

**Catherine J. Julien**  
(19 May 1950 - 27 May 2011)

Catherine Jean Julien was born at Stanford, California, on 19 May 1950 and spent her childhood in Turlock, California. After graduating from high school in 1967, Julien began her academic career at Whitman College, a Liberal Arts college in Walla Walla, Washington, where she studied philosophy, economics, and history. In 1970, she enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley to study anthropology and finished her studies in December 1971 with a B.A. in anthropology.

With her studies at Berkeley began Julien's lifelong association with John H. Rowe and his wife Patricia Lyon. Julien especially understood herself first and foremost to be in a continuous dialogue with Rowe. At his suggestion, she went to Peru in 1972 and worked with the collections of Inca ceramics at the *Museo Arqueológico* of the *Universidad Nacional de San Antonio de Abad* in Cuzco, a research project aiming at a more detailed chronology of Inca-style pottery. In 1973 and 1974, Julien worked as a fieldwork assistant in the *Qotakalli Tarawi* project organized by Rowe and Lyon, excavating sites in the neighborhood of Cuzco. She received her master in June 1975

Immediately afterwards, Julien started with the research for her dissertation. From August 1975 to December 1976, she conducted archaeological excavations and archival research in Peru, concentrating her excavations on the town of Hatunqolla northwest of Puno, the capital of the Peruvian department of this name. Hatunqolla had been an Inca provincial center and before an important settlement of the Collas, an ethnic group on the northwestern shore of the Lake Titicaca. During her excavations from November 1975 to January 1976, Julien collected 17,000 pottery sherds and investigated test pit stratigraphies with the goal to develop a chronological sequence of the local pottery style in relation to Inca ceramics. In addition to her archaeological work, Julien consulted ethnohistorical sources to reconstruct the effects of the Inca administration on the Collas.

With her dissertation emerged two important themes in Julien's research during much of her following career, the discussion of Inca provincial rule and the regional focus on the ethnic groups on the shore of Lake Titicaca. After her return to the United States, Julien became a teaching assistant at Berkeley's Department of Anthropology in 1977 and 1978. She received her Ph.D. in December 1978. The revised text of her thesis was published in 1983 under the title "Hatunqolla: A view of Inca rule from the Lake Titicaca region". Julien continued to teach at Berkeley in 1979

and went to Peru in 1980. She returned to the United States in 1984 and spent the year as a Senior Fellow at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Starting with her Ph.D. thesis, the focus of Julien's work on the Andes had moved away from archaeology to ethnohistory. For her intensifying work with published and unpublished documents, Julien participated at the Newberry Library in a summer program taught by Vicenta Cortés Alonso, an expert on Spanish paleography.

From January 1984 to May 1989, she became the director of the Courthouse Museum at Merced, California, a town south of her hometown Turlock. During her work at the museum (and also in 1989), Julien used Wenner-Gren grants to pursue her work on the ethnohistory of Peru. In 1988, she contacted the University of Bonn, following a recommendation by Woodrow Borah, and asked if there was a position available for a specialist of Andean studies. Hanns Prem suggested that she should apply for a grant by the Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation. Her application was received very well, and she arrived at Bonn in October 1989 and immediately went to work on the research project she had proposed, a study of Andean territoriality in the early colonial and Inca period. In relation to her Humboldt grant, Julien published a short article on the orientation of buildings at Machu Picchu in the magazine of the Humboldt-Foundation (1990).

Julien's research on territoriality was an outgrowth of her dissertation where she reconstructed territorial units working backwards in time from the colonial *encomienda*, *corregimiento* and *capitanías de mita* (divisions for forced labor at Potosí) to the provinces in the Inca empire. She employed a similar approach for the study of the Condesuyu south of the Inca capital of Cuzco (Condesuyu was one of the four *suyu* or quarters of the Inca empire). The choice of this study area also developed out of her work in the Lake Titicaca basin, because ethnic groups from the highland like the southern neighbors of the Collas, the Lupacas, had colonies of settlers for the exploitation of lowland resources south of the Condesuyu quarter. These colonies were famous as one of the four test cases for John V. Murra's discussion of Andean verticality (Murra 1975). The vertical economy of the Andes with its use of different ecological zones and reciprocal or redistributive exchange systems was one of the central topics for Andeanists from the 1970s, and Julien's strong interest in territorial organization and economics relates to these discussions. Her Humboldt grant was extended until the end of July 1991 which allowed her to finish a book presenting the results of her research titled "Condesuyo: The political division of territory under Inca and Spanish rule" (Julien 1991).

During her first stay at Bonn, Julien also taught courses at the university and became a mentor for several students graduating in Andean studies, myself among them. In many ways, Julien's interests fitted very well into the traditions of Andean studies at Bonn. Like her, Hermann Trimborn and Udo Oberem had both worked on ethnohistory and archaeology (Oberem 1976, 1981; Trimborn 1936, 1939, 1981).

When Julien came to Germany, Andean studies in Bonn were represented by Roswith Hartmann, a Quechua linguist and ethnographer, and by Albert Meyers, an archaeologist and ethnohistorian. Meyers had written his PhD thesis on Inca archaeological material, especially ceramics, from Ecuador (Meyers 1976). With Julien's arrival, there were two researchers working on the Inca, together with a larger number of students graduating in Andean studies, and this gave the impulse for the development of a new project to study the Inca presence in the Bolivian *montaña*.

The focus of the project was planned to be on Inca rule and interaction with the ethnic groups on the eastern slopes of the Andes. The project was interdisciplinary and brought together researchers from archaeology and ethnohistory.

A parallel ethnohistorical project was planned with Julien as the principal researcher. Olinda Celestino from *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* in Paris received financing for archival research in South America. Like the archaeological project, the *Proyecto Etnohistórico Montaña de Bolivia* was funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG). After Julien's Humboldt grant ended in July 1991, she returned for several months to California and came back to Germany in summer 1992 when the first year of the ethnohistorical project started. In 1993, the project was extended for another two years until August 1995.

The goal of the ethnohistorical project was to find published and unpublished materials which could shed light on the 15th and 16th century population structure and cultures in the Bolivian *montaña*, the incursion of the Inca state, and the interaction with the Spanish colonial regime. It was planned that the research should concentrate on the area around Samaipata. The available published literature was to be studied, but the main emphasis would be on the search for new, previously unpublished material from Spanish and South American archives. The project allowed Julien to spend an extensive and enormously productive year at the *Archivo de Indias* (AGI) in Seville and to visit a number of other archives in Spain as well as in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina.

Julien came back to Germany in October 1993 to organize and catalogue the materials she had discovered. From January to May 1994, a second phase of archival research followed in South America where Julien especially consulted the *Archivo Nacional de Bolivia* in Sucre. She also visited archives in Lima, La Paz, Cochabamba,

Potosí and Tarija as well as the *Archivo General de la Nación* at Buenos Aires. From the archives in Europe and South America, Julien collected copies of 240 documents of differing lengths, from a few pages to 1,300 pages, which are still stored at the institute in Bonn. The remaining time of the project until August 1995 was dedicated to the transcription and analysis of these documents.

The *Montaña* project was not without problems. Julien discovered relatively soon that documents referring to Samaipata and the surrounding area were difficult to find. The Spanish crown had lost control of the area around the site in the 16th century and did not fully regain until the 18th century. There were hardly any extant documents covering the period directly after the end of Inca rule when it could be assumed that Inca organization and indigenous cultures were relatively undisturbed by Spanish influence, and when the initial changes resulting from Spanish domination could be traced. Lamentably, in the case of Samaipata the fit between ethno-historical and archaeological results – to paraphrase the title of an article by Julien from 1993 – was not very good.

This in a way proved to be disappointing for the general project goals, but Julien's attempt to find a solution for this problem was innovative and fruitful for her research. Instead of looking for material about the *montaña* created by the Spanish administration in the Andes, Julien turned to the Spanish colonization in Argentina and Paraguay. She collected documents about the Spanish reconnaissance of the Paraná and Paraguay river basins and first Spanish settlements there, and developed a completely new research field. A first result could be seen in an article about the different perceptions of the lowland groups, especially the Chiriguano, by Spanish colonists in the Andes and in Paraguay and the Bolivian lowlands, depending on their relations with the indigenous population (Julien 1997a), while a later article discusses the Spanish expeditions and their goals (2007b). Many documents collected about the early exploration were published in the volume on the first foundation of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and the Spanish exploration of the territory around it (2008). Ultimately, the research on Argentina and Paraguay led to the project which occupied Julien nearly until her death – the edition of the materials from the governorship of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (see below).

Julien recovered an impressive amount of material on the ethnohistory of the Inca and the colonial period in Peru and Bolivia. Many of her writings in the following years can be directly and indirectly related to the *Montaña* project. A more direct relation is seen in those on the organization of Inca coca-growing on the east Andean slopes (Julien 1998a) and of Inca frontier defense to the lowlands (1994). Articles on other topics were also based on documents found during her archival

research from 1992 to 1994, like that on water reservoirs built for the refining of silver at Potosí (Julien 1997b), another on the *yanaconas* of La Plata (1997c), and a third on the devastating 1650 earthquake in Cuzco (1996).

A main outcome of her research on the early history of Spanish occupation in the montaña were two volumes of documents from the early history of the town of Tarija (in southeastern highlands of Bolivia) and the already mentioned book on Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Julien, Angelis & Bass Werner de Ruiz 1997; Julien 2008). Together with three students she published a tribute assessment (*tasa*) of the Lupacas, the already mentioned ethnic group from the western shore of the Lake Titicaca (Julien et al. 1993).

During her stay in Germany, Julien was also contacted by the publisher C.H. Beck in Munich, which was planning a new series of introductory books on a variety of topics from the humanities, social and natural sciences. Julien was asked to contribute a book on Inca culture and history. The book was first published in 1998 and provides an introduction on her thinking about the development of the Inca state, the role of the *panaca* (the ruler's descent groups), provincial organization and religion. The book went through several reprints and still is the only modern summary of Inca research available in German. After its initial publication, it was soon translated into Italian and Spanish (2000b, 2001b).

Part of this book served as a basis for Julien's magistral study "Reading Inca history" on Inca historical genres and their interpretation by 16th and 17th century Spanish writers (2000c). Studies of the Inca empire had long been hampered by doubts about the historicity of the narratives found in the Spanish historical accounts. Julien argued that the Incas had an interest to conserve recollections of the past and that they developed various oral genres to preserve historical memories, as in the form of lists of the Inca rulers and their wives and life histories of individual rulers transmitted by their descent groups (*panaca*). Inca genres in various degrees of complexity were collected and recounted by the Spanish historians, either directly or by copying of previous works. In a labour-intensive and meticulous comparison between the most important Spanish narratives ("chronicles"), Julien found evidence for the existence of these genres and the extent of textual borrowing between the Spanish authors. Her efforts were recognized by the scholarly community and she received two awards for this book, in 2000 the Katherine Singer Kovacs prize for the best work on the history and culture of Latin America from the Modern Language Association, and in 2001 the Ermine-Wheeler Voeglin prize for the best work in ethnohistory from the American Society for Ethnohistory.

Working on “Reading Inca history” was Julien’s first major project after she returned to the United States in 1995 and became a member of the Department of History at the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, in 1996. A second major project was the publication of the “Guide to documentary sources for Andean studies, 1530-1900” (Pillsbury 2008). Julien was intensely involved in the assembling and editing of the contributions for this overview on sources for Andean ethnohistorical and historical studies, and herself wrote eleven entries and articles, either wholly or in part. (A return to the discussion of sources was one of her last articles, on the authorship of the “Discurso sobre la descendencia y gouierno de los ingas”, work also known as the “Relación de los Quipucamayos”, Vega 1974; Julien 2009).

Julien’s contribution to this overdue introduction to sources about the Andes is another example of her dedication to provide Andeanists with basic resources for their work. This dedication can be seen as well in her publication of new or revised transcriptions of documents which accompanied her articles and in the above mentioned document collections on Tarija, Santa Cruz and the Toledo tasa of 1574. Julien was a indefatigable transcriber of documents, and a topic of special interest for her were the early *encomienda* grants which she used as a basis for the reconstruction of Andean indigenous territorial divisions and economics. *Encomienda* grants can be found in the Tarija document collection and in the articles on the functionaries of local Inca administration, “An Inca information network” (2006a), on the *encomiendas* of Hernando Pizarro and Diego Maldonado (2001a, 2002a) as well as on *encomiendas* and indigenous religious land holdings in the Condesuyu (2002b, 2003).

Another project also shows her dedication to publishing of source materials. During a sabbatical in 2003 Julien spent five months at the John Carter Brown Library transcribing and translating the “Ynstruccion del ynca don Diego de Castro Titu Cussi Yupangui” from 1570. The *Ynstruccion* is the only text composed by a descendent of the Inca dynasty describing their experiences in the early colonial period. Julien edited the text in a newly transcribed Spanish version with a page by page English translation (2006b).

Related to this book was the fascinating discovery of a letter by Titu Cusi Yupanqui written in 1562 (Julien 2006c). In this letter, Titu Cusi threatens the Spanish *corregidor* of Cuzco, Gregorio González Cuenca, with war. The letter is in Spanish, but it contains a series of rhetoric questions and responses which seem to be a relatively direct translation of a form of Quechua poetry. Julien discovered traces of a similar form in a passage of the *Ynstruccion*. The letter provides a new, intriguing insight into how the Inca thought and spoke about warfare.



During her last years, Julien was preparing an edition of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's reports about his expeditions as the governor of Rio de la Plata. For this project, Julien cooperated with Pablo Pastrana-Pérez, a colleague from the Department of Spanish at the Western Michigan University. Pastrana-Pérez will complete the edition of this work (Western Michigan University 2011). The editing of Cabeza de Vaca's texts has become the conclusion of Julien's intensive occupation with the Spanish exploration and settlement of the lowlands of Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina.

Most of Julien's other research focussed on a number of interrelated topics in the Andes, mostly dealing with 16th century history. A turning point in Andean history was the term of office of the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569 to 1581).

Not surprisingly, much of Julien's research was related to this momentous figure of Andean history. She was enormously well-informed about the career of Toledo, both in Spain and in Peru, about the political context of his activities, and the life of the viceroy in general. Julien worked with the materials gathered during Toledo's general inspection of the viceroyalty, as in the publication of the *Lupaca tasa* from 1574 (Julien et al. 1993). Toledo's political (and military) activities were reflected in her study about the Chiriguanos (Julien 1997a), about the conquest of Vilcabamba (2007a) and about the subsequent treatment of the high-ranking Inca prisoners (Nowack & Julien 1999). Turning to the ideological projects of the viceroy and his attempts to show the illegitimacy of Inca rule, Julien especially wrote about the collections of Inca objects Toledo brought back to Spain. Based on an inventory made after his death in Spain, the article "History and art in translation: The 'paños' and other objects collected by Francisco de Toledo" dealt with the paintings of the members of the Inca dynasty which the viceroy had ordered to be made as gifts for the Spanish king (1999). Another object that Toledo apparently brought to Spain was the gold statue of the sun god Panchao, one of the holiest objects of the Inca, which Julien discussed in 2002c.

Julien's intensive use and publication of early *encomienda* grants has already been mentioned. The *encomiendas* can be viewed as the strongest Spanish attempt to remodel the Andean world prior to the time of Toledo. The institution of the Spanish *encomienda* gave the Spanish conquerors access to indigenous labor, mostly in the form of tribute. Much of Julien's reconstructions of prehispanic spatial organization were based on the *encomienda* (and on the *corregimiento*). The studies of the territorial bases of Andean social and political organization was interwoven with her strong interest in economics. Tribute reflected the resources and organization of Andean territories, and it became a recurring theme in Julien's discussions of 16th century

Peru, as for example in her already mentioned studies on Inca tribute categories (Julien 1985, 1987), her ground-breaking analysis of the Inca decimal organization (1982, 1988) for which she used the above mentioned *Lupaca visita* from 1567, and her article on Inca textile standards (textiles being a principal form of Inca tribute (2000d)). Evident in Julien's studies of Toledo's government and the *encomienda* is her view that the colonial administration and Spanish politics have to be analyzed to understand the scope and limitations of the documentation generated by them.

Another recurring theme in Julien's research on the 16th century is the Inca elite, which she studied in their various relations with colonial society and Spanish administration. The translation of Titu Cusi's *Ynstruçion* and the publication of his letter as well as the study of Toledo's war against Vilcabamba and the article on the treatment of the Vilcabamba and other Inca prisoner are testimonies of this interest. Another article on two women of the Inca elite, "Francisca Pizarro, la cuzqueña, y su madre, la coya Ynguill" (2000a) deals with an earlier period of Spanish-Inca relations, the reign of Manco Inca. For the 1530s Julien also reconstructed the original *encomienda* holdings of Manco Inca (1998c) in search for evidence about the private estates owned by the Inca *panaca*, the ruler's descent groups. In this context, she also discussed the *encomiendas* of Hernando Pizarro who apparently received grants deriving from the original *panaca* possessions (2001a). These articles like the one on the *encomiendas* of well-known protagonists of colonial history including Diego Maldonado (2002a), holder of important tribute grants west of Cuzco, are linked to the topics of territoriality and Inca provincial organization. Several of Julien's most recent articles also reflect her abiding interest in Inca politics and territoriality (2006a, 2007c, 2010).

With another text on *encomiendas* in Majes and Cabanaconde, Julien returned to Condesuyu quarter of the Inca empire, as she did with an article on *huaca* (holy place, here especially mountains) in the Arequipa region (2002b). The major *huaca* in Condesuyu, as Julien already suggested in the 1991 book, had their own small provinces assigned to them which provided them with animals and plant products for the subsistence of the *huaca* itself, but also of its attendants and priests. From this follows one of Julien's suggestions for the understanding of Inca administration and politics, her definition of different types of Inca provinces.

The research leading to this conclusion was presented in an article from 1993, "Finding a fit: Archaeology and ethnohistory of the Incas". The 1993 article was written as a summary and general discussion of the essays in a volume on "Provincial Inca" (edited by Michael Malpass). The interdisciplinary approach of the collection allowed Julien to return to her studies of Inca ceramics which had begun in



Cuzco in 1972 and were continued in her dissertation. Julien never lost her original interest in Inca archaeology and saw herself as an archaeologist and anthropologist as well as a historian. In this sense, she probably did not regret that her studies of Inca ceramics from Cuzco took so long to be published, because it was a welcome reminder of her work in this field. The long article (nearly a small book) studied the Inca pottery from 13 gravelots of the Sacsaguaman, the fortress of Cuzco, excavated in 1933 and 1934 by Luis E. Valcárcel and in 1940 by Luis A. Llanos and José María Franco Inojosa. Julien first worked with these collections at the *Museo Arqueológico of Cuzco* during her trip in 1972 and continued to study them during subsequent visits from 1973 to 1984. The article, originally written and revised in the 1980s, was finally printed in 2004. Together with her work on lowland South America, it is a testimony of the broad span of Julien's research, and as it can be seen in her long list of contributions to the studies of the Andes, lowland South America, and especially the Incas, she was one of the most brilliant and productive ethnohistorians of the last decades.

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