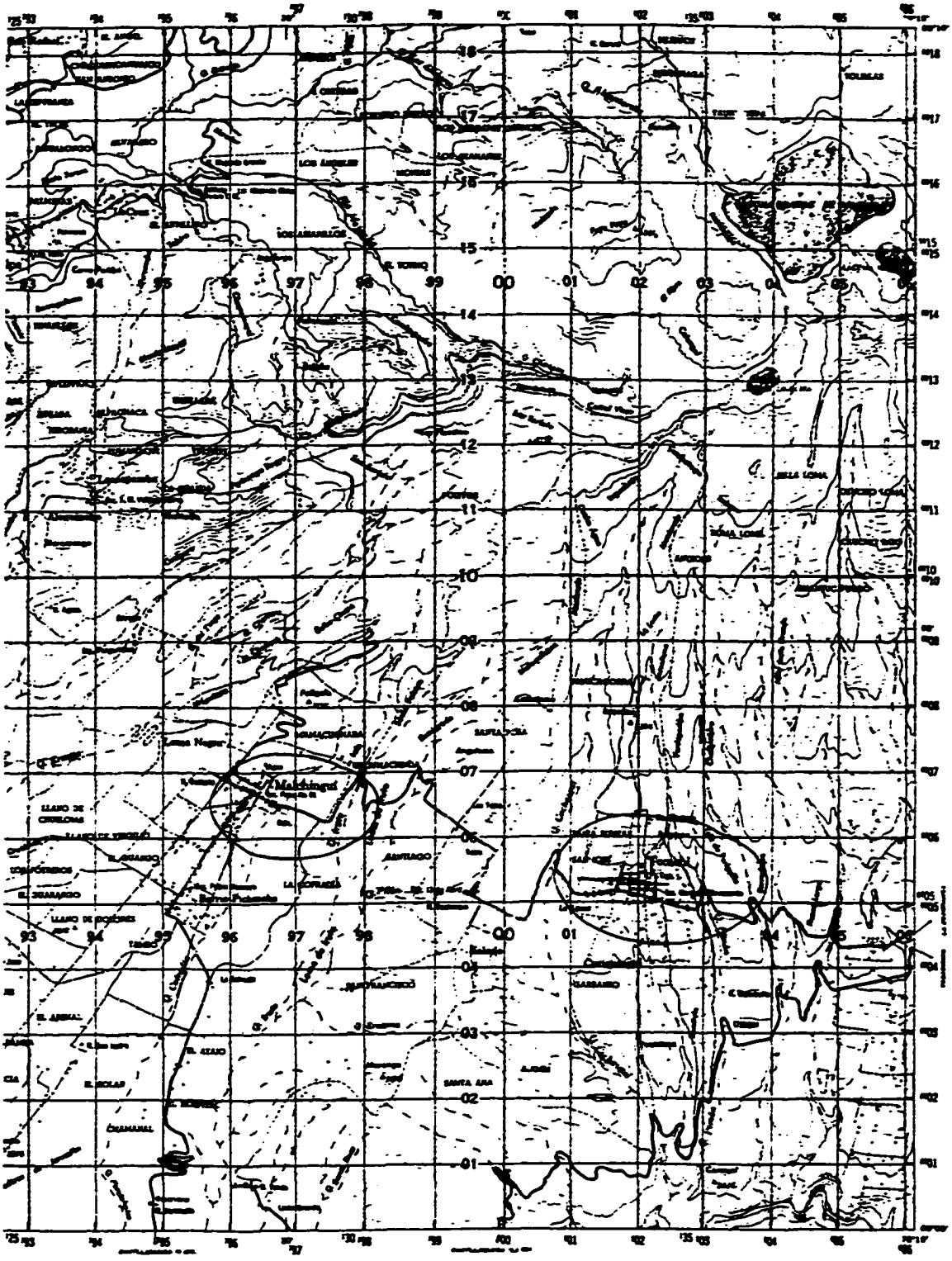

Figure 16: Map of Towns of Malchinguí and Tocachi

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M E S	TURISTAS NACIONALES	TURISTAS EXTRANJEROS	INSTITUCIONES EDUCACIONALES	T O T A L
ENERO	1.179	353	875	2.007
FEBRERO	703	285	686	1.674
MARZO	911	261	1.397	2.569
ABRIL	600	189	675	1.464
MAYO	299	267	1.196	1.762
JUNIO	299	267	1.196	1.762
JULIO	282	428	525	1.335
AGOSTO	525	484	384	1.393
SEPTIEMBRE	391	224	483	1.098
OCTUBRE	301	214	197	712
NOVIEMBRE	229	124	1.164	1.517
DICIEMBRE	259	168	363	790
T O T A L:	5.978	3.264	9.141	18.083

NOTA: no incluye el nùmero de visitantes que han asistido a los diferentes eventos. Aproximadamente 4.000 visitantes.
TOTAL GENERAL 22.083

Figure 17: 1994 Statistics of Visits to Cochasquí

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Figure 18: Ex-President Fabián Alarcón at Inti Raymi Celebration

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Figure 19: Picture of Site Celebrations

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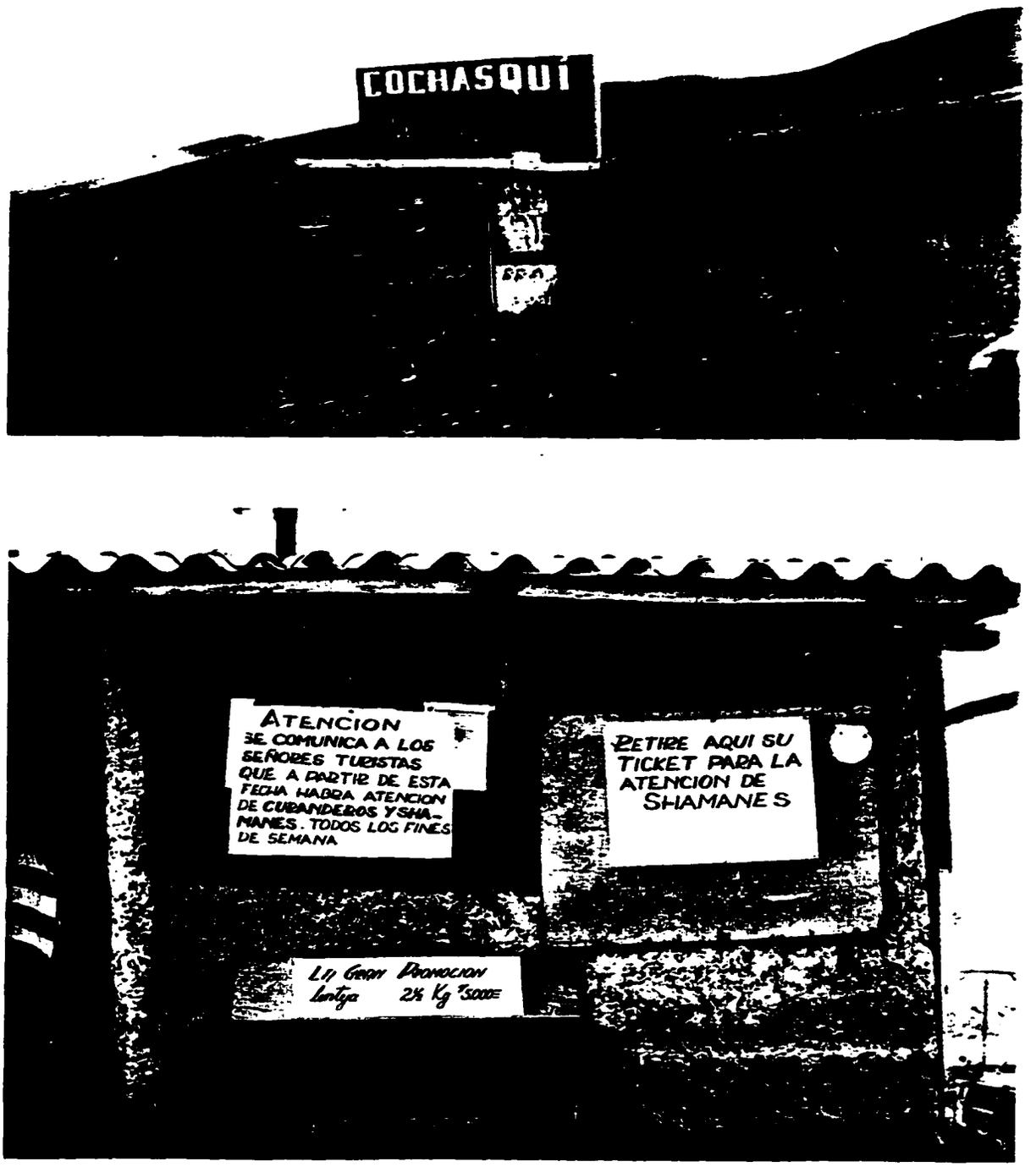

Figure 20: Shaman Signs at Cochasquí

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Esta es una fotografía tomada por Olaf Holm, cuando San Biritute aún estaba en Sacachún. Holm, dice que el nombre de Biritute se deriva del latín "virtutis" que significa masculinidad.

Figure 21: Picture of San Biritute

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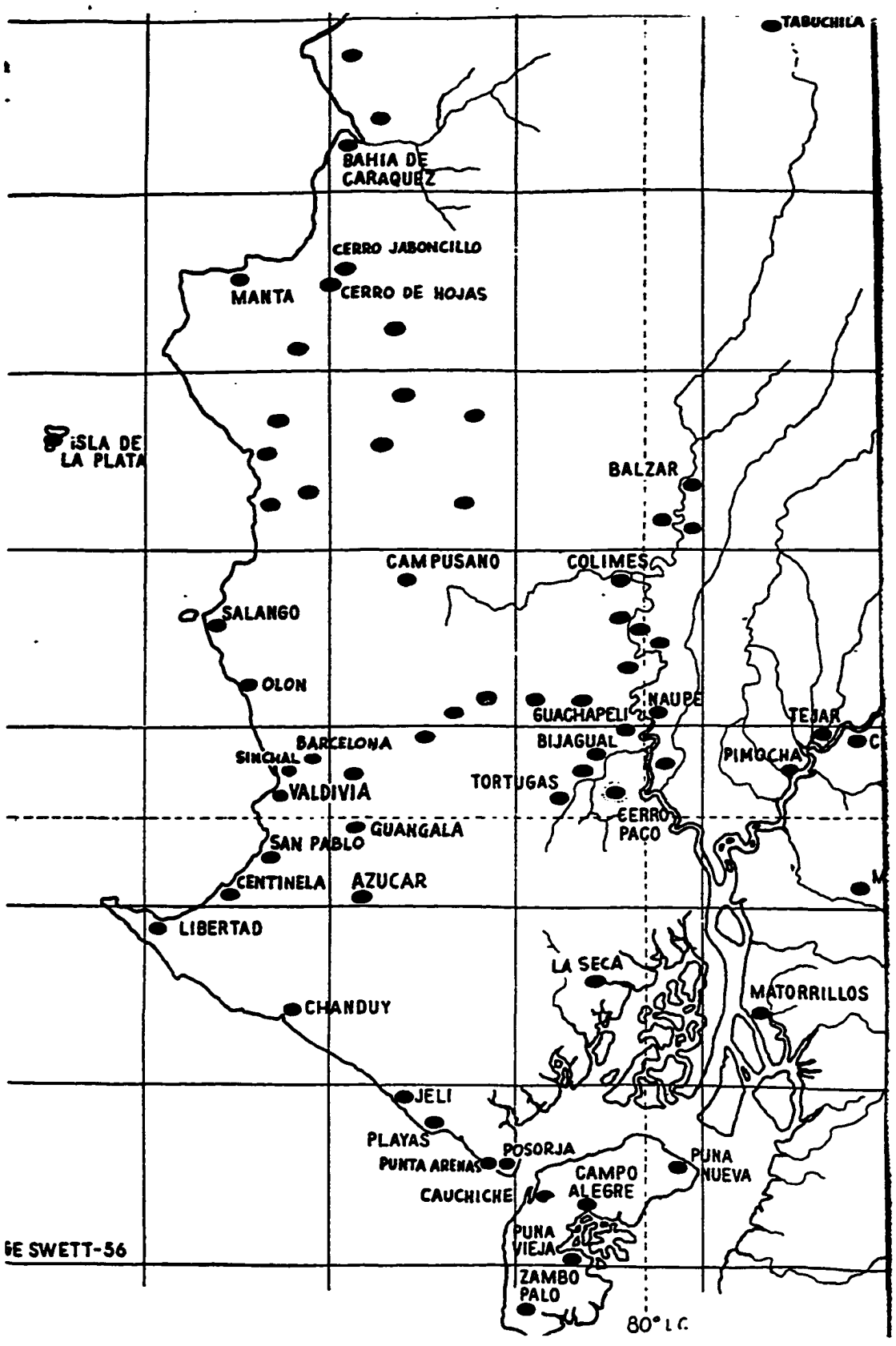

Figure 22: Map of Manteño-Huancavilca

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IMAGE EVALUATION
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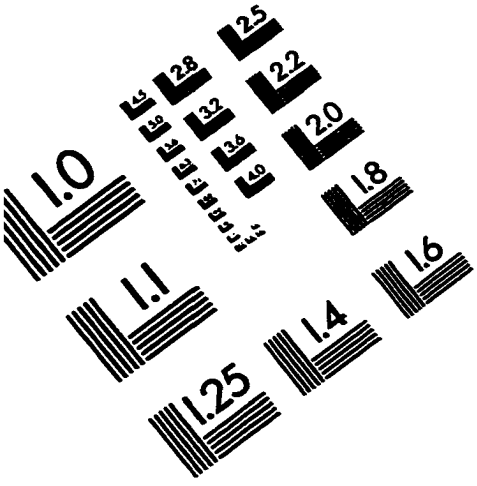

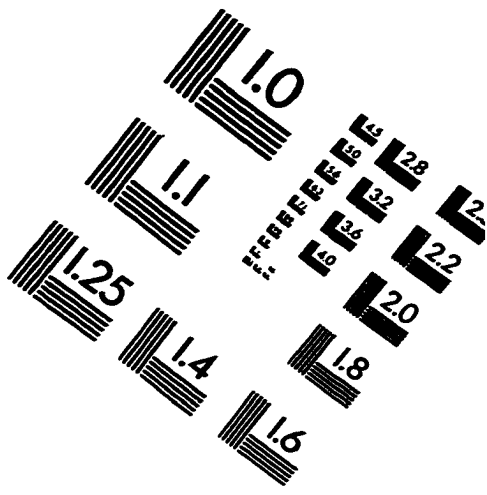

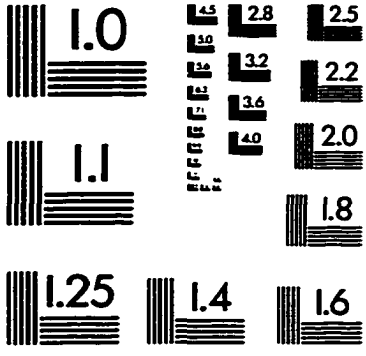

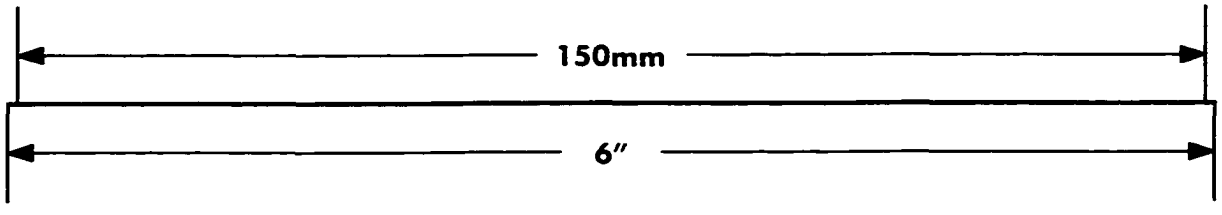

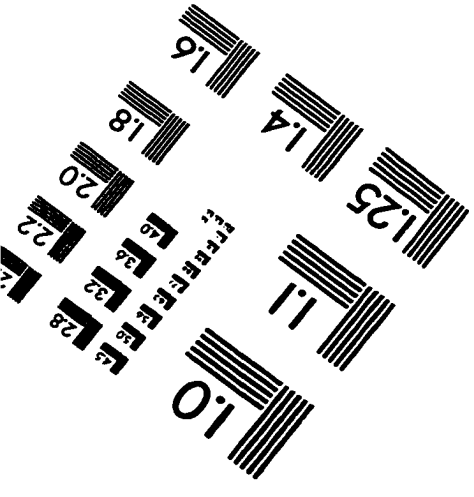

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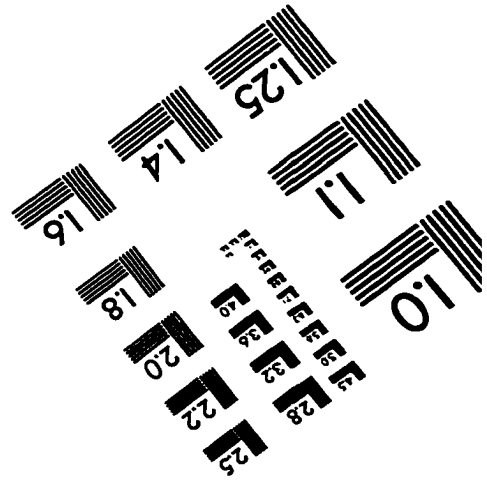

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